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THE EARLY CAREER OF CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN AND HIS PLACE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH PROTESTANT THOUGHT

JANE E. A. DAWSON

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Durham

1978

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JANE E.A. DAWSON

The Early Career of Christopher Goodman and his place in the
development of English protestant thought.

ABSTRACT

The career and thought of Christopher Goodman provides the backbone of this thesis. They are used to demonstrate the interaction between men and ideas in England during the middle years of the sixteenth century and so give a clearer picture of the development of English protestant thought. The study has set out to discover three things about Goodman and his book 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd'. The first is to explain his intention in writing the book; the second to describe its content; and the third to understand its impact in 1558.

As a study of Goodman's book cannot be divorced from the study of its author, the biographical details of Goodman's life to 1558 are investigated. They help to give the fullest possible picture of his intentions in writing the book. Detailed consideration is given to his experiences in Edwardian Oxford at Brasenose College and Christ Church and to his exile in Germany and Switzerland during the reign of Mary.

To give an accurate description of the content and impact of Goodman's book it is necessary to establish its ideological context. This involves documenting the personnel, activities and ideas of the Christ Church Circle and of the Marian exiles, particularly those who comprised the English exile community in Geneva.

Only if such a picture is pieced together is it possible to distinguish between the unusual and the commonplace in Goodman's thinking and appreciate the revolutionary nature of his concept of a covenanted society, the people of God.

PREFACE

I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr. David Loades, for never being too busy to help me. His blend of a sense of purpose and humour has encouraged my work from beginning to end. I would also like to thank all the members of the Department of History at Durham, my colleagues Professor Barrow and Mr. Lenman at St. Andrews and Professor Burns and Skinner who have given generously of their time and advice.

I am indebted to Messrs William Grant and Sons, in conjunction with St. Andrews University, for the provision of the Glenfiddich Research Fellowship in Scottish History and their generosity in permitting me to complete this thesis.

I would like to express my gratitude for their assistance to the following libraries and archives: British Library, Public Records Office, Inner Temple Library, Dr. Williams Library, Bodleian Library, Brasenose College and Christ Church Archives, Cambridge University Library, Gonville and Caius College, Glasgow and St. Andrews University Libraries, Archives d'Etat Geneva, Staatsarchiv and Zentralbibliothek Zurich and Durham University Library, particularly the Inter-Library Loans Department.

I would like to include my special thanks to those without whom this thesis would not have been completed.

In this thesis I have used the New Style in dating and in the quotations I have expanded abbreviations, retained the original spelling (except for the substitution of 'v' for 'u' where the consonant was obviously intended) and altered the punctuation only where it obstructed the sense of the passage.

Unless stated otherwise, the place of publication of all the works which have been cited is London.

This thesis is entirely my work and no part of it has been submitted for a degree in any university.

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INTRODUCTION

The reign of Henry VIII saw the emergence in England of a cult of authority. One of the pressures which created that cult was the need to justify Henry's break with Rome. A new theory of imperial power was elaborated to explain the absorption of ecclesiastical jurisdiction into the crown. It ensured that those who rejected papal supremacy had a vested interest in supporting royal authority. The theory of Royal Supremacy which emerged, became one of the cornerstones of English protestant thought. Alongside the theory of Royal Supremacy and helping to uphold it, was the doctrine of obedience and non-resistance to the secular ruler. It was enthusiastically adopted by the protestants who preached it during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI with unparalleled fervour. It fitted with their concept of a godly prince and offered the hope of using royal authority to secure the adoption of protestantism in England.

Although many were disillusioned after their contact with political power in Edward VI's reign, the commitment of the protestants to the doctrine of obedience remained firm. The reign of Mary, which brought the end of the Royal Supremacy and the return to papal Catholicism, ensured that the two principles which had until then complimented each other were now in direct opposition: protestant beliefs could not be reconciled with unquestioning obedience to the monarch. The first stage forced upon all protestants was the abandonment of absolute obedience in matters of religion. They turned to the conscience clause which permitted passive disobedience to royal orders when they ran contrary to the commands of

God. It was among the protestant exiles who watched the persecution from afar that the pressure to break with the tenets of non-resistance built up. During the exile the propaganda which was produced took on an increasingly aggressive attitude towards the queen. However it was only a handful of exiles who actually broke with the doctrine of non-resistance. One of the most important was Christopher Goodman, whose book 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd' called for the deposition of Mary Tudor and the adoption of a new type of politics.

The following study attempts to analyse Goodman's book and to set it within its historical context. This involves the examination of the roots of Goodman's thinking. They can be found in Edwardian Oxford and in particular within the circle centred upon Christ Church. Under the impact of the Marian exile the ideas which Goodman and his friends had acquired at Oxford were forced to change, and the personal unity of the circle was fractured by the troubles at Frankfurt. Goodman's experience at the heart of the English exile community in Geneva enabled him to turn this dislocation to advantage. He gained sufficient hope to see the ideas he had encountered in Oxford and during the exile in a new light and from them construct a political theory. Only after the ideas and the people who surrounded Goodman from Oxford to Geneva have been traced, can an accurate estimate be made of his place in the development of English protestant thought.

3.

SECTION ONE

GOODMAN AND THE CHRIST CHURCH CIRCLE

CHAPTER ONE

Christopher Goodman was born into a wealthy merchant family of Chester probably in 1521.¹ His father William had continued and enlarged the family business in wine and expanded his trade interests to cover other forms of merchandise and speculation in land.² This ambitious and successful merchant was also heavily involved in local politics. The Goodman family dominated the offices of Mayor and Sheriff in Chester particularly under Henry VIII and Edward VI.³ William Goodman had used his wealth and status to marry well. His wife Margaret was daughter of Sir William Brereton of Brereton, Chief Justice and Lord High Marshall of Ireland.⁴ Links with Ireland came through both of Christopher Goodman's parents. As well as the obvious connexion through his maternal grandfather the Chief Justice, his father traded in Ireland and was probably related to the Sheriff of the county of Dublin.⁵ It was natural for a native of Chester, which was one of the chief English ports for trade with Ireland to be informed about Irish affairs and to think about its needs and problems.⁶ This probably helps to explain Christopher Goodman's willingness to go to Ireland with Sir Henry Sidney and his success when he arrived.⁷

Goodman's family background was also important to him when he returned from Ireland and settled for the rest of his life in Chester. His ties with the merchant oligarchy of Chester provided strong, loyal backing and a safe refuge. They gave him an entrance into local politics in city and county and connexions with London merchants which were useful in the last period of his life.⁸ In his native

Chester Goodman's family status was able to give him sufficient immunity from interference to permit him to grow old without undue harassment.⁹

Like most of his contemporaries, William, Christopher's father, was a religious conformist. Although he was named as a commissioner for church goods in 1553, he probably retained an affection for the old forms, because in his will, he left ten shillings to Sir Rauf, our priest.¹⁰

His son Christopher's departure into exile for the sake of religion in 1554 would not have pleased his father's Catholicism, whether it was genuine or politic. That action could be the reason why Christopher had such a small provision in the will, being bequeathed 'four pounds out of the pasture felde during the lease.' If this was all that Christopher received, it was tantamount to being cut out altogether.¹¹

As a younger son, Christopher had probably been intended by his family to make a career for himself in the Church and at the University. Up to 1553 he had conformed to this pattern. His academic success at Oxford would have fulfilled the expectations of the family. With their keen business sense they would probably have judged that their investment in his education had been worthwhile.

The investment in Christopher's education had probably started at the Abbey of St. Werburgh in Chester.¹² In 1536 he went up to Oxford and was admitted as a scholar to Brasenose College.¹³ In common with most of his contemporaries, Goodman left very few signs of his stay at Brasenose. He pursued the degree courses in the arts; being admitted Bachelor in 1541 and Master in 1544.¹⁴ Apart from the

register his name did not feature in the records which survive at Brasenose.¹⁵

With its strong links with the north-west, Brasenose was the obvious college for a boy from Chester.¹⁶ It was also particularly suitable for Goodman because he was probably expected to follow a career in the church. Brasenose had been founded in 1509 by William Smyth Bishop of Lincoln and Sir Richard Sutton with the intention of training clergy.¹⁷ The college was designed

'for the support and exhaltation of the Christian faith, for the advancement of holy church and for the furtherance of divine worship.'

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The founders could and did legislate to ensure that the third aim of the college was adequately fulfilled. The members of the foundation spent a considerable amount of their time on their religious duties. Each day they were required to attend mass, said between four and five in the morning, and at a number of specified times during the day to say prayers for the souls of their founders and benefactors. If these duties were neglected, a scholar was fined or given the rod.¹⁹

Brasenose was a product of traditional English piety and its statutes were designed to foster a similar devotion to religion. This was helped by its close contact with the Nunnery of Sion originally made through Sir Richard Sutton who was steward there.²⁰ By 1538 at the latest, there were also links through the vice-principal Thomas Typpling with the Priory of Sheen.²¹ Although the college was definitely secular, a point on which the founders had disagreed, it seemed to exhibit many characteristics of a religious comm-

unity.²²

Such a background meant that the changes of the 1530's were not welcomed in the college. There was no dramatic revolt against Royal Supremacy. The principal and fellows of Brasn^enose did sign the University resolution repudiating Papal supremacy in 1534 and a year later must have been prepared to send a profession to the King and to swear the oath of succession.²³ However, on December 17th, 1538 one of the fellows, Thomas Harden, was brought before the Chancellor's Court by Thomas Munson, a former member of the college. Harden was accused of failing to delete the Pope's name from the college service books.²⁴ At the hearing Harden was rude to Munson and on the following day, sureties were taken from George Breche and Robert Homys, both of Brasenose, that H^arden would appear before the Privy Council.²⁵

Harden's actions would probably have gained the approval of William Constable who was a scholar at Brasenose.²⁶ His father, Sir Robert Constable was one of the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1537 William was heading for Cardiff to learn Welsh when John Scudame one of Cromwell's agents took him into protective custody.²⁷

Despite the fuss over Harden it seemed as if the college's internal devotions continued without interference and were scarcely affected by reforming opinions. The stress upon prayers for the souls of the dead was maintained and as late as 1548 bequests were made for that purpose.²⁸

The general educational outlook of the college was as old-fashioned as its religious one. In this respect Brase-

nose provided a sharp contrast with Corpus Christi, the other early Tudor foundation in Oxford where Bishop Fox had set up a college on humanist lines.²⁹ Although Brasenose stuck to the traditional scholastic curriculum, the college was eager to incorporate other elements into its educational life. Nicholas Grimald related how when he was lodging in Brasenose during the winter of 1541/42

'it happened by chance that the youths of the community were eager to enter the field of drama, that they might stimulate their minds, and that they might give some representation of life to the citizens.' 30

It soon became known that Grimald was writing his play 'Christus Redivivus'. Matthew Smith, the principal of Brasenose and Richard Caldwell, one of the Fellows, together with 'many excellent young men of very great promise' urged Grimald to permit them to stage his play. He felt unable to deny the Brasenose men,

'since they were making so excellent a request for things worthy of their talents.'

The comedy was publicly performed at Easter before 'a circle of most the learned men.'

The play stressed the importance of faith in the resurrection for salvation, though not in an overtly protestant way. Its style was a considerable innovation for the dramatisation of a religious theme and Grimald felt called upon to justify it to his tutor in his dedicatory epistle. For both these reasons it is interesting that it should have been enthusiastically received by such a conservative institution as Brasenose. It was possible that through this incident, Goodman became acquainted with Grimald before they both moved to Christ Church as 'theologi.' The sort of enthus-

9.
iasm generated by the play was also exhibited in the efforts to stock the library. The college was not rich³¹ and it probably sold some of its plate, in order to purchase books to supplement the collection left by one of its founders.³²

Brasenose also broke with tradition in the area of discipline, which was much stricter than the older Oxford colleges. For the first time, the rod was to be used as a form of punishment.³³ The discipline was easier to maintain because each scholar was assigned to a tutor who was responsible for most aspects of that scholar's life. In Goodman's time, it was normal practice for a tutor to receive 20d a term from each of his pupils and to supervise the pupil's finances.³⁴

At Brasenose, Goodman made friends, who later ended up on different sides of the confessional boundary. He was sufficiently friendly with Leonard Lingham, who in 1556 was appointed Chaplain to Queen Mary, to take his place as Junior Proctor in 1549, when Lingham was ill.³⁵ It was also during his time at Brasenose that he first made friends with John Foxe, possibly through Foxe's room-mate Alexander Nowell.³⁶ The Nowell brothers, Alexander and Lawrence, were part of a large group from Chester, both city and shire, whom Goodman would have known well.³⁷ Eight other members of Brasenose moved to Christ Church, like Goodman, and most of them seem to have gone from Brasenose at the same time.³⁸ Among them was one of Goodman's best and lifelong friends, William Whittingham.³⁹

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The exact timing of Goodman's move from Brasenose to Christ Church has not been established. Emden follows the Brasenose Register by stating that Goodman became a senior student of Christ Church in 1544, but they do not substantiate their statement.⁴⁰ Goodman's name first appeared in the Christ Church accounts at Michaelmas 1545, when it was listed under 'Peterborough' in receipt of an exhibition of £3. 6s. 8d.⁴¹ Most of the other eight who moved from Brasenose, probably entered Christ Church at the same time as Goodman, because their names also appear upon this list of exhibitors.⁴²

The nature of the foundation to which this list referred is difficult to determine. In 1547, two different institutions were combined to make Christ Church. First there was the successor to Cardinal College, St. Fridiswide's or King Henry VIII's College which was founded in 1532.⁴³ Second there was the diocese of Oxford, based at Oseney, which had been created in 1542.⁴⁴ Both of these foundations were surrendered to the crown on May 20th, 1545.⁴⁵ On November 4th, 1546, Christ Church, which was a unique mixture of both institutions, was founded.⁴⁶ On January 14th, 1547, the new university college of Christ Church started to function.⁴⁷

The problem concerns the nature of the institution between the surrender to the crown and the re-foundation. It was this period from May 20th, 1545, to November 4th, 1546, which was covered by the treasurer's account, containing the list of exhibitions.⁴⁸ In theory, the two institutions were completely separate, but the confusion

between them has been present from a very early date.

The accounts for both institutions were presented together in one book under the following description:

'The accounte of all charges and receyttes both of Frediswydes and Oseney after theyr dissolution, by Alexander Belsyr for one hole yere and one halfe ended at Mychaelmas yn the XXXVIIIth yere of Kyng Henry the eight.'

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The formal account rolls for the years 1544-9, that is for both old and new foundations, were written up together and treated as one unit.⁵⁰ In fact, all the financial records extant at Christ Church stress the continuity of the college from its original foundation as Cardinal College to its final form of 1547.⁵¹

Despite the appearance of permanence in the financial records, there were radical changes during the period of eighteen months in the type of foundation.⁵² There were also major changes in the personnel on the different foundations, so that the refoundations were never simply an alteration of the name. For instance by no means all of those who received exhibitions in 1545-6 remained to be part of the new foundation which began its life in January 1547.⁵³

Whatever had happened or been planned before, the new foundation started on January 14th. The patent of November 4th had only specified the corporation of the dean and canons and had not laid down the constitution of the rest of the college.⁵⁴ As King Henry VIII died two weeks after the beginning of the new college's life, there had not been time to provide the college with any statutes.⁵⁵ This meant that the college had no official authorisation

for its constitution, which comprised the Dean, eight canons, three public professors and a hundred students, though not all of the student places were filled immediately. For the Cathedral side of the foundation, there were eight priests, eight lay clerks and eight choir boys. There were also twenty-four almsmen and assorted servants.⁵⁶ The foundation had the double character of being both a Cathedral Chapter and an academic college. It was subsequently described in terminology reminiscent of Nicea!

"There is absolutely no separation between them, as if they were two distinct members in one and the same body. Neither is the Chapter an appendage to the College, nor is the College an appendage to the Chapter. They form one single foundation under one head and so intimately blended together are they in all their parts, that questions involving the constitution of the one cannot be answered without including what belongs to the other." ⁵⁷

The only diocesan function performed by the chapter, formed by the Dean and canons, was the election of the Bishop of Oxford. All their other functions were academical and collegiate: they were the official corporation and governed the college through their decrees which came to have the force of statute. The church served both as the college chapel and the Cathedral church. Within the church the Dean exercised the authority of an Ordinary. The grants of appointment of the Dean and canons made by the crown were also different.

"In all other cathedral chapters, the royal grants were presented to the Bishop of the diocese, who thereupon instituted the grantee, and issued his mandate for the installation; at Christ Church on the contrary, the grants were not presented to the Bishop, no institution took place and the mandate came direct from the Crown." ⁵⁸

Goodman was part of this new foundation from its inception on January 14th. He was a 'theologus', one of the twenty senior students. These theologi, who were occasionally referred to as petty canons, were in an equivalent position to the fellows of other Oxford colleges. They were studying for higher degrees, mostly in divinity, though some in law and medicine.⁵⁹ Goodman and ^{the} other senior students received from the foundation, a stipend of fifty shillings, a livery of thirty-six shillings and eightpence and board and commons.⁶⁰ If the positioning on the list of members of the foundation reflected seniority, then by the time of the Census of the whole University in August 1552, Goodman was the most senior of the theologi. His name occurred immediately after that of Dr. Richard Martiall the future Dean.⁶¹ By that time Goodman had definitely taken his degree of Bachelor of Divinity.⁶² He was probably close to taking his doctorate in Divinity when the change of regime forced him to leave Oxford. This was more likely because during Edward's reign, Goodman was a public professor of divinity, most probably the Lady Margaret Professor. The post had always previously been held by a Doctor of Divinity. The university records are incomplete for this period but the appointment is given by Wood and confirmed by a number of contemporary sources.⁶³

It is possible that the absence of Goodman and Martyr from Oxford during the autumn and winter of 1553-4 was one of the reasons why theological disputations had not taken place and the under-bedal for theology was fined.⁶⁴ Both

over the theological disputations and the lectures, Goodman would have worked extremely closely with Peter Martyr Vermigli the Regius Professor of Divinity.

As well as his public professorship, Goodman was employed a great deal in the internal administration and teaching of the college. From 1547 to 1550 and possibly until he left in 1553, Goodman was one of the censors in arts at Christ Church.⁶⁵ The duties involved were considerable, the stipend was twenty-five shillings, the same sum given to the senior treasurers and more than any of the other teaching staff.⁶⁶ It was probably as part of his duties as censor that Goodman conducted an examination of the 'discipuli'. On October 5th, 1550, all the pupils appeared before Goodman and Edward Cratford by whom they were examined individually, and a report on the proficiency of each individual written.⁶⁷ In addition to acting as Censor in arts, Goodman was also a personal tutor. In the list for 1550, Goodman was assigned six boys, more than any other tutor in the college.⁶⁸

On April 22nd, 1553, the Dean and Chapter formally presented Goodman to the rectory at Adel in Yorkshire - a living within their gift. It was the last presentation which the Dean and Chapter made before Mary's accession.⁶⁹ By this time Goodman had definitely been ordained but the date and location have not been established. It probably took place in Oxford rather than his native diocese of Chester. Bishop King of Oxford was the first to use the new ordinal. Both John Pullain, Goodman's close friend who was also at Christ Church and Thomas Bickley the famous

radical at Magdalen were ordained by King in 1551 according to the new rite.⁷⁰

The random survival of evidence has afforded a few glimpses of the more personal side of Goodman's life at Christ Church. His learning and his 'sober and godly behaviour' impressed his contemporaries and these attributes certainly persuaded Bartlet Green to frequent Goodman's company.⁷¹ Goodman's name provided the material for one of John Parkhurst's famous epigrams on his friends and contemporaries. He wrote

Ad Christophorum Gudmannum
Nemo bonus, Servator ait, set solus Olympum
Qui regit, is bonis est: Gudmane, Nemo bonus. 72

Something which attracted others to Goodman was his desire to be of service to his friends and his loyalty to them. When William Whittingham was proposing to travel around Europe, Goodman was prepared to stand surety for him. The obligation was made with the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church on May 17th, 1550.⁷³ Whittingham was given up to three years leave of absence in order that he might study in a foreign university. When he returned he was to

'rede and interpret in the hall of the sayd church to the cumpanie therof the Epistle of the Apostle to the Galatians diligently and faythefully to hys utter endevoure at suche hower as the Deane shall appoynte.'

If Whittingham failed to fulfill his side of the obligation by marrying, dying, forsaking his studies or breaking the statutes in any other way, Goodman would be liable for the remainder of Whittingham's exhibition which would have to be repaid to the Dean and Chapter within three months.

In a sadder case, Goodman was again prepared to act as an executor for a friend. Edward Beaumont was a student at Christ Church, who would have been taught by Goodman during his studies on the arts course. On August 4th, 1552, after a short illness, he died at Christ Church.⁷⁴ He had probably caught the sweating sickness. Beaumont had been too ill to be able to write a will. On August 21st, Goodman, as his sole executor, presented his last wishes as a nuncupative will to the Chancellor's Court held at Christ Church in front of Richard Martiall deputising for the vice-chancellor. As an indication of his esteem for Goodman, Beaumont bequeathed to him his copy of Calvin's Institutes. In his inventory it was priced at five shillings and sixpence, the second most valuable book in the whole collection. Among the witnesses to verify the nuncupative will were two of Goodman's firm friends, Laurence Nowell who had probably known him continuously from childhood,⁷⁵ and Richard Winter who was the other censor in arts for 1547-9 and so would have worked in partnership with Goodman and probably also taught Beaumont at Christ Church.⁷⁶

From the evidence of the Battels Book for 1548, it is clear that Goodman was away from Christ Church between July 6th and 27th of that year.⁷⁷ Thomas Francis' name was also absent from the lists for exactly the same period as Goodman's. Francis was a native of Cheshire and a fellow senior student at Christ Church.⁷⁸ He was a friend of Gualter and John ab Ulmis.⁷⁹ It is possible that they both returned home to Cheshire together.

The Battels Book for 1553 gives an interesting indication of the events which followed Mary's accession. During the autumn and winter of 1553-4 Goodman was not at college. He might have been present for the first and last weeks of the Michaelmas term and similarly for the first week of the Hilary term. At the beginning of the Easter term, starting on March 23rd, 1554, the list of foundation members was changed and Goodman's name no longer appeared upon it.⁸⁰

As Goodman was most probably on the run, it is not surprising that there is no trace of his movements. Goodman, being one of Whittingham's closest friends, could well have been involved in getting Peter Martyr away from England and have been in London during the autumn of 1553. This possibility is supported by the fact that Goodman's next known location was London.⁸¹ At Easter 1554, he was receiving communion with Bartlet Green and John Pullain, celebrated according to the Edwardian Prayer Book. This took place in the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, close to St. Peter's Cornhill where Pullain was rector, a well known Protestant stronghold in the city. These circumstances suggest that Goodman had by then been part of the underground protestant movement in London for some time.

A number of other Christ Church students were away from Christ Church at the same time as Goodman. Thomas Randolph had gone by September 20th and on October 14th he had resigned his office of Principal of Broadgates Hall to Thomas Darbisher.⁸² William Whittingham was also absent, and he was involved in getting Peter Martyr out of the

country. Apart from Martyr from the canons, Barnard and Bankes were absent. From the students, William Ducke, Thomas Spenser, Edward Bankes, James Calfede, Thomas Frog-noll, Henry Atkins, Robert Leche, Lawrence Nowell and Alexander Schmutz absented themselves.⁸³

At the end of the Hilary term there was a considerable upheaval at Christ Church. Very few of the old members of the foundation were present in the final week and by the following week when the new term began, the list of those in receipt of commons had been altered considerably. This purge of the members of the foundation does not show very much in the other Christ Church records. It is not clear how much of it was official ejections and how much the result of unofficial pressure. On the official side, the Dean and Chapter recorded on March 10th, 1554, the removal from their places in civil law and medicine, of Thomas Randolph and Thomas Francis.⁸⁴ The official changes in Christ Church had begun as early as September 14th, 1553, when Cox was replaced as Dean, by Richard Martiall.⁸⁵ Nine days later, Peter Martyr's canonry was given to Richard Bruern.⁸⁶ There was then a gap of seven months before the two other prebendaries were replaced. Thomas Bernard's prebend went to Thomas Grenaway on April 20th, 1554, and Robert Banke's to Willam Walbye on May 11th and because of Walbye's death (shortly afterwards) to Richard Smith on July 23rd.⁸⁷ The delay was caused by the fact that Martyr probably resigned, whilst the other two had to be deprived as married clergy.⁸⁸

The atmosphere for the supporters of Peter Martyr in

Christ Church was hostile. During the summer of 1553

Dr. Tresham

'took now the benefit of the times in causing those of his House (Christ Church) and several others in the university to put some public scorn upon him (Martyr)' 89

Martyr was forbidden to teach and told that neither he nor any of his goods might move a foot from Oxford without express permission from the Magistrate. In addition he was placed under house arrest and Sidall deputed to prevent him from running away.⁹⁰ This was probably as much to protect Peter Martyr as restrain him, though it kept him a prisoner in his own house for six weeks. Julius Terentianus and William Whittingham went to London to seek help. They discovered that their friends were in such great danger themselves and so reduced in numbers as to be useless. Julius and Whittingham then decided to petition the Queen and Privy Council on Martyr's behalf which, after some difficulty and delay, they were able to do. It was agreed

'that Whittingham should return to Oxford and remain with master Peter; for he was now almost entirely by himself, since every one, except only Sidall and master Haddon, had withdrawn from his society'

After a few days, Whittingham returned to London and with the unenthusiastic assistance of Sir John Mason, the Chancellor of Oxford University, managed to obtain permission for Peter Martyr to come to London. The departure from Oxford was a gloomy affair - Wood related the story that, when Peter Martyr

'heard the little bell ring to Mass (he) sighed and said that that bell would destroy all the doctrine in that College which he before had, through his and Jewell's labours planted therein'

Peter Martyr went to stay in London with Archbishop Cranmer, who had hoped, with Martyr's aid, to have defended his protestant views in a disputation with the Catholics. But Cranmer was placed on trial for treason and Martyr given a safe conduct to pass into Germany.⁹²

According to Terentianus the situation in Oxford was very serious for the Christ Church circle who had gathered around Martyr. He told John ab Ulmis:

'As many as are really godly students at Oxford, have all bidden farewell to that place, and some have already been ejected from our college.'

This last remark supports the hypothesis that the absentees from the Battels Book of 1553 had been forced out of Christ Church. Probably Martiall's promotion had made life extremely uncomfortable for them.

Julius remarked on the prospects after Martiall's appointment:

'What must we not expect when such men are promoted?'

He had been further depressed by the number of defections which split the old Christ Church group:

'Curtop has wonderfully fallen away; and so has Harding, with numberless others. But the bare mention of this is too painful.' 93

As well as the purge in Christ Church there were inducements to accept the mass back again. According to Strype

'Dr. Tresham, a canon of Christ's Church, called all the students of that college together, and in an oration, persuaded them to receive the mass. He had got a great many fine copes of the Queen for that college, intended at first for the use of Windsor. He also got them our Lady bell of Bampton; or at least so he promised them to do. And then he said, they would have the sweetest ring of bells in the realm.' 94

Neither the promises nor the punishments were entirely successful, for the students of Christ Church continued to give trouble. On September 1st, 1554, Bishop Gardiner wrote a sharp letter to them:

'I commende me to you and beyng credeblic enformed of your willfull disobedience towards your Deane and Sub-deane there in refusing to observe their lawfull and honeste injunctiōns I mervail not a lytle therof that you beyng men of knowledge and learninge will practyse such factious stubbernes to the evill example of others and to the emparying of gode and decēte ordre in that whole universitie. Wherefore as your Visitor in that I am Chauncellor of Englande I requyre and charge you and everye of you duly and forthwith to receyve and obey suche lawfull and honest iniunctiōns as your Deane and in his absence, the Sub-deane shall requyre you to observe. Assuring you that if further complaynte of your mysdemours hereafter be made and proved the same shall be so punyshed that all others, namely the heads of such confederacies shall have cause continually to abstayne from lyke presumption and disobedience.'

95

Further complaint obviously was made for in 1556 a further reminder had to be sent.⁹⁶

It would be interesting to know whether Goodman deliberately chose to move to a more congenial atmosphere than he had found at Brasenose or whether, having moved to Christ Church, he proceeded to adopt the new attitudes. Everything about Christ Church stood in sharp contrast to Brasenose. The religious and the educational outlooks of the colleges were completely different, and they were at opposite ends of the scale as regards size, wealth, prestige and importance.

The new foundation of Christ Church was intended to be the vehicle for increased royal control over the whole university. Like Trinity College, Cambridge, the king

provided a sufficiently generous endowment for the college to dominate the university in size and wealth.⁹⁷ Christ Church had been given an income of over two thousand pounds a year, an endowment which included considerable property within Oxford including a large site and extensive buildings.⁹⁸ Sheer weight of numbers was also important. In the Census of 1552 Christ Church was placed first on the list of colleges with 131 names after it.⁹⁹ From the point of view of numbers, the 41 listed under Broadgates Hall should be included in the Christ Church total because for all their academic pursuits, its members were part of Christ Church.¹⁰⁰

Christ Church gained tremendous additional prestige from its status as a cathedral as well as a college. The special constitution ensured that the Dean and Chapter received an enhanced status but were not burdened by diocesan administration. The cathedral and college could not be separated as institutions, nor played off one against the other. It is probable that this unique combination was deliberately designed to give Christ Church a special position within the university. It also enabled the Crown to make direct appointments and keep tight control over the Dean and Chapter. By opening a new type of link, the crown had succeeded in increasing the moral authority of its special college while at the same time not infringing upon any of the university's carefully guarded rights.

Another move in the game of prestige was the placing of the three regius professorships in Divinity, Hebrew and Greek at Christ Church. Thomas Cromwell had hoped that they could be used

as a means of greater royal control at the universities.¹⁰¹
 Once again this singled out Christ Church and gave it a special position. It also offered the opportunity for it to give an intellectual lead to the university. The Regius Professorship at Christ Church was thought to be most suitable for Peter Martyr; it was the place from which he could be most influential.

Academic excellence was expected to be a feature of all levels of the foundation. In January 1547 at the setting up of Christ Church, a letter was sent to the university permitting the Dean and Subdean of Christ Church to cream off the best scholars. They were allowed

'to choose in each of their houses, one or two scholars for the furniture of the said church, and in lieu of them, to appoint others; and further to admit...as many scholars as there shall be places between this and Easter next!'

102

Some idea of the competition to obtain these prestigious places can be obtained in Nicholas Grimald's dedicatory letter to Richard Cox written in 1547. He explained that he was emboldened to dedicate his own play 'Archipropheta' to Cox because of the great reputation of Cox and his college, Christ Church. Also he knew

'of the courtesy with which you have received the letters of certain students, read their poems, and heard their speeches addressed to you, so that no slight incentive has been given to our young men; nor am I less conscious of the trouble you took in making trial of the attainments of all those who were to be elected to so famous a society, so that they might lend distinction to the college, rather than receive distinction from it.'

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Grimald's play and his flattery won him the hoped for place

at Christ Church.¹⁰⁴ The strong humanist emphases and the high academic standards at Christ Church allowed the college to take a lead in educational theory and practice.

As well as the attempt to give Christ Church a commanding position within the university, based upon moral authority, there were some limited efforts at more direct royal control. At times the government was willing to be seen openly favouring Christ Church. The university and other colleges were anxious to defend their liberties and privileges so that it was difficult to coerce them into following Christ Church, without provoking a serious incident. One way out of the dilemma which was adopted by the government was the combination of authorities. Richard Cox was made Dean of Christ Church and, for most of Edward's reign, was also Chancellor of the University. This ensured that the official university line would be in harmony with that of Christ Church and with government attitudes on the subject.

The government probably hoped to be able to use the moral pressure of Christ Church to introduce and encourage most of its policies within the university. If this was not successful it would have to resort to more formal methods such as the authority of the Chancellor. As a final resort, it could use the special powers of visitation to force its policies upon the university. The implementation of the religious changes of Edward's reign required all three methods. First Protector Somerset wrote letters to the other colleges to follow the example of Cox's 'commendable beginning in his house'.¹⁰⁵ When example proved insufficient, Cox's authority as Chancellor was employed and fin-

ally the Visitation of 1549 was commissioned, of which Cox was a prominent and most active member.¹⁰⁶ In all three stages Christ Church provided the base for operations. It was clear to the government that if it was to influence and try to control educated opinion as expressed in the universities, it needed a strong body of allies within the institution. Lasting influence would have to be based upon the moral and intellectual authority of its supporters rather than its limited powers of coercion. During Edward's reign, Christ Church became the channel of government influence and policy and executed its role with considerable success.

Henry VIII died so soon after the refoundation of Christ Church that it is difficult to assess the extent of his plans for influencing the university. The reign of Edward VI saw Christ Church as the spearhead of a radical movement in religion and education. Probably Cox in particular and Christ Church in general tried to force the pace too hard in these years. The opposition they provoked was a mixture of religious and educational conservatism and a straight fear of dominance by the crown and by Christ Church. During Mary's reign Christ Church was under a cloud and after Elizabeth's accession, the college either would not or could not reassert its dominant position within the university. Because of its short duration and limited success, this position of dominance has tended to be ignored.¹⁰⁷

In the slightly less controversial area of educational theory, Christ Church was to act as a model and showpiece

for the other Oxford colleges. Humanist principles dominated the thinking behind the educational side of the college. It was easier to take this line because, by the mid-century, there was already a strong tendency for the colleges to take over the teaching of the students from the university.¹⁰⁸ This was carried to its logical conclusion at Christ Church which offered a virtually complete curriculum within its walls. In addition, most of the remaining university lectures and disputations took place at Christ Church. Wood thought that the changes in the university teaching methods made by the Visitors in 1549 accelerated the process and he accused Cox of moving the declamations to Christ Church,

'purposely to draw the University thither'.¹⁰⁹ It is certainly possible that the use of Christ Church for a number of university functions, as well as teaching, was a deliberate policy intended to underline its centrality to the university.¹¹⁰

The new foundation of Christ Church in 1547 emphasised the teaching side of the college. Most obvious was the addition of the three regius professors, whose lectures were open to the whole university, but were held in Christ Church. The college also had a full staff to do the internal teaching. There were three censors, one in theology and two in the arts,¹¹¹ and readers of the domestic lectures. The number of readers varied.¹¹² The lectures they gave covered logic, rhetoric, natural and moral philosophy, mathematics and possibly theology.

The hundred students on the foundation were categor-

ised according to their seniority and ability.¹¹³ The twenty senior students or theologi helped with the teaching of the others. Goodman himself provides an example of this practice. All of the senior students were M.A's. Below them, the philosophi were divided into two years with twenty students in each year. Approximately the top half of the first year would be M.A's and the rest B.A's. In the lower year, the top half would be B.A's and the rest without a degree. By 1552, the last list for Edward VI's reign, all the lower year had taken their first degree, though seven of the first year were not yet masters. The forty discipuli were also divided into two years. None of these had taken their first degree.

Christ Church was remarkably self-contained. Apart from the first few years the members of the foundation entered as discipuli and worked their way up the system. There was very little recruitment of senior members from outside. This was made easier by the existence of Broadgates Hall. It catered for those who did not want to live under the strict domestic regime of Christ Church.¹¹⁴ The residents at Broadgates were taught in Christ Church and their tutors were Christ Church men. They were drawn from the wealthier students, who preferred to live outside the discipline of the colleges, about whom so little is known.¹¹⁵ Rich students also appeared in Christ Church as commoners, though not in large numbers in the first few years, only four names being found in the Dean's Entry Book for 1547. By 1553, there were nine 'Hye Commoners' and sixteen 'Second Commoners'.¹¹⁶

Changes in the places of the foundationers took place annually. The process was formalised in an official election which was conducted by the Dean, or in his absence, the Sub-dean, with all the canons present in the Chapter House. The results were entered into the Chapter Register by Thomas Randolph, a public notary, in the form of a public instrument.¹¹⁷ The name, degree, diocese of origin and age of all those elected were listed. They bound themselves to obey the statutes of the college and in 1552 promised, in addition, to extinguish the power of the Pope. The election was probably the formal end of a system of internal examination, this section of which was supervised by the two canons who presented the names of those elected. Not all those in any one year would automatically be elected into the next. Apart from the first election on April 11th and 12th, 1550, during Edward's reign, the elections took place at the beginning of October. At the beginning of Mary's reign, the date was changed to September 20th, the first day of the new academic session. This might have been a deliberate attempt to remove those unfavourable to the new regime. The other two recorded elections in Mary's reign were moved to Christmas Eve.

Similar to the election was the examination of the *discipuli* who had been on the foundation for two years. They were examined individually '*quantum profecerint tam litteris quam moribus*', by two censors, and the results presented to the Dean or Sub-dean. Only the list for October 5th, 1550 survives an examination which was conducted by Goodman and Cratford.¹¹⁸ Twelve scholars were

named and after each name, the censor's opinion was recorded. The examiners were tough on their candidates - some like John Hedley they deemed 'nec moribus nec litteris profecit'. As their names did not reappear in the Chapter Register, those who failed this examination were presumably thrown out of college. Out of the dozen, Goodman and Cratford only commended Westphaling; five others passed and one more seems to have just scraped through.

The examination was in some respects a test of the ability and conscientiousness of the personal tutors.¹¹⁹ Every discipulus was obliged to be under a tutor from the time he entered the college.¹²⁰ The tutors were drawn from among the canons, theologians and the top year of the philosophers. It was their function

'ut recte instituantur et bonis moribus
educantur ad Dei gloriam et ad huius Ecc-
lesiae commodum'.

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This included the task of supervising the financial affairs of the tutees and often a tutor's name was signed in the Disbursement Book in receipt or payment for the tutee.¹²²

The formal records of teaching in Christ Church can be supplemented by descriptions given by various members of the foundation. Nicholas Grimald was full of praise for the intellectual stature of the college. Cox was hailed

'as the great man who recently founded among us and brought to its present excellent form the college dedicated to Christ, which seems indeed to be comparable to the Lyceum, the Stoa, the Academy and all the libraries of the philosophers, not only in the splendour of the building, but also in its excellent faculty of liberal arts'.¹²³

According to Bale, Grimald himself made a distinguished contribution to the teaching of rhetoric at Christ Church.

Grimald

'gained for humself great praise for his skilful writing(124), and for his knowledge of both tongues; and what he had, he so increased as public lecturer in rhetoric at Oxford, and as skilled interpreter of the preparatory excercises and practice of this art that he was very highly distinguished there also'.

Bale praised Grimald for not resting content with teaching rhetoric. Instead he applied his mind to Christian truth

'as much in writing as in speaking, he fervently showed and taught that our salvation is alone in Jesus the Saviour, and that he himself was intent not on his own, but on the divine glory'.

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The opposite impression was given, from an equally biased viewpoint, by William Forrest. In his poem 'The History of Grisild the Second' written in 1554, he abused Cox for bringing heresy to the 'Churche of Frydswis', as he called Christ Church. Forrest wanted the scholarship as well as the discipline of the students improved. He concluded

'So I wische not Frydiswide to florische
In sorte as that Cox example theare lefte.
But true ordre of Scholars taccomplische
Of whiche (wyckedlye) he sawe them berefte
Suchewise indued and withe grace fullye fefte
As, nowe, I theare noate, by signes I doo see;
I wische their furtheraunce the moste that maye bee'.126

Balancing these two extreme views and with less emphasis upon Cox's part, were the factual descriptions of the educational life at Christ Church. These are found in the letters written by the Swiss students who were educated at Christ Church during Edward's reign. The letters provide a wealth of interesting detail which adds flesh to the bare bones of the institutional records. The Swiss were at different stages in their education and so give a good cross section of the courses at Christ Church. John ab

Ulmis was the most advanced, and had the greatest flexibility in his timetable. He wrote to Bullinger on May 28th, 1550

'Our schools here are in a most flourishing state, and with most useful lectures and disputations: I have dedicated my time in the morning to Galen and Aristotle, but so as to refer all that I learn to theology alone'. 127

As he had previously explained, he often spent the rest of his time with Peter Martyr or Cox, reading the early church fathers or copying out lectures and disputations.¹²⁸ His studies led him to take the bachelor's and master's degrees in arts in 1549 and 1552 respectively.¹²⁹

A different account was given by Christopher Froschover in his letter to Gualter of 21st February, 1551. He was at a less advanced stage than John ab Ulmis and his curriculum was more organized. He explained that he was concentrating all his labour and diligence upon the study of Greek and Latin. To increase his eloquence, he frequently employed

'that best of all guides...namely, the exercise of my pen'.

In order that his knowledge and fear of God should improve as much as his linguistic skill, he attended Peter Martyr's divinity lectures which were technically outside his arts curriculum.¹³⁰

The fullest description of the teaching at Christ Church was given by John's brother, Conrad ab Ulmis. He told John Wolfius on March 1st, 1552, that his studies had changed within the last month. He then set out a detailed timetable of his new regime.

'I devote the hour from six to seven in the morning to Aristotle's politics, from which

I seem to derive a twofold advantage, both a knowledge of Greek and an acquaintance with moral philosophy. The seventh hour I employ upon the first book of the Digests or Pandects of the Roman law, and the eighth in the reconsideration of this lecture. At nine I attend the lecture of that most eminent and learned divine, master doctor Peter Martyr. The tenth hour I devote to the rules of Dialectics of Philip Melancthon De locis argumentorum. Immediately after dinner I read Cicero's Offices, a truly golden book...From one to three I exercise my pen, chiefly in writing letters, wherein, as far as possible, I imitate Cicero,.. At three I learn the institutes of civil law which I so read aloud as to commit them to memory. At four are read privately, in a certain hall in which we live, the rules of law, which I hear, and learn ~~them~~ by rote as I do the institutes. After supper the time is spent in various discourse; for either sitting in our chamber, or walking up and down some part of college, we exercise ourselves in dialectical questions'. 131

Conrad ab Ulmis thought that Gualter would be pleased when he read this account of his studies. Both Conrad and Christopher Froschover were anxious to attend Peter Martyr's lecture every morning as well as their own set lectures. The hour from nine to ten was deliberately kept free from all other academic commitments in order to allow students at all levels to attend this lecture.

Further light was thrown on studies in Christ Church and the rest of the university, when Gualter wrote to enquire about the possibility of his kinsman Cellarius reading medicine at Oxford. Among the wealth of advice in the replies Gualter received from his friends in England, was a letter from John ab Ulmis. He wrote

'In the morning then, immediately after morning prayer, namely, from six to seven o'clock, are read the eight books of Aristotle on Physics; from seven to eight, the common-places of Galen upon diseased parts; from eight to nine the books which he (Aristotle) wrote upon morals, and his Republic or treatise upon ^{civil} government...from ten to eleven Galen's treatise upon natural qualities is

lectured upon. These objects occupy us till dinner-time; but at twelve o'clock some questions in moral and natural philosophy are proposed for our discussion'. 132

In another letter John ab Ulmis had given his opinion about the quality of the medical teaching, most of which was done by Thomas Francis. He told Gualter that

'the professors of medicine lecture very learnedly, accurately, and intelligently; they are also very courteous, and take very great pleasure in the progress of their pupils'. 133

It seems that after receiving such favourable reports, Cellarius did come to Oxford and possibly also to Christ Church. 134

John ab Ulmis was again the source of information concerning the public disputations, many of which took place in Christ Church. He explained that the different subjects occupied different days of the week. On Mondays and Wednesdays it was the turn of the M.A's, on Thursday the divinity students and the lawyers and medical students held their separate disputations; on Fridays and Saturdays the B.A's held their acts and declamations. He gave the names of the fixed moderators who presided at the disputations; Peter Martyr for theology, Thomas Francis for medicine and Hugh Weston for Civil law. 135

The theological disputations were lively affairs with the main protestant doctrines as the debating point. They were the arena in which the Oxford Catholics attacked Martyr. 136 He was moderator for both the university and college disputations. The former were held every alternate week by special order from the king, the latter were held every week. Everyone was admitted to both sorts of disputation. This involved

Martyr in a continual struggle with his obstinate adversaries which consumed much of his time and energy.¹³⁷ The arguments used against Martyr came from the schoolmen, the 'jangling sophists' had

'their wonderful intentions and execrable restrictions to say nothing of their eccities and quiddities, which are all destitute of common sense and quite abhorrent to the nature of things.'

By contrast Martyr's arguments were described as simple and clear. He had the advantage in that the humanist belief in the superiority of sources had altered the terms of reference at the disputations, so that his opponents

'can no longer lean upon Duns Scotus, or any other of the schoolmen; for they are all of them driven away to a man by the force and authority of an oath. But the most ancient fathers occupy their place, and especially the holy scriptures, to which, as to a touchstone, every argument is refered'.¹³⁸

These letters from the Swiss students give a picture of a highly organized system of instruction at Christ Church. They confirm that the regulations contained in the statutes imposed on Christ Church by the Visitors in 1549 were being fulfilled. The statutes were probably more a ratification of the existing system than a complete set of innovations.¹³⁹

One more relaxed method of teaching at Christ Church was the production of a large number of plays, usually in Greek or Latin. These were staged at considerable expense. The high level of cost caused the number to be reduced, for on December 12th, 1555, the Dean and Chapter decreed that

'there shall be no more allowed yearly towards the charges of the pastime in Christmas and the playes of the costs of the Church but for two comedies 20s. a peece and for two tragedies 40s. a peece. Of the whichsoever playes ther shall be a comedy in Latin and a comedy in Greek and a Tragedie in Latin and a Tragedy in Greek.'¹⁴⁰

In addition there would be plays in the vernacular which would not necessarily feature in the Christ Church records. Nicholas Grimald was sure that plays ought to be designed and performed

'not only to delight the learned, but also to profit those of cruder intelligence'.

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He defended the didactic value of his dramatisation of the story of John the Baptist in his dedicatory epistle to Cox.¹⁴² It seems unlikely that having achieved his purpose and become a member of Christ Church, that his play 'Archipropheta' would not be performed there.

The other major area of influence both upon the university and Goodman himself, was the religious life of Christ Church. It was conditioned by the fact that Christ Church was a cathedral as well as a college. On the foundation were eight chaplains, eight lay clerks, eight choir-boys and two sacristans.¹⁴³ They were responsible for the cathedral services. The canons and most of the senior students were in orders and were expected to preach and administer the sacraments regularly. The double character of the foundation encouraged Christ Church to emphasise the importance of its own religious practices. It ensured that what happened in the cathedral was more than the idiosyncratic preferences of a college chapel; it was a declaration of public policy which could provide the lead for religious practice within other Oxford colleges. This position was clearly understood by the President and fellows of Magdalen College. Protector Somerset had written to them urging them to follow the good example of Christ Church.¹⁴⁴ In their reply, they said that

they were prepared to conform in so far as they were able, according to their statutes. Whether the other colleges received similar instructions is not known, but Cox in his capacity as Chancellor and later Visitor, probably attempted to enforce the standard he had set in Christ Church upon the other colleges.

Worship at Christ Church began with prayers between five and six in the morning. Attendance was compulsory and enforced with fines.¹⁴⁵ According to the statutes it was a non-liturgical service, consisting of the reading of three psalms by alternate verses. At the end of each psalm, the appropriate psalter collect was read.¹⁴⁶ Psalter collects were a most unusual feature, especially at this early date.¹⁴⁷ Peter Martyr could have been the source for this innovation, as he was known to have used them later.¹⁴⁸ It could have come through Cranmer's interest and use of the Mozarabic Missal which contained psalter collects.¹⁴⁹ Wherever the idea originated, it showed that Christ Church was in the van of liturgical fashion, and was prepared to innovate and provide a place for experimentation. The great interest in liturgical matters which surrounded the making of the two prayer-books was found at Christ Church. With Cox and Peter Martyr intimately involved, the college was probably very well informed, especially of the developments concerning the second prayer-book.¹⁵⁰

On Mondays and Wednesdays the Litany was said in addition to normal prayers. On Sundays and feast days all the members of the foundation were required to attend morning and evening prayer and communion.¹⁵¹ It was administered according to the prayer-book and before receiving it, all were to be

catechised.¹⁵² It is not clear what the particular function was of the reader of the bible, who received a special salary.¹⁵³

There was provision for four special sermons a year, preached in English for the edification of the uneducated. If one of the canons was chosen to preach he received additional payment for it.¹⁵⁴ One of these sermons could have been the occasion which Jewel later recalled in his controversy with Harding. Harding had been preaching and had compared his voice to the bell of Fridiswide

'that you might, as you said then,
"ring out in the dull ears of these
papists". These were your words:
ye may not forget them'.

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Peter Martyr frequently preached in the cathedral, especially after he was made a canon. It was probably the setting for his sermon just after King Edward's death.¹⁵⁶ He also preached privately in Italian in his own home.¹⁵⁷ Christ Church had the benefit of hearing distinguished visitors. Both Hooper and Coverdale preached when they visited Martyr at Easter 1551.¹⁵⁸ Bucer, who was there the previous year, had preached twice and

'read a lecture in Christ Church upon
that text Sacrifica eos O Pater in veritate etc.'.

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Further details about the Christ Church services can be gleaned from a variety of college records. The accounts for 1548 show that ten psalters and two service-books were bought and the Paraphrases were chained. Sums were expended upon the elements for communion, the 'singing breade' and 'singing Wyne' as they were called. Eight surplices were made for the choirboys.¹⁶⁰ Surplices were regarded as

normal dress, but they were not compulsory.¹⁶¹ Martyr recalled that he never wore a surplice in Christ Church, even though he was a canon.¹⁶² It is doubtful if any more elaborate liturgical garments were ever worn at Christ Church in Edward's reign for Tresham went to considerable trouble to procure copes in 1553.¹⁶³

In the list 'What everie scholler ought to have before he enter into Chryste Church' the fourth item was 'a psalter of Leo Judas translation'. This was probably the version of the psalter recorded in Edward Beaumont's inventory.¹⁶⁴ Every scholar was also expected to know by heart, the catechism set forth in the king's book and the 'grace accustomed to be sede in the hall'. By the late sixteenth century, it was a long established custom for grace to be sung by the chaplains and singing men.¹⁶⁵

The furniture of the church was probably very plain. There would have been a major purge of images and anything which it was felt savoured of superstition or idolatry.¹⁶⁶ Confirmation of the stark simplicity of the cathedral in Edward's reign is found in the note for December 23rd, 1553. It authorised payment for two standard candlesticks, two altar candlesticks, a cross with the foot and two plate pieces for the staff and one holy-waterstoup.¹⁶⁷ In his poem, William Forrest accused Cox of robbing the cathedral

'Of Chalyces, Crosses, Candylestickes withe
all/Of sylver and gylte both preacious and gaye,
With Coapis of tyssue and many a riche Pall'.¹⁶⁸

Some idea of the alterations in the religious life of Christ Church can be gathered from a comparison with those at Magdalen. The President and Fellows defended themselves against the charge of not 'reforming' sufficiently. They

implied that they had not met the standard set in Somerset's letters, that is the practice of Christ Church. Oglethorpe in his defence described what he had done:

'And I the President did not onely receyve and admit thorder of the communion with the service ther unto apperteyning in the vulgare tonge as it is used in the kinges majesties chaple according to the purporte of your graces lettres but also willingly ministred it my selfe and caused it to be used in place of the high masse continually sith that tyme...But I with such as be subscribed have redressed diverse thinges and the rather at the contemplation of your honourable letters.'

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The 'diverse things' were listed in more detail in another letter. First the Mass had gone, as had been mentioned before, secondly 'all manner of ceremonies were layd downe' and in particular, baptism, as there was no use for it in the college.¹⁷⁰ From the context in which these letters were written, as a defence for not doing more, they established at least the minimum that was done at Christ Church.

The influence of the religious life and practices of Christ Church was considerable. It affected the rest of the Oxford Colleges by setting the standard against which their own practices were measured. It was one of the ingredients which enabled Christ Church to achieve a unique position within the university in the reign of Edward. Christ Church was the institutional background for the formative years of Goodman's life and had a profound effect upon him and his thinking. One major way in which Christ Church influenced him was that it helped to create, and provided the foundation for, the group of protestants who gathered at the college around Peter Martyr Vermigli.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. This date was deduced from the entry in the Chapter Register at Christ Church (see below n.47) where Goodman's age was given as 25 when he entered the college in 1547. In my opinion it is preferable to 1519 as suggested by Antony a Wood, Athenae Oxoniensis, ed. P.Bliss (1813-20), I 721; or June 1517-June 1518 put forward by S.J.Knox "The Early Life of Christopher Goodman" (Unpub. M.A.Thesis Manchester 1951) 6-7. Knox based his date upon the statement made by William Aldersey, Goodman's nephew, that when Goodman died on June 4th, 1603, 'he was of the age of 85 yeares past at the daye of his death". B.L. Add. MS. 39,925 f25. It seems more likely that a mistake about age would be made at the end of Goodman's life than in his prime.

2. William Goodman's father, Richard, was a vintⁿer, according to the family pedigree in B.L.Harl. MS 2038 f103. William himself was one of the merchants who were accused of deliberately keeping prices high in Chester in March 1533. Letters and papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII ed. J.S. Brewer, J.Gairdner, R.H.Brodie (1862-1910), VI 92 No. 202. In his will William was able to leave a considerable amount of property, see Lancashire and Cheshire Wills III ed. G.J. Piccope Chetham Society LIV (1861), 63 - 5. When the Carmelite Friars of Chester were dissolved William Goodman had been anxious to retain 'by force and strong hand' the property which he had rented from them. Calendar of Patent Rolls ed. R.H.Brodie (1924-9), 1553, 111, and Knox 4 and 34.

3. B.L.Harl MS 2038 f103; list of mayors in Add. MS 39,925 f18-20v. William Goodman was named on the commission to collect the subsidy of 1553 Cal. Pat. Rolls. 1553, 361.

4. Margaret could have been William's second wife. One of the family pedigrees gives Alice, daughter of Rafe Grosvenor of Chester, as his first wife, Harl MS 2038 f103 but this is contradicted by another pedigree Harl MS 1535 f151. William in his will referred to his wife as Margaret and she was almost certainly Christopher's mother.

5. William Goodman was given a licence to take salmon in the River Bawne in 1526 L & P IVi 902 No. 2002(12). James Goodman was sheriff of the county of Dublin, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland ed.H.C.Hamilton & R.P.Mahaffy(1860-1912) I 62.

6. "For being opposite to the north-east part of Ireland it openeth a way for the passage of ships and mariners to spread their sails passing not often only but continually to and fro, as also for the commodities of sundry sorts of merchandise" G.Omerod History of the county Palatine and City of Chester (1819) I 181 also Knox 4.

7. Goodman went to Ireland as Sir Henry Sidney's chaplain in 1566. In the following year Sidney, the Lord Deputy, wrote to Cecil recommending Goodman for the Archbishopric of Dublin or, failing that, the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In his letter of March 4th, 1567, he said of Goodman "He hath byn in my house almost a year, yf ever man on earth sins the apostyls dayes deseerved to be held a saynt he ys one Sir. The hole church of thys realm shalbe bound to pray for you yf you prefar (him) to that place and I shall thynk yt a great grace doon to my self so to place hym" P.R.O. SP 63/20 f90. Archbishop Loftus of Armagh was equally complimentary in his letter to Cecil on January 22nd, 1566, SP 63/20 f44-5. Goodman received neither benefice and returned to England sometime before 1570.

8. On February 26th, 1580 Goodman had been put on the committee which was to deal on behalf of the ruined merchants' families of Chester with their creditors, especially those in London, P.R.O. PC 2/13/318-9.

Between 1583-5 Goodman was used with the Mayor of Chester to organise the collection of money from the national appeal for the victims of the great fire of Nantwich. His relative Mr. Thomas Aldersey, a London merchant, was appointed one of the receivers of the money in London, SP 12/184 f53-62.

The Privy Council also employed Goodman as chairman arbitrating in the dispute between the Merchant Retaylors and Merchant Adventurers of Chester. See the letter written by Goodman to Walsingham on May 2nd, 1582, SP 12/153 f53-4.

9. Goodman had been hounded by the Ecclesiastical Commission throughout 1571-2. For his Protestation and Retraction made on April 26th and October 22nd, 1571 respectively see below ^{357-8n.62.} Goodman was also pressed to subscribe to the 1571 Articles of Religion. For the "Agreement" offered by him, along with Percival Wiburn, Edward Dering, and John Field see Dr. Williams Library, Morrice MS. B II f93 and printed in The seconde parte of a register ed. A. Peel Cambridge (1915) I.82 For Goodman's troubles in 1572 see his letter to the Earl of Leicester on the 25th July of that year, B.L. Add.MS. 32,091 f246-7.

However, once back in Chester Goodman was protected; he was not deprived of his benefices in the north-west and took an active part in political and religious affairs there. So much so, that John Aylmer, Bishop of London, wrote to Sir Christopher Hatton on 29th April, 1578 and said: "There is in that county one Goodman,, who in this vacation (the see of Chester had been vacant from December 1577) I doubt will build one way more than the Bishop shall a good while be able to pull down in that kind of curiosity", Add.MS. 15,891 f54v.

In 1580, though after the death of William Goodman who had been Mayor of Chester in that year (SP 63/75 f117), Christopher Goodman was presented with the freedom of the city of Chester. Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester ed. J.H.E. Bennett, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 51 (1906) 55 and, W.S. Bailey "Christopher Goodman" Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historical Society N.S. I (1887) 151.

The Chester corporation protected their preacher and in 1581 made Mrs Stanley, even though she was "kin unto our good lord therle of Derby", apologise for her "violence and misbehaviour" against Goodman. Historical Manuscripts Commission 8th Report 396b.

On a larger scale Goodman was behind the setting up of "exercises" in the diocese of Chester in 1584-5, which had the approval of the Bishop and the Privy Council. See Cambridge University Library MS. Mm 1 39 350-420; Add.MS. 9 No. 255. and Gonville and Caius College Library MS. 197 175-88.

10. Cal. Pat.Rolls. 1553, 397 & 416 and see above n.2.

11. Will 64. The absence of provision is not necessarily decisive because Christopher's elder brothers were not included in the will as they presumably had already taken over the family business.

12. William Goodman was witness to the will of the last Abbot of St. Werburgh. Knox 9 & n.44. After the dissolution the monastery school became the King's School and Bailey said that Goodman was 'one of the four university students appointed per fundationem in 1541 as from King's School". (140) The date is certainly wrong but the tradition is probably sound.

13. Brasenose College Register 1509-1909 ed. H.C.B.Herberden Oxford Historical Society, Oxford (1909) I 7. It was possible though unlikely, that the William Goodman who received his B.A. on 14th February, 1514, was Christopher's father. A.B.Emden A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford 1501-40 Oxford(1974) 242.

14. Emden 241.

15. The only records dealing with internal affairs which have survived at Brasenose are the Dispensations Book 1539-45 B2 b6 and the Vice-Principal's Register A beginning 26th February 1540. Goodman's name was only likely to have been found in the Register and as it was not, he cannot have been in serious trouble.

16. The college statutes gave preference to scholars from Lancashire and Cheshire see I.S.Leadham "The Early Years of the College" Brasenose Quartercentenary Monographs Oxford Historical Society, 53 Oxford (1909) IIIi 16. Also the Ogle scholarships founded in 1543 specified Prescott Lancashire as the place of origin for those holding the scholarship. B.N.C. Archives Vol. 35 Scholarships Ogle. For the benefaction see Copies of compositions of benefactions Bl cl 1544 Humphrey Ogle Bl d26.

17. For a description of the foundation of the college see Leadham 3-212.

18. Cited in R.W.Jeffrey B.N.C. Monographs II 5.

19. On 20th July, 1520, some of the students' religious duties were specified when the college covenanted "that the scholars shall dayly pray at grace and soon after dyner and supper with De profundis inclina et fidelem for the sowles of the honourable prelate and father in God Wylliam Smyth Bysshope of Lyncoln, hys fader hys moder and all their progenye and all souls that God and the said Richard would have prayed for. They shall say daily after dinner five pater nosters in the worship of the five principal wounds of our Lord and his most bytter passyon and five Ave Marias in the worship of the five joys of our Lady and a Credo in the worship of the twelve apostles. After dinner at their leisure a De profundis for the souls aforesaid and the souls of King Edward the fourth, Queen Elizabeth hys wyff, Elizabeth dutches of Suffock, Thomas Marques Dorsett, Anthony Earl Rivers, Nicholas Talbot and all those sowles (as before). In front is fastened a summary of the additions to the Masses enjoined by Richard Sutton, for the seven days of the week, as extracted from the Agreement. Service to begin between 4 and 5 a.m. every day". B.N.C. Archives Vol. 35 Religious Duties I. Also see Leadham 33 - 4.

20. Leadham 3 - 11. Brasenose owned a copy of the "Orcharde of Syon" printed by Wynkyn de Worde for Sir Richard Sutton see F.Madan on the contents of the library in Notes & Queries 6th ser. (1880) 2 321-2.

21. L & P XIII(i) 12 No. 36. Typing was reported to have an advowson in the Isle of Wight from the Prior of Shene. Thomas Parry to Wriothsesley 6th Jan. 1538.

22. For the dispute on the character of the foundation, see C.E. Mallet A History of the University of Oxford, (1924) II 2-3.

23. Leadham 171. Also John Tregonwell to Cromwell on 12th September 1535, "Leyton will bring you the professions of Oxford, one from the university and one from every college under seals, the halls of art and of law and every scholar in them have made the same profession without any objection, likewise the oath of succession". L & P IX 118 No. 351.
24. Oxford University Archives Reg. Canc. EEE f327v and Typescript Extracts 159-60.
25. Typescript 453.
26. Entered Brasenose in May 1534.
27. L & P XII(i) 18 No. 30.
28. Matthew Smith's obit dated on February 6th, 1548. Emden 524. Also the Derby, Clifton and Ogle Scholarships, B.N.C. Archives Vol. 35 Scholarships Darby I; Fellowship I; Scholarship Ogle.
29. Mallet 2.
30. The whole incident was related by Grimald in the dedicatory epistle of Christus Redivivus in L.R. Merrill The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald Yale Studies in English 69 (1925) 99-101.
31. In the Valor of 1547 the college insisted that it was running on a deficit. Leadham 161. But it was not the poorest college according to the returns of February 1546 L & P XXI(i) 141 No. 299(2).
32. "Oxford College Libraries in 1556 - guide to an exhibition held in 1956" Bodleian Library (1956), 7. Bishop Smith's bequest had started the library which by 1556 contained 102 volumes (15). Also see list of books bequeathed by John Crosse in 1533 (Emden 153) and Madan (n20 above). As a contrast to the books at Brasenose see the list from the Merton College Register for 24th March, 1539, Oxford College Libraries 53. And N.R.Ker 'Oxford Libraries in the Sixteenth Century' Bodleian Library Record 6(1959)459-515.

33. Leadham 23-4.

34. On 2nd November 1538, a case was brought before the Chancellor's Court in which Bartholomew Phesymons claimed 'the return of 50s deposited with mag. Robert Moore of Brasenose College who says that he expended the money on Phesimon's behalf. On the following Wednesday Phesimons abates his claim to 6s. 8d. More's proxy James Vagham calls mag. James More mag. William Ashefeld and William Harden manciple of Brasenose College to prove that at that college a tutor is entitled to receive 20d a term from each of his pupils. Mag. Starkey and mag. David Ireland are mentioned (the latter on the reputed testimony of the principal mag. Smith) as tutors who have received this payment." O.U.A. Reg. Canc EEE f232v-233r, Typescript 447. Also at Brasenose Alexander Nowell was tutor to William Chogan who died and his will was proved in the Chancellor's Court Reg. Canc. EEE f385 and Emden 116.

35. "Supplicat etc. Guilhelmus Lyngley, (clerk's mistake for Lyngham) alter procuratorum ut liceat ei Christopherum Goodman in locum eius et vicem usque ad festum Michaelis proxime sequens subrogare; causa est ut id per alterum faciat quod ipse morbo correptus se non possit". O.U.A. Reg. Cong. I f125r Register of the University of Oxford ed. C.W.Boase O.H.S. (1885) I 217.

36. Emden 212 and J.F.Mozley John Foxe and his book (1940) 16.

37. For the Nowells see Emden 419-22.

38. They were Thomas Bruerne; Richard Caldwell; Roger Goulbourne; Robert Holmes; Laurence Nowell; Peter Rogers; Thomas Vernam; and William Whittingham. The refoundation of Christ Church provided a marvellous opportunity for scholars to move to more remunerative positions.

39. He was also from Chester see Life of William Whittingham ed. M.Green Camden Miscellany VI Camden Society (1871) 1-48.

40. Emden 241, B.N.C. Register n13 above.

41. Christ Church Muniments iii b99 for title see below 11. On folios 17r-19v (my pagination) is a list of "Exhibitions paid att mychaelmas 37 HVIII: thannunciation 37 HVIII: mychaelmas 38 HVIII". Scholars names are grouped under the following dioceses: Canterbury; Westminster, Rochester, Oseney, Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Ely, Durham and Peterborough. The total number of scholars receiving the exhibition was 47; 49; 44. The sums varied both within each diocesan group and between groups ranging from 50s - £5. Where it can be checked the native diocese of the exhibitor normally corresponded to the diocese under which his name was listed: Goodman himself being an obvious exception. The money could have been coming from the Dean and Chapter of each diocese. Edward Cratford under Worcester in the list was "one of the scholars in receipt of an exhibition at Oxford from the dean and chapter of Worcester 1543-4" Emden 148. The dates do not tally so this might refer to a completely separate exhibition.

42. Richard Caldwell under Westminster; Roger Goulbourne and Peter Rogers under Worcester; Robert Holmes under Oseney and possibly Thomas Vernam under Westminster.

43. L & P V 1531-2 519-20 Nos 1180-1 18th July 1532. The foundation comprised a dean, twelve secular canons, one reader in divinity, eight priests, eight clerks, eight choristers and twelve honest paupers. For the fate of Cardinal College see H.L.Thompson Christ Church(1900) 3-10.

44. L & P XVII 1542 485 No 881(3) On 1st Sept. 1542, the bishopric of Oxford was erected. A dean and six prebendaries were appointed to form the corporation of dean and chapter.

45. L & P XX(i) 1545 388 Nos. 775 and 6. Also on 4th July 1545, Vine Hall alias Peckwater's Inn was surrendered to the crown by Winchester College L & P XX(i) 1545 542 No.1103; and on 27th November 1545, Canterbury College was surrendered to the crown by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury L & P XX(ii) 429 No. 879. Both of these buildings were incorporated into the new foundation of Christ Church.

46. L & P XXI(ii) 1546-7 230 Grant 476(9) for the foundation and 333-8 Grant 648 (25) for the grant of lands on 11th December, also 226 No. 475 (65). During Dec. 1546 Richard Cox the Dean of Christ Church, was paid £2,400 to start the college 328 No. 647 (26).

47. Christ Church, Chapter Register 1547-1619 (Chapter Book No. 37) flr. Although the Register was not written up until 12th March 1549, it recorded those who entered on 14th Jan. 1547. The first Battels Book began its accounts on that day, Xt.Ch. Mnts X(1) cl. Also the Matricula Aedis Christi 1546-1635 (also called the Dean's Entry Book IV No. 15) began its entries under 14th Jan. 1547.

48. There is another document which has a bearing upon the case. It is described in so far as it relates to the members of the foundation by Thompson in his discussion on the refoundation in Appendix B 272-80. The document itself is from the records of the Court of Augmentations P.R.O. E318 17/827. The roll contains the particulars for the lands granted by the crown to Christ Church and on the final membrane (62) a memorial which sets out the various covenants which the Dean and Chapter should pay from the revenue. The arrangements which follow are completely different from what actually happened in Jan. 1547. The Memo arrangements are listed by Thompson 274. There he gives the date of 1st October 1546 to the document from a copy at Christ Church which I was unable to locate. He suggested that the Memo was the sketch for a projected constitution which was replaced by the arrangements of Jan. 1547 (275). As he points out Wood mistook the Memo for a description of the refoundation and others have followed Wood and so described the foundation at Christ Church incorrectly (274). What Thompson did not realise, because he does not seem to have used the treasurer's account for 1545-6, was that the Memo was a description of the institution which was functioning during the period of that account. The Memo and the list of those who received wages between Midsummer 1545 and Michaelmas 1546 roughly correspond. Wages were paid to the dean, four canons, a schoolmaster, an usher, twenty grammarians, eight petty canons, ten clerks, a gospeler, an epistoler, twelve choristers and servants. By 1546

48. contd. there were 8 canons and 3 readers, one in divinity, greek and hebrew fl2r-15v (my pag.) in addition there were the scholars receiving exhibitions. Thompson's list from the Memo contains the dean and 8 canons, 8 petty canons, a gospeler, an (e)pistoler, 8 clerks, a master chorister, an organist, 8 choristers, 2 sextons (among the servants in the account) 3 readers one in divinity, greek and hebrew, 60 scholars, a schoolmaster, an usher, 40 children and 24 poor men (there was evidence of payment of almsmen in the account but no list of names). As can be seen the lists are close enough to be describing the same institution. This institution which clearly existed for at least the eighteen months covered by the account, could have been an experiment at amalgamating the two institutions of St. Fridiswide's and Oseney. Possibly in the process of providing it with statues and grants of land the foundation of 1547 was devised. Thompson's suggestion that the Memo was a projected constitution could be true with the important difference that it was a working model and not merely a paper plan. I am grateful to Dr. Pat Mussett for help in unravelling the re-foundation of Christ Church.

49. See above n. 41.

50. Xt. Ch.Mnts.iii cl, 18-25 36 HVIII-38 HVIII; 26-37 38 HVIII-1EVI; 38-50 38 HVIII-2EVI. These were the Treasurer's accounts when they had been approved and engrossed upon a parchment roll (When they were found in 1951 they were flattened and bound, Catalogue of Treasury Books (Christ Church) 35). The accounts read continuously from 36HVIII-2 EVI. As the ones on 18-25 covering 36-38 HVIII were written on the back of an indenture from Winchester College written in 1 EVI it would appear as if they were all written up together after 2 EVI.

51. The volume quoted above n.50 runs from 1527-1630.

52. Compare the different foundations listed in n.43, 44 and 48 and below. 26f.

53. The names have been correlated between the list of exhibitioners and the names in the Chapter Register and Matricula Aedis Christi.

54. See above n. 46.

55. On the whole question of statutes see Appendix A.

56. Chapter Register flr-3r.

57. This was the statement given to the Cathedral Commission by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in Nov. 1853 cited by Thompson 278. It is possible that it was a Christ Church tradition to describe the college in christological terms. If so, it connected up with one of the dominant motifs of Peter Martyr's thought which was the concept of analogy based upon the double nature of the person of Christ see J.C. McLelland The Visible Words of God (1957) 71 and 101f.

58. Thompson 279-80.

59. Thompson 35.

60. Xt.Ch.Mnts. iii c4 f27,33-7. These are the Treasurer's paper accounts for Michaelmas 1546-7. They were based upon the entries in the Receipt and Disbursement Books and audited every Christmas, after approval the account was engrossed upon the parchment roll, see n. 50.

Xt.Ch.Mnts.xii b1 fl6v. The Disbursement Book for 1548-9 which ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. This volume is incomplete and has certain autographs, including Goodman's, cut out from it. The signatures can be found stuck with sealing wax to a page torn from a book in Bodl.Lib.Tanner MS 106 f35. Bodl.Lib. MS Top Oxon C22 f63v and 104v. MSS Top Oxon C22 and 3 contain a mass of financial and legal papers relating to Christ Church which were probably removed by Wood from the Treasury. MS Top Oxon C22 is called Mr. Day's book and records the payment for stipends and liveries to members of the foundation f63-6, 102-7. Thomas Day was a canon first of Oseney and later at Christ Church.

61. For Census see below n.107. The same positioning is found for 10th Oct. 1552, Chapter Register f6v.

62. When acting as executor for Edward Beaumont he was described as "sacrae theologiae bacchalaureus" see below n74. The B.N.C. Register gives 1547 as the date.

63. A. Wood History and Antiquaries of the University of Oxford, ed. J.Gutch (1786) IIIi 829-30 where the date is given as 1548; and his Athenae Oxoniensis I 721 where the date is 1551. Bartlet Green in his examination in 1556 referred to Goodman as "sometime reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford" John Foxe Acts and Monuments, ed. J.Pratt (1870) VII 738. The author of the Life of Whittingham (see above n. 39) described Goodman as "the divinity lecturer in Oxon in King Edward VI raigne" (7). Edward Bulkeley, a close friend of Goodman's wrote in 1592 of Goodman "who above fortie yeares past was publique professour and reader of Divinitie in the universitie of Oxford". Three Questions 213. These questions are found in the 1608 edition S.T.C. 4026 Edward Bulkeley An Apologie for Regligion. The full title of the section is "An answeare to certaine popish questions and frivolous cavillations given forth underhand to seduce the simple and slander the truth now first printed 22nd April 1608". Bulkeley was refuting the charge that Goodman had been unable to answer the three questions which had been sent to him on 14th June 1592. His refutation was written in 1592.*

64. "Hy. Crosse under-bedel of theology is fined 12d because he was responsible for the ommission of the disputations in theology" 10th Feb. 1554, O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f84v; Typescript 91.

65. Disbursment Book f6v and called censor on 5th Oct. 1550 see below. 28-9.

66. The censor in divinity and the readers in logic only received 13s 4d each, Disbursment Book f6v.

67. The examination was officially recorded by Thomas Randolph in the Chapter Register f9v.

68. Chapter Register f47v-52r. This is the only list of tutors and tutees for the period.
69. Chapter Register f70r. The Dean and Chapter had a considerable number of livings within their gift. Most but not all went to their own students. The presentations were formally recorded in the Chapter Register. The presentation after Goodman's name was made on 18th Dec. 1553. Adel was in the Deanery of Old Ainsty and the Archdeaconry of York. The advowson had belonged to Kirkstall Abbey and passed to the crown at the dissolution. Later the crown granted it to Christ Church as part of its endowment, see "Adel" by W.T.Lancaster Thoresby Society Publications IV (Miscellany) Leeds (1895) 261-86. Thomas Pepper the previous incumbent was presented to Adel by the Dean and Chapter on 11th October 1551. Chapter Register f67v. The instrument had been made out on August 25th in favour of Thomas Day but his name was deleted and Pepper's substituted. The benefice reverted so quickly to the Dean and Chapter because Pepper died.
70. For Bishop King's Edwardian ordinations see W.H.Frere Marian Reaction (1896) 210-5. Bickley and Pullain 214. Bishop King's Register is in the Bodleian, MS Ox. Dioc. Papers d. 105.
71. Foxe VII 732.
72. J.Parkhurst Ludicra Sive Epigrammata Iuvenilia (1573) 157.
73. Xt.Ch.Black Book (Chapter Book No. 38 or Subdean's Book). This is a register of the decrees made by the Dean and Chapter which because of the absence of official statutes had the force of statute. Many of the decrees have been copied into Bodl. Lib. Ms. Wood C8 by Richard Washbourne chaplain to Christ Church Sept. 1665. Wood attributed these collections to Leonard Hutten. For a full description of MSS Wood C7 and 8 see Catalogue of Wood's MSS Authorities by A.Clark in Life and Times of Anthony a Wood IV O.H.S.(1895) 30 156-7. Whittingham's obligation is Black Book 88, MS Wood C8 f374v-373v (back of volume and upside down).

74. All the following information is taken from the probate proceedings recorded in O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f66r-67v, printed in Boase's introduction to the University Register xix-xxi. On August 1st Edward Beaumont had been well enough to be a witness in a case before the Chancellor's Court Reg. Canc. GG f64r; Typescript 87.

75. See above n. 37.

76. Disbursement Book f6v.

77. There are two Battels Books for the period of Goodman's stay at Christ Church. Xt Ch. Mnts. X(1) c1 (1547 14th Jan.-1548 27th Sept.) & c3 (1553-6). They contain weekly summaries of battels and commons of the members of college and details of daily purchases by the Manciple.

78. Chapter Register flv where his name appears immediately below Goodman's. He entered Christ Church in 1547 at the age of 28.

79. O.L. II 420. 5th Nov. 1550 John ab Ulmis wrote to Gualter: "Thomas Francis, a man of distinguished learning, and formerly an intimate friend and companion of yours when you resided here". Francis was renowned for his medical knowledge and became Regius Professor in physics in 1554, Cal. Pat. Rolls 1553-4 310. Emden 216.

80. Xt.Ch.Mnts. X(1) c3 and see below n.83.

81. Foxe VII 732. See below for Martyr's departure 19-20.

82. O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f84r Typescript 100.

83. All these names including Goodman's have been taken from the end of term lists for battels for 1553-4. For Dec. 1553 f21v-22; Mar. 1554 f35v-36; June 1554 f50v-51; Sept. 1554 f63v. For the first two lists no money, or very little is recorded against the names and the names are absent in the last two lists.

84. Black Book 91; MS Wood C8 161.
85. Cal.Pat.Rolls 1553-4 324.
86. On Sept. 23rd, Cal. Pat.Rolls 1553-4 323.
87. Cal.Pat.Rolls 1553-4 382 (April 20th); 309 (May 11th);
495 (July 23rd).
88. Emden 27 and Thompson 13.
89. Wood ed. Gutch II i 120.
90. An Oration of the life and death of Peter Martyr by
Josias Simler (1563) found at the end of Martyr's Common Places
ed. A.Marten (1583) separate pagination at end sig. Qqiii.
O.L. I. 365-74. Letter from Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis
20th Nov. 1553 describing the events from the accession of Mary
until his own departure from England in October. Information
about Sidall as Martyr's custodian and the events in London 370.
91. Wood ed. Gutch II i 122.
92. Terentianus' letter 371-2. For Peter Martyr's description
of that time see his letter to Bullinger of 3rd Nov. 1553. O.L.
II 505-7.
93. O.L. I 373.
94. Ecc.Mems. III(i) 220-1.
95. Black Book 289 and quoted in Thompson 39-40.
96. Black Book 290.
97. See H.Kearney Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and
Society in Pre- Industrial Britain (1970) 21.

98. Different figures are given for the overall value of the endowment e.g. Thompson (12) £2,200, Wood £2,000 and the grant paid to Cox of £2,400 (n.46). Mallet 40 n.1 discusses the problem and gives the various figures. For the buildings see Thompson 3-10 and 41.

99. The Census was taken on Aug. 11th in Christ Church. "Ego Ricardus Marshall Audoeni Ogelthorpe vicecancellari deputatus, tam collegiorum omnium quam aularum personas omnes in hoc registrum censui nominatim transcribendas, partim ut Accademiae scholarium numerum recenserem, partium vero ut ii qui prius iusiurandum ad observanda statuta privilegia et consuetudines ac libertates universitatis huius Oxon non susceperant (ad quod personae omnes privilegiatae tenentur) iam susciperent". There follows an extract from the statutes and the list of names. O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f68v and printed in Boase's Register I xxi-xxv. Only Magdalen with 138 had more names than Christ Church.

100. Thompson 36.

101. Kearney 21.

102. L & P XXI(ii) 405 No. 770 (12).

103. Printed in Merrill 233.

104. Chapter Register flv; Merrill 12-3.

105. O.U.A. Pyx BB Fasc No. 24 and see below 38-9.

106. Wood accused Cox of intruding men into colleges and of destroying the libraries ed. Gutch II i 96, 106-8.

107. Following Wood's lead most accounts of the univeristy during Edward's reign have singled out Richard Cox. This has led to some perceptive comments upon the positive aspects of his policy in Oxford see R.J.Vander Molen "Richard Cox (1499-1581) Bishop of Ely: An Intellectual Biography of a Renaissance

107 contd. and Reformation Administrator" (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis Michigan State Univ. 1969) especially Ch. III Pt. II 108-42, "Application of Ideals as Head of Oxford". Also G.L.Blackman "The career and influence of Bishop Richard Cox 1547-81" (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis Cambridge 1952) 47-65. Important though Cox was, his other duties took him away from Oxford frequently. The part played by his college as the permanent basis for influence has not been sufficiently appreciated.

108. For the role of the colleges see Kearney 22; M.H.Curtis Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 Oxford (1959) 35-44; J.K.McConica "Scholars and Commoners in Renaissance Oxford" in The University in Society ed. L.Stone, Princeton (1975) I: 151-81.

109. Wood ed Gutch II i 112-3.

110. E.g. the Chancellor's Court on 28th May 1546, O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f10v; Typescript 9 and for the Census see above 55 n 99.

111. From the Disbursment Book f6v.

112. Two readers of logic were paid in 1548, as well as the two censors in arts. In 1552 the list as recorded in the Chapter Register f7v is slightly different. There are two censors and readers in natural and moral philosophy; two readers in dialectic; one reader in rhetoric and one reader in mathematics. There was a separate reader in rhetoric as early as 1550 for on Oct. 3rd Nicholas Grimald received his stipend for his lecture. He also received an additional £5 'as a reward to helpeme att my necessyte by Mr. Dean's goodness apou considertyons movyng hym" Bodl. Lib. Tanner MS 106 f43.

113. The following information has been gathered from the Chapter Register fl-7v.

114. Thompson 44.

115. The floating population of wealthier students rarely feature in the official records of the university. The Census

115 contd. was an attempt to draw them into the discipline of the university by forcing everyone to be registered with a college or hall. The fact of their existence has considerable bearing on the debate about the changes in the size and social structure of the universities in the sixteenth-century. For a discussion of the whole problem see E. Russell's perceptive article, "The influx of commoners into the University of Oxford before 1581: an optical illusion?" English Historical Review XCII (1977) 721-45.

116. Matricula Aedis Christi f12 and 28.

117. This is the same Randolph who became English ambassador in Scotland and Goodman's firm ally there. The elections occur on 11th, 12th April 1550. f8v-9r; 7th Oct. 1550 f10r; 1st Oct. 1551 f11v; 5th Oct. 1552 f12r-v; 20th Sept. 1553 f13; 24th Dec. 1554 f13v; 24th Dec. 1555 f14r.

118. Chapter Register f9v also printed in Thompson 38.

119. In this test Richard Martiall comes out very badly. Out of his three tutees who were tested, two failed and the other scraped through.

120. This was the first item on the list of "What everie scholler ought to have before he enter into Chryste Church". There are three different versions of the list. Probably the oldest is on the first page (not numbered) of the Chapter Register. There is another on its dorse. The latter is the version printed by Thompson 37 and he refers to a third list which added to his printed version "Bedding sufficient and meet for one man".

121. Chapter Register f47v-52r is the only extant list of tutors and tutees and covers the year 1550. The Latin quotation is on f47v.

122. E.g. Goodman signed the Disbursement Book for Theodore Newton (f3) and John Gittyne (f4). This meant that the tutor

122 contd. was financially liable as is shown by the case which came before the Chancellor's Court in Sept. 1551: "John Freke, formerly manciple of Hart Hall, claims of Wm. Pasco tutor of Wm. Jakman 26s or 25s.2d for commons and battels. Pasco is to pay in full the first 5 weeks battels and commons and is to try and persuade Jakeman's friends to pay the rest." O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f53v; Typescript 84. Also see above n. 34.

123. Merrill 233.

124 Some anonymous lines in a Bodleian manuscript entitled Carmen in laudem Grimmoaldi, say that praise was Grimald's chief aim:

'You meet everyone at the cross roads, the churches,
the theatres,
That you may gain brief praise O Grimald
You have praised few, but many you have branded with
infamy
That you may gain brief praise O Grimald
Those whom you have just blamed, you now praise,
O deceiver!
That you may gain brief praise O Grimald
A grammarian, a rhetorician, a detractor, a crier,
a poet
That you may gain brief praise, O Grimald.
Since you do all things with a desire for transitory
praise,
May the gods give you praise, but brief praise,
O Grimald.
MS Dk. Humph. bl f186 quoted in Merrill 37.

125. Bale mentioned the publication of Cicero's Partitiones Oratoriae, the Epistolae Familiares and Ad Octavium de Republica. Grimald also expounded Vergil's Georgics and first Eclogue, Merrill 17.

126. W.Forrest The History of Grisild the Second ed. W.D.Macray Roxburghe Club. (1875) 68.

127. O.L.II 410.

128. O.L.II 405.

129. J.Foster Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714 (1891) 1529.

130. O.L. II 721.

131. O.L. II 459-60. The "certain hall in which we live" was Broadgates. Conrad ab Ulmis was listed under it in the 1552 Census.

132. O.L. II 419.

133. O.L. II 424.

134. On 21st Feb. 1551, Christopher Froschover said that he expected Cellarius to arrive at any moment, O.L. II 723.

135. O.L. II 419-20. He went on to explain that the Oxford colleges had different specialities: "Greek is taught in one, Hebrew in another. Here the mathematicians flourish, there the poets; here divines and physicians, there students of music and civilians: in all of them, however, the elements and rules of rhetoric and logic are impressed with especial diligence and accuracy upon the minds of the scholars".

136. See below 91-5.

137. Martyr described his work load and the problems it caused in a letter to Bullinger on 1st June 1550. O.L. II 481.

138. O.L. II 412. There was great excitement among the humanists in Oxford at the discovery of "a great treasure of most valuable books: Basil on Isaiah and the Psalms in Greek, together with some other writings, or rather fragments, of the same author; Chrysostom on the gospels, in Greek; the whole of Proclus; the Platonists, Porphyry and Plotinus". O.L. II 447.

139. See Appendix A.

140. Black Book 93; MS Wood C7 44; Thompson 39.

141. Merrill 234 and see R.E. Alton "The academic drama in Oxford, 1480-1650" Malone Society Collections 5 (1959-60) 29-95.

142. Merrill 234-5. Also see L.B.Campbell Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century-England, Berkeley, (1959) 179-81.

143. Chapter Register f2v-3r.

144. O.U.A. Pyx Fasc 3 No. 24, contains notes of letters between Magdalen and the government. Among these is "The effecte of my lorde protectors letters sent to Magdalen College only 6 Junii Ao EVI 20. And herin do we not incite you to any undecent inovation, but evin as we here say of Mr. Coxes the kinges almesiners commendable beginning in his house so woulde we her of the sequele of yours". In their reply written on 8th Nov. 1548, the President and Fellows of Magdalen referred to the above letter: "Wher by your grace incited us to the redresse of religion acording as is used in the kinges majesties college in Oxenforde". P.R.O. SP 10/5/12 f35-6.

145. Black Book 90 and 256; MS Wood C7 47.

146. Statute 17 (my numeration) 9.

147. In his letter to Strong (see Appendix A) Frere commented: "As far as I can see these devotional arrangements are two quite different sorts. There are the daily prayers which are not probably in chapel, and are purely non-liturgical, being simply three Psalms and three Collects. The interesting point about them is that the Psalter Collects are read with each Psalm. I have never come across this anywhere else at this date, though there are signs elsewhere at that time of a revival of interest in that series of psalter collects. This was simply early morning prayers as I understand it; liturgical service was only in Chapel on Sundays and Holy Days and so far as I can see it is the Prayer Book that is contemplated".

148. Preces sacrae ex Psalmis David desumptae per D.P.M.V. Zurich (1564) translated by C.Glenham in 1569 see Psalter Collects ed. and intr. by Dom Louis Le Brou OSB Henry Bradshaw Society 83 (1949) 61.

149. Le Brou 38.

150. For Martyr's involvement see McLelland 28-40 and A. Beesley "An Unpublished source of the Book of Common Prayer: Peter Martyr Vermigli's Adhortatio ad Coenam Domini Mysticam" Journal of Ecclesiastical History XIX (1968) 83-8 on Cox see Vander Molen 143-78. The letters of the Swiss students reveal the interest in liturgical matters and the good quality of information which they passed on to their friends in Zurich; see below 78-9.

151. Black Book 256.

152. Black Book 223, 256; MS Wood C7 25 and 31. One of the items on the list of what every scholar needed was "Hys Catechisme sett forthe in the boke of commen prayer beharte".

153. Disbursment Book 6fv. He had probably been the gospeller or epistoller on the old foundation, see above n.48

154. Disbursment Book f20v.

155. Jewel's Works ed. J. Ayre. Parker Society Cambridge (1845-50) IV 824.

156. Cited in G. Huelin "Peter Martyr and the English Reformation" (Unpub. Ph. D. thesis London Univ. 1955). 74-5.

157. This was recalled by Thomas Harding see below 68.

158. O.L. II 494, and see below 71a.

159. Ecc. Mems. II(i) 383 and O.L. II 416.

160. Disbursment Book f9.

161. In the earliest version of the list of what every scholar needed the item "An honest syrples" is crossed out by a later hand. The item does not appear in either of the other two versions.

162. Z.L. II 33.

163. See above 20 at n.94.

164. On the psalter see Thompson 37; on Beaumont's inventory see above n. 74.

165. Subdean's Book f66r.

166. The decree against superstition and idolatry made by the Dean and Chapter on Sep. 13th (Black Book 100; MS Wood C7 52) has been misdated by Wood (ed. Gutch II(i) 112). Instead of 1551, and the wrong month of December, it probably should be 1561. The year is not given in the Black Book but it is among items for 1561 which upholds Thompson's date of 1561 (27). The decree called for the removal of all altars, statues, images, tabernacles, missals and other matters of superstition and idolatry. Something very similar probably happened early in Edward's reign.

167. Bodl. Lib. MS Tanner 106 f14v.

168. Forrest 68.

169. P.R.O. SP 10/5/12 f35.

170. The draft of another letter to Somerset in O.U.A. Pxy BB Fasc.3 No. 24.

62.

CHAPTER TWO

It was from his membership of the Christ Church Circle around Peter Martyr that Goodman acquired the background for most of his ideas. Like the rest of the group, Goodman looked upon Peter Martyr as his special mentor and friend and was prepared to allow his thinking to be moulded by Martyr and his associates. Goodman's case is a good example of the problem of evidence concerning the personnel in this group around Peter Martyr. Only from later evidence has the closeness of the relationship of master and disciple between Martyr and Goodman become known.¹ The Oxford records simply show that they belonged to the same college. The links between the Christ Church Circle have been established by piecing together odd scraps of incidental evidence.

That a protestant group coalesced around Martyr is supported by Simler's statement that Martyr

'had all them for his friends in Oxford, which loved the pure and true doctrine and which were of any name for their learning in that universitie'.

2

In connexion with the Disputation, Martyr wrote about his many supporters of whom he had no reason to be ashamed.³ They comprised the 'party' about whom Wood constantly wrote in all his descriptions of Edwardian Oxford.⁴ The fact that Oxford possessed a well-organised, vociferous and numerous Catholic faction probably caused the protestants to work together more closely than was necessary elsewhere in the country. The arrival of Peter Martyr was very important for the development of the circle. He provided an internal focus by bringing leadership and a coherent philosophy. His presence also crystalised out the divisions in Oxford. Bruerne

recalled that there had been no contention about the eucharist until Martyr had arrived.⁵ This is probably not strictly true, but nicely conveys the effect of Martyr's arrival. The protestantism of the circle was radical and it looked to Zurich for its inspiration. In connexion with Oxford, Bucer wrote to Nizer that

'The Zurich people have here many and great followers'. 6

The Zurich connection was immeasurably strengthened by the presence of a considerable body of students from that city. They are the most easily identifiable element within the Christ Church Circle. Though strictly not to be included among the Swiss students, Bernard Ochino ought to be mentioned. He travelled from Basle with Peter Martyr and settled with him in Oxford.⁷ The first Swiss student to come to Oxford was John ab Ulmis.⁸ He was later followed by his brother Conrad.⁹ John Rodolph Stumphius travelled from Zurich with John Hooper and then came on to Oxford.¹⁰ Christopher Froschover, of the great Zurich printing family, was another member of the group.¹¹ Less is known about Andrew Croarius from Constance, who returned to Switzerland with Stumphius in October 1551.¹² Alexander Schmutz was the particular protege of John ab Ulmis and on John's departure in 1552, took over his place at Christ Church, where he remained until Mary's accession.¹³ After all the enquiries on his behalf, it seems as if Cellarius did come over to study medicine in Oxford.¹⁴ An unspecified number of Swiss students arrived in Oxford around May 1551 and stayed with Froschover for three months 'at no small expense' as he noted ruefully.¹⁵

One of the reasons why it is difficult to establish the

identity of all the Swiss students is, that apart from John ab Ulmis and Schmutz, they were not on the foundation at Christ Church. They were commoners paying their own way. Because their letters showed that they were so much part of Christ Church, there were worries in Zurich lest the students were breaking one of the laws of the city by receiving stipends from a foreign country. John Stumphius defended himself against this charge by pointing out that for the privilege of living with the King's scholars,

'I have to pay for my board five English crowns, more or less, at the end of every term. And if you will not believe this, I have the royal mandate to prove it; for it is provided, that no foreigner shall be admitted into a fellowship at any college'.

16

In order to clear himself completely, Stumphius moved out of his rooms at Christ Church, and lodged with a bookseller in the town.¹⁷ John ab Ulmis was exempt from this restriction because he was not a citizen of Zurich. He could be on the foundation at Christ Church and receive pensions. He did encounter difficulties over the decree. Stumphius mentioned that no places were to go to foreigners, but Cox's patronage removed that problem.¹⁸

The Swiss were well received at Christ Church. John ab Ulmis, the first arrival, soon made friends¹⁹ and by the time he left, Sidall could write the following glowing report.

'For his conduct in this numerous society of learned men has always been so amiable and unpolluted, and so obedient to our statutes and domestic regulations, that it has most justly earned for him the greatest commendation from all persons, and a more than paternal regard from myself. Moreover, his discretion has always been exceedingly approved by me, inasmuch as he has so accomodated himself to our habits, that he never could justly be reproached by any one as a foreigner, but has deserved universal commendation as one conversant with our laws and country'.

20

The main problem the Swiss faced was the cold which together with the fasting during Lent, reduced Christopher Froschover to a listless stupidity.²¹ However, it did not seem to affect their health, for as Richard Masters reported to Gualter

'Your countrymen are in excellent health, and highly esteemed by all good men, for their probity of life and conduct'. 22

Peter Martyr was also anxious to inform Bullinger of the good behaviour of the Swiss. About Stumphius and Andrew Croarius, he wrote

'they are indeed excellent youths, and if they so conduct themselves with you, as they have done here, you will have no reason, I think, for regret'. 23

Apart from the Swiss students, it is not easy to identify firmly the members of the Christ Church Circle within Oxford. Richard Cox, the Dean of Christ Church and Chancellor of the university until 1552, was an important and influential member, although he was away from Oxford for considerable periods of time. Of more importance in the immediate context of Christ Church was Henry Sidall the Subdean and acting head of Christ Church during Cox's absence. Sidall did most of the actual government of Christ Church and was kept sufficiently busy to prevent him writing letters.²⁴ It was most probably Sidall who was able to make the stay of the Swiss students so enjoyable. In his letter to Bullinger, Sidall modestly remarked concerning John ab Ulmis

'In this large college my trifling exertions cannot have been of much advantage to him; but my mind has at all times been well disposed towards him'. 25

Stumphius described Sidall as one of his special patrons and asked Bullinger to address

'the courteous and grave, yet gentle, master Sidall, the zealous preacher of Christ, and your most attached friend, no less than doctor Cox, that he may understand my acknowledgement of the favours he has bestowed upon me to have been of no common kind; for I cannot but bear testimony to his exceeding regard and respect for yourself. For very frequently he is wont to converse with me about you, not only when any occasion is afforded him on my part, but also of his own accord, entertaining as he evidently does a very exalted opinion of you'. 26

In his letter of 4th October, 1552, Sidall expressed the feelings of the whole Christ Church Circle towards Bullinger.

He wrote

'many among us are exceedingly united to you in spirit, although personally separated by sea and land: among whom I wish to be counted the chief. For although I am far inferior in many other respects, in this I will yield to no one'.

Sidall and Curtop were also friendly with Bucer and sent a warm salutation via Peter Martyr.²⁷ James Curtop had the sixth stall at Christ Church and in 1552 was one of the treasurers there. He supported Peter Martyr in the Disputation of 1549 and was attacked by Richard Smith for his pains.²⁸ Apart from Thomas Barnard and Robert Banks, the seventh and eighth canons at Christ Church, the other canons were not radical protestants. William Tresham, on the contrary, took part in the Disputation on the opposite side to Martyr. His influence at Christ Church would have been severely reduced because he spent some time in the Fleet prison.²⁹

Among the other members of the foundation at Christ Church, there are only a few whose association with Peter Martyr and Zurich sympathies can be proved. Of the theologians, Thomas Francis and Richard Masters are known to have been friends of John ab Ulmis and Gualter.³⁰ Whittingham and

Goodman were linked with Martyr. Probably all those who were forced to leave Christ Church at Mary's accession can be regarded as supporters of Martyr and members of the Circle.³¹

The story of Bartlet Green was probably typical of many Oxford men of his generation. He came up to Oxford and remained a Catholic until he was converted by listening to Martyr lecture. In particular, it was the month of lectures on the eleventh chapter of Corinthians and on the subject of the Lord's supper which had such a profound effect upon Green. He probably attended them with Goodman, for he spent much of his time at Oxford in Goodman's company.³²

Thomas Harding was another man who spent a great deal of time listening to Peter Martyr. Harding was a member of New College, but he had been a lecturer in Hebrew at Christ Church.³³ With a touch of the bitterness of hindsight, Harding recalled his association with Martyr.

'What wayes and meanes did not Peter Martyr practise with me after my returne from biyonde the sea to preswade me thorowly? To how many private sermons was I called which in his house he made in the Italian tongue to Madame Catherine the Nonne of Letz in Lorvaine his pretended wife, to Sylvester the Italian, to Francis the Spaniard, to Iulio his man and to me? For al this I remayned as before: and you know M. Jewel, no better how far I was from hys inward familiaritie wherunto you were admitted and what strangenesse there continued alwayes between him and me'.

34

It was during this same time, just after Harding had returned from his trip to Italy, to which he referred, that he made a famous oration. In it he described and attacked the friars and unlearned bishops who were attending the Council of Trent 'in their greene gownes'. His words shook the faith of many Oxford catholics, including Bernard Gilpen, as to the value of a General Council.³⁵ Harding was in correspondence with

Bullinger in October 1551 and a recipient of Chamber's money, at some point in Edward's reign.³⁶

Thomas Caius was another member of the group. He was a great admirer of Bullinger and had translated the second volume of Bullinger's Decades. He was in contact with Bullinger through John ab Ulmis.³⁷ John Parkhurst, although he was in his beloved Bishop's Cleeve, remained in very close contact with Oxford. According to Strype, he loved Martyr like a father and wanted him to come and stay for a holiday. Because Martyr was unable to get away, Parkhurst used to send perry, a pear liquor, up to Oxford, specially for Martyr.³⁸

Parkhurst's friend and pupil, John Jewel was the most famous disciple of Martyr. Again the evidence for this very close relationship has not come from the Oxford records themselves. Jewel was a fellow of Corpus Christi, but seems to have spent much of his time at Christ Church, judging by Martyr's remarks when he left Oxford. Jewel copied all of Martyr's lectures out in his own shorthand and recorded the whole of the Disputation on the Eucharist.³⁹

The story of Jewel's life in Oxford provides an insight into one other aspect of the Christ Church Circle. Richard Chambers, a London merchant acted as an agent for funds collected among the nobility and others in London, sympathetic to the Reformation. In Edward's reign, these funds were used to supply students and other godly poor. Jewel was given £6. a year with which to buy divinity books and exhorted to 'set his mind intensely upon that study'. The distribution of charity was used by Chambers as a vehicle

for promoting 'true religion'. The money only went to scholars who were prepared to subscribe to certain articles of faith of a strong protestant flavour. In addition, at the distribution, Chambers

'took a preacher with him who instructed the receivers of his bounty and admonished the students of their duty: which office Peter Martyr sometimes performed and sometimes Jewel'

The way this was organized suggests a sophisticated and planned campaign to use finance to create a body of support in England for the Swiss reformed position. It is significant that the outlet was through the Christ Church Circle.⁴⁰

Another major constituent of the Christ Church group was the radical party at Magdalen. They probably only dared to be so violently disruptive in their own college chapel because they knew they would receive support from the other radicals within the university. They certainly did not suffer for their action and later Cox promoted Thomas Bickley, one of the ringleaders. It has been suggested that the Earl of Warwick gave them his support.⁴¹

The 'enormities' as they were described, took place on Whitsunday evening in 1549. They sound like a planned demonstration made to influence the Visitors who were on their way to Oxford. It was probably a show of strength and radicalism designed to help force through, or perhaps justify, sweeping religious changes. The location for the demonstration could not be Christ Church which had already been reformed, but it is quite probable that some of the impetus came from that college.

Both the actions and the methods of 'certaine yong and wilfull persons' were anathema to Owen Ogelthorpe, the Pres-

ident of Magdalen. He was a moderate conservative in religion, though not unsympathetic towards Swiss reformed ideals and on friendly terms with Bullinger.⁴² He was a firm believer in order and hated the attempts of his juniors to pressurize him. He stuck to the letter of the statutes at Magdalen, unwilling to make any alteration, unless properly authorised by the Priuy Council. His attitude shines through the three official articles drawn up for the government, about the Whitsunday incidents.

1. Thomas Bickley a yong man and a privat person not dreadyng thacte of parliament nor the kinges majestie his proclamaton on Whitsunday eavin, in the middle of Divine service presumed to go to the high aulter in Magdalen college and then and ther before the face of a great multitude most unreverently toke away the sacrament and broke it in peces to the great offence of a good number wherof many were straungers comyng that eavin to here Divine service.
2. One Williams a bachelor of arte pulled a prieste frome the aulter after he was past the gospell and flong away hys booke wher by that day the statutes were broken and he ran in to wilfull periurie.
3. And he with other yong men some bring³ing hatchetes came in to the churche and marred ther sutch bookes as were not bought for £40. And besides that they hve done all these things out of all honest order contrary to my lorde protector's mynde (which her after apeerith) to the high slaunder of the kinges procedinges and hinderance therof: yet hath their insured moch other inconveniences unsemely for studentes and inespecially yong men,
 Brech of our statues
 Utter contempt
 Contumacy
 Conspiracy
 Dissolutnes
 Dissention and Trouble.

43.

The Zurich connexion brought a number of Englishmen outside Oxford into regular contact with the Christ Church Circle.

The most prominent among them was that great friend of Zurich, John Hooper. He and his family had travelled back to England

with John Stumphius. Stumphius was treated like a member of Hooper's family and Hooper took a paternal interest in all his activities at Oxford. Through this, he became intimately acquainted with the workings of Christ Church. On the question of pensions, Stumphius appealed to Hooper, who

'knew well how much I pay and how much I have spent in the present year'.

Hooper was sufficiently well informed to be able to reassure Bullinger about Stumphius' exact position at Christ Church.⁴⁴

The Christ Church Circle were kept very well posted about Hooper's troubles over the question of vestments and their letters to Zurich kept Bullinger informed of the various stages of the controversy. In many ways, it was surprising that Peter Martyr advised Hooper to back down over the issue. It is doubtful if he would have received the full support of the rest of the circle for his opinion.

The connexions between Hooper and Christ Church were strengthened by his visit at Easter 1551. He came with Coverdale and stayed with Martyr and preached at Christ Church. Possibly during this stay the question of ubiquity was discussed and the articles on the subject devised. The articles were also signed by both John Jewel and John Parkhurst who formed another link between Hooper and the Christ Church Circle.⁴⁵ Hooper seems to have come again to visit Martyr in Oxford in February 1553 and was distressed to leave him when he was sick, especially as Martyr's wife had recently died.⁴⁶

The presence of the Swiss students at Oxford provided an opportunity for Englishmen other than Hooper to repay some of the hospitality they had been shown in Zurich. In doing this they were drawn into the life of the Christ Church Circle.

Christopher Hales wrote to Bullinger that he would help Christopher Froschover as much as he were able, because

'Your Zurich courtesy will not allow me to refuse any service that he may require' 47

The link between Hales and Froschover drew Hales to Oxford. He was expected by Froschover at the end of May 1551 and intended to stay for some time 'for the purpose of conversation with learned men', which would almost certainly include the Christ Church Circle, and especially Martyr. Hales was sufficiently well informed about the study of medicine at Oxford and in regular enough contact to check this information for him to be able to write a detailed report to Gualter.⁴⁸

Bartholomew Traheron was another man who was anxious to act as patron for the Swiss students. Stumphius was sure that Traheron's commendation had secured him the favour of Martyr, Sidall and Cox. Traheron also came visiting Oxford. In his letter from there to Bullinger he could express the enthusiasm for Zurich and Bullinger found in the Christ Church Circle. He optimistically wrote

'you have all of us in this country favouring and applauding you'. 49

Another friend of Stumphius with whom Bullinger could check about the question of pensions was Richard Hilles. He too had been drawn into the life of the Christ Church Circle and was in close contact with Hooper. He was used to carry messages among the friends of Zurich and probably travelled up to Oxford quite frequently from his home in London.⁵⁰

Alexander Schmutz was befriended by Sir John Cheke. John ab Ulmis who was heavily involved in getting Schmutz a proper place and securely settled in it, wrote to Bullinger, imploring him to commend Schmutz to Cheke

'since, induced by your recommendation, he has taken the entire management of his affairs upon himself'.

Cheke was another important London contact for the Christ Church Circle, and like Cox, close to the king.⁵¹

One other major group were drawn into close contact with the Christ Church Circle by their association with the Swiss students and in particular John ab Ulmis. This was the Grey household. The whole household was full of admiration for Bullinger from the Marquis of Dorset, his famous daughters, to their tutors and chaplains, John Aylmer, James Haddon, John Willock and Ralph Skinner. John ab Ulmis benefited very greatly by his commendation from Bullinger and was careful to foster and cultivate the link.

John ab Ulmis' attempts to create and organise a pro-Zurich pressure group in England can be witnessed in his relations with the Grey family. They were the obvious choice for patron and protector for the group, as the initial sympathy was already there. When he first came to England, John ab Ulmis very nearly took up a position at court, which Traheron had obtained for him.⁵² He remained at Oxford for the sake of study, but retained his links with the court

'where he is placed in so honourable a situation by the Marquis of Dorset, that it is easier to imagine than express, how greatly he values him for the sake of religion.'

53

Ab Ulmis received an annual pension from Dorset and went to stay at Bradgate a number of times and travelled with Dorset to Scotland. In return, he helped to persuade Bullinger to dedicate a volume of his Decades to the Grey household, a token of esteem which was very well received.⁵⁴

There seems to have been a deliberate effort to introduce

the patronage of the Greys directly into Oxford life. When Cox retired from the chancellorship of the university, John ab Ulmis reported on the day of the election:

'There is good hope, nay, the very best, that the duke of Suffolk will take upon himself this dignity, and the patronage of our city'. 55

It is probable that the Duke of Suffolk's visit to his estate in the neighbourhood of Oxford at the end of July 1552 was connected with this scheme, for whilst he was there, John ab Ulmis

'waited upon him, and paid my respects, according to the custom of the university. At my request he made a present of three bucks to our society. (Christ Church)'. 56

Something went wrong with the scheme, for Sir John Mason became Chancellor, and the bishopric, which had been expected for Cox, did not materialise either.

The hopes of influencing the Edwardian government held by the Christ Church Circle and the wider pro-Zurich group, were also vested in John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and later Duke of Northumberland. Together Grey and Dudley were considered to be

'the two most shining lights of the church of England: for they alone have exerted, far more than the rest, all their power and influence in the restoration of the church. They have utterly and entirely repressed and extinguished that dangerous and deadly conspiracy and rebellion so fully agitated last year. They are, and are considered to be, the terror and thunderbolt of the Roman pontiff'. 57

Warwick became deeply involved in Oxford politics, when he came as one of the Royal Visitors in 1549. He was assiduous in his task and was present to give statutes to Christ Church and Oriel. He had probably been interested in Oxford before the Visitation, particularly if, as Vander Molen suggests,

he was behind the Magdalen radicals. As late as February 1553, there remained hope in, and praise for, Northumberland. Hooper tried to get Bullinger to dedicate another volume of the Decades to the Duke, who was 'a diligent promoter of the glory of God'.⁵⁸

Through the two dukes and on a lower level, through Cox and Cheke, the Christ Church circle hoped to reach the King. He was sufficiently interested in, and aware of, the events in Oxford to own and annotate in his own hand, a copy of the printed version of the Disputation of 1549.⁵⁹

In the early years of Edward's reign when the Duke of Somerset was in power, he acted as a good patron to the Christ Church circle. He was prepared to back up Cox's authority and the example of Christ Church in its religious practices.⁶⁰ It was probably through Cecil that Somerset was kept informed about affairs in Oxford. An interesting letter survives between Nicholas Grimald and William Cecil. In it Grimald said

'As you asked on my departure, I have collected the names of those who have not yet rejected the evil conceptions acquired on religious matters and I have made them into a list which I am sending you along with this letter'.⁶¹

Unfortunately the list no longer survives, but the comment shows that the Christ Church circle were prepared to use all available methods to further their cause. That they probably needed to do so was shown by the effect of Somerset's fall on their position in Oxford. The extent of Somerset's support for the Oxford radicals can be gauged by the tremendous reaction of the catholics. Stumphius described the events to Bullinger on 28th February 1550.

'The distress which this most grievous calamity of the duke occasioned to the gospellers, and to all good men, is wonderful to relate; for

those cruel beasts the Romanists, with which Oxford abounds, were now beginning to triumph over the downfall of our duke, the overthrow of our gospel now at its last gasp, and the restoration of their darling the mass, as though they had already obtained a complete victory. They had begun to revive the celebration of their abominable mass in their conventicles, to practise their ancient mummeries at funerals and other offices of that kind, and to inundate themselves with wine, as became the champions of such a religion as theirs. And their furious rage had gone so far, as to threaten, in their most shameless discourses, the faithful servants of Christ with exile, fire, and sword, and all kinds of evil, unless they should gain wisdom by the extreme danger of this nobleman, and come back to their party'. 62

Things had been sufficiently difficult for the Christ Church circle that Stumphius had not dared to write before because of the danger, even though Somerset was released from prison on February 6th. Peter Martyr confirmed the perilous state of affairs in Oxford. He used it as an excuse in a letter to Somerset explaining why he had remained silent at his fall.

'But I and others of my profession, in that perilous time were little less troubled than you. Yea, I dare say for you that you yourself were of better cheer in the midst of the water, than we that stood upon the shore and beheld your wreck. Wherefore I thought it meetest to spend that time in weeping and in prayers for to obtain both preservation for you which have done so much good in religion, and also a sure stay for the Church, for as much as it was already shaken'. 63

It was a sharp lesson to the Christ Church circle of the importance of government backing and patronage.

The Christ Church circle sought to exercise patronage and influence on a less exalted level. It attempted to bring its supporters into Oxford. In January 1549, Peter Martyr was hoping that a place could be found for Valerand Poullain. He told Utenhoven

'I can make no certain promise; for I see no

prospects at present at Oxford. But when the Chancellor of this University shall come among us, which may be shortly, I will enter on this business with him as diligently as I can, and will inform you of the result'. 64

At the same time, Peter Martyr was urging Bucer and Fagius to take up Cranmer's invitation and to England, where he assured them, they were needed at the universities. When they did come, Cranmer, probably at Martyr's prompting, wanted Fagius to go to Oxford university,

'over which master Peter Martyr presides, for it is the most celebrated'. 65

In the event neither Poullain nor Fagius came to Oxford, but Cox as Chancellor was able to use his patronage for other members of the group. John ab Ulmis was convinced that both his initial and continued good reception at Oxford were due to Cox and to 'the power and influence which he possesses in this place'.⁶⁶ Cox was able to provide Alexander Schmutz with a gift of fifteen crowns, though the source of the money is not known.⁶⁷ Wood has accused Cox of abusing his position as Chancellor and employing his authority to intrude unqualified men into college fellowships. The charge is probably greatly exaggerated, but Cox was prepared to push through policies with little regard for established privileges and rights.⁶⁸ When he was able to be he was hard on the Catholics. Armed with the approval of the Privy Council, Cox came to Oxford in February 1550; Stumphius expressed the hopes of the Christ Church circle that Cox had discovered the means

'by which such rotten members of antichrist may be altogether cut off, and driven away from the university; and certain regulations laid down by master Cox upon his arrival have confirmed this hope'. 69

Six months later Stumphius wrote in criticism of Cox's

methods of dealing with the Catholics. It is interesting that he felt he had the right to judge Cox's tactics because they were both pursuing the same ideals and were members of the same circle. He complained to Bullinger that Cox

'seems to be rather too fond of the Fabian tactics; for he has begun to act with greater laxity, for the purpose, I suppose, of wearing them out by delay'.⁷⁰

The awareness of sharing the same ideals was fostered by the internal solidarity and co-ordination of the Christ Church circle. The Swiss reformers in England kept in close touch with each other. Bucer and Martyr kept up a regular correspondence and deliberately tried to co-ordinate their efforts and present a common front. It was Peter Martyr in 'conservative' Oxford rather than Bucer in 'reformed' Cambridge who set the pace. Martyr was forced by his Oxford adversaries to be explicit upon the eucharist and went farther than Bucer thought expedient. But Bucer was, after persuasion, prepared to follow, and said that he would 'teach nothing contrary to the opinion of Peter Martyr'.⁷¹ The unity of outlook was cemented by Bucer's visit to Oxford in 1550 and his death was a tremendous blow to Martyr, who, although he was surrounded by friends and admirers at Oxford sadly missed the support of his old friend and colleague.⁷²

One of the main functions of the Christ Church circle was to provide a centre for information for all the friends of Zurich in England. The Swiss students were the natural focus for this, and Christ Church seemed to be a clearing house for news and correspondence. Packets of letters frequently went from Oxford to Zurich and there was a steady stream of replies. The letters of the Swiss students,

together with those from Utenhove and Micronius to Bullinger alone, form half of the correspondence Bullinger received from England in Edward's reign.⁷³ This meant that news to and from Zurich tended to spread outwards from Oxford to Bullinger's friends in England. Oxford also kept in close touch with London, the other obvious information centre for the pro-Zurich group. Even though it was happening at a distance, the Christ Church circle was very well informed about the details of Hooper's troubles over vestments and was able to send them on to Bullinger by letter. Verbal messages were just as important as letters, though naturally they leave little trace of their existence. John ab Ulmis travelled among the English friends of Zurich a great deal, and would check with them if there were any messages to be carried on, or added to someone else's letter to Zurich. He was also very keen to encourage the English to write to Bullinger and would not let people miss an opportunity to write or send a message.⁷⁴ He seems to have constituted himself as the link man between the Christ Church circle and the wider pro-Zurich group and through his efforts brought them very close together. He was so enthusiastic about his self-appointed task that Hooper criticised him for neglecting his studies and in particular for travelling so frequently between Oxford and London.⁷⁵

The contacts that were made by the circle were carefully fostered and no-one was allowed to slip through the net. Greetings and special salutations were constantly being exchanged between the various members of the pro-Zurich group. One example of the care that was taken was Peter Martyr's dealings with John Ponet. In a letter to Utenhoven Martyr mentioned,

'I wrote to Master Doctor Ponet as you requested and not coldly; hence if you should occasionally see him, salute him in my name'.

76

The feeling of belonging to a commonwealth of shared ideals could be strong, even without the personal contacts. It was recommended that when Cellarius came to Oxford,

'he bring a letter of recommendation from master Bibliander to my fellow collegian master Cadwell.....He has too, believe me, an especial regard for Bibliander, though they are not personally acquainted with each other; but the band, namely that of religion, by which they are intimately united, is very firm between them'.

77

The band of religion which bound together the Christ Church circle was drawn tighter by the subscription to two sets of articles. The first was the set used by Richard Chambers at the distribution of his money, which might have been compiled, and would certainly have been approved, by Peter Martyr. He might have used the sermons he would preach at the distribution to expand and explain the articles. The second set were those signed mostly by people in the Gloucester diocese, but also by Jewel and Parkhurst, who had a foot in both Oxford and Gloucester. They deal specifically with the problem of ubiquity, an issue on which Peter Martyr held decided views. It is probable that these views were discussed with Hooper at his visit at Easter 1551 and the articles could well have been formulated then, as they were probably signed a few months later.⁷⁸

The band of religion was felt to be a specific set of views, not merely a generally reformed position. Even among the protestants in England, there was a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them'. When he first came to England, John ab Ulmis felt a great gulf between Cranmer's opinions and the

Zurich line. He wrote to Bullinger

'that this Thomas has fallen into so heavy a slumber, that we entertain but a very cold hope that he will be aroused even by your most learned letter'. 79

Fortunately, shortly afterwards, he was able to report that Cranmer had 'in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy' through the intervention of John a Lasco. The Swiss students continued to be suspicious of most of the other bishops and were particularly incensed over their treatment of Hooper.⁸⁰ The pressure that was exerted by the Christ Church circle and the pro-Zurich group, was directed through the nobility and not through the church hierarchy.⁸¹ There was little attempt to build a party within the church. This encouraged the tendency to treat England as a mission field. The letters sent to Zurich read distinctly like progress reports. On 20th October 1549, John ab Ulmis wrote to Bullinger

'I wish you to receive from me ^{the} certain assurance, that the religion given us by Christ is making a satisfactory and successful progress. I am able to write to you as a most certain fact, that antichrist in these difficult and perilous times is again discomfited by the general sentence of all the leading men in England'. 82

Another useful way of cementing the contacts between those dedicated to 'true religion' was through books. With their excellent links with Zurich, the Christ Church circle were able to obtain copies of works printed abroad and hand them round to their patrons and friends. Bullinger's books were in especial demand and around March 1551 John ab Ulmis reported to whom various copies had been given.

'One of them I gave to Cox; and took care that another should be delivered by Cheke to Warwick. The rest, namely, the one for Peter (Martyr) and

those for the Marquis (of Dorset) and his daughter, I have determined to take with me down to Oxford ...I will give both to Wullock and Skinner a copy of the Decade in your name, at which I think you will not be displeased'. 83

As has been mentioned already, the dedication of books to influential patrons was an important way of gaining favour, which was used to some effect especially in the case of Bullinger's Decades.

Peter Martyr wanted Bullinger to send him five or six copies of his own book, before it arrived in England from the Frankfurt Fair, so that he could present them to his friends before they were on sale generally. The great delay in delivery from the continent had caused many people to tease Martyr 'from their overweening desire to obtain the exposition'. 84

Books were also used as a means of furthering reform. Peter Martyr was well aware of the tremendous need for basic material on which reformed teaching and preaching could be based. He thanked Bullinger for the present of his fifth Decade of sermons. Having praised it, he commented that it provided

'most useful materials for ecclesiastical preachers, which if they will always have, as they ought, ready and at hand, they will be able both abundantly and profitably to instruct the people'

85

For the same reason Hooper and the Swiss students pressed Peter Martyr to publish as much of his material as possible. Hooper wrote concerning Martyr,

'If he has any thing which he intends to print, I am sure that he will send it to you. He has not yet determined to publish his annotations on Genesis; he is meditating something upon the epistle to the Romans. I will take care, to the utmost of my power, that none of his writings shall be lost'.

86

Hooper's pressure on Martyr was effective, for most of Martyr's Oxford lectures were published. A production line was created with the Swiss students copying out Martyr's lectures which he corrected and then they were sent to Zurich, where they were printed by the Froschover printing press.⁸⁷

It was indicative that Martyr's books were seen through the presses by his Zurich friends and not sent to Basle or Strasbourg. Publication was not a personal exercise, but part of the activity of the whole Christ Church circle and pro-Zurich group.

Most of the energies of the Christ Church circle were expended within Oxford itself. Although they were influential, they remained a small minority within the university and constantly had to struggle to achieve and maintain that influence. The Visitation of 1549 had an important effect upon the circle because suddenly they were backed up by royal power which was being exercised on the spot. The way for the Visitation had been prepared by letters sent to the university on 4th April 1548, which stopped the election to places on college foundations and suspended the statutes.⁸⁸ According to Wood, this made 'the party for a Reformation'.

"very high in their actions against the Roman Catholics....both by affronting them openly and abusing them privately among the vulgar. Some in their sermons (though preached but seldom) rail'd at them, call'd them the imps of the whore of Babylon, dumb dogs and such that had the form of godliness but denied the power thereof".⁸⁹

It was during this time that the violent incidents occurred at Magdalen.

The commission for the Visitation was given on 8th May 1549, and named John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester,

William Paget, William Petre, Richard Cox, Simon Heynes, Christopher Nevenson and Sir Richard Moryson. Warwick and Cox seem to have dominated their fellow commissioners. The Visitors were given very extensive powers, comprehensive enough to suit any reformer.⁹⁰ Their arrival in Oxford raised the hopes of the Christ Church circle. Their expectations were expressed in the sermon preached by Peter Martyr at the beginning of the Visitation on May 24th. Martyr's text was taken from the sixteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel 'Verily, Verily I say unto you, that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name he shall give it to you'. Having expounded his text, Martyr turned to the Visitors and explained that although there had been calamities from the beginning of the world, the reformation which had been desired by pious men, had come. It could now be hoped

'that all things would be set in good order and that select instruments would be raised that should administer discipline and instruct the Church and Schools and continue the people in the service of God etc. And among other things...that the Magistracy should ordain good Laws, purge the Schools and Universities, because they are the root or part of the Church where the host of the Lord abideth etc. And so, going forward, he told them divers things not a little displeasing to the Roman Catholics then present and so concluded'

91

In many respects, the Visitation was the fulfilment of these hopes. It provided the backing for a considerable quantity of iconoclasm. The infamous story of the burning of manuscripts and wholesale destruction of libraries, which earned Cox the nickname of Cancellor has been greatly exaggerated by Wood.⁹² Most of the removals of altars and images was done in orderly fashion. At Magdalen, the Liber Computi for 1551, recorded that on January 3rd, Wilfred Wyne was paid 3s. 4d. for five days work demolishing the high altar, and

Henry Bolton 15s. for making the new communion table.⁹³

The Visitation provoked the major confrontation of Edward's reign between the catholics and protestants in Oxford. The Disputation on the eucharist proved the strength of the catholics in Oxford and made it clear that any attempt at a wholesale purge of the colleges was out of the question. Although there were some, the impression given by Wood of vast numbers of ejections is false. The protestant radicals still hoped to dislodge catholic heads of houses, but they tried to remove them individually. One of the best documented attempts to oust a president who was not prepared to push through a religious reformation was Magdalen. Apart from Christ Church, the college probably contained the largest number of protestants among its demies and fellows. Ten of them petitioned the Privy Council in May 1550, for Ogelthorpe's removal. Attached to the petition they sent fifteen articles of accusation. They were successful and Ogelthorpe was imprisoned and removed from the presidency temporarily.⁹⁴

A similar thing was tried at New College. The Privy Council were again prepared to act. The fellows made certain objections against their Master Dr. Cole and the Privy Council in its reply authorised the Visitors

'to call him (Cole) and suche others befor them for the triall thereof as shall apperteign and examyn the cace seriously; and if the same do waie to a matter deserving his removing from the Colledge, then to proceede to the removing of him as (to) justice and equitie belongeth'.

A few months later on 16th March 1551, Dr. Chedsey, who had been one of Martyr's opponents in the Disputation, was called before the Privy Council. He was made to answer

'tooching suche sediciouse preaching as he had preached at Oxford in the beginning of

this Lente, which though he partelie denyed,
was nevertheless evident by testimonies in
writing of soundrie persones'

The written evidence was sufficient to send Chedsey to the Marshalsea. The Fleet housed three other men from Corpus Christi, Dr. Morwent the President, and Welche and Allen, fellows. They were committed for using another service on Corpus Christi Day, than that appointed in the Prayer Book.⁹⁵ Government support for the Christ Church circle was underlined by the appointment of John Jewel as head of Corpus in Morwent's enforced absence.

These instances somewhat belie the assertion that those who took part in the Disputation against Peter Martyr 'were not so much as checkte for defendyng their opinion'.⁹⁶ However the overall picture he gave was probably true in the sense that coercion of the Oxford catholics was a patchy and risky affair.

The Catholics were usually able to rely upon the security provided by the college and university privileges. It was only when their college turned against them or they were caught in the act that effective coercion could be used. For instance

'a certain sacrilegious mass-priest, the head of the papists, of whom a great number still remain, the enemy of God and of all faithful people, having often acted the fable of the mass in the popish conventicles, was at last caught in the fact during these holidays, and thrown into prison upon these terms that for.....(manuscript torn) entire months he should be fattened and....upon dry bread and pure water, even should no severer punishment follow. And each of his hearers^{has} to pay for such excellent instruction, ten English pounds'.⁹⁷

However only six months later, Stumphius was complaining of the fabian tactics of Cox in dealing with the catholics. His judgement of affairs might have reached Calvin for in his

letter of 25th July 1551, he complained to the Duke of Somerset that he had heard that at the universities many people were receiving stipends from university or college revenues,

'who, so far from giving reasons to hope that they will maintain what has been built up there with so much labour and trouble, professedly declare their intention to resist the Gospel'. 98

He therefore entreated Somerset to employ all his power for the correction of the abuse.

The most effective way of pressurizing the catholics was in the colleges, but it is difficult to know how often it worked. It was probably only at Christ Church, Magdalen and Corpus Christi that there was a sufficiently large number of protestants to make it work. Certainly two Magdalen men felt so heavily pressurized, that they were on their way into exile in France at the end of Edward's reign. John Bullingham and his friend Julins Palmer had been given a religious inferiority complex and a rather rough time by their contemporaries at Magdalen. John complained in his letter to Julins that

'the face of hell is as amiable unto me as the sight of Magdalen College; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth! And as touching our religion, even our consciences bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the gospellers to taste in their religion'. 99

The Visitation was probably the high-point of power for the Christ Church circle. But as well as being their triumph it had also shown how weak their position in Oxford was. The immediate impact of the Visitation was greatly reduced by the fact that in June and July 1549, when it had just begun, the whole county was in a state of rebellion. Oxford became unsafe for Peter Martyr, whose life was threatened by the rebels. Peter Martyr himself

'by the assistance of his friends was safelie conducted to London not without singular rei-
oysing of the king...Also his wife and familie
did his friends keepe secret till the furious
multitude of the seditious people was gone out
of the Citie'. 100

The Oxford catholics did not join with the rebels who were crushed by government troops and some of them executed in the city by Lord Grey of Wilton.¹⁰¹ This did little to alter the belief among the Christ Church circle that the Oxford papists had inspired, or were at least in sympathy with, the rebellion.¹⁰²

The bright hopes engendered by the coming of the Visitors had vanished a year later. Martyr wrote gloomily to Bucer, that things were worse in Oxford than they were in Cambridge.

'For among you, I hear, there are several Heads of Colleges who favour religion; while we are miserably destitute of that advantage. Nor are the statutes of the Visitors observed here with greater respect than they are kept by your people. In short, the minds of the Seniors are every day more and more hardened; while the Juniors, of whom there might have been some hope, are called off by a thousand artifices, to prevent them from having the opportunity of hearing (the truth). 103

The Christ Church circle seemed to spend most of their time on the defensive. The catholic party in Oxford was strong and well organised. In 1547 before the religious complexion of the Edwardian government became clear, there was an effort to crack down on any sign of dissent from catholic doctrine. During Lent, John Harley of Magdalen preached against the Pope and other matters which he labelled superstitious. He was summoned by the Commissary and Questioned. Later he was hurried

'up to London for a heretick to the end he might undergo examination and punishment for what he had said'

But the move backfired, because the Council released him and

the business was hushed up.¹⁰⁴ A few months later Edward Napper accused David Tolley

'of telling Dr. Weston that Napper said Weston had denied the sacrament of penance in a sermon'

The affair, which was resolved through the arbitration of Dr. Tresham, the vice-chancellor, was indicative of the sensitive atmosphere in Oxford.¹⁰⁵

The uncertain atmosphere worked both ways. Richard Smith made a recantation at Paul's Cross on 15th May 1547, in the hope of retaining his Regius Professorship at Oxford. This was a serious blow for the morale of the Oxford catholics. The government ensured that it would take its full effect by publishing his recantation.¹⁰⁶ When Smith came down to Oxford, he tried to deny his recantation.

'He insisted much in shewing his auditory, that what he then said (ie. at St. Paul's) was not so much a recantation as a retraction. And then took occasion to fall foul upon some that believed not the real, that is to say the corporeal, presence. He wrote also letters to his friends, denying he had made a recantation. This occasioned many persons to talk, that Smith still retained his errors and trod in his old steps: and therefore that the recantation he had published either was not his, or that he was forced to it, and did it unwillingly'.

Because of this talk, Smith was made to read his original recantation in Oxford on July 24th and to explain why he had tried to deny it. At the end, he made an additional statement about justification by faith alone.¹⁰⁷ None of these moves saved his job and he was replaced by Peter Martyr, against whom he developed a personal vendetta. It was remarkable that the damaging behaviour of one of its leaders did not greatly weaken the catholic party in Oxford. Having lost his position, Smith did not bother to conceal his catholic opinions and remained in Oxford to help organize and lead the

opposition to the group around Peter Martyr.

At Martyr's arrival, collegiate pressure was used by the catholics to stop the younger students attending his lectures. The catholics hoped to dampen the impact of Martyr's doctrine, by asserting that they agreed with it, probably in an attempt to completely ^{to} confuse the issue.¹⁰⁸ Richard Smith became a most diligent attender of Martyr's lectures. Martyr recalled that

'He not only listened attentively to what was said by me, but also as far as he could, noted it down in writing'.¹⁰⁹

Smith's notes were put to good use when he prepared a series of books attacking Peter Martyr's doctrines. The detailed knowledge of Martyr's arguments made the books very difficult to refute.¹¹⁰ Whenever and wherever they could, the catholics were prepared to take the battle to the printing presses. Government censorship made this difficult, but the manuscripts were certainly written for the paper warfare with Martyr.¹¹¹

The quiescent catholic tactics at the beginning of Martyr's time at Oxford soon gave way to rougher handling. Simler dated the change to the time after Martyr had spoken about monastic vows and when he began to deal with the eucharist. Then the catholic party

'thought it was not for them to bee any longer at quiet...And to the intent that they might procure unto him not onely hatred but also great daunger then first of all railed on him with their usuall accusations: namely that he impugned the doctrine of the forefathers, that he abolished the Ceremonies well instituted, that he prophaned the holy Sacrament of the Altar and scarce forbare the treading of it under his feete'.

Stones were thrown at Peter Martyr as well as words. He and his wife were forced to move inside the courtyard at Christ

Church for protection, because

'oftentimes in the night they raised some stirres before Martyr's lodging and otherwise beate at his doore with stones and sometime brake the casements of his windowes'. 112

The harassment and danger, particularly during the 1549 rebellion, put Peter Martyr under considerable pressure. He would occasionally become very downhearted and feel that he was having to fight against great 'bitterness, obstinacy, perverseness and inflexibility of mind'. He asked particularly for Bullinger's prayers, to help him discharge his duty at Oxford.¹¹³

The catholics ensured that Peter Martyr's duties were indeed onerous. They used their numbers and coherence as a party against him in the disputations. As well as his daily lectures, he had to preside over both the university and Christ Church disputations in theology. The university held its disputations every alternate week, the college, every week. As everyone was freely admitted to both sorts the catholics were able to send a stream of people to the disputations to argue with him.

Peter Martyr was continually being drawn into the disputations to defend his doctrine, which was attacked from many different angles. He described how in March 1550, the subject for debate was the different degrees of reward for the blessed. This was chosen in order that the doctrine of merits could be defended. When he realised what was happening Martyr stepped in and opposed so that the catholics did not gain their point. The terms of reference were changed to the Scriptures, which only left the catholics with arguments about 'substantial' and 'accidental' rewards.¹¹⁴ Martyr did gain some respite from

the disputations, because there was a royal proclamation forbidding them at the end of 1549. He summed up his attitude towards them and the tactics used by the catholics, when he wrote to Bucer, that if the disputations were to resume

'they will be promotive of tumult rather than edification - which is the necessary result when men are searching for a handle of contention, not the truth'. 115

Another method of making Martyr's life difficult was to keep him in the dark about the subject to be discussed at the disputation, so that he would have to answer unprepared and without notes. This tactic was employed in the initial skirmishes of the Disputation of 1549 and also in the disputation at the conferring of the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in September 1550. The relevant section of Martyr's letter to Bucer of September 10th will be quoted in full because it presents an exact picture, not just of the sort of tactics the catholics employed, but also the reaction they produced in the Christ Church circle.

'Hear, in a few words, what happened to me at our Convocation. The Bachelors in Divinity were created, whom I presented according to usage: and, as it is customary for them to dispute in public, they appointed a Popish Respondent. They also suppressed the names of the Popish Opponents, and the Question to be disputed, by the strictest silence; only communicating the subject to each other. All this was done, that I might have no knowledge of it. On my urging them to declare it, they said, it was no business of mine, it was sufficient that the disputants were mutually made acquainted with it. So, at two o'clock (I think) in the afternoon, of the day assigned for Disputation, they published the Question, and affixed it to the doors of the Church (Great St. Mary's). Their wish was, to defend their blessed Transubstantiation, and the Impanation of the Body of Christ. That they might exclude me as the Moderator, they chose for themselves another father (as the phrase is) Doctor Chedsey. There the Opponents would have produced all my arguments.

The Respondent would have overthrown them, in such a way as he pleased. The Opponents would have said, that they were content with the proposed solution. The father, slipped into my place, would have vehemently approved the whole proceeding. On that day, no opportunity of speaking would have been given to me: (- for those Disputations were to have taken place latest of all towards evening, after the Civil Law Candidates had kept their Acts; for they were to commence their doctorate that day-) or, if I had been allowed to say anything, I must have spoken almost in the night itself, all the hearers being tired and going away. The Convocation would have been at an end; and on all sides there would have been a shout of victory, as if the Oxonians had beautifully defended their cause. There was such a crowd at this Convocation, as can scarcely be believed; for they had summoned by letters as many as they could from all quarters. Among other Chaplains, as they are called, were present, the Bishop of Winchester's Doctor Seton and the Chaplain of the Bishop of Durham.

These are the arts of our adversaries! With such tricks they choose to enter on their contests! But, - how it happened I cannot learn - unexpectedly our Vice-Chancellor, (whether it be that he ~~was~~ feared some disturbance, or for some other reason which is unknown to me), forbade the Theologians to dispute that day. I was present in the arena, ready to act as might seem prudent; relying on the help of the Lord, who in that extremity of the greatest necessity would have given both a mouth and a tongue.

I have written this, in order that you may understand the arts of our antagonists, and believe that nothing is done by them with a simple mind'. 116

It is interesting that Christ Church circle were unable to prevent this carefully stage-managed attempt to discredit Martyr from taking place. Martyr had no idea how or why the Vice-chancellor intervened. The whole affair reveals the great strength, discipline and determination of the Oxford catholics.

The preliminary skirmishes of the Disputation of 1549 were equally well thought out and planned. The catholics hoped to catch Peter Martyr unprepared and force him to the scene of disputation where he would feel unable to take part. The long series of manoeuvres are well known.¹¹⁷ In the end,

the whole Disputation was taken over and made an official occasion in front of the Visitors.¹¹⁸ The initial pressure had come from the catholics and only because there was no other way out, was the Disputation accepted and used by Martyr and his Christ Church colleagues. Even though the strong arm of the government was present, the result of the Disputation was not the foregone conclusion that might have been expected. Martyr had to work hard against his three opponents Dr. Tresham, Dr. Chedsey and Mr. Morgan. Wood asserted somewhat unfairly that Cox's help had been essential to Martyr's survival, for

'had not Cox, the Moderator, favoured Martyr and helped him at several dead lifts, he had been shamefully exposed to the scorn of the Auditory'.¹¹⁹

Cox's summing up was heavily in Martyr's favour and full of his praises.¹²⁰

Both sides claimed victory and circulated different versions of the Disputation. Although Martyr had acquitted himself well, he had not been so conclusively the victor, as to stop the issue being raised again. The doctrine of the eucharist remained the major debating point for the whole reign and the catholics remained confident

'that should a public disputation on these matters take place, I (Martyr) should so hesitate as to be totally unable to answer their arguments'.

121

The catholics were probably hoping for some sort of compromise. Having taken part in the Disputation against Martyr, Bernard Gilpin started asking questions about the eucharist of his catholic friends and heard that Dr. Chedsey was saying, among his friends

'that it must come to this point, that the Protestants must grant us a real presence

of Christ in the Sacrament, and we likewise give way to them in the opinion of transubstantiation and so we shall accord'. 122

Sometimes the tactics of the catholics brought them into disrepute. On 21st February 1551 Froschover reported to Gualter, that

'the papists are now labouring under great unpopularity; so great indeed, that I very often wonder at their perverseness, who, having been so frequently warned, yea, often too turned into ridicule, do not come to their senses'. 123

One of the remarkable things about the period of Edward's reign was that the catholic party was able to retain its strength and solidarity and with them to keep the Christ Church circle, which was always in the minority, on the defensive. The fear the Christ Church circle displayed of the catholic presence in Oxford was justified by the events at Mary's accession. They were vividly described by Julius Terentianus:

'At the proclamation of Jane they displayed nothing but grief. At the proclamation of Mary, even before she was proclaimed at London, and when the event was still doubtful, they gave such demonstrations of joy, as to spare nothing. They first of all made so much noise all the day long with clapping their hands, that it seems still to linger in my ears; they then, even the poorest of them, made voluntary subscriptions, and mutually exhorted each other to maintain the cause of Mary; lastly, at night they had a public festival, and threatened flames, hanging, the gallows and drowning, to all the gossellers'.

After the proclamation concerning religion, the catholics dug out their vestments and chalices and began saying mass. As Terentianus wryly commented 'in these things our Oxford folk lead the van'. 124

The events in Oxford at Mary's accession had left the Oxford protestants in all the colleges in a difficult position. Although things moved relatively fast in such an obvious target

as Christ Church, there was greater uncertainty elsewhere. The catholics were full of threats, but how many would or could be carried out was not clear. Queen Mary had sent a letter down to the university on 20th August 1553, ordering that the statutes and ordinances of the university and of the separate colleges, which had been in force at Henry VIII's death should be observed again notwithstanding any subsequent innovations or orders to the contrary.¹²⁵ By itself this was usually insufficient justification for ejecting the protestants. Bishop Gardiner had followed the letter up as quickly as he was able, by sending a visitation to the three colleges under his jurisdiction; Magdalen, New and Corpus Christi. In these three colleges and in Christ Church itself, there was considerable speculation about the fate of the admirers of Peter Martyr. Many wondered

'how they would show themselves and what would become of them when the Visitors of certain colleges came'. 126

The number of ejections made by the Visitors is difficult to determine.¹²⁷ As well as removing fellows, the Visitors also disciplined the younger students. One effective method was deprivation of commons, another was corporal punishment. Edward Anne a scholar at Corpus Christi, who had written some verses against the mass, was given a lash for every verse.¹²⁸

By that time, Jewel had left Corpus Christi. The lack of fresh news and the hostile atmosphere of Oxford brought him near to panic. On October 15th he wrote in an anguished letter

'O my Parkhurst, my Parkhurst, what may I think you are now doing? That you are dead or alive?' 129

Jewel had withdrawn to Broadgates Hall, where, with Thomas Randolph for company, he felt he was living in exile, but also

still in danger. He summed up his position in June 1554.

'Both of us (are) miserable enough, but better perhaps than they like who are vexed that we still live at all'. 130

Jewel had certainly hoped that by making a tactical withdrawal he would be permitted to study in peace. In this he was sadly disappointed. The Oxford Catholics, and particularly men such as Richard Martiall, were in no mood to make concessions to a man who had been such a prominent supporter of Peter Martyr and active member of his group.¹³¹

The majority of Jewel's fellow members had opted for the other alternative and left Oxford. The fate of these men touched Martyr deeply. On June 26th, 1554, he wrote to a friend in Strasburgh

'there were very many learners of Holy Scripture and students of theology of good repute, whose harvest was well-nigh ripe, whom I am now constrained to behold, either miserably wandering with uncertain dwellings, or remaining to be most wretchedly overwhelmed' 132

Wood demonstrated that the reversal of fortunes effected a reversal of roles, for the catholics affronted the protestants as they had been affronted before. Two religions were practised concurrently at the university, the catholics were saying mass and the protestants read the Prayer Book 'very faintly'. After Peter Martyr had left Oxford

'such an alteration was discerned in Oxford that it was wonderful to many to behold. That place which was always full at his Lectures (the auditors for the most part writing from his mouth) few or none were now to be seen there, they being either dispersed or privately retired: St. Mary's and other Churches which were frequented to hear him and several of the reformed party were now by them forsaken'. 133

The departure of Peter Martyr seemed to signal the destruction of the Christ Church circle and all that it stood for in

Oxford. Because its achievements proved so transitory its existence has been overlooked. The activities of the Christ Church circle shed light upon the friends of Zurich in England who have been the object of recent research. They also help to explain the situation in Oxford during Edward's reign. As far as Goodman is concerned, and the same is probably true for a number of his contemporaries, the Christ Church circle gave him his ideological premises upon which he was later able to construct his book.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

1. Zurich Staatsarchiv E II 368/258-9v, (O.L. II 768-71), Letter from Goodman to Martyr, August 20th, 1558.
2. Simler sig Qqiv.
3. O.L. II 478.
4. Especially in his Annals, Wood ed. Gutch IIIi 82 - 123.
5. Foxe VI 213.
6. Gleanings (see below n. 129) 142.
7. There is a document entitled "Expences of the Journey of Peter Martyr and Bernerdinus Ochino to England in 1547", which was written by John Abell, MS Ashmole 826 cited in full in M. Young, The Life and Times of Aario Paleario, (1860) I 576f.
8. He had arrived in Oxford by May 10th 1548, O.L. II 377-9.
9. He had arrived in Oxford by August 10th 1551, O.L. II 458-9.
10. O.L. II 460.
11. He had arrived in Oxford by November 19th 1550, O.L. II 719-20.
12. In his recommendation to Bullinger Thomas Harding described Stumphius and Croarius as "young men of tried probity, courtesy, and honourable feeling, as well as of unvaried good temper". O.L. I 311.
13. O.L. II 396; 402; 449 and Chapter Register f5 and see above 18.
14. See above 33.
15. O.L. II 727.

16. O.L. II 463.
17. O.L. II 483-4.
18. O.L. II 389-90.
19. He had originally complained, "when I put my foot out of doors, I do not meet a single individual who is known to me either personally or even by name". O.L. II 378.
20. O.L. I 312.
21. O.L. II 723.
22. O.L. I 359-60.
23. O.L. II 500.
24. E.g. November 12th, 1550, O.L. II 468.
25. See above n. 20.
26. O.L. II 461-2.
27. Gleanings 199.
28. Thompson 13; Chapter Register f7v; R. Smith, Diatriba de Hominis Iustificatione Aedita Oxoniae in Anglia..., ^uLoyain, (1550) f22-24v.
29. Thompson 13.
30. O.L. II 412 and 419-20.
31. See above 17-20.
32. All the details taken from Bartlet Green's examination in 1556, Foxe VII 731-41.
33. Xt. Ch. Mnts. iii b99 f15v payment for Michaelmas 1546.

34. Harding's Reioindre to Jewel (1556) quoted in M.W.Anderson, Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile 1542-62, Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatoria X Nieuwkoop (1975), 93-4.
35. The famous oration was recalled in 1575 by Bernard Gilpen in a letter concerning his time at Oxford quoted in full in C.S. Collingwood, Memoirs of Bernard Gilpen, (1884), 33.
36. O.L. I 309-11, and see below 69-70.
37. O.L. II 394; 396; 415.
38. Ecc. Mems. IIIi 325.
39. C.W. Le Bas. Life of Bishop Jewel (1835) 16.
40. S.T.C. 13963 L.Humphrey, Vita Iuelli, (1573) 32-4; Le Bas 14-5; Ecc. Mems. IIIi 225.
41. Vander Molen Thesis 129. One link between the Magdalen radicals and Christ Church was the friendship between John ab Ulmis and Michael Reniger who spoke of the "intimacy which ^{has} so long existed between us". O.L. I 375.
42. O.L. I 124-5.
43. O.U.A. Pyx BB Fasc 3 No. 24.
44. O.L. II 463.
45. O.L. II 494. For articles see below 118-9. Also see W.M.S.West "John Hooper and the Origins of Puritanism", Baptist Quarterly, 15 346-68; 16 23-46, 67-88.
46. O.L. I 99.
47. O.L. I 194.
48. O.L. II 724; I 191-5.

49. O.L. II 461; I 324. Traheron's visit to France was mentioned in an unpublished letter from Stumphius to Bullinger of 15th May 1550, Z.S. E II 359/2872.

50. O.L. I 265-75.

51. O.L. II 455.

52. O.L. II 382.

53. O.L. I 360.

54. O.L. II 429; Henry Grey's letter of thanks to Bullinger O.L. I 3-4.

55. O.L. II 457-8. Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, became Duke of Suffolk on 11th October 1551.

56. O.L. II 454.

57. O.L. II 399.

58. O.L. I 99; see above 70 and Appendix A
This attitude towards Northumberland contrasts with the attack launched by all the preachers of the court's Lenten sermons of 1553, see The Works of John Knox ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh, (1846-64) III 175-7.

59. Copy in B.L. C 37 c2 of the Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiae (1549).

60. See above 24.

61. Merrill 41-2.

62. O.L. II 464-5.

63. Gleanings 129.

64. Gleanings 74.

65. O.L. II 476; I 332.

66. O.L. II 385.

67. O.L. II 426-7.

68. Wood ed. Gutch IIIi 96.

69. O.L. II 465.

70. O.L. II 468.

71. Gleanings 139-43; O.L. I 82.

72. Bucer died on 28th February 1551, and on March 8th Martyr wrote to Conrad Hubert "O wretched me! as long as Bucer was in England...I never felt myself to be in exile. But now I plainly seem to myself to be alone and desolate". O.L. II 491.

73. W.M.S. West, "Bullinger and England in the Reign of Edward VI" in Henry Bullinger 1504-75, British Anniversary Colloquium (1975).

74. E.g. John Aylmer wrote "John ab Ulmis, has induced me to write thus much to your reverence. I was indeed afraid to interrupt so learned an individual, and one so diligently employed in the vineyard of Christ; but as he pertinaciously urged me, and assured me of your incredible kindness, I have banished all shame and fear from my mind". O.L. I 276-7.

75. O.L. I 70.

76. Gleanings 54.

77. O.L. II 424.

78. See below 118-9.

79. O.L. II 380-1.

80. O.L. II 383; 323 and 466.
81. In the same letter in which he had criticised Cranmer (see above n. 79) John ab Ulmis continued, "Oh, how lamentable is it, and to be deplored in the discourse, letters, and records of every nation, that the flock of Christ are now-a-days surrounded by some persons with error; nor will any of those who are most influential both from learning and authority, boldly stand up against these herdsmen..and send them into exile".
82. O.L. II 395.
83. O.L. II 428-9.
84. O.L. II 497.
85. O.L. II 498; and see below 130-1.
86. O.L. I 97.
87. O.L. II 498-9.
88. O.U.A. Pyx BB Fasc 3 No. 24.
89. Wood ed. Gutch IIIi 104-5.
90. Mallet 82-3.
91. Wood ed. Gutch IIIi 99.
92. op.cit. 106-8.
93. I am indebted to Mr. Bryan Gadd for this reference and for the transcripts of the manuscripts mentioned in n. 94.
94. Corpus Christi College Cambridge Parker MSS cxxvii 21, 22, 27. Ogelthorpe was forced by the Privy Council to resign on 27th September 1552.

95. A.P.C. III 1550-2 204; 237; 305.
96. A trewe mirroure or glasse wherein we maye beholde the wofull state of thys our Realme of Englande n.p. (1556),
sig. A4v.
97. O.L. II 467.
98. Gleanings 269.
99. Foxe VIII 204.
100. Simler sig Qqiv.
101. P.R.O. SP 10/8/32 f55-6.
102. John ab Ulmis reported, "The Oxfordshire papists are at last reduced to order, many of them having been apprehended, and some gibbeted, and their heads fastened to the walls".
O.L. II 391.
103. Gleanings 151-2.
104. Wood ed. Gutch III 82-3.
105. O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f17v; Typescript 35.
106. S.T.C. 22822 A godly and faythfull retraction made by R. Smyth. Revokyng certeyn errors in some of hys bookes (1547).
107. Smith's whole story is related at considerable length by Strype, Ecc. Mems. III 62-71; 795-9. Both the original recantation and the Oxford statements were printed in S.T.C. 22824 A playne declaration made at Oxforde the 24 daye of July by Mayster Richarde Smyth, Doctor of divinitie, upon hys retraction made and published at Paules crosse in London (1547).
108. Simler sig Qqv and Gleanings 152 quoted above at n. 103.

109. Letter from Martyr to Cox on 22nd August 1559, translated by Huelin 49-51.

110. Gleanings 154-5.

111. O.L.II 478. There is a catholic version of the Disputation in the Bodleian, MS Add C 197, written in English possibly by, or for, Tresham. John White's, Diacosio-Martyrion, was written in 1550 but not published until 1553. Tresham's Latin account "Disputatio de Eucharistiae Sacramento contra Petrum Martyrem", is found in B.L. Harl MS 422 art 1-2 with addition by Chedsey art 3; also Tresham's letter in Strype's Memorials of...Thomas Cranmer (1812) II 848-55.

112. Simler sig Qqv; Qqiv.

113. O.L. II 493-4; 488.

114. Gleanings 141.

115. Gleanings 126.

116. Gleanings 181-2.

117. Detailed descriptions can be found in Strype's Mems Cranmer 283-90. Martyr's version is found in his letter to Cox in 1559, Huelin 49-51. The official version was published in 1549 (see above n.59) and in 1550 translated by Nicholas Udall, see below 144 n.49.

118. One that even merited 10d worth of wine and marmalade provided by the university, O.U.A. Vice-Chancellor's Account Book 1547-50 361.

119. Wood ed. Gutch IIIi 93.

120. Strype Mems Cranmer 287.

121. Gleanings 141.

122. Gilpen also remembered that "Doctor Watson made a long oration touching the Supper of the Lorde to bee administred under both kindes. Mr. Morgan tolde me that Doctor Ware a man most famous for life and learning had affirmed unto him that the principall sacrifice of the Church of God was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. This was his answer when I demanded of him what could be said for the sacrifice of the Masse", see above n. 35.

123. O.L. II 722.

124. O.L. I 369.

125. B.L. Add MSS 32,091 f145. Also see H.A.Wilson History of Magdalen Oxford (1899) 101 quoting from a copy of the letter in Magdalen College records. The copy in the British Library does not seem to be known, Mallet (95) cites a similar epistle to Cambridge University.

126. Wood ed. Gutch II i 120.

127. See Wood op.cit. 120-2.

128. Wood op.cit. 123.

129. G.C.Gorham Gleanings of a few scattered ears...(1857) 303-5 for letters from Jewel to Parkhurst on 15th Oct. and 22nd.

130. Gleanings 320-1.

131. Jewel was required to make the official oration on behalf of the university to Queen Mary congratulating her on her accession. He succeeded in this delicate task so well that even Tresham could not fault it. He acted as clerk in the disputations held in Oxford in 1554 with Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. He was then forced to subscribe to catholic articles. Even so Martiall had plans to arrest him and on hearing about them Jewel finally fled to the continent. See Le Bas 20-33.

132. Gleanings 318-20.

133. Wood ed. Gutch III 119-20.

CHAPTER THREE

The ideological complexion of the Christ Church circle is almost as difficult to establish as its personnel. Because of the close personal contacts within the group there was little need to write things down. There are three major sources for the ideas of the circle in the writings of Peter Martyr, John Jewel and John Hooper. But these can be used as evidence only when there is some indication that their views were held by some of the rest of the circle. Members of the circle signed two different sets of articles and these provide an important insight into the doctrinal priorities of the circle. Once again the letters, particularly of the Swiss students, give detailed supplementary information. A picture of the thinking of the junior members of the circle can be pieced together from the inventory of Edward Beaumont's books. Various other types of evidence, such as dedicatory epistles to books, help to provide pieces for the ideological jigsaw.

One of the major distinguishing characteristics of the Christ Church circle was their doctrine of the eucharist. In Oxford, as elsewhere, eucharistic doctrine was the key issue which determined sides. It provoked continual discussion and a great deal of contention. In December 1548 Peter Martyr thought that every corner of Oxford was full of that discussion.¹ The Disputation of 1549 proved that it was considered by both sides in Oxford to be by far the most important matter between them.

On the question of the eucharist the Christ Church circle was aware of being different from many of the other reformers in England. John ab Ulmis thought that Cranmer was in a

dangerously heavy slumber because he had not only approved,

"that foul and sacrilegious transubstantiation of the papists in the holy supper of our Saviour, but all the dreams of Luther seem to him ^{sufficiently} well-grounded, perspicuous, and lucid". 2

The Zurich students somewhat naturally tended to follow Bullinger's views on the eucharist. However their instruction by Peter Martyr in his series of lectures on 1 Corinthians³ and in the Disputation would have slightly modified their views. Although Peter Martyr was close to Bullinger in this matter his doctrinal position was not identical. Martyr's distinctive view of the eucharist, which was worked out and articulated in Oxford, was adopted by most of his Oxford sympathisers. It provided them with a coherent system which supported and linked together in an integrated framework the essential points of their sacramental beliefs.

Peter Martyr felt himself indebted to Bullinger's views and in harmony with them. He wrote to him on 27th January 1550,

"You congratulate me upon the happy result of the disputations, which however is rather to be attributed to you than to me, since you have for so many years both taught and maintained that doctrine which I there undertook to defend". 4

Martyr was delighted when the Consensus Tigurinus was agreed between Bullinger and Calvin. He felt that it was entirely in line with his own opinions which he had delivered in the conversations and disputations on the Lord's Supper while he had been in Oxford.⁵

Martyr also felt he was in agreement with his friend Bucer who was far closer to the Lutheran position on the eucharist. Bucer had been unhappy at the propositions Martyr had constructed

for the Disputation of 1549. He confided to Niger that he had wished for modified propositions and ones couched in Scriptural terms, but he explained that they had been agreed before his arrival in England. On his advice, Bucer continued, Martyr,

"inserted many things in the preface (of his book on the Disputation) whereby to express more fully his belief in the presence of Christ".

6

Peter Martyr took considerable trouble to calm Bucer's fears that he denied that Christ was present in the Lord's Supper. On 15th June 1549, after the Disputation, he sent Bucer via his trusted servant Julius Terentianus a full account of the Disputation and a further explanation of his views. Martyr hoped that Bucer would understand, if he weighed the matter carefully, that

"when I maintain that the Body of Christ becomes present to us by faith and by communicating we are incorporated with Him, and are transformed into that (Body) - I do not wander far from what you yourself teach".

7

It was Martyr's distinctive and underestimated contribution to eucharistic doctrine that he could stand between Bucer and Bullinger and reconcile their two different emphases by incorporating them into his own new framework.

Martyr concurred with Bullinger when he insisted that there was no change in the nature of the sacramental symbols. He completely rejected the idea that the elements of bread and wine were physically transformed. In the Disputation Martyr's first two theses stated,

"In the sacrament of the eucharist there is no transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The body and blood of Christ are not carnally or bodily in the bread and wine, nor, as others say, under the species of bread and wine".

On the other hand Martyr agreed with Bucer's positive assertion that Christ's body and blood were truly received by the believer during the Lord's Supper, which was no mere sign nor figure. He expressed ^{it} in his third thesis for the Disputation which said:

"The body and blood of Christ are joined to the bread and wine sacramentally". 8

Peter Martyr asserted that the identity lay only on the sacramental level. On the ontological level he strictly upheld the diversity between the body and blood of Christ and the bread and wine. It was this double assertion which distinguished Martyr's doctrine of the Lord's Supper and enabled him to balance the views of Bucer and Bullinger. By affirming the identity to be only on the sacramental level Martyr dissociated himself from the extreme Lutherans who spoke of a physical union, and also from the Anabaptists who did not believe in any identity at all. By stressing the diversity on the ontological level Martyr could without difficulty oppose the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. In his letter to Bucer of June 1549 Martyr summarised his position:

"we verily partake of the Things of the Sacrament, that is, the Body and Blood of Christ; but so that I hold, that this is done by the mind and by faith; and in the meantime I grant that the Holy Spirit is efficacious in the Sacraments by force of the Spirit and institute of the Lord. This, however, I endeavour to maintain, in opposition to superstitious notions; chiefly with the view that people should not confuse either the Body or the Blood of Christ, carnally and through a corporeal Presence, with the Bread and the Wine. But that we ourselves are verily conjoined to Him (is a point on which) I have no hesitation; nor do I desire that the Sacraments should be (considered as) Symbols without honour and dignity". 9

The sacramental identity was explained by Peter Martyr as a relationship. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been

divinely instituted by Christ and in it the elements were brought together with the body of Christ in an effectual and true "signification". Martyr gave the term "significat" a dynamic meaning: the bread led the believer to the body of Christ, it was a sign to His body rather than a sign of it. The sacramental symbols of the bread and wine were the "fundamentum" of the relationship and Christ's body was the "terminus". Although the two points of the relationship always remained distinct they were intimately related together. The bread and wine were never physically changed into Christ's body and blood but they were changed into the sacrament of His body and blood. Martyr insisted that the believer truly received Christ's body through the symbols. On this last point Peter Martyr agreed with his adversaries: if the sacrament is to be a true one the believer must receive Christ's own body. According to Martyr, the controversy was not what the believer received in the sacrament but in what manner he received it.¹⁰

Martyr believed that Christ's body could only be received by the faithful spiritually. It was not possible to eat Christ's body physically. On the basis of this premise he was able to insist that the sacramental relationship was between the bread and Christ's body and not between the bread and the figure of His body. Because the believer received Christ spiritually and not physically the mode of reception was through faith and not through the mouth.

Although faith was the vehicle through which Christ's body was received Martyr did not make the sacrament itself dependent upon the condition of man's faith. The objectivity of the sacrament was validated by three things; Christ's institution,

the words of consecration and the intervention of the Holy Spirit. From beginning to end the sacrament was the work of God and it was made efficacious by His Spirit. Faith did not create the sacrament but it did help to make it effective, because it made the sacrament happen for the believer. Martyr described a sacrament as an event and not as an object. It was an action which required participation. In the Lord's Supper faith was the vehicle through which the partaker truly and effectually took part in the sacrament. But, Martyr said, it must never be forgotten that faith was itself a gift from God.

Faith did not bring Christ to the sacrament but it brought the believer to Christ. It was the instrument by which Christ's body, which is in heaven, can be made present to the believer. On the spiritual level faith can overcome distances. It was not able to annul the physical distance between the bread on earth and Christ's body in heaven, but it was able to bring together the spirit of the partaker of the Lord's Supper and Christ's body. This was why faith was the effective instrument of the relationship in the sacrament.

In the Lord's Supper the believer fed on Christ spiritually. Martyr described this spiritual eating, the "manducatio spiritualis", in the following terms. It began with the Holy Spirit who took the sacramental symbols and used them to stir up the faith of the partaker of the Lord's Supper. The faith that had been aroused by the Spirit became the vehicle by which the sacramental relationship made the promises of Christ effective. Faith annulled the distance between heaven and earth and made Christ spirit-

ually present in the spirit of the partaker. This process enabled the partaker to be nourished by the flesh of Christ and here the actual "manducatio" took place. The spirit of the partaker became permeated by the redemptive properties of the flesh of Christ and was incorporated into the body of Christ. Martyr was convinced that the nourishment which the partaker received was spiritual because it took place within the spirit of man where faith is found. However he did believe that the incorporation into the body of Christ effected in the sacraments had effects which spread over the whole of man's body.¹¹ This did not stop him insisting that the actual process of nourishment was exclusively spiritual.

Peter Martyr explained the sacramental identity between Christ's body and the bread by means of his concept of analogy. He viewed the sacrament as a dynamic relationship occurring between two different and distinct realities both of which remain unchanged and in their original nature throughout the whole sacrament. He denied the relationship had any bodily or physical connotations at all. Along with the Zwinglian tradition Martyr accepted the term "significat" as a correct description of the meaning of Christ's words of institution. However his definition of the relationship "per significationem" expanded and made far more positive the Zurich view of the sacramental change.

Martyr was aware that ordinary analogies conveyed an insufficiently close relationship to describe adequately the quality of the sacramental relationship. He employed two adjectives to qualify and expand his meaning. The first was "efficax" which showed that the sacramental event involved the believer and his faith and conveyed the sense that the

signification in the Lord's Supper was dynamic and operative, not merely allusive. The other adjective Martyr used was "vera". He wanted to make it clear that the sacrament was no less true because it was spiritual than if it were physical. It was true because it rested upon the institution of Christ. God had chosen this way of relating the elements of bread and wine to Christ's body and blood. The truth of the relationship was also shown by the fact that Christ's body was always a reality which was totally independent of the believer and his faith.

It was Martyr's explanation of the sacramental relationship which probably made the greatest impression upon the Christ Church circle because here he was being original. Certainly Goodman's thinking was deeply affected by this part of Martyr's eucharistic doctrine. He was influenced by Martyr's stress upon the dynamism of the relationship and by its complete dependence upon the work of God. He was also influenced by Martyr's description of the involvement of the partaker and the way faith made the Lord's Supper effectual for him. Goodman's later thinking grew out of the premise that God was in relationship with man. Although his views on the nature of the covenant relationship were naturally very different from Martyr's on the sacramental relationship, they grew from the seed of Martyr's idea.

It was part of Martyr's integrated doctrinal framework to give a comprehensive picture of the "terminus" of the sacramental relationship, that is the body of Christ. Peter Martyr asserted that it was Christ's human body and not his divine nature which was received in the Lord's Supper.

Despite the fact that it was Christ's glorified body which had risen and ascended it was still a real body composed of real human flesh. It was the flesh which had been born of the Virgin Mary and had hung upon the cross. Having ascended, Christ's body was in heaven until his final return to earth in glory. According to his divine nature Christ was everywhere but according to his human nature Christ remained in heaven seated at the right hand of God the Father. It was a matter of great importance to Martyr that Christ's body stayed in heaven and was not available everywhere as some of the Lutherans asserted. Martyr's view of the eucharist depended upon the idea that the distance between the bread on earth and Christ's body in heaven was overcome by means of the spiritual conjunction effected through faith.

Peter Martyr felt that the reality of Christ's human nature, which he regarded as a fundamental Christian doctrine, was being challenged. A true Christology must uphold the two natures of Christ bound together in a hypostatic union. Because Christology was the central element in Martyr's theology he felt the challenge most deeply. According to McLelland, the union of the two natures in the person of Christ was the arch^etype of all Martyr's theological thinking and dominated his concept of analogy.¹² If he made any concession on the question of ubiquity he would negate the whole of his explanation of the sacramental relationship and destroy the integrated doctrinal framework behind it.

The flesh of Christ was also important to Martyr because through its union with the divine nature in the person of Christ it was able to mediate the unique power of redemp-

tion. The flesh by its suffering and death on the cross had accomplished that redemption. Salvation flowed to man through Christ's human flesh which was the chosen channel of God's grace. Martyr felt that to call in question the human properties of the flesh of Christ was to jeopardize the salvation of mankind.

The belief held so firmly by Martyr on the location of Christ's body in heaven later involved him in a fierce polemical battle with the extreme Lutherans who upheld Christ's ubiquity. As early as 1549 Peter Martyr was aware that on this issue he would probably be in disagreement with Bucer. In his letter of 15th June, he wrote,

"you may be displeased that I assert that it is impossible that the Body of Christ, even glorified, should be in many places. But, as you perceive, Scripture does not declare this to me as a thing to be believed; - the human nature forbids it:- the Fathers affirm that it can be granted to no creature but to God only;- while no greater benefit could come to us from it".

13

The question of ubiquity featured very prominently in the set of articles signed by Hooper, Parkhurst, Jewel and others connected with Oxford and the diocese of Gloucester.¹⁴ The first five articles dealt with the one godhead in three persons and the dual nature of Christ. The sixth and by far the longest article stated:

"I belyve that the body of Christe beyng inseparablie annexed with the godhed of Christe, hath yet and ever shall have the nature, condicione and properties of a verie true bodie, and who so ever attributith any suche qualities unto the humanitie of Christe as ys dew onlie and solie unto his godhed dothe not onlie iniuries to the godhed, but also destroweth, annyhilateth and subvertith the trewth of Christes humane bodie. And althrough Christ now hath put of all condicions of a mortall man and sittethe at the right hand of God that destroweth not his humane bodie...."

The article continued by specifying the particular properties of Christ's glorified body which would be shared by those who believed in Christ when they too rose from the dead. Ubiquity was not one of the properties, and the article went on to make the categorical statement:

"I belyve that Christe concernyng his humanitie ys yn one place, that is to saye in heaven and no where elles."

Despite the fact that Christ's body was in heaven Christ had not forsaken his elect upon earth but was with them spiritually. The belief in Christ's ubiquity was condemned as an error of Marcion and Eutyches who confused the divine and human natures of Christ and attributed the properties appropriate to Christ's divine nature and to his human nature.¹⁴ The similarities with Martyr's views can be seen not only in the general stance against ubiquity but in this particular condemnation of ubiquity as a Christological heresy which could be traced back to Marcion and Eutyches. The content of the articles shows the firm ideological link between the group around Hooper and the Christ Church circle. It also reveals the dominant theological influence of Peter Martyr and the way in which his concerns were adopted by his sympathisers.

Martyr's followers in Oxford themselves took up his fight against the idea of Christ's ubiquity. The author of 'A trewe mirrour....' related in his book the story of a disputation in which Greenway the Vice-President of Corpus Christi College posed the question,

"whether Christes natural body mought (sic) be in more place then one".

One of his opponents openly professed himself to be of a contrary

mind, which the author implied would have distinguished him as one of the catholic party. This suggests that the appropriate views on the issue of ubiquity were one of the hallmarks of the Christ Church circle.¹⁵

During the formulation of the Second Book of Common Prayer a "doubtful point" was raised as to whether grace was conferred by virtue of the sacrament. Some wanted the affirmative established by public authority, a suggestion which Peter Martyr firmly opposed as in his opinion it would encourage superstition. He thought that,

"nothing more is to be granted to the sacraments than to the external word of God". 16

Both word and sacrament were made efficacious through faith. The Holy Spirit used the sacraments to stir up the faith of the participants: the symbols in the sacraments were seals of the promised grace and not the vehicle of that grace. Martyr was anxious not to restrict the gift of the grace of God to the occasion of the sacraments. In this context he was sure that the Lord's Supper was not the only time when the believer was nourished by the flesh of Christ. The spiritual eating spoken of by Christ in the sixth chapter of John's Gospel could occur completely independently of the eucharist. The faithful believer was also nourished by the proclamation of the Word of God, because through it he was spiritually joined with Christ and so could feed on his flesh.

The belief that sanctification was independent of, and prior to, the reception of the sacraments impinged upon the question of predestination. Those who believed that grace was conferred by virtue of the sacraments would not grant that children were justified and regenerate before baptism. There

was a sharp division over this issue and Martyr and his friends excited considerable displeasure on that account. They were criticized in particular because they dissented from Augustine on the matter, a crime which was almost as serious as the incorrect opinion itself. Martyr commented on the controversy:

"Men cannot be torn away from the merit of works; and what is more to be lamented, they are unwilling to confess it...But we must not, on that account, despair; nay we are not a little confident, that that may be accomplished at some other time which has now failed of success". 17

A few months later Bartholomew Traheron wrote to Bullinger on the same subject and informed him that the majority, which included himself, favoured Calvin's opinion. He praised Calvin's book "De Aeterna Dei Praedestinatione" which came out at the same time as the question of predestination was being first agitated among the circle. Traheron requested Bullinger's views on the subject and on Calvin's book. He knew that the bearer of the letter, John ab Ulmis, would inform Bullinger more fully of the position among the pro-Zurich group in England.¹⁸ Previously there had been a dispute within the group between Traheron and Hooper on the issue but the disagreement seems to have been kept fairly secret.¹⁹

The debates on ubiquity and predestination took place within the ranks of the reformers and on a national level. In Oxford there were other more generally held protestant doctrines which were sharply opposed by the catholics. Very early during Peter Martyr's time at Oxford he spoke at a private Christ Church disputation on the subject of purgatory. The issue was probably occasioned by Martyr's treatment of 1

Corinthians 3 on which he would have been lecturing.²⁰

According to John ab Ulmis, Martyr proved to the great satisfaction of his hearers,

"that there is no other purgatory than the cross to which we wretched beings are exposed in this life".

21

Those on the other side produced evidence from the Fathers, and in particular cited Chrysostom to support their case for prayers for the dead. At this point Richard Cox stepped in to support Martyr. He thought that the arguments from the Fathers were not in themselves conclusive nor were all things enjoined by the Apostles profitable and to be used by the Church of later times. Cox's positive points have been lost as his intervention was only recorded by his opponent Richard Smith.²² The catholic party continued to raise the question, for in March 1550 they argued on the different degrees of reward for the blessed in order to speak on the subject of merits and purgatory.²³ The fifth of the Chambers articles contained an emphatic denial of purgatory which was condemned as a superstition by which the Pope made money.²⁴

When Martyr's lectures had reached the seventh chapter of 1 Corinthians he dealt with the question of celibacy and monastic vows. Smith attended all these lectures and noted all that Martyr said on the subject and the lengthy disputations which took place. The material which Smith gathered was put into the books he wrote against Martyr.²⁵ On a practical level the attack on celibacy was reinforced by the wives of Martyr and Cox who were the first women officially to live in an Oxford college. In his poem Forrest accused

Cox not only of taking a wife himself contrary to his priestly vows of celibacy, but pressurising others to do the same.

Forrest specifically mentioned that it was Martyr's doctrine which provoked the persecution of unmarried priests whom Cox

"afflicted, tormoyled and toste,
To losse of lyvyng or some other coste". 26

The other catholic practice which Peter Martyr attacked was fasting. He set forth his views in a sermon on Ash-Wednesday, 6th March 1549. Having defined a fast and distinguished between different types, Martyr spoke of its causes, effects and benefits.²⁷ He enjoined his listeners to keep a true Christian fast. Then he condemned what he termed pharisaical and papistical fasting which ensnared the consciences of the weak in superstition. In addition the papists damned to hell all those who did not observe their constitutions on fasting or who without licence ate flesh and milk-meats which were God's clean creatures. It did not matter to the papists if these things were eaten moderately and soberly

"with thanksgiving and sanctification of
God's word, according to the Apostles' rule".

Martyr concluded by praying his listeners to live in the spirit of Christian liberty, so that none should condemn another in the matter of meat and drink. The sermon was ended with Martyr crying out in a sad voice,

"O spare the blood of Christ, spare your
own souls".

On a more positive note members of the Christ Church circle preached and lectured on the doctrine of justification by faith. Grimald used his position as lecturer in rhetoric at Christ Church to provide an opportunity for speaking and writing on salvation which he taught was found in Christ alone.²⁸

Martyr also spent some time explaining the meaning of "iustitia dei" to his Oxford listeners. He was particularly anxious to show that faith was a living thing which expressed its central hope in the remission of sins by Christ through acts of love. Faith without charity was not justifying faith. The whole of Christ was embraced by faith and this led to union with Christ, one of Martyr's distinctive themes.²⁹

Apart from matters of doctrine the Christ Church circle seemed united by similar educational ideals. Most of these were the common heritage of humanist ideas on education but they were welded together in an evangelical fervour which produced a new flavour.³⁰ It is interesting that in Oxford generally speaking those who wished for radical changes in the educational life of the university were also prepared to support radical religious changes. The two causes became linked together. Christ Church was meant to be an example of the new style of education and was also radical in its religious position. Cox its Dean, and Chancellor of the University, is an important example of the association of the two radicalisms, and he was attacked as much for his educational as his religious reforms. Likewise the Visitation of 1549 commanded alterations in both areas of the university's life. The association of the two things is strengthened by the events of Mary's reign when the religious reaction was accompanied by a return to the old patterns of education.

Education was viewed in a moral context as a means of supervising and training youth. The members of the Christ Church circle believed that a bad influence was capable of destroying

"the entire efforts of good characters in

their course of development".

31.

This approach provoked a serious concern for the moral welfare of all the pupils. It was manifested in the enthusiasm which the members of the circle showed for the tutorial system. Every scholar at Christ Church was to have a tutor who was responsible for the way in which he behaved. Goodman himself took over the supervision of six young men and he, and the other tutors at Christ Church, seem to have run an effective and conscientious system.³² The best description of the practice and the ideal on which it rested has been given by Laurence Humphrey about John Jewel.

"He loved his pupils entirely and like a father. As their preceptor he sedulously instructed them; as their guardian he assiduously watched them. He suffered them to waste no time in trifles, or to wander away from their books or to contract vicious habits among the common herd of scholars. It was his care that, while present with him, there should be no idleness among them; and that, when absent from him, they should not offend God either by word or deed".

Jewel instructed his pupils in private lessons which were in addition to the public lectures they had to attend. Ovid and Livy were used for translation exercises but special attention was given to Cicero's "Partitiones Oratorice" which was regarded as a most exquisite work. Jewel composed a special dialogue on rhetoric for his pupils and every week he practised them in composition, recitation and declamation. At night he made his pupils recapitulate the day's business. Jewel rarely punished his pupils and then only in proportion to the offence.³³

In a sermon he preached Jewel spoke of the responsibility of those who received money from Chambers. The donation of money was in itself proof that God in his mercy had not abandoned

his people. The scholars had the arduous duty laid upon them which permitted,

'no time for daintiness, or ease or festivity or licence or impurity in evil; but rather for literary labour and studious vigils and praiseworthy pursuits, and severity of life. For thus only could our good works so shine before men that they might glorify our Father which is in heaven".

34

In more fulsome language Grimald expressed his intention to be worthy of Cecil's patronage. He promised that he would be

"most eager for learning, most studious of holy things, most bitter against the Papacy, most unwearied in displaying my talent, most ready to extend and adorn the Christian state".

35

The purpose of a university education was to produce godly men. Universities were also specifically expected to be seminaries from which came an adequate supply of learned and dedicated ministers of the word. In this sense the universities were seen as an integral part of the church, the root or part of the church where the host of the Lord abideth.³⁶

On receiving his degree of Bachelor of Divinity Jewel set out his view of the office of a pastor. He chose as the text for his sermon "If any man speake, let him talk as the wordes of God". He made three points; that a pastor should speak often, that he should speak from the Holy Scriptures, and that he should speak gravely and modestly. He revealed a very elevated conception of pastoral responsibility. Jewel knew that he was addressing a special audience, not the common sort of men but the profoundly learned who either were preachers or would become preachers. He warned them,

"The Gospel, religion, Godlinesse, the healthe of the Church dependeth on us alone. This is our office that we take upon us and this

we professe...It is not ynough to knowe I wote not what learning. The Devils perhappes knowe more than any of us all. It belongeth unto a Pastor not so mucche to have learned many thinges, as to have taughte mucche". 37

It was a matter of great concern and grief to the Christ Church circle that there was in England such a great penury of the Word of God. The clergy were failing to preach and thereby to feed their sheep with the doctrine of Christ.³⁸ The clergy in Oxford who behaved like that and lived at their ease in the colleges were the object of severe criticism within the circle. The situation distressed Grimald deeply and he complained to Cecil that these clergy

"not only oppress our people with their authority, cozen them with craft, and deceive them by persuasion, in short, either harry or corrupt them by whatever means they can; but also because they allow their own people to be neglected deserted and almost half dead from starvation, whom they ought to watch over, console and instruct; in short they ought to exchange life for death".

Grimald assured Cecil that this was not simply his own opinion but was held in common with all those who constantly desired to promote pure and simple piety. It was hoped that Cecil would work zealously to ensure that

"drones may be kept in disgrace from the hives, that the idle, the negligent, the pastors in name only, shall be recalled from their halls to their sheepfolds, that is from our colleges to their parishes". 39

In the pessimistic time immediately following Edward's death Martyr preached a sermon in which he lamented that Oxford was not contributing as it should to the well-being of the church. He felt that there was such a lack of the pure water of sincere doctrine that the fountains themselves were growing dry and unclean. Too many of the Oxford colleges were unable or

unwilling to provide a single preacher of the gospel.⁴⁰

This dismal picture is balanced by a letter Martyr wrote about a year later in which he recalled the many learners of Holy Scripture and theological students whom he had taught at Oxford.⁴¹

The Christ Church circle thought that university education should not only produce a preaching clergy, it should also inculcate godly ideals into the future leaders of the country. Grimald specifically mentioned his willingness to adorn the Christian state. In Oxford, during Edward's reign, the ideals of "court" and "country" humanism described by Professor Kearney cannot be rigidly separated.⁴² There seems to have been a strong strand of "country" humanism which was probably encouraged by the presence of the Italian Peter Martyr and the Swiss students. The ideal of a godly nobility, which was later expressed by Laurence Humphrey in his book "The Nobles", pervades the correspondence of the Christ Church circle. Humphrey, a young demy at Magdalen, was probably introduced to the ideas during his Oxford education. It is possible that the sort of education Humphrey offered when he was President of Magdalen in Elizabeth's reign reflected the practice of Christ Church under Edward. The assumption that nobility was determined on grounds of virtue rather than on birth caused slight problems for John ab Ulmis. In his letters concerning the earls of Dorset and Warwick an element of special pleading creeps into his praise of their actions and their patronage.⁴³

The godly gentlemen of the Marian exile was given by Kearney as the type most representative of "country" humanism. Although peppered with fewer passages of denunciation, the picture of nobility found in the Christ Church circle is the

same as that presented by the exiles. This is not surprising because the circle formed one of the basic constituents of the exile. Both in exile and in Oxford the ideal was propagated by the clerical class rather than the nobles themselves. As an ideal it was more persuasive to gentlemen particularly those who were seeking a godly education for their sons.

It was part of the ideal of a godly gentleman that he should endeavour to keep his household instructed in the true faith. This duty was especially important when the pastors neglected their office. It was in such a situation that Peter Martyr addressed an unknown English friend and exhorted him

"to your ability be not wanting to your household; for if you do so you shall rule your family not only in the flesh but also in the spirit. And these things I write, not that I think you to be slothful, but that I may encourage you to do the more earnestly what I regard you as doing".

44

The reference to slothfulness was indicative of the attitude of the Christ Church circle towards educational excellence. They regarded a godly diligence as the main virtue in scholarship. It was even more important than ability, for as Grimald remarked,

"I condemn the ability of no one, however mediocre, as long as he shows the diligence that he ought".

The greatest crime was laziness, for the lazy only consumed food and then aided by their powerful friends they took the positions which should have been filled by worthy men. The lazy negated the purpose of a university which was to stir up zeal in good and studious youth, set honest examples before tender age, offer the fruits of literature to the common people and by a display of diligence avoid leaving a barbaric inheritance to posterity.

45

One interesting guide to the thinking and the educational concerns of the Christ Church circle is the list of books in possession of Edward Beaumont who died suddenly in August 1552.⁴⁶ It is particularly helpful because of his very close connexion with Goodman who acted as his sole executor. Beaumont was only twenty-one when he died and still proceeding with the arts course. Consequently most of his books are concerned with his studies in the arts. Beaumont's collection was large, comprising 118 volumes which were valued at £9. 13s. 5d, considerably more than the rest of his goods which only totalled £3. 13s. 4d. A number of university textbooks were in the collection, showing that Beaumont's interest was centred upon rhetoric and the cultivation of a good Latin style. He also had interests in classical history and antiquities. He bequeathed half of his antiquarian collection to Laurence Nowell and the other half which included his silver coins to Bridges. In the book list the author with the most titles was Cicero who boasted eleven books. There was not a great deal of theology but it was significant that Beaumont's expensive copy of Calvin's Institutes was bequeathed to Goodman.

The book-list does show that Beaumont was up-to-date with literary fashion for he had bought the latest new books from Paris available in 1552, the year of his death.⁴⁷ This confirms the view that the Christ Church circle were well supplied and had easy access to the continental book market. Among the recent books was Carr on the death of Bucer, a volume to be expected from a member, albeit a junior one, of the Christ Church circle.

The Christ Church circle believed in making the fruits of their learning available to as many people as possible. One

obvious way was through the pulpit and all the ordained members of the circle were encouraged to preach.⁴⁸ There was also the desire to translate books into the vernacular in order that more people could have access to their contents and be edified by them. This was particularly true for the doctrine of the eucharist. In his preface to the translation of Martyr's Tractise Nicholas Udall explained that he had translated the work for the instruction of all those who could read and specially for those of good zeal but insufficient learning. The purpose of all vernacular books whether the Bible or others was to edify everybody, each according to his capacity. Udall was sure that this gradual accumulation of knowledge would lead to a correct understanding.

"By continuall readyng and hearing the unlearned and simple maie take enstructions and from dai to day procede and growe in knowelage till at laste they shall by due use and exercise, be hable to understande as muche as shall bee necessarye or expedient for them".

Udall showed a remarkable sensitivity towards the problems of translation for the "unlettered sorte". The specialised terminology used in university disputations created a major linguistic difficulty. He explained that he had adopted a policy of modification in the hope of making the books as plain and simple as possible and so comprehensible to those without specialist knowledge.

"Therfor in som places I have either altered or leafte at least ye scoole termes whych otherwise would have made the thing more derke and brought it as nere I could to the familiar phrase of English speakyng, or else have added suche circumstance of other woordes, as might declare it and make it plain".

He admitted that although this meant that he had on occasion to swerve from the precise Latin text he was sure that he had

never digressed from the mind of the author.⁴⁹ In his epistle Udall had taken a unique step in the development of the concept of translation. By saying that he needed to modify the terminology he had shown that he realised that a foreign language was not the only barrier to the people's understanding. He was the first to acknowledge that there was a cultural as well as a linguistic gap, which needed to be bridged particularly if the people were to understand the eucharistic controversies.⁵⁰

The democratic spirit towards learning had been displayed by Nicholas Grimald in his translation of Cicero's "De Officiis" made in 1553. He justified his work with the statement that,

"I wisshed many mo to be partners of such sweetnesse as I had partly felt myself: and to declare that I ment nolesse than I wisshed: I laid to my helping hand".

51

Grimald's plays were also written with a definite didactic purpose in mind. In the dedicatory epistle of "Archipropheta" he said that the history of John the Baptist would be of profit to those of cruder intelligence as well as a delight to the learned. Grimald used the Greek view of a poet to defend the unusual style he had adopted for his play. He was convinced that the subject matter would teach the reader or spectator true, genuine and unfeigned repentance which was the way to approach Christ.⁵²

Coupled with the desire for a simplicity of language which could instruct the unlearned was a plea for accuracy. This sprang from the humanist's reverence for the text. Udall had tried to guard himself against the accusation of misrepresentation. Similarly Peter Martyr had defended himself against the charge of tampering with the text of the

Disputation for his own polemical advantage. He made a particular point of informing the reader that he had collated the different accounts of the Disputation including those of his opponents and that he had tried as far as possible to retain the words which had been originally used.⁵³

The general concern for simplicity, accuracy and faithfulness to the original text was also displayed in the attitude towards the liturgy of the Church of England. Peter Martyr was always pressing for what he regarded as apostolic simplicity. He wanted

"to approach as near as possible to the Holy Scripture in ceremonies; and to carry out the imitation of the better times of the Church".⁵⁴

The tension between the evolution of a national liturgy and the striving for Scriptural simplicity remained beneath the surface throughout Edward's reign. The Christ Church circle which then appeared to be in complete harmony on the issue divided in the Frankfurt troubles and members of the circle provided the majority of the leaders for both sides. That controversy broke both the personal and the intellectual unity of the Christ Church circle.⁵⁵ It is interesting that there is no evidence of any disagreement during the time they were all in Oxford. The only hint of a problem was Martyr's comments concerning the formulation of the Second Prayer Book. That Prayer Book was well received because it was regarded as a very important step on a continuing road of reform.

The Christ Church circle tended to be arguing about liturgy on a more basic level. Strong and violent opposition was shown to any ritual which might suggest a catholic or crypto-catholic attitude to worship. The physical violence at Magdalen was directed against the elevation of the host and the

service books. Later in the articles attacking Ogelthorpe the Magdalen radicals accused him of ministering the communion

"popyshilie, with beckings, dookings and shewing hit unto the people".

They also mentioned the use of beads and the failure to read Scripture.⁵⁶

In its practice, the liturgical environment at Christ Church was probably one of the most "reformed" in the country. Though he was required to do so as a canon by the Book of Common Prayer and the college statutes Peter Martyr never wore a surplice while he was at Christ Church.⁵¹ It is somewhat surprising that in the Vestments Controversy Martyr did not side with his friend Hooper. Martyr was certainly in sympathy with Hooper's view. He read through the arguments Hooper had sent him by letter in one night in order that the letter might be sent on to Bucer. On this initial reading Martyr commented that he had taken

"no small pleasure in your singular and ardent zeal, with which you endeavour that the Christian religion may again approach to chaste and simple piety".

Martyr added that on the principal point he did not differ from Hooper. But he did not agree with Hooper that the use of vestments was fatal or that in their nature they were contrary to the Word of God. He was prepared to accept them, though reluctantly, as things indifferent and therefore permissible as a temporary expedient. It is possible that it was Bucer who pressed the arguments of expediency and politics upon Martyr and so made him modify his initial enthusiasm for Hooper's stand and push him to take a firm line against Hooper instead. In his long letter to Hooper of 4th November 1550 in which Martyr explained his own position there is little of

the compelling certainty which Martyr usually displayed in his arguments. There is a note of apology and regret that Martyr and Hooper were on different sides.⁵⁸

In the letter Martyr answered Hooper's two objections on vestments. The first of Hooper's arguments was that vestments belonged to the Aaronic priesthood and as the sacraments of the Old Testament had been abrogated so should vestments. Martyr agreed but said that certain things were indifferent and could be retained if "they served to comeliness, to order and some profit". As an extension of his point Martyr said,

"I could find not a few things which our Church had borrowed from the decrees of Moses and that from the very earliest times.... should all these things be abolished because they are traces of the old law?"

The discussion of this point in Hooper's case raised the question of the purpose and function of the Mosaic law. Hooper presented a straightforward and clear-cut case that in matters pertaining to the faith the old law was entirely abrogated. This opened the way for a more positive evaluation of the law in its relation to the commonwealth. Martyr was much more vague on the distinction between the old and new dispensations and had not yet worked out his attitude on the question of the relation between law and the commonwealth. The arguments on both sides would have been well known to the members of the Christ Church circle. It is not known whether Goodman supported Hooper at this stage and accepted his arguments on Mosaic law but he would definitely have been informed about them. These arguments could well have been the starting-point for his own train of thought upon Mosaic law.

The other argument which Hooper had used was that everything which emanated from the papacy was Antichristian and should be abhorred. Martyr was worried that this attitude would imperil Christian liberty by denying the church the use of certain things. In the first place Martyr proved that the Pope had not invented vestments. Even if the Pope had done so Martyr could not persuade himself that

"the wickedness of the papacy is so great that it renders whatever it touches altogether defiled and polluted so as not possibly to be given to virtuous and godly men for a holy use".

59

It seems as if on this point as well the Christ Church circle was more in sympathy with Hooper than with Martyr. Several of its members were convinced that the Pope was Antichrist and everything relating to him was defiled with his filth.⁶⁰ This was another idea which became very important in Goodman's thinking. It was also a vital ingredient in the explanation the exiles gave for the calamity of Mary's reign and the way it should be combated.

Dr. West has collected evidence concerning the relationship between Bullinger and Hooper in particular during the Vestment Controversy. He showed that Bullinger wrote to Richard Cox, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Warwick and others about the matter. Bullinger told Calvin that he wrote to them

"according as I judged them to be either friends or enemies".

61

Probably Cox, Suffolk, and Warwick were expected to be in the former category as they were all closely involved with the Christ Church circle. However Martyr's unexpected stand meant that any support and sympathy for Hooper would have been muted in Oxford. It would certainly have been a matter

of grave concern to the circle if Hooper, who had been called "the future Zwingli of England", remained in prison branded as an obdurate fanatic. Martyr's arguments seem propelled as much by a political awareness as by an affirmation of principle.

Before the Vestments Controversy blew up Hooper had published a book on the Ten Commandments.⁶² In a different context he set out his views on the function of the Mosaic law. As his stand on Aaronic vestments indicated, he did not think that the old dispensation had anything to do with the ordering of the church. He believed that the Ten Commandments were a contract which contained

"the conditions of the peace between God and man".

63

They reveal how God and man were united and the agreed contract was confirmed with solemn and public evidences. On the one hand God bound himself in the covenant to preserve man in body and soul whilst on the other man was bound to obey God and keep his commandments. The promises were made "in Christ and for Christ only" and so appertained to all Christians.⁶⁴

Hooper stressed the need for man's obedience.

"Therefore look not only upon the promise of God, but also, what diligence and obedience he requireth of thee, lest thou exclude thyself from the promise".

65

The price of disobedience was the vengeance of God which the Jews had experienced. But there was the opportunity for repentance, as in the case of Ninevah, for when they repented,

"God took them to be his people, and for a certainty thereof, revoked his sentence that gave them but forty days of life. They likewise promised obedience unto his holy laws and commandments".

66

The twin ideas that the Ten Commandments were a contract between God and man which had nothing to do with the ordering of the church, and that obedience was so important in the relationship, were two of the fundamental premises of Goodman's book. It seems likely that Goodman took these ideas, with their heavy Zurich flavour, from Hooper his friend and associate through the Christ Church circle.

The Christ Church circle was never pressed during Edward's reign to investigate the limits of obedience. They did not envisage any major conflict between obedience to God's commandments and to the commands of the duly constituted secular authority. Great emphasis was placed upon the need for obedience to the government. In the rebellion of 1549 Peter Martyr contributed Latin notes for Cranmer's famous sermon on rebellion and himself preached on the subject.⁶⁷

The call for obedience and the stress on diligence in study were both part of a comprehensive desire for discipline in church, university and commonwealth. As Cox moaned to Bullinger on 5th October 1552, England had succeeded in framing worship according to the rule of God's word,

"but the severe institutions of christian discipline we most utterly abominate. We would be sons, and heirs also, but we tremble at the rod. Do pray stir us up, and our nobility too, by the Spirit which is given to you, to a regard for discipline; without which, I grieve to say it, the kingdom will be taken away from us, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruit therof".

68

This strand of thought which linked discipline to the welfare of the commonwealth was to become more marked as Edward's reign continued and to become the dominant motif of the early period of the exile.⁶⁹

Cox had tried to introduce as much discipline as he was able at Oxford when he was Chancellor. He had a considerable problem in dealing with the catholics of the university; he was occasionally able to be tough in his punishments, as with the priest who was caught saying mass. Severity in such matters was approved by the Christ Church circle.⁶⁹ It was possible that the incident at St. Ebbes church on 6th April 1549, was a product of similar disciplinary zeal. That Sunday Augustine Miles and Elizabeth Elys did public penance, during the reading of the homily of adultery, for producing an illegitimate child.⁷⁰ The Census which was taken of the university on 11th August 1552, would have been organized by Cox though by that date he had just ceased to be Chancellor. It was an attempt to improve the internal discipline of the university. Every member was recorded under a college or hall which it was hoped would take responsibility for his behaviour. The tutorial system was the way in which that supervision would be enforced. The regulations which governed all aspects of behaviour in Christ Church present a picture of a life meticulously controlled and a system of effective sanctions to ensure that the regulations were kept.

Religious discipline and uniformity were to be maintained by the use of the Forty-Two Articles. Candidates for degrees were to be required to swear to them before they were permitted to graduate.⁷¹ Within the Christ Church circle articles of religion were also used as a means of control. The six Chambers articles were of a strongly protestant persuasion. They asserted that the supremacy of the Pope was false and that Christ was the head of the universal church; that the

Mass was not a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; that man was justified by faith alone; that purgatory did not exist; that Christ was the only mediator between man and God; that no images should be used; that worship should be in the vernacular and that communion should be in both kinds for all men.⁷² The set of articles which dealt with ubiquity might have been used for a similar purpose.

On a national level a commission was set up to frame a new set of ecclesiastical laws. Cox was a member of the commission and as Martyr wrote

"we also, I mean Hooper, a Lasco and myself are enrolled among them".

Martyr clearly expected that they would all present a united front on discipline. The exact extent of their influence has been a matter of some debate but their general concern over the issue is unquestionable.⁷³

The Christ Church circle had sufficient cohesion and strength to show what it was possible to achieve if a group was motivated by a common ideal. The circle needed to remain highly disciplined to withstand the strong catholic opposition in Oxford and to attempt to impose its programme on some of the colleges and, to a limited extent, upon the university. Group discipline was a requirement for survival in Oxford as well as an ideal for running the commonwealth. Both in practice and in theory the Christ Church circle had unwittingly given Goodman and its other members an excellent training which would help them to cope with the exile which so many of them chose at the beginning of Mary's reign.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. O.L. II 469.
2. O.L. II 380-1.
3. Martyr started lecturing on 1 Corinthians in January 1548 and reached Chapter XI where he explained his views on the eucharist by March 1549, see R. Smith's, Diatriba f 217v and his Defensio sacri episcoporum et sacerdotum coelibatus, Paris (1550), f17v. Also S. Corda, Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Zurcher Beitrage zur Reformationsgeschichte 6, Zurich (1975), 62-3.
4. O.L. II 478.
5. O.L. II 493.
6. O.L. II 544 and Gleanings 142-3.
7. Gleanings 81.
8. Translation by Corda 73. The following description of Martyr's eucharistic doctrine is based upon the analyses of Corda (98f) and McLelland (74f), supplemented by Anderson. Their interpretation has been checked against Martyr's views found in his letters and his Common Places, particularly Part 4.
9. Gleanings 81. Martyr's eucharistic doctrine tackled the basic problem of distinguishing between the form and the content of the sacrament in a totally different way from that of Calvin, see T.F. Torrance's stimulating article "History and Reformation", Scottish Journal of Theology 4 (1951) 279-91. Martyr used his concept of analogy which rested upon his neo-Aristotelian philosophy, see below n. 10.
10. This argument shows Martyr's skillful use of the Aristotelian philosophy and methodology he had learnt at the university of Padua. With it he was able to reveal the metaphysical weakness of his opponent's position. For a discussion of the whole issue

of Martyr's protestant scholasticism, see J.P. Donnelly, Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, Leiden (1976), particularly 197-208.

11. On the believer's union with Christ through incorporation into his body, see McLelland 123-77.

12. McLelland 71 and 101f.

13. Gleanings 81-2.

14. P.R.O. SP 10/13/24(1) f50v - 51v.

15. A trewe mirrour or glasse sig A5.

16. An Unpublished Letter of Peter Martyr...to H.Bullinger written from Oxford, just after the completion of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI ed. W.Goode, (1850).

17. *ibid.* For Martyr see J.C.McLelland, 'The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination according to Peter Martyr' Scottish Journal of Theology, VIII (1955) 255-71. Also see D.W. Wallace Jnr, 'The Doctrine of Predestination in the Early English Reformation', Church History, 43 (1974) 201-15. In 1550 Ochino published his 'Fouretene sermons concernyng the predestinacion and eleccion of god...S.T.C. 18767. Anthony Gilby also wrote on the subject in 1553 in his commentary on Malachi, now lost, see D.G.Danner, 'Anthony Gilby Puritan in Exile', Church History, 40 (1971) 412-22.

18. O.L. I 325-6.

19. O.L. II 406; 416.

20. Corda 62.

21. O.L. II 377-8.

22. Smith's Defensio f25v and Ecc. Mems. IIIi 326.

23. Gleanings 141.
24. See below 139-40.
25. Huelin 49-51; Smith's books were the Defensio, and De votis monasticis Louvain (1550).
26. Forrest 66-8.
27. Ecc. Memos IIIi 324-5.
28. So Bale recalled, see above 30 at n. 125.
29. See Anderson 324-7.
30. Many of these social and educational ideals have previously been credited to the 'commonwealth men'. Professor Elton has demonstrated that there was no such group in his article 'Reform and the Commonwealth-men of Edward VI's Reign' - forthcoming volume dedicated to J. Hurstfield; and Reform and Reformation (1977) 325.
31. Merrill 42.
32. See above 14 at n. 68 and 28-9.
33. Humphrey Vita Iuelli 27-8; translation in Le Bas 10-11
34. Humphrey Vita Iuelli 32; Le Bas 15.
35. Merrill 41.
36. The opinion Martyr expressed in his sermon before the Royal Visitors on 24th May 1549. Wood ed Gutch IIIi 99.
37. John Jewel, A Sermon made in latine in Oxenforde, trans. R.V(aux) (1581) sig B5v. Also see Martyr's sermon on the ministry, Common Places 27-32 (sep. pag).
38. Gleanings 161.

39. Merrill 42-3.
40. Huelin 74-5.
41. Gleanings 319.
42. Kearney Chapter II 'Court and Country Humanists' 34f.
43. E.g. O.L. II 399 and 457. The noblemen were expected actively to promote 'true religion'. This facet of the idea of the 'godly gentleman', while clearly present in Edward's reign, came to dominate the concept in the reign of Mary.
44. Gleanings 161-2.
45. Merrill 42-3.
46. See above 16.
47. Boase xiv.
48. Jewel's remarkable diligence in preaching is related in Le Bas 17.
49. S.T.C. 24665 N.Udall, A discourse or tractise of Petur Martyr Vermilla.....concernynge the Lordes Supper..., (1550) Preface sig ii-v. The translation was dedicated to the Marquis of Northampton.
50. See R.F.Jones, The Triumph of the English Language, (1953) 39f and J.Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England.^{Cambridge} (1966) 278-9.
51. Cited in Jones 35 also see Simon 276-7. Such a sentiment was commonly expressed in the didactic works of the period.
52. Merrill 231-7.

53. 'Peter Martyr to the Christian Reader' which prefaced A disputation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist held within the famous Universitie of Oxford, Common Places 174.
54. Gleanings 188 and Anderson 143. For the assessment of Martyr's contribution to English liturgy e.g. his comments on Bucer's 'Censura' see Huelin 89-90; McLelland 28-40; Anderson 127-62.
55. See below 151-8.
56. C.C.C.Parker MS cxxvii 21.
57. See above 38 at n.162.
58. Gleanings 187-96 and see J.H.Primus, The Vestments Controversy, Kampen (1960).
59. Cf Knox's views on the Mass expressed in 1550 Laing Wks III 33-70.
60. E.g. O.L. I 314; II 465.
61. West 'Bullinger' 3-4.
62. The Early Writings of John Hooper ed. S.Carr Parker Society Cambridge (1843) 255-430. As West points out (Bullinger 3) Hooper wrote most of this while in Zurich and the work contains strong links with Bullinger's first two Decades which were published in March 1549.
63. Hooper 255.
64. Hooper 257.
65. Hooper 267.
66. Hooper 267-8.

67. Strype Mems Cranmer I 267 and in Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, ed. J.E.Cox, Parker Society, Cambridge (1846); 188-9 Notes for homily against rebellion; 190-202 Sermon concerning the time of rebellion. Also see McLelland 23-4 n. 49; Huelin 60-3; Anderson 108f.

68. O.L. I 123.

69. See below 207-8.

70. O.U.A. Reg. Canc. GG f34r; Typescript 56.

71. Mallet 94.

72. Humphrey Vita Iuelli 32-4.

73. O.L. II 503; McLelland 40-2; Anderson 142-54; Huelin 84-8; Vander Molen 143-178.

SECTION TWO

THE MARIAN EXILE

CHAPTER FOUR

Goodman must have gone into exile sometime after Easter 1554.¹ He would have travelled from London where he was part of the well-organized protestant underground. He might have joined Cox's party who left England on May 6th and crossed over to Antwerp.² The first fixed point of Goodman's exile is in October 1554 when he matriculated at the University of Basle and paid his six sol.³ It was probably his intention to continue his studies which had been interrupted at Oxford. By the following month he had moved to Strasburgh, as had Augustine Bradbridge who had been a fellow at New College Oxford and had matriculated at Basle at the same time as Goodman. Both signed the letters written by sixteen English exiles in Strasburgh to their compatriots in Frankfurt dated November 23rd and December 13th.⁴

Whilst in Strasburgh, Goodman stayed with his friend and master Peter Martyr. A whole group of English had gathered around Martyr who was repaying with interest the hospitality which he had received in England. It seems as if most of the English were in sore need of help as their finances were shaky. In his letter from Strasburgh on 30th October 1554, Vergerius Petrus Paulus wrote to Bullinger that he had lent an Englishman some money.⁵ One source of funds in Strasburgh dried up when James Haddon had his property in England taken away from him. As a result John Banks who had been supported by Haddon, was looking for any kind of employment.⁶ Goodman seems to have managed without great difficulty, probably due to Martyr's generosity. He was also helped, as were most of the English at Strasburgh, by a gift of ten florins from the sum donated

by the Duke of Wurtenburg to the English exiles.⁷

Whilst in Strasburgh, Goodman was in close contact with Antwerp and the English merchant community there. He was the recipient of all the news from Antwerp, particularly from William Salkyns, the servant of Richard Hilles.⁸ Goodman would then send it on to Zurich to Bullinger. There was a steady stream of letters from Strasburgh to Zurich and it seems as if Martyr's house was used as a post office and that Goodman was organizing the distribution of news.

It was quite possibly whilst acting as an information agent that Goodman wrote to Bartlet Green in London for news.⁹ Green was part of the London protestant underground and Goodman was using his London friends to gather the latest information. In his letter, which has not survived, Goodman was checking on the report which was circulating among the exiles about the death of Queen Mary. Green's reply covered private matters, and all the news, including information about

'certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad'.

Also in answer to Goodman's query, Green wrote the words,

'The queen is not yet dead'.

The letter from Green was intercepted. He was put in the Fleet both on suspicion of being involved with the publishing of the broadsheets and because of his words about the queen, which were construed as treasonable. The treason charge collapsed and so Green was handed over to Bishop Bonner on 17th November 1555, to be examined. In his examination, Bartlet Green related how at Easter 1554, John Pullain, Goodman and he had received communion, according to the Second Book of Common Prayer. Green described his view of the

Sacrament which he was sure was shared by Pullain and Goodman. He believed that he

'and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called Sacramental bread and Sacramental wine, which, he saith, were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the other aforementioned did receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real prescence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto!.....

Bartlet Green's letter has been linked to the accusation made fifty years later by Robert Parsons in his 'Three Conversions', that Goodman was implicated in the plot William Thomas made to assassinate the queen.¹⁰ The charge seems to be unfounded. On the basis of the phrase used in Bartlet Green's letter, Miss Garrett suggested that Goodman had been attempting to practice tyrannicide with Thomas before he preached it.¹¹ In Thomas' trial there was no mention of Goodman at all and there was no evidence to connect him with Thomas except the fact they they were both in London at the end of 1553, the time of the conspiracy.¹²

It appeared from William Salkyn's letter of 29th December 1554, that Goodman had intended to remain with Martyr in Strasburgh. However Goodman got caught up in the troubles at Frankfort. It is not known when Goodman moved from Strasburgh to Frankfort but he was undoubtedly there by 28th March 1555, and almost certainly considerably before that date. Goodman's part in the troubles at Frankfort is as difficult to determine as the exact nature of the troubles themselves. He was one of the group at Strasburgh to receive the general letter sent out by the English exiles

at Frankfort on 2nd August 1554.¹³ The letter explained how fortunate the exiles had been in the reception they had received from the Frankfort magistrates. They had been promised a church in which

'we maie preache, minister and use Discipline, to the true settinge forthe off gods glorie and good ensample to others'.

The Frankfort exiles urged their brethren to exploit this excellent opportunity by joining them, so that an English church in exile could be established. The main stress in the letter was upon the need to establish a visible unity among the exiles and to congregate in one church, which would act as a witness to their religio^us convictions. It seems that there had been an agreement among the exiles on this point for the letter said

'Yow remember, that before we have reasoned together in hope to obtaine a churche!.....

The letter anticipated and sought to answer some of the reasons which might prevent the rest of the exiles from joining them:

'some dowte who shal be preferred: others seeke increase off lerninge: Many followe the commoditie of lyvinge: certein, looke for a newe vocation'.....

The 'Troubles at Frankfort' relates how 'the lerned men off Strausbrough' answered the letter of August 2nd as follows:

"That they had considered the content^es theroff and perceived that the effecte was no other but to have one or two take the chief charge and governaunce off the congregation',

and so they suggested some names.¹⁴ As the author of the 'Troubles' admits, the reply bore no relation to the contents of the letter of August 2nd.¹⁵ It is more likely that the Strasburgh reply, for which no text is given, was part of some

earlier negotiations and has nothing to do with the August 2nd letter. Before September 24th, some sort of reply had been received from Strasburgh because on that date, the Frankfort exiles wrote

'we have received letters from oure brethern off Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for'..... 16

This probably meant that like their compatriots at Zurich, the Strasburgh colony had procrastinated.¹⁷ The exiles at Zurich and Strasburgh were not convinced that the situation in Frankfort was as good as had been presented and so were unwilling to uproot themselves before certain conditions were known to have been fulfilled. This involved negotiations between the colonies which were carried on through October and November. Richard Chambers, who seems to have been deeply committed to the cause of unity among the exiles, bore the main burden of the negotiations.

It was Chambers and Grindal who brought from Strasburgh the letter dated November 23rd, which Goodman had signed. The purpose of the letter and the delegation was not as the author of the 'Trocubles' suggested. 'For the establishinge of the booke off England'.¹⁸ Grindal and Chambers were in Frankfort to check on three points about the attitude of the city magistrates, not that of the English exiles.

'First, that they might knowe what partes off the booke they woulde admit. The seconde was for a severall church, and the thirde what assurance they might have for their quiete habitation'. 19

The tone of the November 23rd letter was very friendly. The Strasburgh exiles wanted to be sure that they would be able to establish a church which was recognisably English in order that their solidarity with those suffering in England would be

obvious. Exactly what this meant in liturgical terms had not been worked out at this stage.

The letter closed with the promise that the Strasburgh exiles would

'be with yow the firste off February next, there to helpe to set in order and stablishe that churche accordingly. And so longe altogether to remaine with yow as shall be necessary, or untill iuste occasion shall call some off us awaie'.

20

The last sentence was made more specific in letters, now lost, sent from Strasburgh to Emden and Duisburgh, in which it had been suggested that two months would probably be long enough to stay to establish the English church in Frankfort. The Frankfort colony had intended that the exiles should remain together and were affronted by the suggested speedy departure. They had also thought that the original response of the Frankfort magistrates was sufficient to answer the three points raised by Grindal and Chambers and, in their opinion,

'the tyme dothe not presently serve to move the magistrates in those requests'.

21

It was this last point which persuaded the Strasburgh colony to postpone the 'generall meetings' of the exiles, until such time as their Frankfort brethren

'shall certainly perceave a time convenient, that the Magistrates may be traveled withe all'

When that time had come, the Strasburgh colony would decide what they were going to do about coming to Frankfort. This letter was written from Strasburgh on December 13th.²²

With the prospect of bringing all the English exiles together receding into the distance, the Frankfort colony decided to organize themselves on their own.²³ This created

the problem that although the exiles felt that the whole English exile community had the right to decide on its organization and worship, the same was not necessarily true of each particular group.²⁴ This was one of the reasons for the row over ceremonies in the winter of 1554-5.²⁵ The exact pattern of events is impossible to establish as there are many inconsistencies in the story as told in the 'Troubles' and insufficient external evidence.²⁶ The area of disagreement which was beginning to emerge concerned the way in which solidarity with those suffering in England was to be displayed: whether it should be through conformity to their ecclesiastical practices or to their protestant principles. It had not yet crystalized into a choice between liturgical or creedal uniformity.

It was this dispute which focused attention upon the Book of Common Prayer and started the debate as to whether or not it should be used as the basis for the liturgy of the English exiles. The debate possibly began in Strasburgh, though it was probably discussed in most of the English colonies. Thomas Sampson's letter of 23rd February 1555, was written to Calvin from Strasburgh and is more likely to refer to Strasburgh than to Frankfort.²⁷ According to Sampson, the controversy was whether the Book of Common Prayer should be used as a symbol of Englishness and unity with the English martyrs or whether the church should start from scratch liturgically. The party which wanted to keep the Book of Common Prayer did not feel bound to follow it exactly. They were quite prepared to remove any objectionable ceremonies. What they wanted was a recognizable core,

155.
'namely, the prayers, scripture lessons, and
the form of the administration of baptism and
the Lord's supper'...

28

If this letter does refer to Strasburgh, it is not known which side Goodman took. Wherever the debate began, it found its way, like Goodman himself, to Frankfort. Possibly he came on February 1st as had been originally intended, or he might have come as one of Cox's group. The arrival of Cox on March 13th, and his conduct thereafter added a further point of contention by breaking an agreement previously reached by the Frankfort congregation, a matter on which John Knox felt strongly.²⁹

The manoeuvring of the different factions which went on over the next two weeks is very difficult to disentangle. It seems probable that the expulsion of Knox was not directly linked with the row over ceremonies and liturgy.³⁰ The charge of treason was not merely a tactical device to remove Knox because he was a leader of the opposite faction, though the timing might have been influenced by such considerations. There was considerable disquiet about the way in which he had expressed himself in his book. It was thought that his direct attacks upon the queen associated the protestant movement with treasonable activities.³¹ Isaac, Parry and probably Bale as well,³² thought that to have Knox as minister of the English church at Frankfort would bring the whole exile movement into disrepute and danger.³³ One of them called upon Knox's intimate friends and pointed out that it would be best for Knox to go to some other place. The approach failed and so the veiled threat which Knox recorded in his Narrative was carried out; information was laid before the local magistrate.³⁴

If the account of the affair in the September 20th letter to Calvin was substantially correct, though it presented the actions of Isaac, Parry and Bale in the best light possible, then the expulsion of Knox definitely was a separate issue from the main controversy.³⁵ It was Whittingham who, understandably, thought he saw a grand conspiracy against the leaders of his faction, and his view was taken over by the author of the 'Troubles'.³⁶ The clerical leadership of the opposite 'Coxian' faction seemed to have been unaware of, or conveniently blind to, the attempt to remove Knox. They related to Calvin that

'when an account of what they had done was demanded of them by our pastor, they gave such a straightforward statement, that, scrupulous as he is in everything else, he had nothing whatever to find fault with'. 37

This does not alter the fact that the clerical leadership were very pleased to see Knox leave and did not lift a finger to help him. Knox's sermon on the Sunday after their arrival was a full scale attack upon the ecclesiastical establishment of the last years of Edward's reign which would have hurt Cox at least, who had been deeply involved.³⁸

It seems that the main object of the animosity of the clerical leadership was Whittingham. He was a major leader of the opposite faction and a layman.³⁹ He was convinced that it was the right of the whole congregation to decide on its own order. He was an internationalist by experience and conviction and thought that the best way of conducting the exile was to cleanse the church as much as possible and bring it in line with the 'best reformed churches', by which he meant the Swiss ones. Goodman seems to have agreed with Whittingham's

views and wholeheartedly supported him.

After Knox had gone, an impressive delegation of 'learned men', three doctors and thirteen bachelors of divinity, appeared before the Frankfort magistrates. They probably persuaded the magistrates that they had sufficient authority and learning to be responsible for setting up an English church in exile. Their proposals were to be set out in writing, then submitted to the magistrates.⁴⁰ Whittingham was then ordered by the magistrates 'not to meddle any more to the contrary' and forbidden to join another church. Because Whittingham had been silenced, Gilby and his friends went to the magistrates to try to return to the original condition imposed upon the English in Frankfort, that of conforming to the order of the French exile congregation. This effort was a failure.⁴¹

Richard Cox called to his lodging on March 28th, a conference of all the ordained men in the Frankfort congregation.⁴² This clerical assembly was to decide on the officers of the church. At this point, following the line taken by Whittingham, Goodman interjected:

'that they ought first to agree upon some perfect and godly order for the churche, and therto to have the consent of the congregation wherby it might appeere, that they contemned not the reste off their brethern: And farther to proceade to the election which he thought also ought not to be attempted withowte the consente off the whole churche'.

Goodman was silenced by being told

'that for the order it was already determined, and other order then the booke off Englande they shulde not have'...

Goodman's demand that the congregation should be able to elect its officers was similarly overruled. The importance that was attached to preserving some form of clerical hierachy

was further underlined by the letter to Calvin of April 5th, explaining what had happened in Frankfort, which was signed by ordained men only.⁴³

Soon after March 28th, Whittingham departed on a tour of other Swiss and German cities in search of a place to set up another exile church. Calvin's letters advised the faction around Whittingham 'somewhat to yelde'. They followed this advice whilst they waited for the negotiations with other cities to bear fruit. However Calvin's letter of May 31st, which he probably delayed because he hoped time would heal the differences among the English, seems to have re-opened the argument.⁴⁴ Things dragged on through an uneasy compromise until the Whittingham faction was ready to depart.⁴⁵ Because they still wished to preserve some semblance of unity, having been strongly urged to do so by Calvin, they composed a letter to the rest of the congregation on August 27th.⁴⁶ In it they asked for two arbitrators to be appointed from each side,

'Who hearinge our matters throughly opened maie witnes where the faulte restethe, at which time we will undertake to defende oure departure to be lawfull contrary to the slanderous reportes off some which unlernedly terme it a schisme'.

There was a meeting on August 30th when the appointment of arbitrators was refused. At another meeting the following day at which neither Gilby nor Goodman nor William Williams was present, the reasons for this secession were given.

After this

'certaine warme wordes passed to and fro from the one to the other, and so in some heate departed'.

Those who left Frankfort separated, some going with John Fox to Basle and the majority travelling on to Geneva. Of those who signed the letter of August 27th, Thomas Cole,⁴⁸ Lawrence

Kent and John Escot remained in Frankfort.

There had been considerable preparation in Geneva before the arrival of the English from Frankfort on October 13th. Knox, their former pastor had been there since April, although he was not there to welcome the newcomers as he had left for Scotland around the end of August.⁴⁹ William Whittingham had come to Geneva during the summer to make sure that all would be well if the group from Frankfort came.⁵⁰ It was probably during his visit that Calvin first requested the Council to find a place where those Englishmen who wished to come to Geneva for the sake of the word of God could worship. This initial sounding out took place on Monday June 10th⁵¹. There were already a number of Englishmen in Geneva but they had not organized themselves into a special church. Calvin's request was almost certainly linked with the aspirations of the Frankfort group which Whittingham would have conveyed to him. It seems that in these initial stages Knox, who had made no attempt to create an English exile church, played an unusually quiescent part. He was probably preoccupied with events in Scotland and whether he should return there.

Eleven days after their arrival, Calvin reappeared before the Council on behalf of the English. It had evidently been decided in June that the English should be permitted the use of either St. Germain or Notre Dame la Nove. Three councillors were delegated to look into the matter and report back to the Council.⁵² Before the final decision had been reached, the English went ahead and constituted themselves into a church. On 1st November 1555 'the church was erected', and immediately Christopher Goodman and, in the absence of John Knox, Anthony Gilby were

'apointed to preche the word of God
and mynster the Sacrament'.

53

The fact that without hesitation Goodman was chosen as the minister of the church and remained in that post until the end of the exile is an indication of the esteem in which he was held by his compatriots. It probably also means that it was Goodman, Whittingham, his close friend and Gilby who organized and led the group of English away from Frankfort.⁵⁴

On November 11th the Council decided that the English could share the church of Notre Dame la Nove with the Italian exile church. On the 25th, they set out the conditions and dictated the times at which each community could use the church buildings. At the same time the Council asked to examine and confirm the ministers chosen by the congregations.⁵⁵ This was done on November 29th when Goodman and Gilby were authorised by the Council as ministers of the word of God.⁵⁶

Relations with the Council remained amicable throughout the period the English stayed in Geneva. The English no doubt benefited from the fact that in the year of their arrival, Calvin had stablished and strengthened his own position a great deal and that foreign refugees were no longer regarded with suspicion by the Geneva Council.⁵⁷ Official dealings with the Council were kept to a minimum and the English nearly always had Calvin's help and mediation. On 24th October 1555 those who had arrived from Frankfort were registered as residents of Geneva.⁵⁸ It is interesting that of all the English who came to Geneva during their exile, only a few were admitted as citizens.⁵⁹ On 21st June 1558 Goodman was admitted as a citizen of Geneva without having to pay for the privilege.⁶⁰ Goodman had requested citizenship, and it

was probably a mark of respect for his position as minister that caused the Council to grant it to him gratis. All his life, Goodman treasured his status as a citizen of Geneva and left money to his adopted city in his will.⁶¹

It was probably at the time of the last official business between the English exile congregation and the Geneva Council, the courteous farewells to Whittingham and Williams in May 1560, that the book, later inscribed *Livre des Anglois*, was deposited in Geneva.⁶² It is a record of

'the Englishe Church and Congregation at Geneva'.

It contains the names of those who were members of that church along with the dates when they arrived in Geneva. The next section gives the details of the annual elections of church officers, and the final section records the christenings, marriages and burials which took place in the church. The '*Livre des Anglois*' shows Goodman at the centre of the life of the congregation. It records his election as minister, on November 1st in 1555 and on December 16th in 1556, 1557 and 1558 when he was elected 'stil to continew' with his colleague John Knox.⁶³ As Knox was away for a considerable part of his Genevan ministry, it was Goodman who bore the main brunt of pastoral responsibility and preaching.⁶⁴ In 1555 he was aided by Gilby, but from 1556-1559 during the times when Knox was absent, he was left on his own. Goodman was frequently called upon to act as a godfather. He performed this office for John, son of Francis Withers, Susan, daughter of John Baron and Isaac, son of John Pullain.⁶⁵ On 11th December 1558, Goodman stood as witness at the christening of Susanna, daughter of William Whittingham.⁶⁶ He was spared

the sad task of burying Susanna on 12th April 1560, as he had already left Geneva, but he would have buried his god-daughter Susan Baron on 26th October 1558.⁶⁷

Under Goodman's ministry, the English exile church in Geneva seems to have escaped from the disputes which split the English communities elsewhere. The proverbial inconstancy of the English who 'will never let well alone', which provided Pilkington with his excuse for coming to Geneva does not seem to have affected the English in Geneva, who appeared to have managed to leave well alone.⁶⁸ Knox's much quoted eulogy of Geneva as 'the Maist perfytt schools of Chryste' is reinforced by the testimony of other exiles.⁶⁹ Goodman wrote to his friend Peter Martyr

'of that happy agreement and solid peace
which by the great blessing of God we en-
joy in this place'.

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Lever wrote to Bullinger about his stay in Geneva

'I was so engaged at Geneva, both in my private studies, and in hearing the discourses of the preachers in the public congregation, as that nothing at that time seemed to be more desirable both for my own individual improvement and the edifying of the church....'

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It was with considerable reluctance that Lever left Geneva to take up the pastoral care of the English congregation at Wesel. In his autobiography Thomas Hancock described how

'heryng of a Englishe congregation att the citie of Geneva, I resorted thyther wyth my wyfe, and on of my chyldren, wheare I continewed thire yere and sumwhatt more. In the which citie, I prayse God, I dyd se my lord God most pewrly and trewly honored, and syn moste straytly punnisshed; soo hytt, may be well called a holy citie, a citie of God'.

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The harmony experienced by the English congregation in Geneva, no doubt enhanced by the rosy glow of the passage of time, added a particular lustre to the 'example of Geneva'

which Elizabethan puritans cited with such a reverent respect. One silent testimony to the harmony is the fact that so many English exiles found their way to Geneva. The names of 187 people are found in the Livre des Anglois and Charles Martin adds a further 26 who had been missed, but appear in the Registre des Habitants in Geneva.⁷³ These figures account for a quarter of those who went into exile in Mary's reign. There could well be others whose stay was short enough to ensure that they did not feature in either of the above records. The harmony within the English church extended to its relations with the Italians with whom it shared the church buildings. Considering the great troubles the Italians were having in this period and the charges of heresy brought against Silvester, this was a major achievement.⁷⁴ During October 1557 the English co-operated with the French and Italian exiles to send a joint letter of thanks to Bullinger for dedicating his hundred sermons on the Apocalypse to them.⁷⁵

One reason for the harmony in the English church was almost certainly that the majority of the leading figures in the exile congregation were kept busy. They were occupied in erecting and running their church organization which, particularly as the size of the congregation grew and the number of church officers increased, must have been a time-consuming occupation. Getting 'The Form of Prayers' printed by 10th February 1556 must have involved considerable work, but was a minor feat compared to the effort needed in the major project of translating the Bible and publishing the new version, along with a full critical apparatus. There were also a lot of different things going on in Geneva which

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would attract the attention of the English there. One of the most obvious is Calvin's daily sermons. That the English availed themselves of the opportunity of hearing Calvin is attested by Thomas Bodley and by a manuscript copy of Calvin's sermons taken down as they were being delivered, now in the library he was later to found.⁷⁶

The 'Forme of Prayers and ministrations of the Sacraments etc. used in the English Congregation at Geneva' contains much more than its modest title suggests.⁷⁷ It was a complete manual not only for the worship but also for the whole organization and running of the English church.⁷⁸ At the beginning of the work is an interesting preface addressed

'To our bretherne in Englande, and els where,
which love Jesus Christe unfaynedly....'.⁷⁹

This made it quite clear that the book was not intended merely as a service book for the large Genevan congregation, or even all the English in exile, but was to be sent into England as part of the polemical campaign.⁸⁰ Whittingham is usually credited with the authorship of the Preface because he was a leader of the Genevan congregation in whose name it was written. On such a line of reasoning, Goodman and Gilby as ministers are more likely candidates to be editing and prefacing the book.⁸¹ What is known is that whether or not Goodman actually wrote or helped to write the Preface, it is an accurate representation of his views in the autumn and winter of 1555.

The Preface begins with a reminder of the great mercies God bestowed upon the English in the days of King Edward VI,

'when from Idolatrie, he called us to the
knowledge of his Gospell, and of no people
made us his people, a holie people, the people
of God'.⁸²

However the English nation did not respond and instead of accepting the Word, condemned it and did not reform their lives by its light. This negligence was as true of the ministers who preached, as their listeners. As a result 'the day of visitation is come', and the only remedy for these plagues sent by God was to turn to him with repentance, fasting and prayer.⁸³

It was laid down that there must be no compromise at all with Catholicism. This left the faithful in England with a choice:

'Yf you wyll therefore be counted in the nombre of God's people, and be so in deede;....either stand in the trueth, and so rather obey God than man; or else followe God's callinge, who hath so mercifully provyded for you, movinge the hartes of all godlie rulers and magistrates to pitie your state, and do you good, so that at Emden, Wessell, Frankford, and in this Citie, he hath appointed godly churches, wherein you may learne to feare him, repent your synnes, amende your lyves and recover agayne his favour and mercie'.⁸⁴

The most sure way to come to God was to conform to His will as revealed in His Word. This, explained the Preface, was what the English exile church at Geneva, being at liberty to do so, had done in the service-book. The book had been prepared by those who were

'not as the greatest clearkes of all,
but as the lest able of many'.

However they presented to the rest of the English who

'desire the increas of God's glorie, and the pure simplicitie of his Woorde, a forme and order of reformed church, lymited within the compasse of God's Woorde, which our Saviour hathe left unto us as onely sufficient to governe all our actions bye:'⁸⁶

Nothing had been added 'by man's device', because no matter how good, holy or beautiful, God does not permit it, as Christ

in his Word, gave the Church all that was necessary.

The reader's attention was drawn to the fact, proclaimed in the title of the book, that Calvin had approved the order and that it already had been put into practice in Geneva.

There followed a defence of the 'Scrupulositie' displayed in the book on the question of ceremonies. It was categorically stated:

'for as ceremonies grounded upon God's Woorde, and approued in the New Testament, are commendable (as the circumstance thereof doth support), so those that man hath invented, though he had never so good occasion therunto, if they would be once abused, import a necessitie, hinder God's Woorde, or be drawn into a superstition, without respect ought to be abolished'. 86

Having rehearsed a number of examples from the Bible and early Church in support of their position, the argument is concluded with the self-righteous statement,

'we have contented our selves with that wisdome which we have learned in Godes booke, where we be taught to preache the Woorde of God purely, minister the Sacramentes sincerely, and use prayers and other orders therby approved, to the increase of Godes glorie, and edification of his holye people'. 87

The Preface then moved off to a discussion of the validity of using songs during worship and a justification for the incorporation of metrical psalms in services.⁸⁸ There was also an explanation about the inclusion of Calvin's Catechism which had been judged the catechism in which the christian religion

'is most easely, orderly and perfitley taught.... we could fynde none in so great a nombre which either for the facilitie is equall, or els for the perfection to be compared'. 89

The other major commendation for Calvin's Catechism was that it had a chance of becoming universally accepted as it had been translated into many different languages. The cause of protestant unity by means of credal uniformity was very im-

portant to the English exiles, who hoped that

'all godly Churches wolde agree in one kinde of doctrine and confession of faith, which in all points were agreable to God's holy Worde, that our posteritie might be confirmed, by the universal example of Christes Church against all heresies, persecutions, and other daungers'. 90

Having exhorted the reader to test the contents of the book by the touchstone of God's Word, the Preface ends with a prayer that God would

'restore his holy Woorde, comfort and strengthen his children and finally confounde Satan, Anti-christ and all his enymies'. 91

Immediately after the Preface and so constituting the first formal item in the book stands

'The Confession of our faith, which are assembled in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva'. 92

Its position in the book is indicative of its place in the life of the English church. Before becoming a member, every person would have to subscribe to the Confession. It was probably intended to be learnt by heart and so was set out clearly and ordered around the framework of the Apostles Creed. Like most reformed confessions it becomes explicit when it deals with the doctrine of the church. The visible church was defined by three marks, the Word of God, the Sacraments and ecclesiastical discipline. The last mark is expounded at considerable length, which included the assertion,

'and besides this Ecclesiasticall censure, I acknowlage to belonge to this church, a politicall Magistrate, who ministreth to every man justice, defending the good and punishinge the evell; to whom we must rendre honor and obedience in all thinges, which are not contrarie to the Word of God'.

The duty of the Magistrate is elaborated..

'and as Moses, Ezechias, Josias and other

godly rulers purged the Church of God from superstition and idolatrie, so the defence of Christes Church apperteynith to the Christian Magistrates, against all idolaters and heretikes'..93

The Confession made specific attacks on Catholic beliefs and was set out to show the points of difference between the two faiths. Particular emphasis was placed upon the doctrines of the church, of predestination and of the trinity, all of which were felt to be under heavy attack. The declared policy of basing everything on the Scriptures is backed up by 256 references in the margin.⁹⁴

Having set down the beliefs held by the English exile Church in Geneva, the 'Form of Prayers' turned to the way in which the church was to be organized. First it dealt with the election and ordination of ministers.⁹⁵ Calvin's definition of the ministerial office was followed in general but the description was an independent compilation. It contained the following interesting statement on the relation of the pastor to secular politics:

'in consultations, iudgements, elections and other political affaires, his (the pastor's) counsel, rather than autoritie taketh place'. 96

The minister was to serve the commonwealth as a prophet and not as a politician.⁹⁷

In the election of a minister, two or three candidates proposed by the whole congregatbn, were to be examined as to their doctrine and life by the ministers and elders, and one chosen. Eight days were to be allowed in case any one wished to object to the candidate. The man would be presented to the church and a sermon preached on the duty of a minister. In the afternoon, the election was to be confirmed and thanks given to God. The same procedure was to be used in the election

of elders and deacons. According to the 'Form of Prayers' the office of elder

'standeth in governing with the rest of the ministers, in consulting, admonishing, correcting and ordering all thynges appertayning to the state of the congregation'.

The congregation could not be assembled lawfully unless both ministers and elders were present, neither group being permitted to act without the other. It was the duty of the deacons to gather alms and with the consent of the ministers and elders, to distribute them. They were also to provide for the sick and impotent.⁹⁸

The Form of Prayers acknowledged that the Scriptures spoke of a fourth kind of ministry, that of doctors, but

'for lacke of opportunitie, in this oure dispersion and exile, we can not well have the use therof'.

Instead the order was to be renamed 'Th' Order of Schooles' and it was to cover all forms of education, not just the highest, that is the exposition of the Scriptures. Education was seen as being valuable and important in itself as well as being a necessary preliminary to theological study. At this point a type of educational manifesto was introduced, which declared:

'it is necessarie that seed be sown for the tyme to come, to the intent that the Churche be not left barren and waste to our posteritie; and that Scholes also be erected, and Colledges mayntayned, with juste and sufficient stipendes, wherin youthe may be trayned in the knowledge and feare of God, that in their ripe age they may prove worthy members of our Lorde Jesus Christ, whether it be to rule in Civill policie, or to serve in the Spirituall ministerie, or els to lyve in godly reverence and subjection'.

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The ministers and elders were to exercise their office of governing the church in a consistory to meet every Thursday. There they were to examine diligently any faults or suspicions,

not only in the congregation 'but chiefly amongst theym selves'. The minister should be an example to all through his godly life. Any decline from that perfect standard should be dealt with, either by deposition or by brotherly admonition.¹⁰⁰ It is a tribute to Goodman that he does not seem to have faced any major criticism and that he was re-elected as minister every year.

The nature of ecclesiastical discipline was more fully explained later in the book.¹⁰¹ Discipline stood in the same relation to the church as government to a secular community. It provided the sinews of the body of the Church and joined the members together. Discipline was given in order that by it, the wicked would be restrained; the slow and negligent would be spurred on; and all men would live in godly fear and reverence, through the gentle chastisement of the father's rod. Finally and probably most important to the exiles,

'it is an ordre left by God unto his Church, wherby men learne to frame their wills and doinges, accordinge to the lawe of God'. 102

In the execution of discipline, the Church is moved by three considerations, that the Church should not be known as a sanctuary for evil people; that the good are not contaminated by association with evil; and that the practice of discipline upon an individual would bring him to repentence. Discipline was to be administered either by public or private censure. If the offence was such that it affected the whole church, or brought the congregation into disrepute by its 'public' nature, then the censure needed to be public as well. If it was necessary, excommunication

'which is the greatest and last ponishment belonginge to the Spirituall Ministerie'.

was to be used, but only with the 'determination of the whole Church'.¹⁰³ An excommunicate should not be barred from the sermons, as he was from the sacraments and as soon as he was penitent, he should be reconciled to the Church. There was a final warning

'that all punishments, corrections, censures, and admonitions, stretch no farther then God's Woerde, with mercie, may lawfully beare'. 104

As well as the weekly meeting of the consistory to exercise ecclesiastical discipline, the whole congregation was to meet once a week

'to heare some place of the Scriptures orderly expounded'

During this interpretation of the Scriptures, it was open for any man to speak

'as God shall move his harte, and the text minister occasion; so it be without pertinacitee or disdayne, as one that rather seketh to proffit then to contend'.

However if contention did arise and could not be settled by the moderators, then the subject was closed for the time being until it could be determined at the next meeting of the consistory.¹⁰⁵

The liturgical sections of the Form of Prayers were not slavish imitations of Calvin. They do follow the general pattern of Calvin's and other reformed liturgies and at specific points do incorporate sections taken directly from Calvin, both in the original French and in the English translation made by William Huycke in 1550, and also sections from Poullain's 'Liturgia Sacra'.¹⁰⁶ However the Form of Prayers was an English liturgy written for a specific situation with considerable liturgical originality at crucial points. Though it did

not adhere to the format of the Book of Common Prayer, that was not rejected out of hand and in both the Communion and Marriage Services, there were important borrowings from the Book of Common Prayer. Within their self imposed limits of adhering to the practice of the early church and providing Scriptural warrant for all their actions, the compilers showed a remarkable freedom and independence.

As Professor Maxwell has demonstrated at length, the Sunday Morning Service, as in other 'reformed' liturgies, was based around the service of Holy Communion, even if it was not to be celebrated that day.¹⁰⁷ The service opened with a confession of sins which was specifically directed towards the needs of the English. The congregation declared their contrition for their past offences in the reign of Edward VI when they had failed to obey God's prophets. It was lamented that those who had previously been well instructed in the doctrines of the gospel, had turned to idolatry.¹⁰⁸ In a similar way, the prayer 'for the whole estate of Christes Church' mentioned 'the burninge heate of persecution'. God was asked to free the ignorant

'from the miserable captivitie of blindnes and error, to the pure understandinge, and knowlage of the heavenly trueth: that we all, with one consent and unities of myndes, may wourshippe thee our onely God and Saviour'. 109

This may be a veiled and discreet reference to their brethren at Frankfort.

Having prayed for the pastors of the church, the minister asked for God's directing influence upon the hearts of all secular rulers. A special mention was made of the Genevan magistrates which led into a definition of the office of magistrates. If God aided them by his Holy Spirit, magistrates

'may in suche sorte execute their office that thy religion may be purely mainteyned, manners reformed, and synne punished accordinge to the precise rule of thy holy woord'. 110

The English found it difficult to forget their plight and once again they prayed for

'our miserable contrie of England, which once through thy mercie, was called to libertie, and now for their and our synnes, is broght unto moste vile slavery and Babylonicall bondage'. 111

In a shortened form this same service was to be used every day, though whether the Genevan congregation actually held to this ideal is not known.¹¹² On Sunday afternoons following the example in their host city, the children would be catechised with Calvin's Catechism, an English translation of which was included in the Form of Prayers.¹¹³ There was also provision for a special service of repentance at any time when there were 'evident tokens of God's wrath'.

It was intended that Holy Communion should be celebrated at least once a month. The phrase 'or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient' might indicate the hope that weekly celebration could be achieved which was one of the great unfulfilled ideals of Calvin.¹¹⁴ As in the Sunday Morning Service, there was a tendency to simplify the service of Holy Communion. Considerable freedom was shown in the arrangement of the service which adopted parts of Calvin and the Book of Common Prayer and contained sections of entirely new material. A completely new prayer was composed and placed after the fraction of the bread. It did not contain the words of institution, which had been used at the beginning of the service as a warrant, nor did it use any of the traditional phrases found in western liturgies. In its scope and order it followed the primitive liturgies including adoration and

thanksgiving for creation and redemption, a commemoration of Christ's incarnation, death and resurrection, and the Last Supper, concluding with an ascription of praise.¹¹⁵

It is interesting that at such a crucial point in the service, the compilers felt they could break completely with tradition and compose their own very simple eucharistic prayer. The congregation received communion seated round a table, a practice which in 1556 was unique,¹¹⁶ and during the distribution a passage of the Scripture was read.

At the end of the service a short paragraph addressed 'To the Reader' was appended. It set out the reasons for the form of the service:

'first of all we utterly renounce the error of the papistes: secondly we restore unto the sacramentes theyr own substaunce; and to Christe his proper place'.

It warned against the belief that the words of institution were inserted to effect a change in the substance of the elements. Instead they were read to teach the proper order for communion. The compilers claimed at the end

'that without his woorde, and warrante, there is nothyng in this holy action attempted'.

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The innovations introduced into the baptismal service were such that they altered the emphasis within the service.¹¹⁸ Once again the general format of Calvin's service was followed but greatly simplified and filled with new material. This meant that greater stress was placed upon baptism as the initiatory rite into the Church and the reception into membership of God's people. The link between baptism and the covenant was made explicit. It was explained in the exhortation that in Old Testament times circumcision was the conf-

irmation that the Jews were God's people. In the Christian age the same function is performed by the sacrament of baptism. God has ordained

'that our infantes apperteyne to hym by covenaut and therefore oght not to be defrauded of those holy signes and badges wherby his children are knowen from infidells and pagans'.

The Minister proceeded to explain that it was not necessary for the children to be able to understand and believe at the time they were presented for baptism. The chief purpose of the Sacrament was

'that they be conteyned under the name of God's people....(and) testimonies of the holy ghoste assure us, that infantes be of the number of Gods people: and that remission of synnes doth also apperteyne, to theim in Christ. Therefore wythout iniurie they can not be debarred from the common signe of Gods children'. 119

Baptism was a congregational act and so should always be performed during a service, after the sermon, so that it was annexed to the Word of God.¹²⁰ Being present at a baptism was of great profit to the congregation, as well as to the infant, because

'we beinge putt in minde of the league and covenant made betwixt (sic) God and us, that he wilbe our God, and we his people, he our father, and we his children, may have occasion as wel to trye our lives past, as our present conversâtion: and to prove our selves, whether we stand fast in the faithe of God's elect'. 121

The prayer of thanksgiving after the child has been baptised, was entirely original. Once again the language used emphasised that God's people bear clearly recognizable marks. God in his mercy calls the children of the members of the congregation to himself

'markinge them wyth thys Sacrament as a singulêr token and badge of thy love'. 122

The Form of Prayers also contained a marriage service and instructions concerning the visitation of the sick, and burial of the dead. Like the rest of the liturgy, they demonstrate the tendency to reduce the services to their bare essentials. The Marriage Service reveals the freedom with which the compilers used their sources in their willingness to bring together sections from the Book of Common Prayer and Calvin and with their own new material, create from them all a simple order of service.¹²³

As well as giving all the services to be used coporately by the congregation, the Form of Prayers included special prayers 'to be used in privat houses, every morning and evenyng'. In the 1558 edition of the Form of Prayers there were several additions in this section, in particular a prayer which was

'A complaint of the Tyranny used against the saints of God'... 124

At the end of the private prayers was the prayer which had been used

'at the first assemblie of the congregation, when the Confession of our faithe, and whole orders of the Church, was there red and approved'. 125

The theme of repentance for neglecting the graces offered by God in the time of prosperity was heavily stressed. The members of the congregation could give special thanks to God who had called them

'frome all idolatries into this Citie, most Christianlye reformed, to professe thy name, and suffer some crosse amongsteste thy people for thy trewth and Gospell's sake'. 126

They had the opportunity to witness to Christ, their Head, and through this grow more like Him. They asked for grace

to give an account of their faith to all men with boldness yet humbleness and meekness. They hoped that backbiters 'seinge our good conversation in Christ Jesu' would be shamed into silence. As well as these petitions for themselves, the congregation prayed for their brethren

'gathered in all other places, that they and we, consentinge together in one spirite and truethe, may (all worldly respectes set a part) seke thy onely honor and glorie in all our and their Assemblies'. 127

This sounds very much like a reference to the troubles at Frankfort which the majority of the congregation had just left.

The other major product to emerge from the English exile church in Geneva and one which had even more influence than the Form of Prayers was the Geneva Bible.¹²⁸ Two previous productions pointed the way. The first was Whittingham's new translation of the New Testament which was published in 1557.¹²⁹ The second, also appearing in 1557, was the English version of the Psalms translated into prose directly from the Hebrew, probably by Anthony Gilby, who was the most competent Hebraist among the English in Geneva.¹³⁰ It is generally accepted that William Whittingham was the driving force behind the production of the Geneva Bible and it is probable that Gilby was his co-editor with special responsibility for the Old Testament. To tackle the more ambitious task of producing a new version of the whole Bible and Apocrypha, Whittingham enlisted the help of the scholars in the Genevan congregation. With understandable modesty, there was no list of translators attached to the Bible. Goodman's name appears in the lists which have been compiled, though he is usually

afforded a subsidiary role because of his duties as pastor and on the erroneous assumption that he was not in Geneva during 1558.¹³¹ Goodman would have been restricted by his pastoral responsibilities and, judging by the number of services contemplated in the Form of Prayers, by a great deal of sermon preparation. However, precisely because he would have been expounding the Scriptures chapter by chapter in his daily sermons, he was quite possibly asked to help write the marginal notes and the 'arguments'.¹³²

More of the congregation at Geneva were involved than just the translators. John Bodley and William Williams provided the financial backing for the enterprise. They probably set up a press in Geneva in December 1558 and put Rowland Hall in charge of it.¹³³ John Baron also seems to have been involved with the printing. Most of the work on the translation seems to have been completed in 1558. The Preface, written on 10th April, 1560, said

'God Knoweth with what feare and trembling we have bene now, for the space of two yeres and more day and night occupied herein'.¹³⁴

This probably explains why in 1558 Whittingham did not hold any office in the church. By 10th February 1559, the Bible was 'praised to God.....in good readiness'.¹³⁵ However because most of the exiles had returned to England it was over a year later before the Bible appeared. The Englishmen, led by Whittingham, who had stayed behind to see the Bible through the press, did not leave until 30th May 1560.¹³⁶

There could not have been a better place for the exiles to have undertaken their task. In the 1550's Geneva was the centre of biblical scholarship and many editions of the Bible

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were being prepared in other languages.¹³⁷ As Whittingham wrote in the preface to his 1557 New Testament, one of the reasons he had produced the translation was that he was

'drawen dy (sic-misprint for by) occasion, both of the place where God hath appointed us to dwel, and also the store of heavenly learning and iudgement, which so abundeth in this Citie of Geneva, that iustely it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religion and godlynnes'.

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In the preface of the Geneva Bible, the translators expressed their feeling that they had been called by God to exploit the special advantages of time and place which had not been available to those who had previously translated the Bible into English:

'the which thing, albeit that divers heretofore have indevored to atchieve: yet considering the infancie of those tymes and imperfect knollage of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and cleare light which God hath now reveiled, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed'.

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One of the benefits of being in Geneva was that the English translators had access to the Codex Bezae even before it came into Beza's hands. They used it and indicated the alternative readings it gave to certain texts.¹⁴⁰ The translators seem to have assiduously picked the brains and borrowed the notes of the international group of biblical scholars working in Geneva.

The result was a translation of exemplary scholarship.¹⁴¹ The translators had not been content to incorporate the 1557 versions of the New Testament and Psalms, but revised them in the light of the very latest biblical knowledge. The importance of the Geneva Bible springs less from its academic perfection than from its superb range of tools to assist the reader. The whole book was laid out to make the reading and

understanding of the Bible as simple as possible, and therefore accessible at least to all who could read. There were three obvious changes, the division of the chapters into verses, for the first time in an English version, the use of roman type instead of black-letter, and the easy quarto-size of the edition. In addition, each book of the Bible was headed by an 'argument' which gave a brief summary of the contents.

There were marginal notes which were described as

'brief annotations upon all the hard places, aswel for the understanding of suche wordes as are obscure, and for the declaration of the text, as for the application of the same as may moste apperteine to God's glorie and the edification of his Church'.

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There were also maps and woodcuts to illustrate the text and at the back was a table of Hebrew proper names, an index of the principal things in the Bible and a chronological chart.

Because the whole Bible was not ready at Elizabeth's accession, the new rendering of the Psalms was printed in a special Psalter which was dedicated to the new Queen.¹⁴³

The Psalms were likewise furnished with marginal notes, an index and short concordance. When it was ready, the whole Bible was also dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and in the epistle, she was exhorted and advised how to build up the Temple of the Lord.¹⁴⁴

The Preface was addressed to the brethren in the Lord in England, Scotland and Ireland. Having explained the circumstances and the principles behind the translation, it closed with the exhortation:

'Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseeche you, that this riche perle and inestimable treasure may not be offred in vayne, but as sent from God to the people of God, for the increase of his Kingdome, the comfort of his Church, and discharge of our conscience, whome it hath pleased him to

raise up for this purpose, so you wolde willingly receyve the worde of God, earnestly studie it and in all your life practise it, that you may now appeare in dede to be the people of God, not walking any more according to this worlde, but in the frutes of the Spirit; that God in us may be fully glorified through Christ Jesus our Lord, who lyveth and reigneth for ever. Amen'. 145

This was a succinct summary of the hopes of the Geneva congregation for the English commonwealth.

The popularity of the Geneva Bible was immense, for the rest of the sixteenth century it remained the favourite version in England and in Scotland it was the official version.¹⁴⁶ Through its apparatus and text, the ideology of the English exile congregation in Geneva, which Goodman had helped to determine and express, was transmitted to the English and the Scots. The polemical importance of the notes and arguments was realised from the beginning. It was one of the reasons why Archbishop Parker organized the publication of the Bishop's Bible. In his instructions to the translators he wrote

'Item to make no bitter notis uppon any text, or yet to set downe any determination in places of controversie'.

In more forthright terms, King James forbad marginal notes in the Authorised Version because he had found those in the Geneva Bible,

'very partiall, untrue, seditious and savouring too much of daungerous and trayterous conceites. As for examples Exod. 1.19, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience to Kings. And 2 Chron. 15. 16, the note taxeth Asa for deposing his mother 'onely' and 'not killing her'.' 147

The Geneva Bible and the Form of Prayers were the most spectacular and influential of the literary efforts of the English exiles in Geneva but they were not the only ones.

The works written and published in Geneva by the English fall into two distinct categories. Between 1555 and 1557 the works were primarily theological, with less overt propaganda than those emanating from the other English colonies. Before 1558 most of Knox's works were printed outwith Geneva and during this time, he was preoccupied with events in Scotland.¹⁴⁸ In 1556 Whittingham published in Geneva a Latin translation of Ridley's 'Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper' and he probably produced a translation of Beza's 'Table of Predestination'.¹⁴⁹

Also published in 1556 was Anthony Gilby's 'Treatise on election and reprobation' and Thomas Lever's 'Treatise of the right way from Danger of Sinne'.¹⁵⁰ Another book published in 1556 and no longer extant might have been printed in Geneva. It was written by William Samuel and entitled 'A Prayer to God for his afflicted church in England'.¹⁵¹ Though out of chronological sequence, Knox's work on predestination eventually printed in 1560, belongs to this group of theological treatises.¹⁵²

In 1558 there was a complete change from theological to political tracts. On the first day of that year, Goodman's book 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd' appeared. Sometime in the first three months, Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women' was printed, but without a date or place of publication.¹⁵³ Later in 1558 Knox published his 'Appellation' with which was bound Gilby's 'Admonition to England and Scotland' and a revised version of 'The Copie of a Lettre delivered to the ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland, first printed in 1556'.¹⁵⁴ Apart from

Knox's 'First Blast' which was addressed to an international audience, all of Knox's 1558 works were directed towards Scotland. Gilby's book also dealt with Anglo-Scottish relations. This means that in relation to the condition of England alone, the 1558 change in the type of book published in Geneva can be reduced to Goodman's 'How Superior Powers'.

Their experience at Frankfort did not mean that the Geneva congregation isolated themselves from the other English colonies. In particular, they seemed to have a special protective relationship towards the group of English at Wesel. It was from their number that Wesel found a pastor for their congregation. It was probably only due to the persuasion of his compatriots in Geneva and possibly Calvin as well, that Thomas Lever took up the invitation and left the peace and happiness he had found in Geneva.¹⁵⁵ Shortly after he had arrived in Wesel, the Lutheran authorities asked the Englishmen to leave. It was William Kethe and John Bodley, two leading members of the Geneva congregation, who spent most of the summer of 1557 travelling extensively to find a new home for the Wesel group.¹⁵⁶ They finally settled them at Aarau with permission to pursue the trade of the majority of the congregation, weaving. That the two colonies remained on good terms is testified by the friendly letter in reply to Geneva's circular of 15th December 1558.¹⁵⁷

It is difficult to assess the amount of contact between the various English colonies because of the lack of surviving evidence. However the constant movement of people between the colonies ensured the circulation of news. Relations between the congregations at Geneva and Frankfort were not

as tense as might have been expected, largely because most of the major antagonists had moved elsewhere. The Frankfort congregation, was soon plunged into a new 'sturre and strife'. The English exiles at Geneva, hearing about the new quarrels, were anxious to see them composed as quickly as possible. In a letter dated 16th March 1557, which was found on ^{the} back of a list of books owned by Robert Beaumont, the congregation at Geneva attempted to move their brethren to concord which had been broken by Mr. Ashley.¹⁵⁸

Most of those who had been the major opponents of the core of the Genevan congregation during the Frankfort troubles, had gone back to Zurich or Strasburgh. The bitterness that had been caused in 1555 was not easily forgiven nor forgotten, though as some of the prayers in the Form of Prayers expressed it was hoped that some kind of unity among the English might yet be achieved. John Jewel, living in Peter Martyr's house in Zurich, no doubt mindful of their old friendship in Oxford, wrote a letter of reconciliation to Goodman and Whittingham.¹⁵⁹ He addressed them as 'my dearest brothers in Christ' and wrote:

'if that most unhappy circumstance of the Frankfort contention has at all clouded or diminished our mutual friendship and union, all this, I trust has long since been either extinguished by christian principle, or at least laid to rest by lapse of time. As to both of you indeed, I have no doubt of it; but for myself I may even promise it'.

Jewel had hoped to have visited the two friends and to have written to William Williams and Thomas Wood as well on the subject. He was prepared to apologize for his behaviour, but not to retract his position. He asked forgiveness

'if in that matter, which I cannot even now condemn, I have at all injured both or either of you, or, carried away with zeal and the heat of contention, have applied to you any unbecoming word'.

It is interesting that Knox was nowhere mentioned in the letter, nor does there seem to have been a similar letter to him. This suggests that Jewel was primarily concerned with events after Knox's departure.

Either Goodman and Whittingham failed to reply, or their reply was frosty and perhaps reopened the debate. In his preface to the New Testament, written on 10th June 1557, Whittingham was probably refering to his experiences at Frankfort when he wrote, about those who

'do not openly resiste and contemne the Gospel, because they are stroken as it were in a trance with the maiestie therof yet ether they quarrell and cavell, or els deride and mocke at whatsoever thing is done for the advancement of the same'. 160

In a letter written by Peter Martyr to Goodman, not now extant, Martyr did not reply to the propositions concerning obedience which Goodman had sent him for comment. Instead, he wrote about the Frankfort controversy and probably rebuked Goodman for not co-operating in Jewel's peacemaking, telling him not to be so contentious. This provoked from Goodman a lengthy and somewhat pretentious defence of the conduct of his party and himself at Frankfort.¹⁶¹ He made much of the importance of defending the truth even against dear friends. He spoke of the need to remove the ignorance of the brethren and make the truth manifest to the contemplation of all. Those people who bravely ventured to exhibit the truth would always incur criticism and opposition, but in these matters there could be no half measures.

'It very often comes to pass in practice, that when we seek to benefit either party by our silence, we benefit neither: God so ordering all things, to whom due obedience is not rendered as often as entire respect is not paid to truth'.

105.
Goodman then turned specifically to the troubles at Frankfort. He admitted that he had much to regret but

'though it occasioned me great uneasiness in common with the rest, I do not now repent of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause'.

He felt vindicated by the long-term result of the controversy and was sure that all the advantages which the English exiles enjoyed in Geneva,

'never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of popery which they wished to force upon us'.

To have withdrawn from the struggle would have been to betray the truth and would not have made those who wanted to burden everyone,

'with unprofitable ceremonies and paltry ordinances of man',

come to acknowledge their error. Goodman cited examples in the early church where disagreements had led to a clarification of the faith. He admitted that it was difficult to avoid the charge of being contentious but that it was necessary to discharge one's duty. Despite his long defence Goodman felt sufficiently well disposed towards Jewel to send him and other members of the English community at Zurich, his salutations.

In the opinion of the English church at Geneva, the news of Mary's death made it imperative to unite the exiles and bury past differences. On 15th December 1558, they sent a letter to all the other English colonies by their special messenger William Kethe.¹⁶² In it they said

'we for oure partes freely remitt all offences and most intirely imbrace yow oure deare brethern, So we beseche yow in the lorde, unfainedly yow will do the like on your behalff'.

Mention was made of the letters and the 'good experience' which had already proved the reconciliation, but it was thought best that this should be publicly confirmed. In the two replies William Kethe brought back to Geneva, one from Frankfort and one from Aarau,

'the forgetting and putting awaie of all occasions off offences'

was promised.¹⁶³

Despite these efforts, news of the division had reached England, where Frankfort and Geneva were taken to symbolise two different points of view as regards ceremonies. Jewel reported to Peter Martyr on 26th January 1559 that after they had

'heard only one public discourse of Bentham's the people began to dispute among themselves about ceremonies, some declaring for Geneva and some for Frankfort'. 164

It was thought that this was the reason why the Queen had forbidden anyone to preach.

Immediately Kethe had returned, the majority of the English at Geneva left for home on January 24th.¹⁶⁵ It seems almost certain that, despite what Martin says, Goodman left with the main congregation.¹⁶⁶ Knox left on January 28th and it was probably at this point that with both ministers gone that Whittingham, who remained with several others to see the Genevan Bible through the press, was persuaded to become pastor to the remnant of the English congregation.¹⁶⁷ The journey was not an easy one, for that year the Rhine was frozen.¹⁶⁸ One of the groups of returning exiles was drowned in the Channel. Il Schifanoja sarcastically described how sixty of the exiles

'who were returning in like manner to assist in cultivating the field of the Lord (as they say) and went to fish in the realms of Neptune,

107.
who, having need of their doctrine there, desired Aeolus to command the winds to sink them when crossing the Channel, as they did together with three other Flemish vessels laden with merchandise'.

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By March 21st, the date of the letter, Il Schifanoia calculated that about three hundred exiles had returned. The first group from Strasburgh got back by January 13th.¹⁷⁰

William Fuller and presumably the rest of the group from Geneva had arrived on February 27th.¹⁷¹ Poor John Jewel's journey took fifty-seven days and he did not reach England until around March 20th.¹⁷²

Because of their political theories, both Knox and Goodman found themselves in very great disfavour in England. Knox was repeatedly refused a passport to travel through England on his way to Scotland.¹⁷³ Goodman went into hiding in England in fear of his life. If as M.A. Simpson suggests, the 'Dodman' whom the Privy Council ordered to be apprehended and sent up to London 'under sure and safe custody', is a clerical error for Goodman, then fears as to the Government's intentions were justified.¹⁷⁴ Previously, the Privy Council had tried to persuade Goodman to give himself up.¹⁷⁵ William Fuller was asked to get a message to Goodman to the effect

'that it was not his best way to withdraw himself but to come before the Counsell... That he should have the Counsell's warrant to come and go and speake in those points without perill and that your Majestie was loth to loose or lacke such a good preacher as he was, and desired no more but that he wold shew good profe for maintenance of the same or els therin reforme his boke'.

However his friends would not tell Fuller where Goodman was to be found. They were suspicious of Fuller because he had opposed Goodman's and Knox's books and had spoken about them to Calvin, also Fuller's relations with the Treasurer made

100.
them uneasy. Their suspicions seemed to have been confirmed when it chanced, so Fuller asserted, that he was with the Treasurer talking about Goodman, when

'In come Mr. Thomas Mildmay then High Sheriffe of Essex and brought with him as prisoner one Mr. Pullein an old preacher of K. Edwarde's time, who allso had bene one of the Geneva flocke, and was then Archdeacon of Colchester, and brought to the court for mainteining, in a sermon of his, some of the said disliked points (ie. as Goodman had made in his book)

After this incident and when Fuller had sent a second message to Goodman to give himself up, some of the returned members of the Genevan congregation accused Fuller of informing on Knox, Goodman and Pullain, so that Knox could not obtain his pass from the government,

'nor yet Mr. Goodman, Mr. Pullin nor other heads of the flocke be able to live here but in great daunger'.

The association of Goodman and Pullain at this time, as they had been in the first year of Mary's reign in London, suggests that Goodman might have been hiding in Colchester or some part of Essex. John Jewel knew that Goodman was in England and on April 28th he reported that

'he dare not shew his face, and appear in public'.

Jewel commented in a rather pompous and self-righteous way:

'how much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error, there will be no danger. But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yeild'.

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Jewel was correct in his assumption. Goodman did not retract, though it seems that he did try to get in touch with Sir William Cecil during the time he was in hiding, but found no-one

willing to carry his letters.¹⁷⁷ Goodman's Genevan flock kept him well hidden for the government was not able to apprehend him and in the summer of 1559 he was able to travel up to Scotland in secret without any major difficulty.¹⁷⁸

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

1. See above 17.
2. Foxe VIII 597.
3. C.H.Garrett, The Marian Exiles, Cambridge (1938) 357.
4. A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankfort, ed. J. Petherham, (1845) XXII-III and XXVI-VII.
5. Z.S. E II 356a/637-8.
6. O.L. I. 306-7 and 294-6, 297, 308-9. As Miss Garrett failed to furnish sufficient proof of the existence of a sophisticated organization dependent upon a committee of 'sustainers' (7-8), it is not clear how the majority of English exiles supported themselves. It is known that they were beneficiaries of considerable generosity from their foreign hosts, as has been mentioned in the text. Also in Zurich the English were exempt from tax and provided with the services of apothecaries and physicians free, in addition to donations from individuals including Bullinger (O.L. I. 125-31). However the offer of corn and wine from the town council was refused because the English were supplied from other, unspecified sources (Annals IIIi 319). The exiles in Zurich had formed themselves into a college which held a common purse, probably funded from donations from English merchants on the Continent (O.L. I.374-6). Men like Haddon, Richard Chambers, John Burcher and Richard Hopkins were liberal with their resources and Thomas Heton was said to have impoverished himself by his generosity to his fellow exiles (Annals IIIi 397; Ecc Mems IIIi 223-5). The wealth of the merchants was vulnerable because the penalty for leaving the country without licence was loss of moveable goods and this was probably the cause of Haddon's difficulties. Those who had land in England were in a safer position and they continued to receive their revenues, despite the government's attempts in December 1555 in Parliament to stop this loophole (C.S.P. Ven VI 275-7). Such money from his estates enabled Sir Thomas Wrothe to aid Bartholomew Traheron (Ecc.Mems IIIi 226). Despite these sources of supply

many exiles were forced to find what employment they could, such as proof-reading which was John Foxe's occupation at Basle (Garrett 157).

7. Garrett 163.

8. Z.S. E II 345/390 (O.L. I. 346-8), William Salkyns to Bullinger from Strasburgh December 29th, 1554.

9. All the information about Bartlet Green is taken from Foxe's account VII 732-8 which includes 'The Confession and Saying of Bartlet Green' 27th November 1555, 738.

10. S.T.C. 19416 R.Parsons, A treatise of three conversions of England, St. Omer (1603/4) II 220.

11. Garrett 163.

12. Thomas' trial 9th May 1554. Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, Baga de Secretis, Pouch XXX in Appendix II to the 4th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1843), 248.

13. Troubles VIII-XIII.

14. Troubles XIII.

15. Troubles XIV.

16. Troubles XIX.

17. The Students of Zurich wrote to Frankfort on October 13th (Troubles XIII-VI) and on October 27th (XVIII-XIX).

18. Troubles XXIII.

19. Troubles XXIV. The people who were expected to object to the B.C.P. were the Lutheran magistrates of Frankfort.

20. Troubles XXIII.

21. Troubles XXVI. A letter from Frankfort to Strasburgh 3rd December 1554, carried by Grindal and Chambers XXIII-XXVI.
22. Troubles XXVI-VII.
23. Troubles XXVII-VIII.
24. The exiles believed that they should exhibit a visible unity and, if possible, establish an English church. However they did not envisage a jurisdictional unity, particularly not of an episcopalian kind. They thought that the type of ecclesiastical organization appropriate for the English church in exile was necessarily different from the organization of an established church in England.
25. Foxe's letter to Peter Martyr probably refers to this time. Ecc. Mems. IIIIi 310-1 No. XXXVII and IIIIi 405-6.
26. Troubles XXVII-XXXVIII also see Appendix B.
27. O.L. 170-2.
28. O.L. 170.
29. Troubles XXXVIII. Whittingham's letter suggested that the influx of people came before the agreement on the order (XLVIII). Knox's version was recorded in his Narrative Wks IV 41f.
30. Troubles XXXVIII-XLV.
31. For the existence of an ideological split see R.J. Vander-Molen, 'The Ideological Basis of Anglican-Puritan Division', Church History, 42 (1973) 45-57 and W.S.Reid, 'The Divisions of the Marian Exile', Canadian Journal of History III (1968) 1-26: both writers tend to accept the interpretation presented in the Troubles a little readily.
32. Knox named Isaac and Parry in his Narrative Wks IV 47. They were linked with Bale in a letter from John Ponet to Bale dated

6th July 1555, B.L. Add MS 29,546 f25. John Bale attacked Knox for his 'sedicious, barbarouse and scismatycall pratlynges (who) hath reported the sayde booke (of Common Prayer) unperfect, uncleane, unpure, damnable and full of superstition deservinge also death plague and exile'. Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 538/47 f473. This manuscript, which has not been used in this context before, is headed 'To our catharytes or brethrene of the puritie as they call it, which frantickly have reported the communion of our booke to beare the face of a Popishe Masse'. It certainly refers to the exile period and is related to the letter written to Ashley in Petyt MS. 538/47 f380-380v, printed in Ecc. Mems. IIIii XXXIX 313-4. This letter was labelled by the copyist as referring to the English church at Basle c1556 but both of the documents (probably by the same copyist) might equally well refer to Frankfort. At the end of the document on the 'Catherytes' is found 'They of the purytie have caused our Englishe booke of prayer to be banished out of Frankford, where as bothe the papysme and Iudaisme are peaceably suffered to remayne'.

33. With the influx of the other exiles the church at Frankfort would be the 'official' English church in exile.

34. Troubles XLIIII-V.

35. David Whitehead, Richard Cox, Thomas Becon, Richard Alvey, Henry Parry, Bartholomew Traheron and Thomas Cottisford signed the letter from Frankfort. O.L. II 755-63.

36. Whittingham to Calvin 25th March 1555, (carried by Knox) O.L. 764-5 and Whittingham to friend, Troubles XLVII-L.

37. O.L. 761.

38. Knox's sermon, Troubles XXXVIII-IX and Narrative Wks IV 43-5.

39. In his article Vander Molen (see above n. 33) also detects a tension between the lay and clerical elements.

40. Troubles XLV, XLIX.

41. Troubles XLV-XLVI.

42. Troubles XLVI-VII.

43. O.L. 753-5. Signed by Richard Cox, David Whitehead, Richard Alvey, Thomas Becon, Edwin Sandys, Edmund Grindel, John Bale, Robert Horn, Thomas Lever, Thomas Sampson.

44. Calvin 'To the worshippfull my lovinge brethern in the lorde maister Richard Coxe and the rest off the Englishmen whiche nowe remaine at Frankford'. Troubles LI-III. There was also another letter to Thomas Sampson, now lost.

45. It seems much more likely that the so-called 'Liturgy of Compromise' was in use in this period (March-August 1555), and not earlier as is usually suggested, see B.L. Egerton MS. 2836 edited by G.W.Sprott. The Frankfort Liturgy in The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI ed. H.J.Wotherspoon (1905).

46. Troubles LIIII-V.

47. Troubles LV-IX.

48. Cole's letter to a friend probably refers to the time after the departure Troubles LX-XII.

49. J.Ridley, John Knox Oxford (1968) 224.

50. Troubles LI.

51. Geneva, Archives d'Etat, Registre de Conseil 49 f102; also C.Martin, Les protestants anglais réfugiés à Genève, Geneva (1915) 37.

52. Reg. de Cons. 50 f17v for 24th October 1555; also Martin 39.

53. Livre des Anglois 334 reprinted in Martin 331-8.

54. Cf. Martin 70.
55. Reg. de Cons. 50 f46-46v; also Martin 39-40.
56. Reg. de Cons. 50 f51.
57. For details see N.M.Sutherland, 'The English Refugees at Geneva 1555-9', History Today (1977) 779-87.
58. Livre des Habitants de Geneve (1549-60) ed. P-F.Geisendorf, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 26 (1957) 1 59. Their names were:- William Whittingham; Thomas Wood; William Williams; Anthony Gilby; William Jackson; John Hollingham; Christopher Goodman; John Maston; William Knowells; Richard Potter; Thomas Crofton; John Hilton; Christopher Seburne; John Stanton.
59. There was a list of names at the beginning of the Livre des Anglois 331 written by a Genevan clerk.
60. Reg. de Cons. 54 f217v.
61. Goodman's will was made on 22nd February 1603 and proved in December 1603 see Lancashire-Cheshire Wills III 160-171. Geneva reference 170.
62. Reg. de Cons. 56 f44v 30th May 1560, and the Conge pour les Anglois given to William Whittingham and William Williams in Livre des Abergements Reg.22 f88-88v also Martin 260-3.
63. Livre des Anglois 334-5.
64. Knox left Geneva at the end of August 1555 (Ridley 224) and returned in September 1556 (237). He left again in September 1557 (249) and returned to Geneva before the end of the winter c.March 1558 (264). He left for the last time on 28th January 1559 (307).
65. On 14th August 1557; 17th August 1557; and 28th July 1558, respectively- Livre des Anglois 336.

66. The word 'witness' was used instead of 'godfather' from 29th November 1558. Livre des Anglois 336.
67. Livre des Anglois 338.
68. Pilkington to Gualter 7th April 1556, O.L. I. 134-6.
69. Knox to Ann Locke Wks. IV 240 9th December 1556 Geneva.
70. Goodman to Martyr 20th August 1558, E II 368/258v (O.L. II 769).
71. Lever to Bullinger 4th January 1556/7 (Garrett 221 suggests 1557) O.L. I. 160-1.
72. Autobiography of Thomas Hancock (from Foxi: MSS. MS. Harl 425 fl24) printed in J.G.Nichols, Narratives of the Reformation, Camden Society (1859) 84.
73. Martin 47.
74. Goodman wrote to Martyr (see above n.21 O.L. II. 771) 'I know that you have received information of what has happened to the church of your countrymen among us, and especially concerning our friend Silvester, for whose case I grieve not a little; not because I do not hope well of him, but because he has given occasion for being deservedly suspected of so awful an heresy. I pray God speedily..to deliver our friend Silvester, altogether restored to us, from the suspicion under which he is still labouring'.
75. E.II 369/127-7v. Signed 'Ministri, Seniores et diaconi totius Ecclesiae Anglicanae nomine'.
76. Garrett 93; Bodl. Lib. Ms. Bodl. 740 'Calvins Sermons upon Genesis taken by a swifte writer as he preached them'.
77. Printed at Geneva by J.Crespin dated 10th February 1556, reprinted in Knox Wks. IV 157-214 and the liturgical sections in W.D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, reprint (1965). The Form of Prayers is more commonly known by the title it acquired in Scotland, the Book of Common Order.

78. It contained a confession of faith; the order of electing ministers, elders and deacons; the assembly of the ministry; the interpretation of the Scriptures; the Sunday Morning Service, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the form of marriage, visitation of the sick and burial of the dead; order of ecclesiastical discipline; private prayers; Calvin's Catechism; metrical psalms and spiritual songs.
79. Knox Wks. IV 157-168.
80. It also circulated among the English colonies, see Lever to Bullinger 1557 (not 1556 as O.L.) 18th September O.L.I. 166.
81. Martin 80. For the authorship and composition of the Form of Prayers see Appendix B.
82. Knox Wks. IV 157.
83. Wks. IV 158.
84. Wks. IV 159-60.
85. Wks. 160-1.
86. Wks. IV 162.
87. Wks. IV 164.
88. The metrical psalter was a revision of Sternholde and Hopkins with many additions, mostly by Whittingham and Kethe. Goodman may well have composed some of the psalms as he later did when he was minister at St. Andrews. Then he composed one of the spiritual songs which Andrew Kempe the song-master set in four parts as a supplement to the psalter. See B.L. Add MS. 33,933. For the general background to the Psalter see W.M.McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church 1550-1638 (1931) 74-86.
89. Wks. IV 167.

90. *ibid.* Agreement on a statement of belief rather than the adoption of a single liturgy was the ideal of the English exiles in Geneva. cf Martin 87f.
91. Wks. IV 168.
92. Wks. IV 169-173.
93. Wks. IV 172-3.
94. Martin 92-3.
95. Maxwell 165-8.
96. Maxwell 166.
97. This was the role Goodman assumed in 'How Superior Powers'.
98. Wks. IV 176.
99. Wks. IV 177. This is a succinct expression of the ideas also held by the Christ Church Circle, see above 120-32.
100. Wks. IV 178.
101. Wks. IV 203-6.
102. Wks. IV 203.
103. Wks. IV 205.
104. Wks. IV 206.
105. Wks. IV 178-9.
106. The forme of common praiers used in the churches of Geneva, trans. William Huycke (1550) For 'Liturgia Sacra' Valerand Pollanus, London 1551, and a modified version printed at Frankfort 1554, see V. Pollanus, 'Liturgia Sacra' 1551-5, Leiden (1970) 'La Forme des Prieres' (Calvin's Genevan use) Geneva (1542). See Maxwell's detailed Genealogical Bibliography 66-76.

- 107. Maxwell 17-47.
- 108. Maxwell 85-6.
- 109. Maxwell 90. Compare with Whittingham's Preface to 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd', see below 245-6.
- 110. Maxwell 90.
- 111. Maxwell 91.
- 112. Maxwell 92.
- 113. Maxwell 65.
- 114. Maxwell 121.
- 115. Maxwell 124-6; 134.
- 116. Though possibly Knox had used it with his congregation at Berwick and Newcastle, Maxwell 137.
- 117. Maxwell 128.
- 118. Maxwell, who sticks strictly to his task of commentary on the liturgy and its origins, does not give sufficient emphasis to the originality of the Form of Prayers nor to its significance as an expression of the ideals of the English in Geneva. The gap is particularly noticeable in his comments upon the baptismal service.
- 119. Maxwell 106.
- 120. Maxwell 105.
- 121. Maxwell 108.
- 122. Maxwell 111.

123. Maxwell 53-4.

124. W.Cowan, 'Bibliography of the Book of Common Order', Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, X (1913) 53-100. The additions to the prayers are listed on 68. There is only one extant copy of the 1558 edition of the Form of Prayers and it is in private hands.

125. Knox Wks. IV 212-4.

126. Wks. IV 213. cf. theme of exile as suffering, see below 218-9.

127. Wks. IV 214.

128. 'The Geneva Bible' facsimile of 1560 edition. Introduction by Lloyd E. Berry. J.D.Alexander, 'The Genevan Version of the English Bible' (Unpub. D. Phil. Oxford 1957) B.M.Metzger, 'The Geneva Bible of 1560', Theology Today, 17 (1960) 339-52. I. Lupton, The History of the Geneva Bible, I-VIII (1966 continuing) D.G.Danner, 'The Theology of the Geneva Bible 1560: A Study of English Protestantism', (Unpub. Ph.D. Thesis, Iowa 1969).

129. Printed by Conrad Badius in Geneva on June 10th, STC 2871.

The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ. Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approved translations.

130. Introduction to facsimile 9-10. The Psalms of 1557 survive in only one copy, which is in the Bodleian. It was discovered by Alexander, 59-82.

131. Martin 241-2, Intro. 7-8.

132. The ideas on obedience to magistrates found in the notes of the Geneva Bible are similar to Goodman's own. For James VI's opinion of them see above 180 at n. 147. Also see H.Craig Jnr. 'The Geneva Bible as a Political Document', Pacific Historical Review, 7 (1938) 40-9 and R.L.Greaves, 'Traditionalism and the Seeds of Revolution in the Social Principles of the Geneva Bible', Sixteenth Century Journal 7(2) (1976) 94-109.

133. Registre du Conseil pour les affaires des particuliers 12, 1558 f87v; 88v; Martin 70: but Chaix has questioned whether this actually means a new printing press in Geneva, see Alexander 34.

134. Preface sig. iiii.

135. 'Dedicatorie Epistle' of The Boke of Psalmes, Geneva (10th February 1559).

136. Miles Coverdale had stayed in Geneva until the middle of August 1559 (Reg. de Cons. 55 f81); John Bodley until September (f91v); John Baron until March 1560 (56 f16-17) and Whittingham, Gilby and Hall until May 30th (56 f44v); also Martin 260-1, and see above 160.

137. Intro. 7. There was a translation into Italian in 1555, into Spanish in 1556 and 22 editions of French Bibles in the 1550's.

138. Preface (N.T. 1557) sig. iiv.

139. Preface Geneva Bible sig. iiii.

140. Metzger 347f.

141. See Intro. 11. The English used the latest Greek and Hebrew texts published by Badius and Estienne.

142. Preface Geneva Bible sig. iiiiv.

143. See above n. 135.

144. Epistle sig. ii-iiiv.

145. Preface Geneva Bible sig. iiiiv.

146. Intro. 14-15.

147. Intro. 15-6.

148. 'The copie of a letter sent to the lady Marie dowagire, Regent of Scotland, by Jon^h Knox in the yeare 1556'. STC 15066. New STC. suggests Wesel (?) H. Singleton (?), after June 1556. STC. 15074.6 'An Exposition uppon the syxt Psalme of David' John Knox after 7th July 1556. New S.T.C. suggests Wesel (?), H. Singleton (?). From August 1555 to September 1556, Knox was in Scotland, see above 195 at n. 64.

149. The English version of Ridley's Brief Declaration (S.T.C. 21046) had been printed during 1555 in Emden by Egidius van der Erve. Whittingham's translation of Beza is known through John Stockwood's translation. 'The Treasure of Trueth' (1576). In his letter of dedication Stockwood says that after he had done his translation 'there came to me handes another Coppie of the same, Englished by that learned and godlie Father, Maister Whyttingham, and printed at Geneva in the daies of Queen Marie' (sig. A2r) see E.J.Baskerville, A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English between 1553 and 1558 (I am indebted to Professor Baskerville for allowing me to consult his unpublished paper). 75.

150. Gilby S.T.C. 11884.5. Thomas Lever's book is only known in its 1575 edition S.T.C. 15552. Baskerville 72.

151. See Baskerville 74.

152. J.Knox, 'An Answer to a great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist and adversarie to God's eternal Predestination', Geneva (1560). When Whittingham and Baron wanted to publish Knox's book, they were required by the Geneva Council to vouch for its orthodoxy. Reg. de Cons. 55 1559 f141v November 9th and f144v November 13th. Martin 142.

153. S.T.C. 15070 printed sometime January to March 1558. New S.T.C. suggests J. Poullain a. A. Rebul.

154. S.T.C. 15063. As well as the Appelation and Gilby's Admonition, Knox's 'A Letter Addressed to the Commonalty of Scotland' and a summary of the proposed 'Second Blast of the Trumpet' were

included. The Copy of a Letter, S.T.C. 15067 was a new version of S.T.C. 15066 see n. 97 above.

155. See above 161 n. 71

156. 'M. Leaver, M. Boyes, M. Wilforde, M. Pownall and T. Upchaier came to Geneva to have the advice off that church what was best to be done touching the erection off a new church. They of Geneva, gave god thanks for that it had pleased him so to incline the hartes off the lordes off Berna towards them and gave incourgement that they shuld not let slyppe so good an occasion. M. I. Bodliegh (who was no small staie as well to that church as to others) and W. Kethe travelled with them. And passinge thorough manie partes of the L. of B. dominion in Savoy and Switserland they founde suche favour in all places where they came.....'. Troubles CLXXXV.

157. Troubles CXC-CI.

158. Bodl. Lib. Rawl MS. D857 f222 and Rawl MS. D923 f189. The draft of the letter is found in two parts. It is described as 'A letter sent from the English congregation at Geneva to their bretheren at Frankfort the 16 of Marche 1557, to move them to concorde broken through Mr. Ashley'.

159. Jewel Wks. IV 1193 where the date is given as 1st June 1557, but M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, (ed. 1970) 148, suggests that the correct date is 1558.

160. Preface N.T. 1557 sig. ii.

161. See above n. 70.

162. Troubles CLXXXVI-VIII.

163. Reply from Frankfort dated 3rd January 1559. Troubles CLXXXVIII-CXC and the letter from Aarau see above n. 157 Quotation, Troubles CXCI.

164. Z.L.I. 8.

165. Reg.de Cons. 54 f361, Martin 258.

166. Martin 259.

167. For Knox see above n 64. The story of Calvin's efforts to get Whittingham to become pastor to the English from the very beginning, is told in the anonymous Life of Whittingham. Camden Miscellany VI. 9. In a Latin primer used in the College at Geneva, compiled by Mathurin Cordier, there is an interesting conversation;

A. 'I am anxious about my father. He went to England four months ago and we have no further news of him'.

B. 'To England did you say?. I hear there is great liberty there'.

A. 'What liberty?'

B. 'Of the Gospel'.

A. 'Do you say the Gospel is now in England?'

B. 'Certainly idolatry is entirely driven out'.

A. 'Oh good news'.

B. 'Most of the English who retired to this town for the sake of the Gospel went home fifteen days ago. One of them, neither a liar nor a babler has written to my father saying all the fugitives are received with great humanity and benignly treated'.

Martin 259 and Lupton V II.

168. Z.L.I. 6.

169. C.S.P. Ven. 1558-80, 52-3.

170. Foxe VIII 598. This was the group which included Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Thomas Wrothe and Edwin Sandys and who were led by Thomas Randolph. However as early as January 9th the Venetian ambassadors in Brussels were writing 'and many who in the time of Queen Mary were exiles on account of religion have returned, including some preachers who now preach as before and have numerous congregations'. C.S.P. Ven. 1558-80. 8.

171. Dr. Williams Library, Morrice MS. B I 306-8 printed in part in 'The Seconde Parte of a Register' ed. A. Peel, Cambridge,

(1915) II 59-61. Postscript to William Fuller's 'Book to the Queen'.

172. Z.L.I. 9.

173. Ridley 309-14.

174. P.R.O. PC2/8/272 'A letter to Thomas Myldemay, esquier, Shrief of Essex, to the Baylifes of Colchester and other Justyces of Peax therabouts, for thapprehencion of two preachers, thone called Mr. Pulleyn and the other Dodman, and to geve order furthewith for their sending upp to the Lordes under sure and safe custody'. M.A.Simpson, Defender of the faith etc., Edinburgh (1978) 53; 286; 290. I am grateful to Mr. Simpson for allowing me to see the relevant pages in proof.

175. Fuller gives a detailed account of the attempts, see above n. 171, 306-7.

176. Z.L I. 19-22.

177. Goodman to Cecil 26th October 1559, P.R.O. SP 52/1 f455-6.

178. The Lockes probably took an important part in keeping Goodman safe. Knox's letters and messages to Goodman were directed through Mrs. Anne Locke, eg. 23rd June 1559. Wks. VI 27.

CHAPTER FIVE

During the exile, there were only two English writers to break categorically with the doctrine of non-resistance; John Ponet in 1556 and Christopher Goodman in 1557-8. In different ways both were forced to move outside the normal patterns of English political thought in order to justify their ideas. Both writers had to map out a new set of political relationships which implied a restructuring of society. The doctrine of obedience and non-resistance preached so vigorously under the Tudors was believed to guarantee the maintenance of order and social stability. The spectre of anarchy, given a frightening reality at Munster, haunted the writers of the sixteenth century. They felt it could only be kept at bay by a strict adherence to the theory of obedience to the superior powers. If the belief in non-resistance was abandoned it was felt that the social hierarchy was undermined and so both Ponet and Goodman found it necessary to redefine society and offer new guarantees for its order and stability.¹

The accession of Mary had placed the protestants in a terrible dilemma. They themselves had been most vociferous in advocating obedience to the monarch, especially on religious matters. Obedience was a religious duty to be performed for the sake of conscience and not fear alone, and those who disobeyed resisted God as well as man.² At the same time, the protestants had been equally dogmatic in their fight against Catholicism; it should be resisted at all costs. In no instance was it excusable to perform or acquiesce in the performance of an act contrary to divine commands.

The two principles clashed when Mary, an avowed Catholic,

succeeded to the throne. From the very beginning of the reign, the protestants proclaimed that there could be no compromise with Catholicism.³ The main charge against Catholicism was that it was idolatrous and there must be no compromise with idolatry: the debate centred around the Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the hiatus of the first few months, the protestants were given a short breathing space before Catholicism was legally adopted by Parliament as the country's religion. The clear avowal of Catholicism was in fact a great help to the protestants as it enabled them to clarify their position. They had recourse to the one escape clause in the doctrine of obedience which had previously been muted. It was possible, for the sake of the gospel, to disobey the commands of the monarch. Passive disobedience should be accompanied by a willingness to suffer, even if it resulted in death.

This attitude was fitted into a wider explanation of events which had been prepared by the sermons under Edward.⁴ Mary's Catholicism was a sign of the judgement of God brought by England's failure under Edward to accept and respond to the gospel. The suffering and persecution, which would inevitably come, was to be welcomed. They were God's rod of correction, to be accepted with contrition and used as a way of repentance for past sins. Persecution would be beneficial to the church, because it would cleanse and purify it by separating out the wheat from the chaff, the true from the false gossellers. The protestants turned eagerly to the imagery of the church under persecution, in some instances coming dangerously close to the belief that persecution was a sign of the true church. Mary fitted into this scheme as the instrument of God's wrath

and so still within His appointment and part of His plan and will for the English church.⁵

The glorification of the penitential value of the suffering led to a concentration upon the actions of the individual protestant. Although the bishops fought strenuously to avoid it, the decision to stand firm in the faith tended to be equated with proof of election to salvation. Partly as a means of countering this dangerous equation, the protestant leaders encouraged their fellows to fly the country. Flight was presented as the only acceptable alternative to suffering and martyrdom. However, once abroad, the exiles tended to feel uneasy about their motives for flight and sought to justify themselves. The doubts did not just afflict the clerical and intellectual exiles for 'a most poore man and souldiour (simple and unworthy)' devoted a whole tract to answering objections to his flight. The title of his tract illustrates his attitude

'An Apologie or defence agaynst the calumnacion of certayne men, which preferring wyllful wyll and carnal reason before the playn trueth of God s gospel (do sclaundre those men, which for the better seruinge of God with a more pure conscience, according to his holy word) have abandoned theyr livinges and vocacion, abydinge as exyles in poore estate oute of theyr natyre cuntrye'. 6

Their justifications led them to present exile as a form of suffering and a way of witnessing to the faith, equivalent to their brethren in England who were facing martyrdom. They stressed the godliness of their places of exile; Thomas Lever explained that,

'When as I did perceyve that my presence and preaching in Englande, should not mucche profit, then did I take a long journey or pilgremage untoo holie places voyde of Images, inhabited with good Sainctes nowe living, whereas in prayer untoo God, studie of the scriptures, and councelling with godly lerned men, I did ever desire and seeke some way too helpe my native cuntrye'. 7

The exiles felt called upon to assist the protestant cause by producing a stream of propaganda. It was one of the ways in which they felt they could contribute to the fight against Catholicism. In a letter to John Bale, Ponet outlined his views on the propaganda war.⁸ He explained that ballads and rhymes which could be sold cheaply and easily carried into England would

'doe muche good at home amonge the rude people'.

He did not expect Bale to be occupied writing such things because he had more weighty purposes in hand, but Bale should

'pryk other men to suche easy exercises,
who either can not or will not travalye in
longe processes'

In a burst of optimism Ponet spoke of a united campaign of all social groups against Catholicism, which would be part of the European struggle for the gospel. He thought that everybody must play their part:

'the unlearned must not be ydell. Ther dayly exhortations shall incoradge the laborers, the plowmans whissell is no vayn instrument, the horse laboreth more cherfully when he is chere-shid. Let us all feyght in a throupe (sic-troop) together, the learned with ther pen, the riche with ther substance, the poer with dispersinge those thinges that may edify. And all together with our prayers dayly to God'

The wider European note did not often find its way into the writings of the exiles, who right up to 1558 kept their attention and work fixed firmly upon the plight of their native country and countrymen. When they wrote their tracts and offered comfort to their brethren in England the exiles sought to provide an explanation of their situation and advice on how to cope with persecution. Inevitably this involved them in defining the limits of the obedience owed to a persecuting

Catholic queen.

One way in which the protestants were able to place the struggle of the individual in an explicable setting was to turn to an apocalyptic interpretation of events.⁹ The language of judgement which had previously been used could easily be married to apocalyptic imagery and grafted on to an interpretation based upon the prophecies found in Revelation and Daniel. This gave the events in England a heightened significance for they became part of the cosmic battle between Christ and Antichrist. Protestant writers were able to express the violence of their feelings in the language of warfare with the safeguard that this war was to be fought with spiritual weapons. During Mary's reign the apocalyptic approach blossomed into a comprehensive explanation of England's history and role in God's plan for the world. John Foxe is the greatest and most convincing exponent of this view but the majority of exiles agreed with the general apocalyptic interpretation.¹⁰

It offered a hope of deliverance, but by the direct intervention of God largely unaided by man's efforts. Also it gave the sufferings and martyrdoms of individuals purpose and significance, whilst keeping them within the tenets of non-resistance. Passive disobedience became the means of waging spiritual warfare, it was a positive attack upon the enemy rather than a negative submission. In addition it appealed to English patriotism by providing for England a special place in the working out of God's plan.

However, although it gave an excellent framework into which to fit the past and present, it offered a rather remote and inexact hope for the future that was dependent on forces

outside the natural order, operating on an uncertain time scale. The English apocalyptic thinkers were in a difficult position when they described the future. They were united in their rejection of millenarian hopes and placed the thousand year rule of the saints firmly in the past. This left some confusion about the exact nature of the hope for the future particularly as it affected England. Some thought that there would be another Constantine, others suggested that the deliverance of England would be part of the divine deliverance of the whole world which would precede the Last Judgement. Apocalyptic thinking encouraged the feeling of crisis and the belief that the end of the world was imminent. It provoked expectations of a sudden dramatic divine intervention. Also it convinced protestants that they were at war with the Catholics, which removed the passivity from their disobedience. The protestants in England used their interrogations and deaths as instruments of aggression against their Catholic enemies. This change left the doctrine of non-resistance exposed and resting only on the argument as to what sort of weapons were suitable for the war against the Catholics, spiritual or temporal.

Joined with the apocalyptic imagery, and sometimes indistinguishable from it, was the use by the exiles of general themes of biblical judgement.¹¹ The language of Old Testament prophecy was employed to describe the punishment God was inflicting upon England. As the reign progressed and active persecution began, there was a movement away from a condemnation of the sins of omission under Edward to a concentration upon the sins of commission under Mary.¹² The willingness

to accept Catholicism back again was a far greater offence than the time-serving and lack of discipline of the previous reign. An increasingly vicious and violent attack was made upon the Catholics and, after the burnings started, upon the Queen herself. Mary was openly condemned and frequently referred to as Jezebel or Athaliah. Repentance was proclaimed as the way in which the plagues of God could be avoided. It involved complete dissociation from all aspects of Catholicism. Such a position and the violent language used, brought many of the authors of the tracts perilously close to breaking with the doctrine of non-resistance. There was no respect left for the monarch. She was regarded as an open enemy of God and traitor to her country. Her foreign and religious policies should be disobeyed and abhorred. In the case of Robert Pownall's 'Admonition to the Towne of Callys', this rejection sounded like rebellion, a call to break with the English government. He told the town of Calais,

'for thow art not so farre sworne to obaie as by obedience to shoue thy self a traitresse to thyne owne country: Neyther are thow so subiect to this Queene, as for hir sake, to withdrawe for ever thy subiectioun from the crowne of Englande and the ryghtful enhaeritours of the same. Wherefore take hede and make the Lorde of Hostes be tymes thy frynd, and then thou nedeste not to passe who is thyne enemye'.

13

This is another illustration of the tendency, (already noticed in the apocalyptic interpretation) which emerged after 1555 to drop the view of Mary as the scourge of God to be tolerated as His instrument, and to replace it with the idea of a wicked idolatrous queen, fighting directly against God and his saints.

The tendency had been greatly accelerated by the conse-

quences of Mary's marriage to Philip, which had encouraged the combination of religious and patriotic denunciation. At the beginning of Mary's reign there had been considerable caution about referring to anything outside the strictly limited issue of the continued practice and belief of protestantism. This was changed by the policy of the Marian government and not by the conscious desire of the protestants. After the Wyatt rebellion, the government initiated their policy of linking heresy with sedition. Their attempt to discredit protestantism by blaming it for the rebellion backfired. The association of opposition to Mary's marriage and her religion, which they had fostered, redounded to the credit of the protestants who were thought to be fighting for their country as well as their faith. The Spaniards provided the final link in the chain of association. They were famous both for their militant Catholicism, which most people erroneously believed was behind the English burnings, and for their tyrannical imperialism which was feared and, to a small degree, suffered in England. The exile writers were not slow to see the value to them of the association between protestantism and patriotism. They managed with considerable success to tap English xenophobic feeling and to pose as defenders of the commonwealth. A number of tracts produced by the exiles dealt with the Spanish threat to England from a predominately secular point of view.¹⁴

The threat to the integrity of England encouraged recourse to another way of tackling the problem of obedience. At the beginning of the reign, it was possible to hope that the political nation might in some way express its disapproval of Catholicism and of the Spanish marriage and so change

Mary's policies. How this was to be accomplished was left studiously vague. William Turner was more specific than most and wrote directly to the M.P.'s, who were about to assemble for Parliament.¹⁵ After Parliament had displayed no interest in defending protestantism, he turned his attention to the nobility.¹⁶ There was considerable talk among the exiles about the responsibility of the queen's counsellors and of the nobility and of the guilt both groups shared with Mary for the policies being pursued in England.¹⁷ However there were very few suggestions as to how the power of the nobility was to be used to restrain the crown. The correct counsel, in the opinion of the protestants, had probably not even been given and had certainly not been taken. The next step was ^{the} use of some sort of force. The fear that if force was once unleashed it would destroy the whole order of society was so great that it was felt that the cure would be worse than the disease. The protestants were left bankrupt of proposals. As the years went by, denunciation of the counsellors and nobility for failing to fulfil their secular duties merged with criticism for their religious failure. Unless there was a willingness to sanction the use or threat of force, the hope of effective action from the nobility was a dead end.

It is perhaps surprising that so little use was made of the concept of the right of resistance of inferior magistrates which was being developed in the areas in which the English were in exile. It is another indication of the insularity of their thinking and complete absorption with English affairs. The Magdeburg Bekenntnis which was published in 1550 had just-

ified armed resistance against the Emperor.¹⁸ It was known to at least some of the exiles.¹⁹ The Bekenntnis had asserted that inferior magistrates held their authority directly from God and so had a responsibility to uphold His honour even if that involved active resistance to the superior magistrate. It had said that there must be no compromise with Catholicism which belonged to the Kingdom of the Devil. Therefore, if the superior magistrate, in this case the Emperor, tried to impose Catholicism through the Interim, he was acting as an instrument of the Devil and could be resisted. There were four different degrees of sin but only in the last two cases was active resistance justified. These covered the times when there was an attempt to force inferiors to act contrary to the will of God or when the superior magistrate acted as a tyrant. The two categories overlapped. The Magdeburg pastors had written the tract as a plea for help against the Emperor, and they stressed the need for all protestants to display their loyalty to Christ by defending His cause.

The example of the resistance of Magdeburg and its justification in the Bekenntnis had influenced Theodore Beza's thinking about the role of magistrates.²⁰ He first gave expression to his ideas in the book 'De haereticis a Civili magistratu puniendis' published in 1554, which was provoked by Castellion's arguments on the burning of Servetus. Using classical as well as biblical precedents Beza set out the arguments in favour of resistance to an intolerant Catholic government provided it was led by duly constituted inferior magistrates. He tended to base his thinking upon the model

of the city state. It is possible that this stress alienated the English who felt it had little relevance to the problems facing their own country.

The English would probably have been more ready to accept the ideas found in the Bekenntnis and Beza after they had heard the lectures of Peter Martyr in Strasburgh.²¹ Peter Martyr's standing among the exiles would have ensured that his views would have been afforded great importance by the English and in particular by Goodman, his pupil and auditor at Strasburgh. The exile community were so impressed by the relevance of Peter Martyr's lectures to their own problems that they rushed into print immediately with a translation of part of his commentary on Judges. The book appeared in 1555 under the title 'A Treatise of the Cohabitacyon of the faithfull with the unfaithfull.'²² The fourth section of the treatise dealt with ruler's responsibilities:

'The dutie of princes is to mayntain pure religion amonge ther subiectes and what inferior rulars must do when they be commaunded contrarie by their superiors'.²³

Peter Martyr made the usual distinction between chief rulers and inferior magistrates. The function of both types of ruler and the end of all political government was to permit the subject to live in felicity and to practise godliness.²⁴ If this ideal was to be achieved, the magistrates must understand their duties and limitations. In no instance was it permissible for an inferior magistrate at the command of his superior to receive wicked religion and superstition or permit their practice. Peter Martyr gave the reason for his dictum:

'for these under rulars are called into a parte of the cure and charge of the goode governemente of the countrie by the force of theyr dignitie and office. They must not therfor putt those

things in execution whiche are agaynst
Godd and are hurtefull to theyr cuntrye.
Yea they ought both to persuade by reason
and to defende by poure the contrary'.

25

In civil matters the inferior magistrate might bow to the unjust commands of their lords but this could never be the case in God's cause. The rebellion of the Maccabees was cited as an example and in case the uncanonical status of the book occasioned doubts other biblical examples were given. On Athaliah, Martyr commented,

'as she had uniuistly shedd innocent bludd
even so he most iustlye commaunded that she
shuld be slayne'.

26

Like all his contemporaries Peter Martyr was anxious to avoid the charge that he was stirring up sedition. He warned that religion must not be used as a cloak for selfish motives. However in the right cause, inferior magistrates should have no fear of resisting the superior powers. The oath of obedience which they had made to their chief ruler was nullified when he ceased to act in a manner befitting a minister of God.²⁷

Peter Martyr then dealt with the doubts of those inferior magistrates whose authority had been received by direct delegation from king or emperor. He argued that there was no difference between these inferior magistrates and those whose authority came directly from God without the mediation of any superior power. Martyr commented that

'..Emperours and kinges and such hygher poures
have therfor chosen and taken these under rulars
and officers as it were into a parte of theyr
rule to be theyr helpers in administringe and
ordering theyr businesses and charge to the end
that justice might florische so muche the more.
And even so from the begynninge poure and rule
was gyven unto these that they shulde rule the
common wealthe for that part therof whiche was
committed unto them iustlye, uprightlye and
godlye'.

28

In support of his case Martyr quoted the famous saying of Trajan, that the sword he gave to his officers should be used against him if he ever made unjust commands.²⁹ Martyr stressed the point that no man was able to discharge another from the duties which pertained to his office. The inferior magistrate was commanded by God to fulfill them as long as he held office. He must not attempt to escape the responsibility by resigning his office especially if it was clear that his place would be taken by wicked men.³⁰ The discussion of the duties of magistrates was concluded with the sad observation based on the practice of most princes and dukes:

'In theyr own cause they can fight and rebell,
but in Goddes cause they are as it were no
princes nor rulers'

31

It is interesting that this call to resistance set in the middle of a general discussion on how to cope with the problems of living alongside Catholics, excited so little comment. The tract was published anonymously and so in England would not have been awarded the respect and attention due to the opinions of Peter Martyr. Its effect upon the exiles is difficult to assess. It is most obvious in Goodman's work and was probably the starting point of his consideration of the right of resistance.

In 1555 the same year as the 'Treatise of Cohabitacyon', another tract appeared called 'A plaine subversyon or turnyng up syde down of all the argumentes, that the Popecatholykes can make for the maintenaunce of auricular confession, with a moste wholsome doctryne touchyng the due obedience, that we owe unto civill magistrates'...³²

It was written in the form of a dialogue between a prot-

estant apprentice and a Catholic or neutral priest. It sets out with great clarity, the attitude of the majority of English protestants to the question of obedience to the civil magistrates. The aim of the section dealing with obedience was to refute the opinion currently held by many people in England,

'that they are bounde to do whatsoever the higher powers commaunde them, though their lawes were directlye agaynste God and his word, and so much that they persuade themselves that they shalbe excused by them in the dreadful dai of iudgemente'.....

33

The discussion between the Priest and Prentice began, predictably, with Romans 13. It provided the opportunity to speak about the all important escape clause to the doctrine of obedience. The Prentice gave a lesson in interpretation of Scripture to the Priest.

'For where the scryptures and worde of God doeth bydde us to obeye the hygher powers and magistrates, it is not to be understood of those thynges, that pertain to the conscience of manne, whych, ought onli and soleli to be builded upon the infallyble worde of God in matters belongyng to salvacyon, but of civill constitutions, lawes and ordeynaunces that temporall rulers, governours and magistrates make for the preservacyon of the comenweale, whereunto doubtlesse we ought to be obedyente, as long as they commaunde nothyng that is ungodlye, or forbydde nothyng that God hath commaunded us to do'.

34

The two types of ordinances, those relating to religion and those relating to civil matters, were to be met with different responses. In civil affairs, the commandments of the superior powers should be obeyed without any 'curious questeryng'. If the laws were oppressive, God would punish the rulers but subjects were not to be disobedient. In matters of religion a ruler's command should not be obeyed if it ran contrary to God's Word.³⁵ It was an ungodly doctrine to

suggest that subjects were excused from guilt if they obeyed their superiors when bidden

'...to worshype God after mans fancyes and wycked invencyons of worldly wysdome and not as he himselfe wylbe worshypped and served'. 36

The Prentice stressed that subjects were accessories to their ruler's crimes and would receive the same punishment from God, the sheep would perish along with their shepherd.³⁷

Once again the text from Acts 4 and 5 stating that God must be obeyed before man, was used to back up the argument for passive disobedience, and the biblical precedents for such action were rehearsed.³⁸

In reply the Priest pointed out the great danger inherent in the Prentice's argument:

'Yf this doctryne shold be preached openly, it should breed sedicion and tumulte, and cause insurrection against the lawful magistrates'. 39

His opponent acknowledged that this slander had been spread abroad but hotly denied the charge, saying that the preachers had always drawn a careful distinction between disobedience and rebellion. The Priest retorted that a refusal to obey the ruler's laws and statutes was a kind of rebellion. This provoked a classic statement of the protestant position.

'I have alreadye proved unto you, that we oughte in nowyse to be obedient too wicked and ungodlye statutes or lawes...Howebeit I will be of this opinion as longe as I lyve, that it were better for a Christian to dye a thousande deathes, than once to drawe the swearde against his lawfull magistrate. If God send us at any time suche magistrates as be ungodly, lette us remove or put away the causes wherfore God did send them unto us, and then God will eyther turne their harts and make them such as we wold have them, or els if they be geven over into their own lusts take them awai and place other in their roumes'. 40

Because wicked rulers were sent by God as a punishment for the

sin of the people, it followed that repentance was the best way to remove them. The Prentice clung to the passive nature of the resistance and the total reliance upon God's miraculous intervention to change the situation in England.

He explained

'The surest weapons then, that we can have, to fyghte withall agaynst wicked and ungodly rulers is true repentaunce and amendement of lyfe, faythful and unfeined prayer, proceadyng from a troubled and contrite heart. And they, that use any other armure or weapons, are not of God, but are the children of Belial, by suche unlawfull meanes as they doe use, pourchassyng unto themselves everlastyng damnatyon'. 41

In this tract, as in most of the others arguing for passive disobedience to ungodly commands, the text from Acts 4 and 5 that God should be obeyed before man was used frequently. It provided the cornerstone of the escape clause to the doctrine of obedience preached by the protestants.⁴² Its familiarity and relation to the justification of passive disobedience made Goodman's interpretation of the text all the more effective and damaging to the usual protestant position of obedience.

Out of all these ideas and towering above them came John Ponet's book 'A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power', published in Strasburgh in 1556.⁴³ Ponet was the first English writer to make a definite break with the doctrine of non-resistance. It is interesting to note that although Ponet was the highest ranking ecclesiastic in exile, he dealt with the question of obedience in more general terms than did any of his compatriots.⁴⁴ He started his book with an inquiry into the origins of political power.⁴⁵ God had given man the law of nature by which he should govern his actions. After the flood, God had instituted political power by permitting magistrates to make positive laws to ensure that men would live quietly together and to enforce

the laws by the death penalty.

God had not decreed the form by which the community should be governed, that was

'lefte to the discrecion of the people to make so many and so fewe, as they thinke necessarie for the mayntenaunce of the state'. 46

Ponet listed the different types of government, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy or mixed and declared that the mixed state had been judged the best because it had preserved commonwealths for the longest period of time. The purpose of every state, however constituted, was the maintenance of justice and the wealth of the whole multitude. Justice was found when every man did his duty to God and to his neighbour, and this automatically produced the common good. Kings were part of the purpose of the state and not above it. God's laws and the laws of nature which were the embodiment of justice, existed before kings and were superior to them.

Ponet argued that kings could never possess absolute power and authority over their subjects because that would be contrary to justice and so defeat the overall purpose of the state which the king should be serving.⁴⁷ Even if a king were permitted by his subjects to make positive law unaided, in all matters which were not indifferent he was bound to act for the profit of the commonwealth and not simply follow his own desires. In a mixed state, the legal limitations upon royal action were more obvious because the people through their parliament had retained a share in the making of positive law. In both cases the king was subject to the positive laws of the country as well as the laws of God.⁴⁸ Political governors were merely executors of the laws and not even allowed to dis-

pense from positive laws; law in all its forms reigned supreme.⁴⁹

Commonwealths were maintained by the principle of equality of ruler and subject before the law. For, Ponet argued,

'It is also a principle of all lawes grounded on the lawe of nature, that every man should use himself and be obedient to that lawe, that he will others be bounden unto'. 50

In support of his case, he produced many biblical and classical examples. He explained that the use of examples from the history of the 'Ethnikes' was of value to Christians because

'whan Ethnikes doo by nature that thow art bounden also to doo, not only by nature, but by the lawes of God and man, such Ethnikes shall ryse in the universal iudgement, to accuse the, and worke thy condemnacion'. 51

For a similar reason, Ponet was willing to use canon law, 'the bishop of Romes lawes', when it backed up his case.

Having established that the authority of every ruler was limited, Ponet went on to deal with the extent to which a subject was obliged to obey his ruler.⁵² He warned against excess in either direction; too much obedience caused governors to forget their vocation and too little permitted the people to use a licentious liberty. The Papists were attacked for advocating the former and the Anabaptists for advocating the latter. A man's obedience to his political ruler was limited by the areas under the control of political power. When God had ordained civil powers, he had given authority over a man's body and temporal goods, but not over his soul.

Ponet divided obedience into two categories. In response to a divine command there must be no hesitation and absolute obedience must be rendered to God. On the other hand the commands of men should be considered carefully. If they were contrary to God's commands, they were not to be obeyed.

Ponet expanded the area of permissible disobedience to include any command which ran against civil justice or would hurt the whole commonwealth. Obedience given to a human command was a rational decision resting upon the judgement of each individual who made up his mind in the light of the law of nature. The priorities which governed a man's decision were set out:

'men ought to have more respecte to their countrey, than to their prince: to the common wealthe, than to any one person. For the countrey and common wealthe is a degree above the king. Next unto God men ought to love their countrey and the hole common wealthe before any membre of it...' 53

The clear separation of the commonwealth and the crown showed that the commonwealth should not be regarded as the property solely of the crown. It belonged to the body of free men who made up the realm. These people could not be used by the monarch as if they were slaves, nor could their inheritance be sold or given away without their consent. This led Ponet to speak about the property rights of his subjects.⁵⁴ The Ten Commandments had ordained the distinction of things and property and any attempt to remove them without the consent of their owner was theft. On the contrary, it was the king's duty to defend the property of his subjects and not to spoil them of it by force or by guile. The king should act as God's steward and serve the people conscientiously; an ideal to which few rulers attained.

The general failure of rulers to govern well prompted Ponet to discuss the remedy. He posed the question,

'Wether it be lafull to depose an evil governour,
and kill a tyranne?' 55

In Christian countries there was no express positive law for the punishment of a tyrant. This was because it was comprehended by the general law of nature, and illustrated by count-

less precedents from the Bible, canon law and the history of the English and the 'ethniks'. All these showed that a tyrant should be punished and killed. Tyranny was the opposite of justice and so overturned the very foundation of the state. Ponet even permitted tyrannicide by an individual, though he hedged this with special provisos.

Ponet suggested a number of ways of dealing with a tyrant. The judges were empowered to summon the king to answer for his unjust actions. How this was to be accomplished and enforced was left unsolved.⁵⁶ The nobility also had a responsibility to protect the people from tyranny and this had been the original reason for their enhanced status. If they failed to act, the people should complain to a minister of God's Word, who would excommunicate the king for his crimes. If both the nobility refused to help the people because there was a grudge between them and the commons, and the ministers kept quiet in hope of ecclesiastical preferment, then the people should trust that God would send them a special deliverer. Ponet thought that he might be an individual of no public authority, but specially motivated by God to assassinate the tyrant and gave Mattathias and Ahud as biblical examples. If no deliverer appeared and the people felt themselves to be destitute of all remedy, Ponet assured them that

'God hathe left unto them two weapones, hable to conquere and destroie the greatest Tiranne that ever was; that is Penance and Praier'. 57

Ponet's seventh chapter was probably written at a slightly later date than the rest of the book and after he had received news of the capture of Sir John Cheke.⁵⁸ In it he spoke gloomily of the folly of trusting princes, who constantly

sought to subvert the law by force or subtilty. He dwelt on the examples of treachery and referred specifically to members of the English government. This chapter was followed by the conclusion which was

'An Exhortacion or rather a warnyng to the Lordes
and Commones of Englande.' 59

At this point Ponet abandoned all pretence of calmly discussing the nature and extent of political power and obedience and adopted the rhetoric of prophecy so common among his contemporaries. He made detailed reference to the special wonders which had occurred in Edward's reign that were sent by God as a warning of things to come. What had been prophesied then had now been fulfilled. Ponet lamented the inward grudge between the nobility and the commons which meant that neither trusted the other. It was an indication of the divisions within the kingdom which would eventually bring about its destruction. In addition Mary's marriage would lead to the Spanish taking possession of England and they would bring with them all the curses listed in Deuteronomy 17. Only if the English would show true repentance would God have mercy upon them and deliver them. Ponet implored his 'good courtrey men and true englishe hartes', to leave idolatry, worship God truly, be faithful to their country and seek its wealth and safety; and most important to obey

'Goddess commaundementes before your governours,
and your governours in that is godly, honest, and
iust, and not elles'. 60

If the English were to follow this way, then God would pour his blessings and not his curses upon the land.

'Than will he sende you his benediction for
malediction, pleintie for famin, healthe for
pestilence, peace for warres, quietnes for
trouble, for cruel tirannie, a godly and iuste

gouvernement: for sedicion, suche force and power, that you being a fewe, shalbe hable to withstande all the tirannes of the worlde, and enemies of God and our countrey, and utterly confounde them and destroie them'. 61

Ponet rested his theory upon the premise that although political power was instituted by God, the form it took and so the authority of the rulers was derived from the people. At this point he seemed to equate the term 'people' with the whole state or commonwealth. The people did not ever alienate all their political power. Even if they permitted a ruler to make positive law by himself, the ruler could not do anything which would hurt the people without their consent. The people also had the power to revoke their delegation of power. Ponet declared that

'All lawes doo agree, that men maie revoke their proxies and lettres of attournaie, whan it pleaseth them: muche more whan they see their proctours and attournaies abuse it'. 62

The other major argument of the treatise is based upon the supremacy of law. Ponet spoke a great deal about the law of nature, but provided no exact definition. He did say that in written form it was the same as the Ten Commandments and Christ's Golden Rule.⁶³ It was not restricted to the Jews and Christians because God's actions as well as His words declared it and so made it available to all men. Ponet was convinced that the law of nature

'is so playne and easie to be understanden, that no ignoraunce can or will excuse him that therin offendeth'. 64

Within the law of nature

'is comprehended all iustice, the perfite way to serve and glorifie God, and the right meane to rule every man particularly, and all men generally.' 65

This meant that positive law was derived from natural law and applied its general precepts to particular circumstances and cases. It was made by human agents and so positive laws could vary between countries whilst still belonging to the same root, the law of nature. The commonwealth regulated its affairs by positive laws. They were valid provided they did not run contrary to the laws of God and of nature.⁶⁶

Ponet argued that ancient custom was insufficient by itself to make positive laws, because

'evil customes (be they never so olde) are not to be suffred, but utterly to be abolished'.⁶⁷

The closest Ponet came to explaining what he regarded as the law of nature, was in his remarks about the limits of a king's power over his subjects. Every man was entitled to retain his means of livelihood and keep his property.⁶⁸

The law in all its forms was superior to the ruler whatever the type of state. There should be no difference in the use and benefit of the laws between the head and the foot of the body politic.⁶⁹ Both ruler and subject were to be summoned by the judges in exactly the same way if they broke any of the laws of the realm. With this stress upon the supremacy of the law, Ponet made tyranny the greatest crime which could be committed by a ruler. Tyranny was a denial of justice which was the foundation of the commonwealth. Ponet spoke of it as a disease in the body politic. He argued that in order to preserve the rest of the body, the diseased member should be cut off.⁷⁰ This would justify an individual killing a tyrant because it was a question of life or death for the rest of the commonwealth.

Unfortunately because Ponet envisaged the king as the head

of the body politic, he got entangled in his metaphor. He asserted that

'common wealthes and realmes may live, whan the head is cut of, and may be put on a newe head, that is, make them a newe governour, when they see their olde head seke to muche his owne will and not the wealthe of the hole body, for the which he was only ordained'. 71

The confusion is indicative of the dilemma which Ponet faced. He wanted to present the smooth running of the commonwealth in terms of the harmonious functioning of the body politic in which each member fulfilled his vocation. At the same time, he thought that the king's accountability to the people should be enforceable. This was derived from his ideas about the original delegation of authority from the people to the ruler. The two strands in his thinking, the body politic and the social contract were placed together with no attempt to harmonise them into a consistent whole.⁷²

The image of the body politic failed because Ponet thought of the king as the head and saw death as the only means of restraining a tyrant; hence the absurdity of beheading the body. He hoped that the judges would be able to summon the king to appear before them as in any other case of injustice, which, as a method of restraint, could have been fitted into the limitations of the metaphor of the body politic. Less tenable in that context, were his suggestions that the nobility or clergy should act to rid the country of a tyrant.⁷³

Ponet's problem was that he could not conceive of any convincing method of keeping tyranny in check except by the drastic expedient of killing the tyrant. He did not have a system by which the king's power was balanced by other centres of power. Although the people were the origin of political

authority, there was no ordinary means through which they could express and enforce their will. Ponet did speak of institutions ordained by God

'that the heads the princes and governours should not oppresse the poore people after their lustes, and make their willes their lawes. As in Germanye betwene themperour and the people, a counsail or diet: in Fraunce and Englande, parlamentes, wherin ther mette and assembled of all sortes of people, and nothing could be done without the knowlage and consent of all'.

74

It was for this reason that he thought the mixed state to be the best form of government. But Ponet did not use these institutions when he spoke about resistance to a tyrant. The sight of an English parliament acquiescent to Mary's policies probably made him regard them as a broken reed.

In his book, Ponet displays a remarkable mixture of optimism and pessimism about the capacity of man to govern. On the one hand, he believed that by the law of nature every man could unerringly distinguish justice from tyranny, and that all honest men would love God and their country and seek to defend them both. On the other hand, he suggested that fear of corporal punishment was the only way man could be restrained from evil and a commonwealth could be preserved. He was particularly pessimistic about those people who held political power. He warned that kings would only keep their oaths as long as it profited them to do so, and traitors abounded to give rulers the opportunity of subverting realms. Ponet seemed to imply that power always corrupted the ruler and the promise of it incited others to betray their country. He did not make it clear how in such circumstances the principle of justice had any hope of surviving in the commonwealth. His

commendation of the mixed state suggests that he hoped that a system of checks and balances would restrain the tendency towards injustice and encourage concern for the common good, but he did not develop the idea.

Oddly enough, having discussed the origins and nature of political power, Ponet sounded most convincing when speaking of an individual motivated by his ideals killing a tyrant. This had been a highly commendable action in classical times but Ponet had doubts about its application in the Christian age. He seemed suddenly to have been frightened by the spectre of anarchy and to have drawn back from his original intention, when he said,

'Nevertheless for asmuche as all thinges in every christen common wealthe ought to be done decently and according to ordre and charitie: I thinke it can not be maintained by Goddes worde, that any private man maie kill except....(he) have som special inwarde commaundement or surely proved mocion of God....or be otherwise commaunded or permitted by common autoritie upon iuste occasion and common necessitie to kill'. 75

Perhaps in 1556 another Ahud or Mattathias was all Ponet thought he could hope for to save England. The exhortation at the end of the book is an expression of his feeling of hopelessness, because in it he made no specific suggestions as to how the English should apply their right to kill the tyrant Mary.

In his pessimism over the state of affairs in England, Ponet was typical of the English exiles. He had gone much farther than they had dared to go when he asserted the right to kill a tyrant, but had, no more than they, been able to see England being delivered. The dark mood was reflected in the increasingly bitter denunciations found in the tracts and the sharp decrease in the amount of propaganda produced by the exiles

after 1556.⁷⁶ The exiles at Strasburgh, Ponet's city of refuge, where he wrote and published his book, probably felt the hopelessness of the English political situation most acutely. It was in Strasburgh that most of the important civilian exiles had gathered.⁷⁷ The news of the capture and recantation of Sir John Cheke, one of their number, would have been a bitter blow to them.⁷⁸ They almost certainly received the most up to-date and detailed information about the political climate in England from their friends and agents in the country.⁷⁹ None of this would have been encouraging and most reports would have served merely to confirm their worst fears for England.

It is perhaps the level of hope which provides a key to the marked difference between the thinking of Goodman and Ponet and the other English exiles. It would be fairer to treat the difference not as one of people but of places, that is Geneva and Strasburgh. What distinguishes Goodman's ideas from those of his fellow exiles is his willingness to postulate a new type of society. He could afford this luxury because in the English exile community at Geneva he had seen the possibility of its existence. The English at Geneva exuded hope whilst their fellows projected despair. This is not to suggest that the Genevan exiles were any more optimistic about the situation in England, but that they were looking elsewhere instead. What they had done was to produce a successful alternative. In Geneva, that city of exiles, the English were no longer preoccupied with exile. They had created a disciplined community life and also felt they were building for the future. It was not a self-conscious effort to manufacture an alternative state, nor an

attempt to practise Goodman's political ideas. On the contrary it was the existence of such a community that suggested to Goodman that what was possible on a small scale could be repeated on a national basis. He was encouraged by his experience in Geneva to take a new look at English politics and emerge with the idea of a covenanted society, the people of God. Apart from this major step, Goodman's language and his thought patterns were drawn from the common pool of exilic thought. It is ironic that because he adopted the prophetic role, his book read more like those of his fellow exiles than did Ponet's, and this concealed the radical step which he had taken.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

1. For the doctrine of obedience see J.W.Allen, History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, (2nd edition 1961) and F.V Baumer, Early Tudor Theory of Kingship, New Haven (1940).
2. For the protestant attitude towards obedience in Edward's reign see above 138.
3. For Cranmer's statement see above 20. Also the letters, particularly those of Lawrence Saunders in Letters of the Martyrs, ed. M.Coverdale (reprint 1837) and of John Bradford in his Writings, ed. A. Townsend, Parker Society, Cambridge (1853) 34-253.
4. See P.M.Little, 'The Origins of the Political Ideologies of John Knox and the Marian Exiles' (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis Edinburgh 1972)
5. This section is based upon the propoganda produced by the exiles (see Baskerville's list above,^{202 at n. 149.}) particularly those tracts published in 1553 and 1554. For a more detailed description of the theme of suffering in the writings of the exiles see J.Loach, 'Pamphlets and Politics 1553-8', Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research XLVIII (1975) 31-44. Detailed descriptions of a number of works by the exiles can be found in the unfairly neglected work by S.R. Maitland, Essays on the Reformation (1899).
6. S.T.C. 23619. By T.J. dated 21st July 1555. The author is being rather ingenuous as he could not have been an ordinary soldier. He was distinguishing himself from those who were educated at university and were therefore 'learned'.
7. Preface of Treatise of the right way from danger to sinne - see above 202 n. 150.
8. B L. Add MS. 29,546 f25 6th July 1555 (for note on dating of manuscript see above,^{192-3 n. 31}) For the way the government coped with the propoganda see D.M.Loades, 'The Press under the Early Tudors', Transactions of Cambridge Bibliographical Society IV (1964) 29-50.

9. For English apocalyptic interpretation see R.J.Baukham, 'Heinrich Bullinger The Apocalypse and the English' in Henry Bullinger 1504-75, British Anniversary Colloquium 1975 and see P.K. Christianson 'English Protestant Apocalyptic Visions 1536-1642.' (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis Minnesota 1971).
10. For Foxe see V.N.Olsen, John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church, (1973) and for a different analysis W.Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation, (1963). For Bale's part see L.P. Fairfield, John Bale, West Lafayette, Indiana (1976) 50-143.
11. Knox is a well known example of this conscious technique. For this trait in relation to England see P.M.Little, 'John Knox and English Social Prophecy' Journal of Presbyterian Historical Society of England, XIV, (1970) 117-26, and for a more general interpretation see M.Walzer, Revolution of the Saints (1966) but with the reservation see below 333 n. 119.
12. It is interesting that the English exile church in Geneva was slow to follow this trend and still looked back to Edward's reign, see above 163f.
13. S.T.C. 19078 12th April 1557 n.p. 15 (my pagination) To distinguish between the reigning monarch and the crown of England was not new. It was clearly stated by the seamen who seized the Duke of Suffolk in 1450 despite his pardon from the king. They said 'that they did not know the said king, but that they well knew the crown of England, saying that the aforesaid crown was the community of the said realm and that the community of the realm was the crown of that realm'. From the Ancient Indictments of King's Bench 29 Henry VI K.B. 9/47 no. 13, quoted in R.Virgoe 'The death of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk'. Bulletin John Rylands Library 47 (1964-5) 499 and 501.
14. E.g. S.T.C. 10024 A Warnyng for Englande Conteynyng the horrible practices of the Kyng of Spayne in the Kyngdome of Naples n.p. (c Nov. 1555); STC. 17562 A Supplicacyon to the Quenes Majestie n.p. (1555); S.T.C. 10015, The Lamentacion of England (1556) and Addicyon (1558) n.p. For a case of protestant poaching

S.T.C. 3480 The Cope of a letter n.p. (1556), see D.M.Loades, 'The Authorship and Publication of 'The Cope of a Letter....'', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society III (1960) 155-60.

15. S.T.C. 24356 W.Turner, The Huntyng of the Romshye Wolfe, Emden (Press of Egidius van der Erve see F.Isaac 'Egidius van der Erve and his English printed books', The Library 4th ser. XII (1932) 336-52)(1554). The parliament was Mary's third, held from 12th November 1554 until 16th January 1555.

16. S.T.C. 24361 W.Turner, A new booke of Spirituall physik for dyverse diseases of the nobilitie and gentlemen of Englande, Emden (Egidius van der Erve) (1555). The condemnation of the nobility for failing to live up to their responsibilities is the opposite side of the theory of the godly gentlemen propounded in Edward VI's reign', see above 128-9.

17. E.g. 'I mervayle of the councellours, who being put in trust with the government and maye let the proceding hereof what shoulde move them to consente thereunto?' A trewe mirrour or glasse - sig. Bl.

18. Bekenntnis Unterricht und Vermahnung der Pfarrherrn und Prediger der Christlichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg, Magdeburg (April 1550). I am indebted to Miss Esther Hildebrandt for the following analysis of the Bekenntnis which emerged from our discussions on the book. Also see O.Olson, 'The Theology of Revolution : Magdeburg 1550-1', Sixteenth Century Journal 3 (1972) 56-79 and J.W.Allen 103-6. For the Lutheran background see W.D.J.Cargill-Thompson, 'Luther and the right of resistance', Studies in Church History, ed. D.Baker 12, (1975) 159-202.

19. John Knox referred to the Bekenntnis in his debate with Maitland of Lethington in 1564. See Knox's History of the Reformation ed. W.Croft-Dickinson (1949) II, 121.

20. For Beza see R.M.Kingdon, 'The First Expression of Theodore Beza's Political Ideas', Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte (1955)

88-99, and E. Linse, 'Beza and Melanchthon on Political Obligation', Concordia Theological Monthly 41 (1970) 27-35.

21. See Anderson 378-403.

22. S.T.C. 24246; New S.T.C. 24673.5 and it suggests that the book was printed by W. Rihel in Strasburgh (not Hans Luft in Marburg as old S.T.C.) and possibly was translated by Thomas Becon, though no reasons are given for this attribution. It is quite probable that Goodman had a hand in the production of the book as he was in Strasburgh and staying at Peter Martyr's house at the time, see above 149.

23. Treatise of Cohabitacyon reverse of titlepage. Section four covers f 42v - 51v.

24. Op.cit. f45. In his Institutes Calvin had written on the purposes of political authority 'that men should breathe, eat, drink and be sustained (though it certainly includes all these, since without it men cannot live in society), yet, I repeat, this is not its sole purpose: it aims also at preventing the open rise and dissemination among the people of idolatry, of sacrilege against the name of God, of blasphemies against His truth, and of other offences against religion; it aims, moreover at the preservation of public peace, at guaranteeing to every man the same and unimpaired enjoyment of his own, at ensuring that men may conduct innocent dealings with one another and cultivate honourable and decent behaviour among themselves. In fine, its aim is that the public form of religion may exist among Christians and civilisation be established among men'. Opera Selecta V 473-4 quoted in J.H. Burns 'The Theory of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth-Century Scotland'. (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis Aberdeen 1952) 209.

25. op.cit. f47v-48.

26. op.cit. f48v.

27. op.cit. f49.

28. op.cit. f50.
29. Also found in Ponet (see below 221f.) S.T. sig. Cvi v.
30. op.cit. f50v-51.
31. op.cit. f51v.
32. S.T.C. 17822 by Gracyous Menewe (an unidentified pseudonym).
New S.T.C. suggests Wesel (?).
33. 'Plaine Subversyon' sig. Aiiiv-iii.
34. op.cit. sig. Avii-vii v.
35. op.cit. sigs. Aviiiiv-Biiv.
36. op.cit. sig. Bi.
37. op.cit. sigs. Biii-Bvi.
38. op.cit. sigs. Bviiiv-Ciiv.
39. op.cit. sig. Ciii.
40. op.cit. sig. Ciiiv-Ciiii.
41. op.cit. sig. Ciiii-iiiiv.
42. E.g. 'An exhortation concerning good order and obedience
to rulers and magistrates' in The Homilies ed. J.Griffiths,
Oxford (1859) 112.
43. S.T.C. 20178 Strasburgh. Also see W.S.Hudson John Ponet
1516(?) - 1556: Advocate of Limited Monarchy, Chicago (1942).
44. He had been the Bishop first of Rochester and later of Win-
chester. Ponet was one of the very few exiles for religion to
have taken part in the Wyatt rebellion. John Stow reports that
'Doctor Poinet and other, did counsell the said Wyatt to march

forwards and keepe his appointment, and to let the gun lie, which in no wise he could be perswaded to do. Doctor Poinet therefore, considering how many of the confederacie was stolne away from him, he began to perswade with captaine Bret, and other his friends to shift for themselves, as he would do, and at that very place where the gun did breake, he tooke his leave of his secret friends, and said he would pray unto God for their good successe, and so did depart, and went into Germany'. The Annales of England, (1600) 1048 quoted in Hudson 65.

45. Short Treatise (S.T.) Heading of Chapter I 'Wherof politike power groweth werfore it was ordayned, and the right use and duetie of the same etc'. sigs Aii-Biiv.

46. S.T. sig. Aiv v.

47. S.T.Chapter II sigs. Biii-Cv 'Whether kinges, princes, and other governours have an absolute power and authoritie over their subiectes'.

48. S.T.Chapter III sigs. Cii-Cvii v.

49. Compare with Goodman's position, see below 338. In general the difference between them is that Ponet regards laws as godly because they are valid law, whereas Goodman calls them laws because they are godly.

50. S.T. sig. Cvi v.

51. S.T. sig. Cvii.

52. S.T.Chapter IV sigs. Cviii-Evii v 'In what thinges, and how farre subiectes are bounden to obeie their princes and governours'.

53. S.T. sig. Dvii.

54. S.T.Chapter V sigs. Eviii-G 'Whether all the Subiectes goodes be the Kaysers and Kinges owne, and that they maie lawfully take them as their owne'.

55. S.T. Chapter VI sigs. Gv-Hviiv. Quotation sig. Gv.
56. Ponet looked back nostalgically to the office of High Constable in England, S.T. sig. Gv v.
57. S.T. sig. Hvi v.
58. S.T. Chapter VII sigs. Hviii-K v. 'What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates'. The news of Cheke's capture reached Strasburgh on 22nd May 1556. (see Hudson 85).
59. S.T. sigs. Kii-Miv.
60. S.T. sig. Miii v.
61. S.T. sig. Miiii.
62. S.T. sig. Gvi; also sig. Bvi.
63. S.T. sig. Aiiiv; also see Hudson, 'Definition of Law' 139-42.
64. S.T. sig. Aiv.
65. S.T. sig. Aiii.
66. S.T. sig. Biii v.
67. S.T. sig. Bvi v.
68. See Hudson on 'Natural Rights' 142-5.
69. S.T. sig. Cvi v.
70. S.T. sig. Gvi v.
71. S.T. sig. Dvii. Also see D.G.Hale, The Body Politic, The Hague (1971) 81.
72. Hudson does not bring out this point see 'Ideal State' 149-154.

73. The use of the image of the body politic to describe the limitation of a ruler's power is discussed in P. Archambault, 'The analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance political literature', Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance XXIX (1967) 21-53.
74. S.T. sig. Avi v.
75. S.T. sig. Gviii-viii v.
76. See tables of annual production of polemical works in Baskerville 8.
77. For a list and description of the exiles at Strasburgh see H.J.Cowell, 'English Exile Congregations' Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XV 69-120 and Garrett for further bibliographical details.
78. For Cheke's capture C.S.P. Ven. 1555-6, 475. Cheke's recantation exists in a number of manuscripts, but it was never printed. By failing to publish it, the Marian government missed a great opportunity to score a propaganda victory over the protestants, see Baskerville 15.
79. E.g. Sir Anthony Cooke's contacts with England. See M.K. McIntosh, 'Sir Anthony Cooke: Tudor Humanist, Educator and Religious Reformer', Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 119 (1975) 244-5.

SECTION THREE

HOW SUPERIOR POWERS OUGHT TO BE OBEYED.

CHAPTER SIX

Christopher Goodman's book 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd of their Subiectes: and Wherin they may lawfully by God's Worde be disobeyed and resisted', was published on 1st January 1558. It was printed by the Genevan printer Jean Crispin and bears his distinctive anchor on the title page.¹ There was no attempt to hide the place, printer nor the identity of the author, which suggests that the Genevan city authorities had given the work a measure of approval.² They would have had the opportunity to learn the nature of the work as it had been discussed in Geneva for some time before it was published.

Goodman's ideas had first been expressed in a sermon preached before the English exiles in Geneva.³ Following reformed practice Goodman had taken a book of the Bible, in this case the Acts of the Apostles, and was expounding it section by section in his sermons to his flock. When Goodman reached Chapter 4 verse 19, he preached on the subject of political obedience. After the sermon

'certeyne learned and godly men most instantly, and at sondry tymes required him to dilate more at large that his sermon, and to suffre it to be printed, that not onely we here present, but our bretherne in England and other places might be persuaded in the trueth of that doctrine concerninge obedience to the magistrate and so glorifie God with us'.

Goodman was not easily persuaded but was finally won over by the argument that many brethren died in their ignorance because there were no means to come to the knowledge of the truth. He agreed to enlarge the sermon and print it as a token of his duty towards the Church of God. If the 'godly'

thought well of the book, it would be translated into other languages so that all might profit from it.

Before publishing his sermon, Goodman took care to confer with 'the best learned in these parts', on the main points and they approved the propositions he had composed. It was in this connexion that Goodman wrote a second time to Peter Martyr in August 1558.⁴ Peter Martyr had failed to comment on Goodman's propositions and instead had written about the patching up of the old Frankfort quarrels. Goodman was sorry that he had received no answer from Peter Martyr, whose advice he valued. He told Martyr that

'I requested the judgement of master Calvin, to which you very properly attach much weight, before the book was published, and I shewed him the same propositions which I sent to you. And though he deemed them somewhat harsh, especially to those who are in the place of power, and that for this reason they should be handled with caution, yet he nevertheless admitted them to be true'.

The open discussion of Goodman's propositions is in marked contrast to the secrecy which surrounded Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet'.⁵ Beza's later assertion that neither he nor Calvin had any knowledge of the books of Knox and Goodman until after they were published was probably true of Knox's 'First Blast' but certainly not true of Goodman's book. The need in 1566 to disassociate Geneva from Knox and Goodman, no doubt encouraged Beza to read back into 1558 the subsequent links between the two books and their authors.⁶

Encouraged by the positive approval of his congregation and the lack of condemnation from the Swiss reformers, Goodman revised his sermon for publication. Apart from a few minor alterations the first eight chapters probably form the original sermon.⁷ In the second part of the work, the argu-

ments concerning an ideal state have been emphasised and developed. Goodman also took the opportunity to refute objections from the Old and New Testaments.⁸

William Whittingham, one of Goodman's closest friends, wrote an introductory epistle to the reader of 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd', commending the book in the highest terms.⁹ He asserted that Goodman was bringing the very word of God to the reader who must attend and obey the Eternal speaking through his minister. Whittingham promised that

'if thou desirest to knowe thy duetie to thy Prince, and his charge likewise over thee, read this book and thou shalt wel understande bothe: If thou wishe for Christian libertie, come and se how it may easely be had: if thou woldest love God above man here thou shalt knowe how to obey God rather then man'. 10

Whittingham was aware that Goodman's book was offering new solutions which would not easily be accepted. In his epistle he concentrated upon the theme of recognising and following the truth, no matter what that entailed. Knowledge of the truth involved action because it revealed a man's duty to God and his neighbour. Men were blinded to the truth by the subtlety of Satan. It was his aim to keep the world in ignorance by using the two daughters of Ignorance, Custom and Negligence. Instead of falling into the snares of these two vices, the reader was warned to embrace the contrary virtues. He was to reject wicked custom and cleave solely to God and by diligence at the school of knowledge to banish ignorance brought by negligence. Goodman's book would have to contend with these two daughters of Ignorance, because

'many overcome with olde Custome or yelding to negligent Slothfulnes wil either dispraise this proffitable worke or neglect it'.

Those who adhered to custom would decry it as a new doctrine and the negligent would comment 'We have bookes ynough'.¹¹

Whittingham suggested that those who opposed Goodman's book were taking the same side as the papists. He, like Goodman, wished to present the issue as a straight choice between accepting Goodman's theories or rotting in ignorance with the other children of Satan. By contrast the duty of every son of God was to

'endeavour to knowe his (God's) wil, declare thy affection towards his Scriptures, be zealous of his glorie, reverence his ministers, and receave thankfully his graces geven to his Church by them'.

12

It was carefully pointed out by Whittingham that Goodman's book should not be accepted as the truth on his testimony or that of the English congregation at Geneva. It must be tested by the touchstone of God's Word found in the Scriptures. This would prove that Goodman was speaking as the instrument of God and so should be heeded and obeyed. Having briefly rehearsed the new definition of obedience based upon Goodman's doctrine of the contrary, Whittingham ended his epistle with the prayer:

'The Spirit of God, which is the scholemaistre to leade us into all trueth, lighten your hartes, gyve you myndes to understande, and courage to execute his holy wil, to the setting forth of Christes Kingdome, the proffit of his Church and confusion of Satans power and Antichrists'.

13

William Kethe also publicly declared his support for Goodman by appending a poem to 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd'.¹⁴ The poem began with the gloomy belief that man would always follow his own phantasy in preference to the truth which had nearly been killed. However in his book, Goodman had brought Truth out from her grave though he had

been unable to remove her chains. If the reader would take this opportunity to reason with Truth he

'shal learne how ill rulers we oght to obeye'.

Tyranny had been suffered so long that the distinction between rebellion and justified resistance had been blurred. Kethe explained the difference between them:

'Rebellion is ill, to resiste is not so,
When right through resisting is donne to
that foo,/Who seketh, but by ruine, agaynst
right to raigne,/Not passinge (caring) what
perishe, so she spayle the gayne'.

He also attacked female rule, speaking of the right head of the body politic being cut off and replaced by a wrong one; an image reminiscent of Ponet.¹⁵ The rest of the poem was spent in an attack upon the English for helping the Spaniards. Kethe warned that as soon as the Spaniards had gained their foothold in England and subdued France, they would cut the throats of the English nobility. He pointed out in his laboured doggerel that the only place English traitors would be welcome was New Spain as the rest of Europe would not countenance them.¹⁶ To avoid such a disaster, the reader should learn from Goodman's book how to defend the cause of right. If he failed to take the lesson given by Goodman, confusion was a fitting end for such a person.

Because of the circumstances in which it was written, Goodman's book is not a systematic exposition of his ideas. There was a development and clarification of his concept of the people of God between the time he preached the original sermon and the writing of the second part of the book. Goodman retained the prophetic style he had adopted in his sermon throughout the book, taking all the advantages that approach offered him. His use of the sermon techniques of exposition

and exhortation permitted him to move from one idea to another by means of association rather than logic. This was particularly important for his doctrine of the contrary.

The doctrine of the contrary was simply the assertion that every negative command from God automatically included a positive corollary. The christian was obliged not only to refrain from what was forbidden but was to do the opposite to the best of his ability. By this means Goodman sought to redefine the nature of obedience. He believed that obedience to God was a positive turning towards him, a desire to live and act in everything according to the will of God. Total dependence upon God and submission to his will could not be achieved merely by ceasing to disobey his commands: it required an active effort to implement God's will as revealed in his Word. This argument stressed the personal response of the christian to the voice of God¹⁷ rather than the rational ordering of behaviour to conform to divine standards.¹⁸ Goodman appealed to his readers' emotions rather than their minds. He exploited prophetic language using it to place the individual's response within the context of his salvation.

The doctrine of the contrary was the theme for the original sermon. Goodman's chosen text was a familiar one to his readers.¹⁹ It had been used in the arguments concerning obedience to the ruler to provide the necessary escape clause allowing passive disobedience when the ruler enforced an ungodly command.²⁰ In the reign of Mary the protestants had used it extensively to justify their refusal to obey the queen's religious policies. Their changed circumstances had

forced the protestants to emphasise the moral element in their doctrine of non-resistance. The arguments based upon social and political order were submerged by the presentation of non-resistance as a religious duty. This made the whole doctrine far more vulnerable. By redefining the nature of religious duty Goodman attacked the doctrine of non-resistance at its weakest point. He did this by applying his doctrine of the contrary to the text which he shared with the supporters of non-resistance.

The first conclusion which Goodman gathered from his text was

"that to obeye man in anye thinge contrary to God, or his precepts thoghe he be in hiest auctoritie, or never so orderly called there unto...is no obedience at all, but disobedience".

21

This was conventional wisdom, in line with the pronouncements of the revered fathers of protestantism, Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Such an argument had been needed to explain why they acknowledged Mary as the lawful Head of the Church of England but had refused to obey her ecclesiastical orders. In his next point Goodman moved away from orthodox doctrine by saying,

"it is not a sufficient discharge for us before God, when we denye to accomplyshe their unlawful demandes and threatnings, except we do the contrarie every man in his vocation and office, as occasion is offred, and as his power will serve".²²

Goodman firmly attached his new definition of obedience to the individual's relationship with God seen in the perspective of the Last Judgement when each man must discharge himself before God. He challenged his readers with a new dynamic concept of religious duty which always required positive action and shunned passive submission: it was a shrewd emotional appeal to the disillusioned English.

Goodman confirmed his doctrine of the contrary by offering the example of Daniel.²³ Darius, Daniel's lawful king, had promulgated an ungodly decree which carried the death penalty for disobedience. This public decree was obeyed by all except Daniel who did the contrary of what was commanded and openly prayed to God.

"And to the intent it might be knowen abrode to al men, that he contemned this ungodly commandement, he set open his windowes more then custome, to the intent that all whiche wolde, might beholde his doing: so glad was he to be knowen to serve the true and mightie God".

24

Daniel's open and deliberate defiance was the crux of the story for Goodman's purpose; the miraculous deliverance of Daniel from the lions was not his concern. Goodman cleverly used this point to discredit his opponents. He indicated that England's worldly wise men would have condemned Daniel for doing more than was expedient. Into their mouths Goodman placed the arguments which had traditionally been used to support acceptance of the reigning monarch's religious policy.

"Here wolde our worldly wise men, no doubt, condemne Daniel for rashness and follye in doing more then was expedient. What nede he thus to provoke the indignation of a prince, who had power with a worde of his mouth to destroye him? Yf he wolde not aske anie thinge in the name of Darius as others did, yet might he have abstayned from praying to God for that space. Was thirtie dayes so great a matter, that he might not abstayne from praying to God, to gratifie therby his prince to whome he was so muche bounde? And if he wolde nedes praye to God, coulde he not have done it prevely and secretly? What nede he to set open his window in the sight of al men? This was an open contempte of the kinges maiestie: this was a greater offence then the facte it self".

25

By this polemical device Goodman was able to present these reasons in the worst possible light and dismiss them as the

property of hypocritical carnal gossellers. By contrast Daniel had been inspired by the Holy Spirit to do the contrary to what was commanded. Goodman scored an important point by linking Daniel's action to the fulfillment of the first dominical commandment.²⁶

The association of Goodman's new definition of obedience with a confession and test of faith was elaborated by the story of Joshua.²⁷ Obedience, and by implication active resistance, became a method of witness similar to martyrdom. Goodman addressed the English,

"Here is thy confession, if thou be of God.
Yf all men would serve strange Godds, yet
will I and my familie serve the livinge Lorde".²⁸

In a clever passage of association and progression of thought Goodman took the theme of service to God and asserted that it could only be fulfilled by Englishmen if they pursued a policy of active resistance.²⁹ He brought his argument full circle by launching into a prophetic call for repentance. He made the decision between obedience and disobedience the same as that between repentance and hard-heartedness by saying,

"there is no waye but one, to turne agayne
unto the Lorde...wher before we served men
and not God, now to serve God and not man,
but in God".³⁰

Goodman never separated confession from action. He needed to set out the implications of his new definition of religious duty so that it could be practised by his fellow countrymen. The moral imperative to do the contrary had to be translated into active resistance to ungodly decrees. Goodman demonstrated his intention by reference to the story of Mattathias, taken from the first book of Maccabees.³¹ Not content with remaining unpolluted by idolatry Mattathias had resisted

"idolatrie by force, in killing the idolatrer and the kinges servant...and in subverting the altar, where upon the idolatrous sacrifice shuld have bene done. Which was, as you see, manifeste resisting of the superior power, being but man, to the intent he might shewe true obedience to his Lorde and God". 32

The other point Mattathias' story illustrated for Goodman was that active resistance was the duty of every person whatever their status: it was not the preserve of those who held public office. Goodman underlined the point,

"And yet we reade of no auctoritie or office he had to excuse him by but onelie this one thing which was comon to all other of his nation, the lawes of their countrie, and covenant of their fathers. Which cause he thought sufficient to discharge his conscience before God and to approve his doings". 33

It was at this point in the argument that Goodman needed his concept of the people of God to explain why resistance was the religious duty of the whole people. If left unqualified, his statement that everyone must do the contrary of ungodly commands according to their vocation could justify resistance by inferior magistrates, but not by the common people. Goodman's thinking probably started from this point but the story of Mattathias forced it further. In the original sermon he directed his call for active resistance to the inferior magistrates. He did include the common people but did not properly justify their inclusion except by the story of Mattathias. Although this was given in support of the doctrine of the contrary, unlike the stories of Daniel and Joshua, it was not really concerned with that at all. The reasons Mattathias gave for his actions were the defence of the covenant and the laws of the country. These were the foundation of Goodman's theory of the people of God as developed in the second part of the book.

The doctrine of the contrary provided Goodman with a bludgeon with which to batter down the theory of non-resistance. He needed the more subtle and deadly weapon of his vision of the people of God to give substance to his call for active resistance. The moral imperative to do the contrary of an ungodly command was not specific enough to provide a proper basis for action. Also its appeal was too limited because it presented resistance solely as a religious duty. The theory of the people of God permitted Goodman to offer a definite set of aims for active resistance.

In his book Goodman deliberately restricted himself to a discussion of the political life of a Christian commonwealth which he labelled "the people of God".³⁴ He declined to talk about the general nature of political obligation or politics other than Christian ones. Goodman was addressing his remarks to the English whom he believed were capable of acting as the people of God.³⁵ His programme for action sprang from his vision of the kingdom of Christ on earth, the people in a covenant relationship with God.³⁶ The use of religious language and imagery masked the political nature of Goodman's concept. He confined his descriptions of the people of God to life on earth. He dealt with a community defined by existing state boundaries, membership of which was dictated by birth, not religious conviction. In this section of his argument the temporal welfare of the community as a whole was his concern, not the eternal salvation of its individual members.³⁷

Goodman did link the two through his doctrine of predestination which he stated in moral terms. A man was designated obedient or disobedient, not elect or reprobate.³⁸

This emphasis on the moral aspect of predestination linked the fate of the individual to that of the commonwealth. A man's personal actions were an indication of his eternal fate.³⁹ They also helped to determine the condition of the commonwealth. This link enabled Goodman to move from speaking about the corporate duties of the people to the individual decision on a particular action which was placed in the context of the Last Judgement. There was also the implication that if the corporate relationship with God was wrong, then this had an effect upon the individual's personal relationship with Christ.

This connexion was sustained by the use of the language of Old Testament prophecy where individual and corporate salvation were fused. Goodman called to the English nobles and inferior officers:

"Repent, repent you miserable men: for your synnes be at the highest, your cupp of iniquitie is full, and the houre of your hevvy visitation is come".⁴⁰

Like his fellow exiles, Goodman consciously fostered the prophetic image and gave a religious interpretation to all the events of national life.⁴¹ God was depicted as the Lord of history whose will was directly involved in all that happened on earth. National prosperity and adversity flowed from the will of God. He sent the people benefits and blessings or plagues and curses. If the people obeyed God's laws, then they

"are assured that the blessinges which God after promised, shalbe powred upon us: that is to be blessed at home and a brode, in the frute of our wombe, of our lande, of our beastes and cattell. And the Lorde will make our enemies which rise agaynst us to fall before us...And all the people of the earthe shall see that the Name of the Lorde is called upon amongst us, and shall be afrayde of us".⁴²

Disobedience merited the overthrow of all things,

"not your fieldes and pastures onely: but villages, Townes, Cities, and Castels, yea your selves, your wyves, and children, and what so ever you counte moste precious".

43

Goodman was careful to avoid a simple providentialism. By stressing divine action and will he never suggested that material prosperity in itself could be an index to divine favour, though he was willing to use the opposite position that national calamity showed divine disfavour. Material welfare was not a barometer of reward or punishment. It was the expression of God's care for his people and could include the testing of their obedience in face of temporal disaster. However, Goodman was certain that once a right relationship with God was restored then material prosperity and social concord would follow. He believed that

"there is nothinge to be compared to true obedience, in preservinge the common welth of townes, cities and kingdoms: or in maynteyninge true religion, Christian peace and concorde".

44

The belief that religion was the key to the country's welfare was the driving force behind the social and economic critique during Edward VI's reign. This idea was continued and enlarged by the Marian exiles and was a commonplace by the time Goodman wrote his book.⁴⁵

Goodman did not hesitate to say that the recent events in England were a sign of divine wrath: the English had been stricken for their sins. Because of this clear connexion, he was able to forecast England's future. He based the precise prophecies upon his conceptions of the kingdoms of Christ and of Antichrist. These rival kingdoms no longer ruled only in men's hearts, they were now a political reality.

They were concerned with external organization as well as internal commitment. In defence of Antichrist, kings and princes

"have armed them selves against the Lorde and Christe his Son...in verie dede they persecute him moste cruellie in his Saincts by all means possible; fightinge, as men in a rage, under the banner of that filthie beast". 46

It was twice as necessary to demonstrate true Christian allegiance because Satan and Antichrist were loosed and raging. The Last Judgement was imminent

"that daye, when God shall call you to accompt (ye know not how sone)";

time for repentence was running out.⁴⁷ The world was polarising into two distinct camps. It was of vital importance for the kingdom of Christ to be proclaimed and that of Satan and Antichrist to be rejected. Goodman warned against being found to be

"a rebell agaynst thy Lorde and God: from whose wrathe and heavie indignation, no man can defende thee in the dreadfull daie of his visitacion, which is at hande". 48

Goodman moved towards an almost Manichean position in his emphasis on the two opposing forces.⁴⁹ All actions were placed in the context of this cosmic battle and every issue presented as a stark choice between the black and white alternatives. Action rather than confession was of paramount importance; conviction had to be displayed in deeds or it was mere hypocrisy.

"For now will the Lorde trye who are his people in separating the chaffe from the corne, those that love the Lorde unfaynedlie, and wil serve him in dede from the halting dissemblers and hypocrites!" 50

For England, at least, there was a straight choice between loyalty to Christ or Antichrist.

"Yf we were Turkes, Sarasins, Jewes or papistes, which either knewe not God a right, or els denied his Sonne Jesus: it were no great marvell if we were led after the lustes of our ungodly Princes", 51

but the people of God have no excuse.

The chief feature of the kingdom of Antichrist was the return to Catholicism, especially the rule of the pope. Papal allegiance meant clerical dictatorship, to be at the command of "every shaven Sir John". It would also mean the total neglect of national welfare. According to Goodman, the wicked papists in order

"to defend their kyngdome of darckenes, ambition and idle belies, there is no kyng so godly, no contrey so peaceable, nor no kyngdome so stronge, which through their devilishe enterprises and wicked persuasions, they have not studied utterly to subvert and destroy". 52

Goodman singled out "that moste traiterous and pestilent Cardinal Pole", lamenting that although previously he had been justly condemned as a traitor, he had now been received back into England.⁵³

The reign of Antichrist inevitably led to foreign domination and the erosion of all liberties. If Antichrist was

"to be your Lorde and governour, and with him all filthie swine, wilde beares, wolves, bores, tygers, and lyons...(they would)...devoure, destroye, and overthrowe all thinges". 54

In England's case God would use the Spaniards to tyrannize the country. God would make "the Spaynishe plague of adoulterous Philippe" into his "sworde and maul". Goodman prophesied complete annexation by Spain involving the loss of all that was godly or characteristically English. He was convinced that those in authority in England had been

blinded to the consequences of their actions. He asked them,

"do you thinke that Philip will be crowned kinge of Englande, and retheyne in honor Englishe counsellers?...Shall his nobilitie be Spaniardes, with out your landes and possessions? And shall they possesse your promotions and lyvinges, and your heads upon your shulders? Come they to make a spoyle of the whole Realme, and leave you and yours untouched? Where is your great wisdom... where of you bragge so muche, to whome these thinges be hid, that everie childe espieth?" 55

The Spaniards were the modern manifestation of the proud, cruel nation of the Book of Baruch who were the instrument of God's punishment. They were especially to be feared because they were

"Gods expresse adversaries...a people of a farre and of a strange langage (sic)...an impudent nation, and hard harted people, with out all pitie and mercie." 56

In order to make full use of an appeal to English nationalism, Goodman carefully identified his own particular vision of the people of God with national survival. This device was not new. From the time of Henry's break with Rome, papal supremacy had been associated with foreign tyranny. Goodman remarked that

"to understand that the papistes were cruell butchers and unsatiabie bloudsuckers, had bene no newes at all, they have bene such from the beginninge". 57

The threat of clerical domination was linked to that residual fear of the English nobility and gentry which focused upon their possession of monastic lands.⁵⁸ To associate the return of Catholicism with the Spanish marriage was also a well used polemical weapon.⁵⁹ Goodman was particularly savage in his attacks upon Mary herself. He listed her treasons

against God and England. He charged her

"For Gods worde she abhorreth, Antichriste hathe she restored, her fathers Lawes contemned...And in fine utterly abhorring the Englishe nation, hath ioyned her self to adulterous Philip, the Spanishe kinge: to whome she hathe, and dothe continually labor to betray the whole kingdome." 60

Tyranny was the distinguishing characteristic of the kingdom of Antichrist on earth. It brought "miserable slavery and bondage, both of bodies and soules."⁶¹ This was a persuasive argument at a time when England was being dragged into war with France as part of the dynastic struggle between the houses of Hapsburg and Valois. Goodman implied that the war was being used as a way to dispossess the godly remnant among the nobility and to kill off Protestant sympathisers. He spoke a word of warning

"to them which will be called Gospellers, and yet have armed them selves agaynst the Gospel drawing forth with them out of their countrie to mayntayne Philipps warres, and to please Iesabel (who seeketh by that means, to cut their throtes craftely)." 62

He was sure that the war would provide the excuse for the introduction of Spanish troops into an England too impoverished to resist them. Englishmen had agreed

"to fight agaynst the Frenche kinge, and their owne brethern the Skottes, whiles the Spaniards put them selves in a redinesse to entre the Realme and make a generall spoyle and pray of all." 63

All of these calamities could have been avoided if the English had kept true to their relationship with God. Then God would not have plagued his people to bring them back to their obedience and they would have had the courage and conviction to retain and defend their Christian liberty.

"Yf the true zeale of Gods people had bene in

you...when Antichrist was restored to displace Christ: could ye have suffered this unpunished? Or if you had punished it as you were then charged by Gods Lawes and mans, durste they have proceeded to such impietie?" 64

Liberty could be recovered if the people would turn again to God who would heal them. 65

Goodman tended to define the kingdom of Antichrist in a negative way, as the opposite of the kingdom of Christ. This tendency severely reduced the coherence of his picture of that kingdom. But he did point out that both kingdoms exhibited distinct political characteristics and were firmly located in this world.

Whereas the kingdom of Antichrist always resulted in tyranny, the kingdom of Christ rested upon Christian liberty. The people of God were free subjects, not bond slaves or "brute beasts with out sense or judgement". They had a portion or right in the country they inhabited: this right and title concerned the freedom of their natural country as well as religion. The people's liberty was their own possession which they were "bound at all tymes to practise". It was a perishable asset and had to be exercised by the people if it was to be retained. 66 Their freedom rested in the fact that as God's subjects they were no longer free to serve any other master but Christ their "firste and chief Lord". This also meant that they need only obey their masters "in the Lorde". 67

"Such as beare the Name of Christ and woulde be taken for the people of God,.....are no farther bownd to any Prince or superior power,... then the commandement of the chief kinge and Lorde doth approve and permitte". 68

Goodman identified two levels of obligation: one owed to God, the other to man. The main purpose of the book

was the explanation of these obligations. Goodman wrote

"of true obedience: to wit, what God him self requiereth of us; and what he commandethe to be geven also to men". 69

Only God could create obligation and to him alone was absolute obedience due "in all things, and of all men, and in all places".

"God is the first and principal Father, Maister and Lorde, to whom firste obedience muste be geven as he doth demande: and to others in him, and for him onely". 70

The obligations which existed between men were founded upon the will of God and determined by it. Man's need for order was not sufficient to create an obligation. These human arrangements could not be absolute, they were always dependent upon the fulfilment of contractual conditions which were laid down in the law of God.⁷¹

Liberty and obedience were two sides of the same coin. Obedience was never unconditional when given to man because it had to be referred to the limits which God had set out in his law which was found in the Pentateuch. The Mosaic Law was presented as a charter of the liberties of the people of God. Goodman meant this to apply in detail as well as in its general principles. The exact forms of political obligation to be contracted by the people of God were found in the Mosaic Law.⁷² If these were followed then liberty would neither degenerate into licence, nor be lost in tyranny. This golden mean could only be preserved within the polity by the strict adherence to the transcendent authority of God's law. The law of God was the means by which magistrates,

"are sure to finde obedience, and escape all

rebellion, tumultes and disordres amonges their subiectes: evenso is there no other rule for the subiectes to escape the idolatrie, tyrannie, and oppression of their superiors, then in retheyning (as their chief possession) the self same Lawe and worde of God".

73

In this way Goodman was able to reject the suggestion that Christian liberty would produce disorder. His was

"no doctrine of Rebellion, but the onely doctrine of peace and means to inioye quietlie the comfortable blessinges of God".

74

The people of God should model their behaviour upon the law. The law and not the existence of a ruler, was the bulwark against anarchy: God's laws and precepts were "the hedge of the Lordes vinyarde"⁷⁵ Goodman even dared to say,

"it is all one to be without a Ruler, and to have such as will not rule in Gods feare. Yea it is much better to be destitute altogether, then to have a tyrant and murtherer". 76

When Goodman spoke of the law of God being the firm guide for political organisation and behaviour, he was not merely indulging in pious rhetoric but advocating a specific set of rules for government. He was sure that the Bible contained the pattern for communal life which God had laid down for his people. He claimed that God in his mercy had set out a precise form of government: "his Lawes ordinances and Statutes" and the "officers to see the same Lawes put into execution".⁷⁷ Only in this type of political organisation was the sovereignty of God rightly honoured. Theocracy was not an alternative method of government, it was a necessity for those communities which had embraced the Gospel. The people of God were obliged

"to be ruled by no other Lawes and ordinances, then by such as God had geven them". 78

The theocratic ordering of the political life of the people was dependent upon God's revelation and not upon man's rational capabilities. It was the product, not of the people's "owne willes, but the will and pleasure of God". In this Christian age the Word of God was

"the ordinarie means to reveale his will and appoyntment. Which (if we unfaynedly folowe in our doings) we nede no more to doute, then if God shulde now speake unto us out of the heavens".

79

The pattern for political behaviour was contained within the Word of God. It was inconceivable to Goodman that God would have failed to provide a suitable pattern: that would suggest a lack of fatherly care for his people.

Goodman asked, were

"there anie lawes more parfit then are the Lawes of God? Or did anie man better know the nature of man, then he which created man? Or anie more desierous to keepe them in his feare, and true obedience, then God him self, who chose them for his people?"

80

God in his wisdom decided what was necessary for man's preservation and revealed it to Moses. The history of the Jewish people recounted in the Bible showed the way in which the pattern given to Moses was incorporated into their communal life. Goodman treated the Old Testament as a political history of God's people rather than an allegory of the life of the church.⁸¹

He made a distinction between different levels of revelation. Of prime importance were those things which were directly revealed: the words of God spoken from heaven. These were the law of God

"whither they be of the Ten commandments, or anie other besides conteyned in the Scriptures".⁸²

They were binding upon all men because they were the expression

of God's will.

"After God hathe once pronounced anie thing that he would have done, either in his Lawe or otherwise: there is no man that may or can dispence therewith, seeme it of never so litle importance in the iudgement of men". 83

On a lower level there were the events in the lives of the Jewish nation and early Christians which were examples of humans attempting to translate those commands into action. They were binding in so far as they illustrated the command or agreed with the Holy Spirit who was the agent of all revelation. Goodman believed that passages of Scripture did not contradict one another,

'for the Spirit of God changeth not his meaning: but what he saiethe once, he saythe for ever'. 84

Goodman thought that these two levels were easy to distinguish in the light of Christ and with the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Christians were to be content with God's Word. They

"must now looke for no revelations from the heavens to teache us our duety, it being so playnely set before our eyes in his worde". 85

The coming of Christ did not alter the content of the law but fulfilled and illuminated it. By his redemptive death Christ changed the purpose of the law and its relation to the people of God. He had taken away the servitude under the law and had atoned for sin through the cross

"that man might have full salvation, not onely here in this world, but everlastingly in the worlde to come". 86

The difference between the two dispensations before and after Christ lay first in the capability of the people of God to understand the law and second in the purpose of the law. Like Hooper, Goodman thought that in the Christian

era the law had ceased to have anything to do with the ordering of the church.⁸⁷

Christ's saving work had transformed the capacity of the people of God.

"God hath sent a more shining light, our Saviour Jesus Christe: which every man may clerely beholde, excepte he be wilfully blynde".

Christ was the Light of the world who enlightened every man.

"He hath taken away the shaddoues and Ceremonies of the Lawe, that thou mayst clerely beholde the will of his Father. He hath uncovered Moyses face, to the intent thou mayst fully consider the secrets of God".

88

God's people were children of the light who could now plainly see and understand God's will as pronounced in the law. In the person of Jesus, God had drawn nearer to his people.

By their adoption into Christ they were now the sons of God.⁸⁹

Goodman used the biblical concept of the covenant to describe this filial relationship. He had taken the covenant from its normal theological setting and translated it into the political sphere. In doing so Goodman had radically departed from the rest of the magisterial reformers who treated the covenant in relation to the church and individual salvation.⁹⁰ For Goodman the Christian covenant described the civil and political life of the people of God. It showed how the sovereignty of God in Christ was manifested in their polity. Christ was the only true Head of the Christian body politic.

Goodman thought that Christ must rule his people as king. Amongst them

"there ought to be no creature of like auctoritie....as our soveraygne Lorde and God....there is none like to him in dignitie, or may be compared to him in

power....beinge Lorde of heaven and earthe, disposer of all things present and to come: distributer not onlie of all corporall and earthlie blessings to those that feare and serve him: but also powreth upon them all spirituall and heavenlie graces in great abundance".

91

The kingship of Christ was strictly separated from any millennial aspirations. It was described in metaphors of struggle and warfare, not victory and the Second Coming.⁹²

Christ would not return to earth to reign in glory in the future: he had been present in Spirit since Pentecost.⁹³

Like his fellow exiles Goodman did use prophetic and apocalyptic imagery to heighten the sense of urgency and show the present as a moment of decision. In apocalyptic terms this would fit with the idea of the unloosing of Antichrist.⁹⁴

Because Goodman regarded the covenant as a national and political relationship, he concentrated entirely on the Mosaic example. Its content, the Mosaic law was a direct revelation which came from the mouth of God who had set before his people a perfect pattern. This distinguished it from the actual events of Jewish history and the development of the Jewish monarchy. They were valid precedents only in so far as they conformed to the revealed law, which meant that, for Goodman, the Davidic kingdom was not the true model for Christian kingship. That model was not to be found in human chronicles, it lay in the will of God. Consequently Goodman's picture of an ideal king was built up from the pattern of kingship in Deuteronomy 17.⁹⁵

It was a common belief that Moses had acted as both the temporal and the spiritual ruler of the Jews. This made it easier for Goodman to use the Mosaic covenant as a political model. Moses was not the supreme ecclesiastic,

he was not a priest like Aaron. He provided a good personification of the function of the people of God.

Moses was also a prefiguration of Christ. The risen, ascended Christ was the king who reigned over his people; not the incarnate Jesus who, during his earthly ministry, rightly refused any temporal authority for himself.⁹⁶

Goodman deliberately paralleled the work of Moses and Christ so that he could demonstrate the applicability and continuity of the covenant into the Christian era.⁹⁷ The model of deliverance, convenanting promise, and law, had been repeated in Christ's work but on a far more elevated plane.

Moses was the instrument "whom God chose to delyver his people from Egypt". Christ was a mightier deliverer

"by whom we are not onely delyvered from bodely servitude, but from the moste vile and dangerous bondage of Satan through synne our spirituall enemie".⁹⁸

As the "unspeakable benefits and treasures" of the liberation by Christ were much greater than those given to the Jewish nation, the people of God in the Christian age owed more obedience to God in grateful response.⁹⁹ Deliverance was not just the result of Christ's passion. It was also the repeated activity of God in Christ controlling the destinies of his people and intervening to save them from their earthly enemies. Christ had saved the English from the tyranny of Antichrist and would do so again if the people once more acknowledged his sovereignty in the proper way.

The three stages of the covenant (deliverance, promise and law) were the way in which God's activity towards his chosen people was to be interpreted. They were descriptions of a continuing process: a relationship, not a static

fact fixed in time. This explained why Goodman did not pin down England's previous entrance into the covenant relationship to a specific avowal given at a definite date. He emphasised the return to a covenant, more than the making of it. "To turne agayne unto the Lorde" was a reacknowledgement of the relationship which did not necessitate any formal declaration; the action in itself was sufficient. This stance was directly and consciously taken from the Old Testament prophets who recalled the Jews to their obligations in the original Mosaic covenant.¹⁰⁰

The covenanting promise of the people of God made 'with one voyce and consent before God', was a response to their deliverance and to the revelation of God's will.¹⁰¹ Both the Christian and the Mosaic covenants were ratified by the voice of God who spoke from the heavens. In this way God confirmed that Jesus and Moses were to be obeyed because they were doing those things which they had received from the Father. Christ, the Son of God, surpassed Moses to the same degree as God's nature transcended that of man. Christ's

'fidelitie also no lesse passed the faithfullnesse of Moyses, then did his honour and dignitie: being the Sonne of God, and promysed Saviour, doing nothing at all, nor teaching any thing which his hevenly Father had not appoynted him to do and to teache".¹⁰²

In the Christian age the signs of the covenanting promise had changed.¹⁰³ Each person entered into the covenant by his promise of obedience to Christ at his baptism. Goodman implied that this had a double significance. Baptism was the sacrament of entry into both the church and the people of God.¹⁰⁴ The clearest indication that a community had

entered the covenant was the profession of Christ through the open adherence to his Word which should be preached throughout the land.¹⁰⁵ Goodman thought that it was the duty of the people and their executor, the civil magistrate, to promote and establish true religion.¹⁰⁶ Where this had been done and approved by the political will of the people, then the covenant had been embraced and the law of God received. Goodman was convinced that this had been achieved in England under Edward VI when the English "had professed the Gospel, and the lyvelie worde of God".¹⁰⁷ It had not been the making of a new covenant but a return to, and acceptance of, the conditions of the original one. The eternal pattern was always there waiting to be implemented. The English had realised their ever present potential and had visibly become the people of God. Goodman did not specify that England was the exclusive recipient of this grace of God in the Christian age. The covenant relationship was open to any and every nation or polity in which the Word of God was truly preached.¹⁰⁸

The covenanting promise was one of obedience: the only response appropriate to the revelation of God's will. In the corporate life of the people, obedience to the law of God in their political organisation was the sign of their willingness to trust God completely for direction in all aspects of their communal life.

"Yf you be the people of God, and unfayned Christians, then muste ye also knowe that the Lawe of God, and Christe your Saviour, doth appertayne unto you". 109

In this sense obedience was the community's equivalent of the individual's justifying faith. Obedience could not

rest on human judgement, the practice of reason, for that would deny its very nature of absolute trust and submission.

Obedience was a life lived in conscious harmony with God's will.¹¹⁰ Goodman felt that all actions had to be governed by the Word of God: it was totally insufficient for them to be merely not contrary to Scripture. To act within God's general providence by following the promptings of reason was not the same as this positive Scriptural direction, for it had lost that crucial sense of obedience to, and harmony with, God. Disobedience was

"the onelie cause of all disorder and lamentable confusion, where with the whole worlde is bothe this daie, and hath bene also from the beginning, most miserably defaced and oppressed....The cause of all disobedience is, not to measure oure doings by Godds worde",

but to use instead the standards of human judgement.¹¹¹

The promise of obedience had to be expressed by the people of God in their corporate life. Public and political obedience could only be displayed in corporate action and external organisation. Goodman declared that the commands of God found in the Pentateuch provided a programme of action and a pattern for organisation. The law of God was the substance of the covenant and could not be divorced from it. He regarded the covenant as the fundamental relationship between God and his people. He did not employ the term 'covenant' frequently, but assumed that its meaning was conveyed in the phrase

"the people of God".

He believed that the example of the covenant

"ought never to departe from the eyes of all such as are or woulde be God's people".

By moving the covenant from the area of justification and salvation, Goodman removed from it any tension between law and grace. The law of God was the content and the covenant was the form of the relationship between God and his people. There was a logical distinction between them, but no difference in substance.¹¹³ They were the "most clere glasse" in which the duties and responsibilities of the people were reflected. The pattern remained the same for Christians as it had been for the Jews, although they were under different dispensations.¹¹⁴ The people of God were

"no lesse bownde to obeye the self same God of Israel, whom we also professe in Christe Iesu".

115

The law had been directly revealed and so retained its binding nature as part of the immutable will of God.

"What God once willith in his Law to be done or not to be done that can no man dispence with".¹¹⁶

Goodman was not in the least concerned whether his vision had been realised in the past. Historical development and change were swept aside by his insistence on the perfection of the Scriptural pattern. Biblical revelation was the only true source of authority. In political affairs the behaviour of the early church was irrelevant because, at that time, Christianity had not been established and openly avowed by the state.¹¹⁷

By these assumptions Goodman was able to remove rival political patterns which could also claim biblical authority and to concentrate upon the law given to Moses, designating it God's specific revelation concerning the ordering of political affairs. He asserted that the law provided a

blueprint for the political life of the Jews. This required the assumption that Mosaic law contained a complete and sufficient revelation from God covering all aspects of Jewish life.

To maintain that God gave the Jews instructions for every facet of life, sacred and secular, was not particularly unusual in the sixteenth century.¹¹⁸ What divided the reformers was the extent to which these instructions, the Mosaic law, were still applicable.¹¹⁹ Mosaic law was usually placed in three categories: moral, judicial and ceremonial. All agreed that the ceremonial laws had been abrogated by the coming of Christ which they foreshadowed. They also agreed that the moral laws, identified with the Decalogue, remained binding upon Christians. The disagreement centred upon the place and function of the judicial laws. Goodman approached this controversy from a different angle because he always viewed the law of God in the context of the covenant. It was the mirror which reflected the health of the relationship between God and his people. The people's obedience to the law was not just the enforcement of a legal code, though this was important, but a way of life.

The law was a "heavenly treasure and precious perle" given to the people for their spiritual possession.¹²⁰ Goodman emphasised that the law was a gift which proceeded from the goodness and wisdom of God.¹²¹ The treasure of the law was the birthright of the people and the guardian of their liberty. Obedience to it ensured the well-being of the Christian in his life on earth, which was to be found in the prosperity and concord within the commonwealth. It

was exhibited in the harmonious functioning of the body politic which drew its life and direction from its lord and head, Christ.¹²²

NOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

1. S.T.C. 12020. It is possible that there were two impressions of the work because one copy of the book, now in the Bodleian Library (8^o L.570 B.S.), had a different colophon, having "a cut of the pythagorean Y, from the top of the broadside of which a youth is tumbling down, over the top of the narrow side is a laurel crown, Pythagoras standing under it and pointing up to it", see W.Herbert, Ames Typographical Antiquities (1786-90) I 1597-8. The normal colophon has Pythagoras (or a prophet) standing beneath the broadside of the Y pointing to a scroll which runs across the two arms of the Y and down its narrow side on which are the words, "Intrate perarctam viam". In other respects the colophons are the same.
2. The Genevan authorities were strict about what was published in their city, see Sutherland cited above 195 n 57 and P.Chaix, A.Dufour, G.Moeckli, Les Livres imprimes a Geneve de 1550 a 1600 Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 86 Geneva (1966).
3. The following information about the sermon is taken from Whittingham's Preface, H.S.P. 4-5.
4. O.L.II 771 and see above 99 n.1.
5. See above 181.
6. Z.L.I. 131, Beza to Bullinger 3rd September 1566. Sometime after 29th January 1559 Calvin had written to Cecil, complaining, "The messenger to whom I gave in charge my commentaries upon Isaiah to be presented to the most serene queen, brought me word that my homage was not kindly received by her majesty, because she had been offended with me by reason of some writings published in this place". Calvin went on to speak about Knox's book and his views on women, Z.L. II 34-6.
7. H.S.P. 15-106.

8. In Chapters IX & X (106-142). These chapters are omitted in the manuscript copy of "How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd" in the British Library, Add MS 18,670. The copy must have been made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, not the seventeenth century as the catalogue suggests, because there is a marginal note on f26 opposite the phrase, "godlie lady and meke lamb" (H.S.P.53) which comments "quene Elizabeth yt now is he meaneth". In 1703 the manuscript was owned by the Earl of Denbigh whose predecessor the second Earl had played an important part on the parliamentary side in the English civil war.

9. H.S.P. 3-8.

10. H.S.P. 7.

11. H.S.P. 5.

12. H.S.P. 6.

13. H.S.P. 8.

14. At the end of the book, no pagination.

15. See above 228-9.

16. Also reminiscent of Ponet, S.T. sig. Fviiiv.

17. Goodman illustrated this by his curious use of the Johannine image of sheep following the shepherd's voice. "If we be the shepe of the Lordes foulde, it is not sufficient for us to heare the voyce of our pastor, and to folowe him; except we also deny to heare muche more to folowe anie other: that is, which calleth not with the voyce of the true pastor". H.S.P. 45.

18. This contrast was the forerunner of the similar attitude towards scriptural authority displayed by the puritans, see J.S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England, Oxford (1970), especially the chapter on Scriptural Authority 1-22.

19. "Peter and Iohn answered unto them and said: Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather then God, iudge you". Acts 4 v19. H.S.P. 15.

20. See above 221.

21. H.S.P. 42-3.

22. H.S.P. 43.

23. H.S.P. 70-3. Biblical reference to Daniel 6. A number of the exile tracts had preceded him, e.g. A plaine subversyon sig Cii.

24. H.S.P. 71 (misnumbered 72 in text).

25. H.S.P. 71-2.

26. Daniel believed that "he oght not onelie to contemne the kinges unlawfull commandement, but to do the plaine contrarie. Nether thoght he it sufficient to do this secretly, except openly he shewed to all the worlde whose servante he was, and what God he honored. Otherwise, how colde he have declared to the people, that he loved his God with all his harte, soule and power, as was commanded?" H.S.P. 72-3. Biblical reference to Matthew 22 vv37-8.

27. H.S.P. 79-81 (79 misnumbered 80 in text). Biblical reference to Joshua 24 v14f.

28. H.S.P. 81.

29. "And how caneste thou say that thou servest God thy Lorde, except thou use all suche means as he hath geven to thee in defence of his glorie, beit counsel, learning, auctoritie, power in bodie or in soule? All muste serve the Lorde, when he demaundeth it. And when demaundeth God these thinges of us, if not then chiefly, when Satan begynneth to rage,.. Either now must the counsele of the Counseller, the learning

of the learned, the auctoritie of the honorable, the power of the Nobles, the bodies of the subiectes serve the Lorde, or never". H.S.P. 81-2.

30. H.S.P. 82-3.

31. H.S.P. 75-9. Biblical reference to 1 Maccabees 2 vvl5-28. Goodman neatly side-stepped the objection that the book of Maccabees was not canonical by saying that "the facte of Mattathias dependeth not upon the auctoritie of the boke wherin it is conteyned: but upon the worde of God wher upon it was grownded." Ponet had also used the story of Mattathias, S.T. sig. Hviv.

32. H.S.P. 77.

33. H.S.P. 76.

34. Goodman adopted this term throughout his book. The people of God were those who were in covenant relationship with God and so they knew, practised and enforced the law of God. H.S.P. 155 and 163.

35. This is in marked contrast to Ponet, see above 221-2. The subtitle stated that the book 'declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same'. H.S.P. frontispiece. Because he was calling for revolutionary action Goodman stressed the voluntary nature of the covenant which the people enter into with God, and the element of choice involved. e.g. H.S.P. 78-80.

36. Goodman tied together the two concepts of the covenant and the kingdom of Christ, thereby radically altering both. The Christian commonwealth, as the kingdom of Christ, had been expounded by Bucer in his book 'De Regno Christi' written for the English and dedicated to Edward VI. See Melanchthon and Bucer ed. W.Pauck, Library of Christian Classics, XIX (1969).

37. For Goodman individual salvation was concerned with the soul and eternal life (but see below n.104); corporate salvation with the community and temporal welfare. Both were to be found in the right relationship with God. Also see below 354 n.19.

38. In this terminology of morality and action Goodman was most probably following Peter Martyr's doctrine of predestination, see above 142 n.17 . There could be a particular connexion through Martyr's view of man's capabilities in relation to law. Goodman would have heard this in Martyr's lectures on Romans given in Oxford 1550-2. Anderson 328-55.

39. But they were not the means by which that fate was achieved, for that would be a denial of the fundamental protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone.

40. H.S.P. 93. The reference was to Isaiah 29 v 13f.

41. E.g. H.S.P. 134-5.

42. H.S.P. 193-4.

43. H.S.P. 178.

44. H.S.P. 9.

45. See above. 207-8.

46. H.S.P. 13. In the sidenote Goodman commented 'The tyrants are Antichristes tormentours and persecute Christ'. Goodman was here referring to Revelation 17 v. 1-6 where Antichrist was portrayed as the Whore of Babylon. To protestants she was automatically identified with the Pope, so the passage was attacking the resurgent forces of Catholicism as an international power. Goodman expounded the book of Revelation when he was minister in St. Andrews. It had such a profound effect upon John Napier of Merchiston, a student at the university there, that it gave him a life-long interest in the

Apocalypse. To help him work out the numbers of the Beast he later invented logarithms, see 'To the Godly and Christian Reader' of S.T.C. 18354, J.Napier A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John Edinburgh (1593).

47. H.S.P. 206; 81-4.

48. H.S.P. 62-3. A longer reference was made to the 'day of visitation' (95) taken from Jeremiah 50 v.31-2. These Old Testament prophecies were linked with the time of the pouring out of the sixth vial in Revelation 17 v.1-6 (H.S.P. 13; 23; 176) which ushered in the final battle between Christ and Antichrist. There was a tension in Goodman's argument between the inevitableness portrayed in Revelation and the avoidance of calamity through repentance, characteristic of the Old Testament. e.g. 179.

49. Goodman referred to the ordinance of Satan as if it were totally independent from God. However he guarded God's sovereignty by saying that the infernal powers 'have their powers also of God, which cannot touche man any farther then God permitteth'. H.S.P. 110-11 and 133, and see below 290.

50. H.S.P. 82.

51. H.S.P. 157. Goodman gave a limited approval to some pre-Christian polities when they acted correctly. (H.S.P. 155-6). Such half-measures were ruled out by the Christian revelation; now there was only the choice between Christ and Antichrist.

52. H.S.P. 33. Goodman cited the monk who supposedly tried to poison King John. The identification of papists as traitors was common among the exiles, e.g. John Olde spoke of the papists as 'ever ready to work sedition and treason against both emperor and king and all other governors of that empire, realm and dominion that either contendeth or striveth with their holy father Antichrist or speaketh against his

usurped power'. A short description of Antichrist unto the Nobility of England n.p. (1557) 17.

53. Goodman referred to Pole's book Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione, published at Rome in 1538, in which Pole went 'about to perswade the wicked Emperour rather to tourne his power and armie against Kynge Henry the eight and England, this doggs owne contrey'. H.S.P. 34.

54. H.S.P. 178.

55. H.S.P. 100-1, also 135. This theme was stressed in William Kethe's poem see above 246-7.

56. H.S.P. 178. This identification of the Spaniards was a major underlying theme of Goodman's book, which was reflected by the choice of quotations placed on the frontispiece and colophon. A similar identification had been made by John Bradford in his 'A godlye medytacyton' where he declared that England deserved to be 'gyven over into ye hands and subiECTION of that proud and beastly nation that neither know the, nor fere the: and to serve them in a bodyle captyvte, that have refused to serve the in a spiritual libertye'. Quoted in Loach 38.

57. H.S.P. 37. On the imperial theory see P.Koerner 'The imperial crown of the realm: Henry VIII, Constantine the Great and Polydore Vergil' Bulletin of Institute of Historical Research XLVI (1973) 29-52.

58. See D.M.Loades Oxford Martyrs (1970) 145-6.

59. The impression was confirmed by the work of the Spanish friars e.g. De Soto at Oxford University, and by the government's general policy of linking heresy and sedition. See Loades op.cit. 237.

60. H.S.P. 99-100.

61. H.S.P. 212. Compare Sampson's views expressed in his letter of 13th September 1556, O.L.I. 177-8 and the Genevan Form of Prayers.

62. H.S.P. 207-8. Goodman was accusing Mary of planning the same fate for the protestants as King David had engineered for Uriah the Hittite. 2 Samuel 11 v 14-21.

63. H.S.P. 173-4; 210 sidenote. It is interesting that Goodman spoke of the Scots as 'brethern'. Geneva seems to have encouraged the feeling of common purpose and identity between Scottish and English exiles. E.g. Gilby, see above 181-2.

64. H.S.P. 195-6.

65. H.S.P. 82.

66. H.S.P. 57; 104; 149; 160; 180. On the constitutional implications of this freedom see below 287-321.

67. Goodman used Christ's saying about serving two masters, H.S.P. 161. In his answer to the argument for obedience based upon 1 Peter 2 v 18 (H.S.P. 116-7), Goodman said that it was 'iust obedience onlie which is ⁱⁿ the Lorde', from Ephesians 6 v 1. This was a guideline for obedience to rulers as well as parents. Obedience to rulers involved 'bodely service', 136.

68. H.S.P. 166-7.

69. H.S.P. 14.

70. H.S.P. 39 and 117.

71. H.S.P. 190-1.

72. This was the justification for Goodman's appeal to the 'notes in the Word' of Deuteronomy 17 for choosing a king. H.S.P. 49f, and see below 287-296.

73. H.S.P. 154. The golden mean, 147-54, Cf. Ponet, see above 223.

74. H.S.P. 191. Chapter XIII Preamble.

75. H.S.P. 194. This image is taken from Isaiah 5 v 5 and Psalm 80 v 8-16. In using this reference Goodman conveyed to those of his readers who recognised its biblical context, the connexion between the welfare of the whole community, represented by the vineyard, the law represented by the hedge, and the results of the devastation caused by the wild boars, the papists and Spaniards. He linked it to his description of Mary as a 'polluted sowe' who had 'ragingly...troden Gods worde' under her feet (195). Gilby exploited the image of the vineyard in a number of its biblical settings in his 'Admonition', see above 181-2. Psalm 80 seems to have been a motif among the Genevan group, also see below 324 n.34. The biblical references which Goodman placed in the margins were not only to the text of Scripture which he quoted or paraphrased. They frequently served as a means of clarifying what he was trying to say. He did this by connecting certain biblical events whose relevance was not immediately obvious to the original point he was making in the book, and thereby throwing fresh light upon its meaning.

76. H.S.P. 187. Most people in sixteenth century England believed the exact opposite, that it was better to have a tyrant than no ruler at all. E.g. Tyndale had said, 'though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly' 'The Obedience of a Christian Man' in Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises ed. H.Walter Parker Society Cambridge (1848) 179.

77. H.S.P. 213-4.

78. H.S.P. 163.

79. H.S.P. 163 and 50.
80. H.S.P. 192, also 48-9; 159.
81. In particular see his chapter 10 on objections from the Old Testament (123-42). Among the exiles this attitude towards Jewish history was displayed by Peter Morwin. He stated that the purpose of his book was that 'when thou seest the Jews here afflicted with divers kinds of misery because they fell from God: then mayest thou be admonished hereby to see the better to thine own ways least the like calamities light upon thee'. A Compendious and most marvellous history of the latter times of the Jewes commune weale by Joseph Ben Gurion, translated by Peter Morwin, (1561) (1st edition 1558). S.T.C. 14795 Epistle by Morwin, no pagination. Compare with Peter Martyr's view of sacred history expressed in his commentary on Judges. J.W. Ashton commented 'Judges as he sees the work is not simply a record of the past but is a guide for the present, and a particularly valuable one since it goes beyond a mere account of the deeds of men and is, by very definition, God's own account of his relations with men. Thus history becomes not only a noble thing, but at least in such a case as this, a divine thing, the expression of God's will and nature'. 'Peter Martyr on the Function and Character of Literature', Philological Quarterly 18 (1939) 312.
82. H.S.P. 70.
83. H.S.P. 44.
84. H.S.P. 115.
85. H.S.P. 213. The revelation was not as plain as Goodman asserted. He traded on the ambiguity of the term 'law of God', see below 345.
86. H.S.P. 159, also 98.
87. See above 135 and 137-8.

88. H.S.P. 168-9. This passage takes its imagery from 2 Corinthians 3 v 13 f.

89. H.S.P. 157-8. Goodman used the metaphors of light and sight to describe the capabilities of the people of God, making pointed contrast with blind guides.

90. Covenant theology played an important part in the thinking of the Swiss reformers, particularly of the Zurich school, and Goodman lies nearest to this tradition probably as it was filtered through Hooper. Calvin employed the covenant less often and emphasised God's promise at the expense of man's response. In England Tyndale had developed the contractual side of the covenant in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount. See R.L.Greaves 'John Knox and the Covenant Tradition', Journal of Ecclesiastical History XXIV (1973) 23-32; Greaves 'Origins and Development of English Covenant Thought' The Historian 31, (1968) 21-35 and J.G. Moller 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology' Journal of Ecclesiastical History XIV (1963) 46-67; also L.J. Trinterud 'Origins of Puritanism' Church History 20 (1951) 37-57.

91. H.S.P. 45-6; 156 and 161. Goodman firmly believed that Christ was also the Head of his sacramental body the church. The two roles were complimentary, together they displayed the sovereignty of God, in every sphere of life in the christian commonwealth of the people of God.

92. E.g. Goodman referred to fighting under the banner of Christ and Antichrist, H.S.P. 226-7 and 13. He was anxious to dissociate himself from the taint of Anabaptism, H.S.P. 108-9.

93. H.S.P. 169. The kingdom of Christ began at Pentecost with the gift of the Holy Spirit which fulfilled the prophecy of Joel 2 v 28-9. Goodman also referred to Isaiah 44 v 3 and Acts 2 v 1-5, 16.

94. See above 255-9.

95. See below 287-296 . Most of Goodman's examples of biblical practice which conformed to these notes were taken from the period of the Judges, with its independent political structure. Goodman did not use the usual biblical models for monarchy, such as David, Solomon, etc. His major reference to David was not to his actions as king at all. H.S.P. 138-41. On the negative side, Goodman was willing to identify Mary with Jezebel. This was common practice among the exiles, e.g. Thomas Becon who drew twenty-two parallels between Mary and Jezebel in his An humble supplication unto God for the restoring of his holy word into the Church of England, in Becon's Prayers and other pieces, ed. J.Ayre, Parker Society, Cambridge (1844) 238-44.

96. H.S.P. 122-3.

97. H.S.P. 165f.

98. H.S.P. Moses, 162; Christ, 165-6.

99. H.S.P. 177 and 166.

100. H.S.P. 82-4. Repentance involved healing and resurrection, and the removal of plagues. The link was brought out by the use of references and paraphrases of the Old Testament prophets, e.g. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Hosea (82).

101. H.S.P. 163 and 181.

102. H.S.P. 166; Moses 162-3.

103. All of the Mosaic ceremonies had been abrogated by the coming of Christ. Goodman attacked the anointing of Mary at her coronation, H.S.P. 55-6.

104. H.S.P. 166 and 170. See the Order of Baptism in the Form of Prayers above 173-4. Goodman meant that the Christian commonwealth must be coterminus with the visible church, an idea which was basic to most English attitudes

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towards the church, especially in the theory of Royal Supremacy.

105. H.S.P. 170 and 177.

106. This was the contract between the people and their magistrates, H.S.P. 114 and 182. See below 298.

107. H.S.P. 54 and see quotation above 163 at n. 82.

108. He did speak about the graces God had given to England, H.S.P. 214.

109. H.S.P. 155.

110. See above 248 and similar expressions concerning the liturgy of the English at Geneva above 164-5.

111. H.S.P. 9 and 12 margin note. Goodman put forward his views on obedience in his Preface 9-14. For a description and explanation of the attitudes on this subject see above n.18.

112. H.S.P. 164. In many places in the text where Goodman used the phrase 'law of God' the biblical reference in the margin connected it with the covenant, e.g. 180 and 185.

113. God made the covenant with the people 'before he gave them the Law in wrytinge'. H.S.P. 164.

114. Goodman employed the term 'law of God' rather than Mosaic law. The occasions on which he spoke of the law of Moses were references to the ceremonial law which prefigured Christ and was abrogated by his coming. (H.S.P. 97 and 55-6). For Goodman the law of God was also Christ's law (155). Moses was the first person to receive the revelation of that law, but it was of eternal significance and should not be identified with him except in those sections which were meant solely for the Jews.

115. H.S.P. 165.

116. H.S.P. 44 margin note.

117. The early church was only able to wield the spiritual sword in the defence of the gospel. Goodman maintained that this was no good reason to conclude that magistrates ought not to use the temporal sword in defence of religion. H.S.P. 123. The early church could not provide a valid example of how to use that temporal sword, and so Goodman largely ignored it.

118. It was not universal, e.g. Richard Bertie in his refutation of Knox's First Blast maintained that, apart from a few 'speaciall exceptions', the Israelites 'in the reaste theie have lybertie to followe the gentyles'. B.L. Add. MS. 48,043 f.6.

119. The following remarks are based upon P.D.L. Avis's 'Moses and the Magistrate: a study in the rise of Protestant Legalism', Journal of Ecclesiastical History XXVI (1975) 149-72, and G. Ebeling 'On the Doctrine of the Triplex Usus Legis' in Word and Faith, (1963) 62-78.

120. H.S.P. 155; 160; 176 and 177. The pearl was a reference to Matthew 13 v.45-6.

121. H.S.P. 48 and 214 sidenote. The law was a grace of God. Goodman meant that the law was a common grace given for all mankind which covered temporal salvation. It was distinct from the special grace given to God's elect which prepared them for eternal salvation.

122. The image of the body politic was used by Goodman in an anti-hierarchical way. By placing Christ at the head, he made the king (the usual head) one of the members of the body thereby stressing his equality with the other members of the same body, H.S.P. 149. The different usages of the image are discussed in Hale, and see above 228-9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The sovereignty of Christ provided the background for Goodman's discussion of the role of the magistrate in the polity of the people of God. Christ was the true king of his people and their obedience to his rule was to be displayed by conformity to the perfect standards of his law. The people demonstrated their trust and obedience by seeking to consult the wisdom of God revealed in his Word for their form of government and especially in their choice of a king.¹

Goodman thought that God's will concerning political affairs had been revealed in the covenant. He placed his discussion of the royal election firmly in this context. The laws "in so weightie matters, as the election of kinges and Princes", were to be found in God's promises to Moses.² Having paralleled the work of Moses and Christ and established the continuity of the covenant, Goodman could assume that the Mosaic pattern was applicable to the Christian era. He set forth the ideal pattern of kingship from which the Jews had been commanded to constitute their monarchy when they reached the Promised Land, and virtually ignored the examples of Jewish monarchs, even the godly ones like David. The monarchy of the people of God was to be based upon the revealed will of God not the example of man.³

Such a model dictated that in their selection of a king the people of God should refer only to the Bible for guidance. God's will concerning the election of a king was to be found in Deuteronomy 17 verses 14-20.⁴ The criteria Goodman advocated for the selection of a king illustrates how he used biblical language and categories

to describe his view of political obligation. His choice of text and its interpretation enabled him to justify his belief in a monarchy circumscribed by the rule of law enforceable by the people.

Goodman could provide textual support from Deuteronomy for his main tenet that the king must be appointed by God. He distilled from the text three essential qualities of a king, to serve as the means of identifying God's appointee. Goodman did not distort the content of the passage in Deuteronomy: he suggested by his presentation of its message that his own emphases and stark precision were contained in the text. By resting his whole argument upon Deuteronomy Goodman transferred the debate about kingship from its usual biblical terrain to a more favourable site. His aim was to capture that particular text by tying it so closely to his own interpretation that it became his polemical property.⁵

The text itself provided Goodman with backing for his idea of the double derivation of the king's authority; from God and from the people.⁶ Logically, appointment by God was prior to election by the people, but politically, they comprised one action viewed from two different angles. God was the source of all political authority. The people of God received that authority from God and then bestowed it upon their magistrates. The magistrate was appointed by God because the authority he wielded belonged to God; he was also appointed by the people because he received his authority from their hands.

Kings were God's officers, he bestowed their power upon them, which they retained 'no longer than he wil'.⁷

God's initiative had to be safeguarded because it revealed his sovereign will active in the affairs of the people. All who held civil authority had to be instituted by God. In this respect the people did not have a free choice in their royal election. They recognised God's will by electing 'suche a kinge as the Lord dothe appoynt, and not as they phantasie'.⁸

In Goodman's opinion appointment by God did not imply a divine right and sanction to all holders of political power to act without restraint. Instead it involved a conformity to a specific set of rules. Divine derivation and limitation of kingly power would be largely irrelevant if they could not be enforced on earth. Goodman's whole concept of the people of God stood against this tradition. It was the people, not their king, who were in immediate relationship with God in the covenant. They were the mediators of God's power and the arbiters of God's approval.⁹

Goodman's technique of altering the terms of an argument in his favour by redefining them was employed upon the cliché of the king's appointment by God. He changed its meaning by linking it to the performance of God's will as revealed in the law. Goodman asserted that appointment by God was synonymous with his approval and that was dependent upon conformity to his standards. Divine appointment was not a single action at the beginning of the king's reign, but a continuous validation resting upon the behaviour of the king and capable of being revoked at any point during the reign. Goodman sharpened his definition of a lawful king by excluding those appointed in 'Goddess furie'. Saul

was one such king who was

"not of the Lordes chosinge after this meaning of Moyses".

The people of God should be ruled by one,

"that the Lord shal chose: to wit, of his favour and goodnesse, suche a one as shall observe the Lawes following". 10

It was an important distinction because it enabled Goodman to deny the conventional equation of God's appointment with the possession of political power. He ridiculed such an equation and the argument for non-resistance which rested upon it. If it was concluded

"that all powers what so ever they be must be obeyed and not resisted, then must we confesse also, that Satan and all his infernall powers are to be obeyed...because they are powers and have their powers also of God". 11

Goodman thought that since all power was ultimately derived from God, Satan's power must also have come from God. This did not mean that God had appointed Satan nor did he want Christians to obey Satan. He explained his position,

"There is no power but of God: yet doth he not here meane anie other powers, but such as are orderly and lawfullie institute of God...For he never ordeyned anie lawes to approve, but to reprove and punishe tyrantes, idolaters, papistes, and oppresors. Then when they are suche, they are not God's ordinaunce". 12

Goodman was attempting here to reconcile his near Manichaen view of the power of Satan and Antichrist with his belief in God as creator and lord of the universe. He did this by making a sharp distinction between those things which God permitted in his general providence and those things which God actively willed and ordained. Only the latter category was truly 'godly' in his eyes. Once again Good-

man sought to establish a positive principle of conformity and obedience to God's will and reject as inadequate the double negative of not disagreeing with it.¹³ A king should have and keep the approval of God. His behaviour was to be an example to the whole people of God; of a life lived in harmony with, through obedience to, the will of God.¹⁴ Having explained the conditions under which God appointed a king Goodman turned to the problem of identifying the appointee. In Old Testament times God had used two different ways.

"The firste, by the expresse commandement and promesse made to some especiall man, whereof they neded not to doute...The seconde is by his worde, which he hathe now left to all men to be the ordinarie means to reveale his will and appoyntment". 15

The latter was the method which should be used in the Christian era. Goodman continued,

"the worde then geveth us these notes to know whither he be of God or not, whom we woulde chose for our kinge". 16

The notes focused upon three qualities by which the people could recognise their king: he should fear God, be one of the brethren, and not rely on military strength. The first note demanded that the man

"hathe the feare of God before his eyes, and...dothe studie to set forthe the same". 17

Here Goodman imposed a new priority upon the text in order to enhance the importance of his own definition of the royal office and to justify his interpretation of the meaning of appointment by God. He elaborated on the requirement that the king should "seke all means possible, wherbie the glorie of God might be advanced", by introducing the specifically partisan caveat of "hatinge unfaynedlie al papistrie and idolatrie".¹⁸ The battle against the forces of Antichrist

was again brought into the political sphere and used to give a cutting edge to one of Goodman's definitions.

Setting forth God's laws and glory summed up Goodman's idea of the purpose of the monarchy. The function of the king was purely executive and his authority rested upon the performance of this duty. All other titles and rights were relegated to a subordinate level. They were invalid unless accompanied by the primary executive function. A man,

"ought not to be anoynted or elected as their kinge and Governour, what title or right so ever he seeme to have therunto, by civile policie, except he be a promoter and setter forthe of Godds Lawes and glorie, for whiche cause chieflie, this office was ordeyned". 19

For Goodman the promotion of true religion was not one of the duties of a monarch it was the justification of his existence.

The whole people of God had been charged, in the covenant, with the same duty of promoting God's glory. For this reason the king was not an indispensable part of the body politic. Goodman avoided using the title of head of the body politic of the king; that was reserved for Christ's lordship. Ponet had not been so careful and had become entangled in his own metaphor when he suggested that the head could be replaced.²⁰ The king's function could, in time of necessity, be performed by the whole people because the two functions were identical and the people's theoretically prior and superior to the king's.²¹ Consequently the king was reduced to the status of the people's agent, accountable to them for the performance of their common duty to God.

Goodman employed two separate terminologies to describe the position of the king in the Christian body politic. He

derived these from the relation of the king to two fixed points; God and the people. His treatment corresponded roughly to the division within the book:²² the sermon section being more concerned with the monarch's responsibility to God, the enlargement with his responsibility to the people. The king was God's subject and lieutenant, and responsible for the welfare of his people. Goodman stressed the burden rather than the privilege of the office and linked it to the king's personal salvation. Failure in his duty made the king liable to punishment both in this world and the next. Royal responsibility was illustrated by the meaning Goodman injected into the common term "Lieutenant of God".²³ It had been employed to describe the ruler's close relation to God, thereby elevating the status of monarchy and enhancing the king's prestige. Goodman reversed the use, calling kings "subiectes and Sergeants to God".²⁴ He underlined the belief that Christ was the true king and that human kings were subordinate officers in Christ's kingdom. As such they were liable to be treated as traitors, if they neglected their charge, and so "contemned as vile Sergeantes". For, Goodman asked, was a king

"anie more in comparison of God, then the Sergeant in respecte of the Iudge?... (should he) be honored as a kinge, which doth no parte of the office therunto belonging?" 25

On the other side the king was the servant of the people commissioned to act on their behalf.

In theory the responsibilities to God and to the people were distinct, but in practice they merged into one. By virtue of the covenant the people were God's chosen instruments to enforce his laws even against their king. The

result of Goodman's double description of the king's position was to strengthen the doctrine of accountability and transfer the divine aura from the king to the people. By employing both terminologies Goodman retained many of the current clichés about monarchy, such as "God's Lieutenant", which gave a conventional cloak to his thought. Their trite familiarity was designed to reassure his readers who would have been alarmed by the overt suggestion of popular power.²⁶ They also gave a safety-net of flexibility to Goodman's theory which would allow it to cope with changing circumstances. If the monarch were favourable to Goodman's religious ideals, he could be afforded a more active role by emphasising his responsibility to God. In that case the people's role would be passive and their potential for disciplining the king would remain dormant.²⁷

Having explained the implications of appointment by God, Goodman turned to the second note to be observed in the choice of a king which was 'that he shulde be one of their brethern'.²⁸ He had briefly referred to this in his comments upon the first note. Two reasons were given for the ruling. One was

"to avoyde that monster in nature, and disordre amongst men, whiche is the Empire and government of a woman".

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The other reason was to exclude strangers from securing the crown. Foreigners were dangerous because they might introduce "oppression and idolatrie". Goodman was convinced that

"strangers cannot beare such a natural zeale to straunge realmes and peoples, as becomethe the brethern".

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Goodman hoped that the king would be a true brother to

his people. He was a member of the same body, whose head was Christ. He was not to lift himself above the rest of the people of God, "but as brethern to rule in all humbleness and love over them".³¹ The king's humility was preserved and fostered through his appointed exercise, the daily study of "the worde, Lawes and statutes of God".³²

The third note given by God to guide the people of God in their election was that their king

'be none such as hath great number of horses: meaning, as trusteth in his owne power, and preparation of all thinges, for defence of him selfe, and to overcome his enemies. For under this name of horses, he comprehendeth all ingeynes and furniture of warre'.³³

The king, like the whole people of God, must be prepared to trust God absolutely in all areas of life. Trust was a sign of faith in and obedience to the all-powerful will of God.³⁴ There should be a willingness to accept the destiny which God had chosen but not in a passive or fatalistic way: Goodman did not suggest an abdication of practicality or preparation.³⁵ He did believe that the king and the people should be willing to fight when the cause was right, not just when there was a hope of profit and certain success. This attitude of trust was essential in a king for if he

"makethe not God his arme and bockler, with faitheful David, (he) is not meete to be kinge of the Lordes people".³⁶

Goodman also wished to show that such trust and caution was sound political sense. Seeking military security through alliances with powerful neighbours would lead to political domination and "the servitude of that Romishe Antichrist".³⁷ It was a pointed reminder of England's present predicament.

The other notes in Deuteronomy were quickly mentioned:

they were "not to seke manie wives, nor to heape up much golde".³⁸ These two were passed over as not requiring comment because they did not add anything to the three qualities Goodman had chosen to highlight. The final "observation" explained how the king sustained those qualities. He should have

"an example of Goodes lawes prescribed unto him, to reade in them all the dayes of his life, that he maye learne to feare the Lorde and to keepe his commandements, and not to lifte him self up above his brethern".³⁹

The notes in the Word which Goodman had singled out were all concerned with the suitability of a man for the particular function of advancing the glory of God. The normal attributes of a ruler and the qualities generally thought to be required for governing a country were completely omitted from the discussion.

Goodman's remarks about the government of women prompted comment upon the applicability of the notes for England at the time of Edward VI's death.⁴⁰ It was not made clear whether Goodman thought that having a Catholic and a woman next in line of succession created an exceptional situation in 1553, or that adherence to his ideal pattern was obligatory at every accession. He seemed to imply that, provided the normal laws of succession did not conflict with the law of God, they could be observed and then an explicit election was not necessary to inaugurate every reign. If this was so, then it was one of the few cases in which Goodman was prepared to accept the double negative and concede that not disagreeing with the law of God was sufficient.⁴¹ He made no criticism of, nor excuse for, "our lawful Prince of Godlie memorie kynge Edwarde the sixt", who had succeeded his father

as king without being elected to the office.⁴²

In referring to the events at Edward's death no mention was made of Edward's will nor of Lady Jane Grey. Her reign was an embarrassment to Goodman and his cause, because, although of the right religious persuasion, she should have been disqualified by her sex. Goodman was also anxious to avoid the association of protestantism with selfish power-seeking. In the eyes of his contemporary protestants the career of the Duke of Northumberland and his attempt to place Lady Jane, his daughter-in-law, upon the throne was the worst example of such power seeking.

However Goodman was prepared to oppose and offend the supporters of legitimacy who, drawn from all religious persuasions, had helped Mary to retain her throne. He made no attempt to modify or cloak his position but insisted that Mary should never have been allowed to become queen. The counsellors should have chosen instead the man

"who had bene moste meetest amengest your brethern to have had the governement over you, and the whole governement of the realme".⁴³

Goodman rounded on the legal objection to this plan which could have been put forward in 1553 that,

"the Crowne is not intayled to the heyre males onelie, but appartaynethe aswel to the daughters".

In a most uncompromising style he replied,

"yet miserable is this answere of suche as had so longe tyme professed the Gospel, ...(it) is not tollerable to make the constant and undouted Lawe of God, whiche oght to be the lyne of all ordinaunces, to geve place to the vayne and ungodlie decrees of men".⁴⁴

The stark and revolutionary simplicity of Goodman's ideas was displayed in this appeal to the over-riding authority

of the law of God.

In the second section of the book the importance of the whole people was developed at the expense of that of the noble leaders. In the case of the royal election there was a development from a passive to an active ratification by the people. Goodman did not explicitly link the royal election with the contract made between the king and the people, but the election was the obvious occasion for that agreement. The promise of obedience to the king given by the people as their part of the contract would provide their ratification of his election.

As with the covenant, the contract was less a legal action completed at a specific time, than a way of describing the partnership which should exist between king and people. Goodman set down the agreement:

"For this cause have you promised obedience to your Superiors, that they might herein helpe you: and for the same intent have they taken it upon them. If they will so do, and keepe promisse with you accordinge to their office, then do you owe unto them all humble obedience: If not, you are discharged, and no obedience belongeth to them: because they are not obedient to God, nor be his ministers to punishe the evell, and to defend the good".

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Neither party was free to negotiate the content of the contract which was the revealed law of God. The people's obedience and the king's authority were conditional upon observance of its terms. The contract was the way in which Christian liberty was preserved. It was not only a defensive measure to guard against the abuse of liberty by either party but also, if kept, would ensure the rule of moderation, the golden mean between licence and tyranny painted in such glowing colours by Goodman.⁴⁶

By implication, the role of the people in the royal election was further developed in the example of Jonathan Maccabeus. Goodman did not make it plain whether Jonathan Maccabeus was meant to be regarded as a king or just a godly noble. In the extremity of the fight against oppression the normal formalities might be ignored, and Jonathan was clearly expected to act as the executive agent of the people. In this example it was the people who took the initiative and

"assemblinge them selves together, came to Ionathan...desiering him to be their guide and Capitayne, to helpe them in their miserie, and to defende them agaynst the enimies of God".⁴⁷

Goodman was quick to draw the parallel.

"Therefore yf they did well in demandinge succour, and he dischrged his conscience in graunting their request, why is it not also lawfull for you to seeke helpe of them that be able and willing: and for them likewise to graunte helpe, to whom God hath lente it for that use especially?"⁴⁸

Goodman did not give precise form to his ideas on the choice of a king. Nor did he provide any account of how an election was to take place and who should take part; the only indications were found in his comments upon events in 1553. The main purpose behind the ill-defined idea of election was probably the need to guarantee the religious suitability of the monarch. It was also theologically necessary to safeguard the sovereignty of Christ by making his law and not human tradition, such as primogeniture, the standard of judgement. In the second section of the book Goodman's attention moved away from the royal election which was overshadowed by the contract between the king and the people.

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It is possible that Goodman derived many of his ideas on royal election from his ecclesiological beliefs.⁴⁹ In the theory of the ministeries of the church a man was both appointed by God and elected by the church: theologically the latter was a ratification of God's previous choice revealed through the gifts bestowed upon the candidate by God. Provided the double appointment was recognised then the way in which it was achieved in the election was, at this time, less important. A similar ambivalence over method could account for Goodman's lack of precision in the political context. Having clearly stated his ends he remained remarkably flexible as to the means by which they were achieved, thus allowing the maximum scope for political opportunism. Goodman's aim was to provide for his readers a programme of action to cope with the problems then facing England. As his attention was focused upon the deposition rather than the election of the monarch, there was less incentive to present a detailed and coherent exposition of royal election.

Kings were appointed and elected in order to wield the temporal sword.⁵⁰ They were charged to use it

"in defence chieflye of Gods glorye, and the preservation of those that are under them".

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The sword symbolised all temporal authority, which comprised jurisdiction over bodies and goods. It entailed the right to bodily service which was defined as a just title to

"obedience...of all men...tribute also,
custome, feare, and honor". 52

Through the temporal sword the ruler was endowed with power to reign and judge in this world.⁵³ In some passages Goodman identified the temporal sword with the sword of justice. This sword and the principles of justice and equity which it represented were not the personal property of the king nor a mere appendage to the crown.⁵⁴ Instead it was the royal office which derived its existence from the principle of justice.⁵⁵ If the king did not wield the sword of justice then he forfeited his right to it and to the obedience which it commanded.⁵⁶

Goodman's descriptions of the king's office follow the same double pattern as his discussion of royal election. They ranged from a picture of an active ruler personally controlling government to an agent executing the will of the people of God. The minimum requirement was contained in Goodman's definition of the royal office which

"standeth in these two poyntes, to defend
the good, and to punishe the evel". 57

This involved defending the glory of God and upholding his laws.⁵⁸ The content of the law of God was self-evident, and so Goodman could assume that the task of enforcing it was straightforward, if not always easy. The king was to act as a glorified policeman; he was to enforce rather than interpret the law.⁵⁹ The guardianship of the law of God contained in the covenant was the corporate function of the people of God. Consequently in this definition of royal office the king was merely the executive instrument of the people of God.

Defending God's glory included defending his servants, those, in Goodman's opinion, who were being persecuted in England.⁶⁰ In speaking about the defence of the glory of God Goodman focused upon the laws concerning idolatry, which for him meant the fight against Catholicism. The commandment to root out the evil of idolatry from amongst the people of God, though not given to rulers and governors alone,

"chieflye apperteyneth to their office to see it executed, for which cause they are made rulers".

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In normal circumstances the superior powers should consent

"to cast forthe all evill from them, and to cut of (sic) every rotten membre, for feare of infecting the whole body, how deare or pretious so ever it be. If death be deserved, death: if other punishmentes, to see they be executed in all".

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The image of a royal sergeant was at one limit of the pendulum's swing in Goodman's descriptions of royal government. From this minimal role Goodman moved through to a more positive evaluation of the king's office. A king should seek to advance God's glory as well as defend it, and give an example of godly life to his subjects. By the demonstration of the king's obedience to the will of God the people were to be stirred up to godliness.⁶³

The king should rule carefully in the fear of God. His personal life was to be above reproach so that he had the moral, as well as the political, authority with which to censure others. This was achieved through study of the law of God, in a daily exercise for himself and by ensuring that the word of God was preached diligently to his subjects. Edward VI was presented as an example of a king

"who sought to rule you in Gods feare and under whom you had the comfortable (sic) worde of God, and were delivered from the Romishe

Antichrist, and from all superstition, for the most parte, having your realm free from strangers, and quiete from all enimies, enjoying your goods and freinds in peace with out all force, imprisoning, reviling, banishing, or murthering".⁶⁴

Edward was also used to illustrate Goodman's point that the king should strive to maintain good order.⁶⁵ A king should not allow his subjects too much liberty because that led to the contempt of God and man, confusion and disorder.⁶⁶ The need for order in religious affairs was linked with secular stability: both were preserved by a refusal to deviate from the law of God.⁶⁷

An important constituent in Goodman's expanded view of the royal office was the obligation to preserve the commonwealth. This opened Goodman's concept of the function of a king to embrace the whole government of the realm and allowed him to discuss the normal functions of Tudor government. He could utilize for his own cause the whole range of argument based upon national interest and sentiment, including emotive appeals to the common good. It was the king's duty to protect the people

"agaynst all oppression of inwarde tyrants and outwarde enemies".⁶⁸

The disastrous consequences of failure were shown in Goodman's catalogues of the evils which had descended upon England during the reign of Mary.⁶⁹ The attack on her and particularly her Spanish marriage brought the causes of national interest and protestantism into an alliance of opposition. This enabled Goodman to appeal to English xenophobic patriotism and identify his particular remedy as the sole hope for national survival. Goodman was anxious to prove that the subversive

power of the kingdom of Antichrist was the cause of both the internal tyranny and external domination. It was the duty of the English monarch to uphold the laws of God and of the realm, for that was the way in which the English commonwealth should have been preserved against the kingdom of Antichrist.⁷⁰

The king shared his responsibility to maintain the commonwealth with the inferior magistrates. Goodman divided the inferior magistracy into three groups; couns^ellors, nobles, and justices. They corresponded to the different powers wielded by temporal authority and between them covered all the powers held by the king. Here was a clear example of the duality of Goodman's approach to the English political community, and the way in which he bridged two conceptual worlds. On the one hand he used traditional vocabulary to describe English government whilst on the other he defined those groups by their function and not their degree in the social and political hierarchy. Goodman was addressing himself to the existing political nation in the terms in which it conceived itself. At the same time he was postulating a new type of community, the people of God, in which the present political structure would be reinterpreted and superseded. His call for civic activism, revolution against Mary's government, had led him to construct a new political framework within which every member could become a political actor. Goodman used the terminology of the tradition of mixed monarchy but seemed also to suggest a 'republican' type of society founded upon co-operating or at least counter-balancing forces.⁷¹

In this respect it was most important that Goodman did not give any power to the monarch exclusively. All his powers could be or were exercised by one of the inferior magistrates. As it was the main burden of the book, Goodman stressed the necessity of placing checks upon the exercise of temporal authority. His emphasis changed this aspect from being one of the duties of the lesser magistrates to being the justification for their existence. They ceased to be a special degree within an immutable hierarchy and became executive officers who received their authority in order to maintain a balance within the political community. The transformation of the inferior magistracy was never fully realized in Goodman's book and so his descriptions tend to waver between the two positions.

When Goodman referred to the officers below the king he reiterated his theme that all privilege and authority was the gift of God and brought with it a moral responsibility.⁷² He believed that the whole structure of the inferior magistracy was a special mercy from God. For the Israelites, his people under the old dispensation, God had instituted officers to execute his laws. This system should not be reintroduced for, under the new dispensation,

"God hath no lesse mercifully delte with you in Englande...(he) hath furnished you with all sortes of Magistrates, officers, and governors necessarie for the accomplishment, or rather execution of the same (God's laws)".⁷³

Goodman then proceeded to list the English judicial officers, which suggests that in his ideal polity, the people of God, there probably would not be a distinctive noble class.⁷⁴ Instead there would be a group distinguished from the common people solely by their function as military or judicial

officers.

The importance of the nobility was stressed in the first section of the book, the original sermon. There Goodman was concerned to rouse those who actually held political power in England and so couched his remarks in the traditional vocabulary of the hierachical framework.⁷⁵ In the latter part of the book there were suggestions that, like the king, the nobility should be delegates of the people receiving authority to act from them. In his most radical mood Goodman implied that, if necessary, military leaders should be elected on the field of battle, following the example of the Israelites when they assembled against the Benjamites. They were

"without a guide or Capitayne: not knowing when they came to the felde who shulde be their governour to leade them, and geve the onset, before they had consulted with God, who appoynted unto them Iuda". 76

The first group in Goodman's division of the lesser magistracy were the Counsellors. Their area of concern was the formulation of policy and their office was to advise the king. Counsellors had a duty to the whole realm and should give

"such counsele as might promote the glorie of God, and the welthe of their cantrie". 77

Goodman distinguished between the counsellor who performed a public duty and the courtier who sycophantically pandered to the royal will in the hope of obtaining favours.⁷⁸ If a counsellor became a "gnatos", Goodman's favourite term of abuse for the courtier, he deserved, the fate of Achitophel, the wicked counsellor who had taken his own life.⁷⁹

The primary obligation of the counsellors was to God

and the commonwealth. They constituted the first line of defence against any unlawful action of the king. They were to use their advice on matters of policy as a peaceful weapon...

'to brydle the affections of their Princes
and Governours'. 80

Control over policy was the first check upon the arbitrary exercise of temporal authority by the king.

Control over the power of coercion was the responsibility of the nobility.⁸¹ It was displayed most clearly in their military role as the country's shield against external aggression. The nobles' duty to defend the people of God was even more important in domestic affairs. Goodman stated that nobles,

"firste were ordayned in Realmes to stande in
defence of trewe religion, lawes and welth of
their nation". 82.

Like the counsellors they must also be a bridle to princes. The nobility could extend the methods of control beyond the peaceful persuasion of the counsellors and employ coercive sanctions. This might entail punishing and deposing a king by force according to the commandment contained in the law of God.

Force might also be required in the nobles' complementary duty of succouring and defending the people of God. If neglected by the king and not promulgated by the counsellors, the peers of the realm had a positive responsibility to set forth God's glory.⁸³

The third group of inferior magistrates were the judicial officers. Their

"office and charge it is to minister iustice
whithout respecte of persons, to defende the
symple and innocent, and to punishe all trans-

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gressors and malefactors, blasphemours of
Goddess holie Name, violent oppressers of
innocentes, as be the bloodthurstie papistes". 84

The last phrase showed the recurring identification of Catholicism with tyranny and the subversion of justice, one of the marks of Antichrist's rule. In common with most of his contemporaries Goodman believed that the primary loyalty of the existing judicial structure in England lay with the common law and the commonwealth. It was not dependent for its origin or continuity upon the good pleasure of the monarch. In his customary manner, Goodman wrapped this belief in a partisan cloak and brought it into his own vision of the polity of the people of God. In his providential mercy God had specially furnished England with

"Mayres, Shiriffs, and Aldermen in cities,
Counstables and Bayliffs in Townes, knights
and Iustices in Shires and countries". 85

It was lawful for the people to resort to this group for comfort in their necessity and the justices were obliged to hear them.

Goodman seemed to suggest two stages in which the justices should oppose tyranny and remain faithful to their public duty of upholding the principles of justice and equity.⁸⁶

First they should refuse to execute unlawful commands even at the cost of losing their office.⁸⁷ If such passive civil disobedience failed to achieve a change in policy then the justices must play a more active role. For it was also

"thy parte to be a withstander of evill, and
a supporter of the Godly to the uttermoste
of thy power". 88

In the last resort all the inferior magistrates, the counsellors, nobility and justices were called upon

"to bestowe all those gyftes, be they spiritual or corporal, wherewith God hath blessed us to the selfsame end, stryving agaynst all impediments, helping, defending, ccmforting and delivering to the uttermoste of our power all such as we are assured do feare God, and stande in nede of our ayde and supporte".

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Goodman appeared to think that the judicial officers should not be expected to take the lead in such a defence unless the counsellors and nobility had previously failed to do so. Their leadership was a potential function unlike the leadership of the nobility which was intrinsic to their office.

The whole inferior magistracy had a common and shared duty to God and the commonwealth from which no monarch could dispense or excuse them.⁹⁰ Their civic responsibility meant that they were "public" men with the public duty of upholding, in their several capacities, the law of God. However the keystone of Goodman's theory was that this duty was the responsibility not only of the public officers but also of every member of the people of God. By virtue of his covenant promise, everyone became a public person.

Goodman used the term "people" in two different but overlapping senses. One described the vision of the true christian polity, the whole community of the people of God. The other referred to those individuals who held no civil office, the common people. Goodman's revolutionary position rested upon the possibility that the second group could act with the authority and conviction of the first one; that the overlap between the two senses was legitimate and desirable. Such a willingness to permit direct political action by the common people was extremely unusual in the sixteenth century.⁹¹

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By being prepared to accept the common people as part, and at times representative, of the whole people of God, Goodman was able to reject the conventional hydra image of popular power.⁹² The activities of the people were rendered safe through the discipline of their obedience to the will of God expressed in his law.

Goodman could maintain such a position because the centre of gravity within the true christian commonwealth lay with the whole people of God; not with any section or representative of the community. The common people, all of whom were party to the covenant through baptism, were capable of, and responsible for, upholding the conditions of that covenant. Goodman could suggest that the common people were able to act in unison to defend the political interests of the whole community, which he defined as the maintenance of the law of God. His view ran contrary to the contemporary belief that any power given to the common people would be used to further their particularist aims and that they were incapable of serving the common good. Goodman refused to make any distinction between the capability of different social and political groups to adhere to and serve the commonweal. Such a stance implicitly denied the whole hierachical system in which the office appropriate to one degree could not be performed by another.⁹³

The normal duty of the common people was to be governed by their superiors but their subservience was voluntary and conditional.⁹⁴ Subjects were reasonable beings and slaves of no man. Their liberty was guaranteed by their contract with their ruler which rested upon the condition that

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nothing should cause the people to depart from the law of God.⁹⁵ Their duty to the law over-rode their obedience to their superiors who could not compel them farther than the limits set in God's commands. In religious matters the ruler could only persuade by an appeal to the divine authority of the law of God and not coerce by virtue of his own authority. In this sense the people should serve their superiors only in outward things and bodily goods.⁹⁶

The fulfillment of the people's covenant promise to God was not dependent upon the co-operation of their rulers.⁹⁷ They had promised to uphold the law

'not under condition (if the rulers will) but without all exceptions'.

If all their superiors failed, the duty of upholding the law of God devolved upon the common people. In particular idolatry, which touched the sovereignty of God most closely, must be rooted out, and

"every persone both high and lowe is charged of God with this Law".⁹⁸

When the people sought the accomplishment of God's laws, instead of hiding behind the excuse that they were like sheep without a shepherd,

"then God geveth the sworde in to the peoples hande, and he him self is become immediatly (sic) their head...and hath promised to defende them and blesse them".⁹⁹

The assertion that the people could act without the leadership of any superior power but directly under the headship of Christ^{was} the most radical in Goodman's book.¹⁰⁰ It proved that his theory of resistance was not simply an expansion of the rights of the inferior magistracy but rested upon a

new framework of political obligation.

To Goodman the essential ingredients of a true christian polity were the kingship of Christ and the obedience of the people of God: the covenant was the foundation of all its political relationships. It completely freed the common people from the hierachical framework and incorporated them into a system of checks and balances within a mixed constitution. The exercise of political power was shared by the people as well as derived from them. This does not mean that Goodman thought that the people should necessarily share in the daily government of the community which should be performed by the appropriate executive officers. Goodman believed that Christ's sovereignty was entrusted to the people and they were the instrument through which God's gift of temporal authority was mediated. The people never handed over the temporal sword absolutely to the king and the inferior magistrates. They always retained a portion of the sword of justice even when they had made their contract with the king.¹⁰¹ No agreement could alienate the people's right to execute God's justice.¹⁰² If the contract was nullified by a breach of its conditions and the inferior magistrates failed to implement it, then the temporal sword was taken from them. In such a case the people were better without a ruler. Then the people, with Christ directly at their head, themselves enforced his laws with the sword of justice. In Goodman's system the delegation of their temporal authority was a political convenience to the people of God: it was an accident, not the substance, of their polity.

To suggest that the political community in England could resist the monarch and ultimately depose him was a revolutionary assertion in the sixteenth century. Most writers regarded such a suggestion as an invitation to anarchy, the worst political evil. Goodman not only postulated a right of resistance; he made resistance a political and religious duty common to all members of the community irrespective of rank. Deposition became a necessity if the ruler were a tyrant or a traitor or if he committed a public sin against the law of God. The three categories overlapped and, according to Goodman, Mary was guilty of all three.

The public transgression of the law of God included tyranny and treason for they struck at the foundation of the community's existence, the covenant and law. Any such act automatically disqualified the king from holding his office.

"Where the kinges Or Rulers are become altogether blasphemers of God, and oppressors and murtherers of their subiectes, then oght they to be accompted no more for kinges or lawfull Magistrats, but as private men". 103

Goodman further justified the deposition in the stark statement that those rulers who

"being altogether with out God, oght to have no auctoritie over the people of God". 104

Having forfeited his public authority the king who had transgressed God's law should be punished by that law. 105

By allowing for the punishment and deposition of the monarch Goodman had turned the doctrine of the moral responsibility of the king from religious exhortation into political reality. 106

Many would have concurred with the view that God was no respecter of persons and condemned all, king and commoner

alike, who transgressed his laws.¹⁰⁷ Very few were prepared to endorse Goodman's conclusion that the condemnation and punishment of a royal transgressor was enforceable by the inferior magistrates and also by the common people. Divine punishment was not restricted to the eternal fate of the king's soul or to general calamities such as plagues; it was meted out on earth to the king's person. The king's accountability was enforced by the people of God as God's agents.

The vital element of Christ's sovereignty, his justice, was to be displayed within the polity of the people of God. In the covenant the people had promised to demonstrate divine justice by removing the evil from among them. The maintenance of a level of public morality was the external sign that they were God's people. If this was neglected God would plague the country. As it was causally related to the country's welfare public purity became a political matter.

The code of public morality to be enforced was of limited scope. It concerned the external behaviour not the internal convictions of the people and their rulers.¹⁰⁸ The king could be deposed only if he breached that code. Goodman was careful to draw the distinction between private and public sin. He explained that some rulers were "rough and frowarde" and

"before God they are wicked, ungodlie, and reprobate persons...yet so longe as their wickednesse brasteth not out manifestly agaynst God, and his Lawes, but outwardly will see them observed and kept of others, punishing the transgressors, and defending the innocent: so longe are we bounde to render unto such, obedience."

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Goodman warned that the people were only able to judge by the outward deeds of the ruler. To attempt to assess his

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interior convictions was not their responsibility; it would be an usurpation of God's office. Saul was one such wicked king to whom obedience was due. When David had Saul in his power he was right not to touch the Lord's anointed because Saul was not

"an idolatrer (sic) or constraigned his people to worhsippe strange Godes, nor yet was aboute to sel them to the enemies of God the Philistines, against whom he foghte manfully and many tymes. Nether that he was an open oppressor and contemner of the Lawes of God". 110

The passage listed the "public" crimes which involved the loss of public status, in the case of the king, deposition. These were idolatry, treachery and tyranny which were also the hallmarks of the kingdom of Antichrist. Of these idolatry was the worst because it was a direct offence against the majesty of God as well as against the community. Worshiping strange gods was a denial of the unique sovereignty of Christ and a repudiation of the covenant which was the basis of the political life of the people of God. Blasphemy was made indistinguishable from idolatry and both were presented as being the result of Catholic belief and practice.

Idolatry and blasphemy were public sins in a special way in that they automatically involved the participation of others. If the ruler was an open idolater and was not punished then the whole people comived at his sin and were guilty by association and default. Goodman argued that active resistance was the only adequate response to idolatry, anything else was disobedience to God: the people's covenant promise had made neutrality in this matter impossible. 111

The toleration of idolatry was the first sign of invasion by the forces of Antichrist. It was a subversion of the

basis of the kingdom of Christ and corrosive of the whole political system of the people of God. Just as the people shared their ruler's guilt so they would share his punishment which would take the form of a temporal disaster. This being so, it was also in the best material interest of the commonwealth to suppress idolatry.

Although tyranny and treachery were public crimes they belong more obviously to Goodman's other justification for deposition. Through the covenant, of which it was a part, the contract was closely linked to the code of public morality. By the terms of the contract if the king failed to fulfil his side of the bargain the people's obedience was withdrawn.¹¹² Goodman suggested that royal failure was the same thing as tyranny, which was defined as the loss of justice. The people's obedience was always conditional upon the practice of justice and so they were entitled to deny to perform any unlawful demand.¹¹³ Like its particular form the law of God, justice was a treasured possession of the people of God. They were responsible for its loss and were to blame if they permitted a tyrant to rule them.

"Not to withstand such rages of Princes in tyme according as the Law requireth (which commandeth that the evill be taken forth from amongst you) is to geve them the bridle to all kynde of mischiffe, to subverte all Lawes of God and man, to let will rule for reason".

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Goodman attacked the idea that a tyrant should be passively accepted as a scourge of God. The argument had been popular among protestants at the beginning of Mary's reign and was supported by the citation of Jeremiah's advice to the exiled Jews.¹¹⁵ Goodman warned the English that they

would share the fate of the Jews unless they repented, but as yet their situations were not parallel. He reminded them of the crucial difference:

"you are yet in your owne countrie and howses (thogh moste unnaturally you have dryven out many by tyranny). You have yet your owne lawes amongst you, that is, the Lawe of God and of your Realme, if you woulde use them". 116

Goodman's elision of the two sets of laws, of God and of the realm, covered the fact that his picture of tyranny was broad and secular and that he was prepared to advocate the deposition of a king even if no religious offence were involved. The secular element tended to be submerged in Goodman's argument because Mary had committed offences against both categories of law. Goodman's ambiguity over the definition of the law of God enabled him to suggest that it was the particular form and embodiment of the general principles of justice and equity. As the laws of England were believed to be based upon those principles a breach of English law could be interpreted as a breach of the law of God. What was more interesting was the way Goodman reversed the identification as well. He could then suggest that a breach of the law of God, found in the Mosaic covenant, was an attack upon the integrity of England and further that the integrity of England actually resided in the law of God. When speaking about christian liberty Goodman implied that the law of God provided a charter of rights; tyranny then became by definition a breach of the law of God.¹¹⁷

Tyranny was closely linked to treachery, the other dissolvent of the covenant. Tyrannical government was in itself treachery against the national integrity of England

which Goodman was so anxious to see preserved. In his vision of the English as the people of God Goodman wanted to affirm their identity as much as their special relationship with God, through which that identity was realised. He was prepared to sanctify the new national consciousness though he was not willing to localise his approval in specific institutions such as parliament.¹¹⁸ The experience of Mary's reign alienated him sufficiently from the social and political structure in England to enable him to break from it when he constructed his vision of the people of God.¹¹⁹

In Goodman's explanation of the miserable estate of England tyranny and treachery were brought together through their association with the presence of the Spaniards in England. In this he was exploiting the strong anti-Spanish feeling within England. By 1558 Englishmen were prepared to be persuaded that Mary was a double traitor. First because she had reintroduced papal tyranny and secondly because she was selling the kingdom to her husband Philip. Goodman warned that this treachery would result in complete domination by papists and Spaniards, the annihilation of the English nobility, the enslavement of the rest of the population and the economic ruin of the country.¹²⁰

Having established that Mary was an idolatress, tyrant and traitor and so worthy of deposition on all three counts Goodman complained,

"and yet to punishe, and depose such a one according to the commandement of God, there is none that thinketh it Lawfull: or at the least will confesse it to appertayne unto them, either to do it them selves, or to see it done by others...Nevertheless, the matter is so

evident upon their partes, that all will confesse that it chiefly belongeth to inferior Magistrats to see a redresse in such disorders: and they them selves can not well deny it".

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Goodman suggested a hierarchy of resistance to the monarch. He saw the counsellors as the first line of defence. They would apply pressure upon the ruler, if that failed it was the responsibility of the nobility who held the coercive power to use as much force as was necessary. At the same time the judicial officers should follow a policy of civil disobedience by refusing to implement unjust policies and if the nobility failed in their duty, then oppose the ruler with all their power. If the whole magistracy neglected its duty then the responsibility devolved upon the common people. In certain extreme cases when the number of people prepared to do their duty was too small for resistance to be viable Goodman commended the power of penance and prayer. This must always be accompanied by a diligent search for help. At best such quiescence was a tactical retreat; it could never be an alternative method of campaign.¹²² Goodman thought that this system should have been implemented at the beginning of Mary's reign. The people should have required the punishment of blasphemers and idolaters

"and if they to whom it apperteyned, had denyed, your selves would have seen it performed at all tymes, and in all places".

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The way in which the hierarchy of resistance was used seemed to depend upon whether there had been a breach of the law of God or of the contract. If the king had transgressed the law of God then he forfeited his authority and the hierarchy of resistance was the means by which this was demonstrated. If he had broken the contract deposition was not

automatic it was to be used as the last resort. Then the aim behind the hierarchy of resistance became a change in royal policy which would restore the conditions of the contract. The different uses became entangled in Goodman's argument, because Mary was guilty of breaking both God's law and the contract. Goodman wanted to present a justification for Mary's deposition which would be acceptable to the majority of Englishmen. If he rested his case solely on her idolatry its appeal would have been very small. He sought to tap the xenophobic patriotism of the English by an appeal to the preservation of English justice and liberty against Mary's tyranny and treachery. In so doing he presented a system of resistance which was woven into the fabric of the people of God. Resistance became part of the particular function of every level in that society. He suggested a political community with a civic consciousness organized to provide a network of checks upon the use of temporal authority. Every member had a responsibility to act in a public and political manner based upon his loyalty to the universal values enshrined in the covenant. However in Goodman's thought this way of viewing the state was not properly absorbed. It was undoubtedly the model for the emergency situation of resistance to the king, but it was not necessarily the way in which the political community normally functioned.

Goodman placed remarkably few limitations upon the right of resistance to superior powers. When speaking to the people Goodman made the important proviso;

"you muste be certaine and sure of this one thinge, that under the name of Religion and pretence to promote God's glorie, you seeke not either your private gaynes or promotion". 124

He cited the carnal gospellers of Edward VI's reign as an

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example. They had been motivated by falsehood and covetousness and sought the world under the cloak of Christ. Goodman was as concerned about the selfish and anti-social nature of their motives as the insincerity of their faith. He rested his distinction between right and wrong motivation on the public nature of the grievance. A cause was true provided that it flowed from a sincere desire for the common good.¹²⁵ Goodman admitted that motives were often mixed, but a cause was not invalidated unless the wrong motives predominated. He admonished the people,

"ye must beware that private displeasure,
and worldly iniuries move you not more
to seeke revengement of your adversaries,
then the true zeale and thirste of God's
worde, the livelie foode of your soules.
For then do you seeke your selves, and
not God".

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Goodman was particularly anxious that vengeance should not be a motive for resistance. Retribution for private displeasures and injuries lay in the hands of God and to seek revenge was to usurp God's office.¹²⁷ In this section Goodman's biblical examples and his language revolved around the antithesis between justice and revenge.¹²⁸ The difference between them lay in their relation to the common good. Private revenge was a parallel sin to tyranny because^s it too was a denial of justice. Goodman was able to use his identification of the principle of justice with the law of God revealed in the covenant to change the nature of the call for resistance. Resistance was not merely a right, which might be held in abeyance, it was a duty which must be fulfilled.

Goodman found an example of resistance led by a patriotic

and protestant hero in the Wyat rebellion.¹²⁹ Goodman was sure that Wyat's cause was lawful and just, his fault was not that he had other grievances but that God's religion was not top of the list. But he hastened to point out, this was not the cause of Wyat's failure. Wyat had been betrayed by the English nobility. Goodman stood the definition of treason on its head by laying the responsibility on the counsellors and nobles who had

"permitted Wyat, and with him the whole Churche and comon welth of England to fall into the handes of Gods enimies, and would not reskewe him, some of you having then in your handes sufficient power not onely to have supported him and others which feare God accordinge to duety and promisse: but to have tamed the ramping lyons, raginge beares, and raveninge wolves". 130

The nobility stood condemned as cowards and traitors to God, their country and their fellows; they had neglected every duty which their office placed upon them. Goodman insisted that Wyat had only sought

"to promote Gods glorie, and the libertie of his countrie" 131

He was the model for the motivation and action of every member of the people of God. Wyat now enjoyed an everlasting inheritance:

"O noble Wyat, thou art now with God and those worthy men that died for that enterprise". 132.

All who did likewise would be highly commended

'as men acceptable to God, and wurthie members of a comon welthe'. 133

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NOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

1. H.S.P. 48-61.
2. H.S.P. 49. The covenant connexion was reinforced by the biblical reference to Ezekiel 20 which linked the election with covenant obligations, obedience, judgement and restoration.
3. For Goodman's view of the covenant and the will of God see above 264f.
4. H.S.P. 48f.
5. The device was not uncommon in sixteenth-century polemics. On a larger scale the protestants, in their arguments with the Catholics, laid claim to the whole of the Bible as their polemical property.
6. Deuteronomy 17 v 14-15, also see M.S.Wilks The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages Cambridge (1963) 200-3.
7. H.S.P. 47.
8. H.S.P. 49.
9. See above 298f.
10. H.S.P. 50. Latimer had used the same text to justify the opposite position. He had glorified the principle of kingship as the manifestation of God's will. He had stated that 'the Jews had a law, that when they should have a king, they should have him according to the election of God. He would not let leave the election of a king to their own brains'. According to Latimer rulers were godly because they received their authority from God: see J.B.Lane 'Two Masters; God and monarch: the political philosophy of Hugh Latimer', Journal of Church and State 15 (1973) 41.
11. H.S.P. 110-111.

12. H.S.P. 110 see also 58.
13. See above 269.
14. H.S.P. 47-48.
15. H.S.P. 50 and above 262f.
16. H.S.P. 50.
17. H.S.P. 51.
18. H.S.P. 47 and 51.
19. H.S.P. 51.
20. See above 228-9.
21. See above, quotation 268.
22. See above 244-5.
23. H.S.P. 58.
24. H.S.P. 60.
25. H.S.P. 59-60. Notice the judicial imagery.
26. Goodman's disguise was not entirely successful. Archbishop Parker was not reassured. He was convinced that the door had been opened to anarchy. In his letter to Bacon of 1st March 1559 he wrote: 'If such principles be spread into men's heads, as now they be framed and referred to the judgement of the subject, of the tenant and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny and to discern whether his prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy and collection supposed, what lord of the council shall ride quietly minded in the streets among desperate beasts? what master shall be sure in his

bed-chamber? Correspondence ed. J. Bruce, Parker Society, Cambridge, (1853) 61.

27. The behaviour of Goodman and Knox in Scotland and their attitude towards Queen Elizabeth witness this flexibility of approach.

28. H.S.P. 51.

29. H.S.P. 52. Goodman was probably indebted to Knox for his views on female rule and the way in which he phrased them. Cf. Knox Wks. IV 416 and see Appendix C. For sixteenth century views on female government see J.E. Phillips, 'The Background of Spenser's Attitude Toward Women Rulers' Huntington Library Quarterly V (1941-2) 5-32.

30. H.S.P. 51-52.

31. H.S.P. 148 see also 58-59.

32. H.S.P. 51.

33. H.S.P. 56-57.

34. See above 260 . Knox's famous sermon to the Lords of the Congregation on 8th November 1559 was preached on this theme, from the text Psalm 80. John Knox's History of the Reformation 265-271. Knox believed that trust in anything but God was a form of idolatry, see R.D. Kyle 'The Mind of John Knox' (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis New Mexico 1972) 124.

35. Goodman showed a realistic awareness of the difficulties of mounting a rebellion: 'so will I not counselle you rashely to cast your selves in to danger'. H.S.P. 199.

36. H.S.P. 57. The biblical quotation was to Psalm 91 v 4 but the margin note referred to Psalm 52 which was concerned with deliverance by God against the oppression of the wicked. The Genevan Bible attributed the psalm to David and noted 'In

320.
this Psalme is lively set forthe the kingdome of Antichrist'.

37. H.S.P. 57. This was unfavourably compared with the 'miserie and slaverie' of Egypt to which God had forbidden the Jews to return (Deuteronomy 17 v 16).

38. *ibid.*

39. H.S.P. 58. This was taken directly from Deuteronomy 17 v. 18-20.

40. H.S.P. 53-56.

41. See above 274 n.18.

42. H.S.P. 53. It is possible that the acceptance of Edward was regarded by Goodman as the passive ratification of election. As Edward was a 'godly prince' there was no need to object to his accession or create a formal election.

43. H.S.P. 54.

44. H.S.P. 54-55.

45. H.S.P. 190.

46. H.S.P. 147-154, and see above 274 n.18. It is interesting that in this extremist tract an appeal was made to Aristotle's golden mean and the rule of moderation, Cf. remarks by Professor Collinson " 'A magazine of religious patterns': an Erasmian topic transposed in English Protestantism' ". Studies in Church History 14 (1977) 223-50.

47. H.S.P. 200-201.

48. H.S.P. 201-202.

49. Goodman's beliefs have been deduced from the views he expressed in his sermons and correspondence and his practice as

a reformed pastor, particularly in Geneva and St. Andrews. For Geneva see above 163-176. Calvin had preached on the book of Deuteronomy from March 1555 to July 1556 and from May 1558 on Ephesians which contains the suggestive verses in Chapter 2 v.1 2, 19-22 where the covenant and commonwealth are linked. Goodman may well have discussed the implications of these books with Calvin. E. Mulhaupt Dei Predigt Calvins Berlin (1931) 14.

50. The metaphor of the two swords, spiritual and temporal was a commonplace in political thought. Most of Goodman's remarks on the division come in his discussion of the spiritual sword prompted by his answer to the objections taken from the New Testament. H.S.P. chapter 9 especially 120-3. Also see below 334-5.

51. H.S.P. 121.

52. H.S.P. 113 also 136.

53. H.S.P. 120.

54. H.S.P. 113. See above 311. The belief that monarchy was the sole bastion against anarchy implied that the temporal sword could only be wielded effectively by a royal hand. In a different way theories in which law and justice were thought to emanate from the will of the ruler suggested that the sword of justice belonged exclusively to the crown. Any doctrine of absolute non-resistance tended towards a similar position because it refused to permit any other temporal authority to touch the sword of justice.

55. That law and justice took precedence over kingship was one major theme in medieval political thought. See Baumer 120-191, and D.W.Hanson From Kingdom to Commonwealth. Cambridge Mass. (1970), and for the particular theories of the political thinkers of the conciliarist period, Wilks cited above n.6.

56. See above 313f.

57. H.S.P. 111. Cf. Lever's sermon on the fourth Sunday in Lent 1550 and Hooper's sermon both quoted in Baumer 198.
58. H.S.P. 179.
59. Hence the terminology of sergeant and not judge - see above 293 at n. 25.
60. Goodman referred to 'murthering the sainctes of God' H.S.P. 142, and to Mary's 'raging madnesse on the bodies of Gods servants' (99) meaning the exhumation of the bodies of Bucer and Catherine, Martyr's wife.
61. H.S.P. 182.
62. H.S.P. 190.
63. H.S.P. 179.
64. H.S.P. 175-6.
65. H.S.P. 152. Goodman referred specifically to the attempted abolition of the evil customs of saints days and days of 'goodfelloweshipp'.
66. H.S.P. 148.
67. It was a common theme of English homiletical teaching that true religion was the best guarantee for order in the commonwealth, and this was linked to the doctrine of non-resistance. Goodman came to the same conclusion but from different premises.
68. H.S.P. 54.
69. H.S.P. 35-6 and 99.
70. H.S.P. 129.

71. For a discussion on the different frameworks see Hanson 1-41, and J.G.A. Pocock The Machiavellian Moment: Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition. Princeton (1975) 333-60. For an important qualification of Pocock's over-heightened contrast between the 'medieval' and the 'modern' frameworks see Professor Burn's review of Pocock's book in English Historical Review XCII (1977) 137-42. In attempting to categorise parts of Goodman's thought as 'republican', I am not trying to claim that he was one of some mythical genealogy of 'republican' thinkers, nor that he was using contemporary Italian ideas on the 'republic.' I think he had come to adopt a similar position though by an entirely different route and conceived in different terms. Such qualifications severely limit the applicability of the term 'republican' but it seems to be the least inappropriate.

72. H.S.P. 92 sidenote. 'Ye have your honours to defende and helpe the godly, yea and all other from oppression and ini^urie'.

73. H.S.P. 214. This suggests a distinctive grace for England.

74. There were two lists. H.S.P. 36 and 215.

75. Goodman wanted his arguments noted by 'al ye Gentlemen and Nobles of Inglande'. H.S.P. 71 sidenote. On estates and degrees see 44 and 63.

76. H.S.P. 186.

77. H.S.P. 34.

78. Goodman's opinion of English courtiers was shown in his barbed sidenote H.S.P. 70, 'Daniel was no Englishe courtier: for he coulde not flatter'.

79. H.S.P. 144-5. A 'gnatos' was a sycophant or parasite. Achitophel's story was taken from 2 Samuel 17, his death v. 23. For the political importance of the counsellor in Tudor thinking see Pocock 338-9, and A.B.Ferguson The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance. Durham N.C. (1965), particularly 162-99.

80. H.S.P. 34.

81. Goodman referred to 'Lords, Dukes, Barons, knights' H.S.P. 180.

82. H.S.P. 35, cf. Ponet's statement about the origins of nobility, see above 225.

83. H.S.P. 74.

84. H.S.P. 36.

85. H.S.P. 215.

86. Goodman suggested that, like the office of king, a justice only retained his office so long as he performed his function. 'How should they iudge well of other men's matteres, that condemne themselves in their owne'. H.S.P. 74 sidenote.

87. H.S.P. 87 and 8.

88. H.S.P. 89 also 74.

89. H.S.P. 89-90 also 81-2.

90. Cf. Peter Martyr, see above 217-8.

91. The exact opposite of Goodman's view was found in Cardinal Pole's attitude to the English people. He saw them as little children who should passively obey and be taught by their superiors. See R.Pogson Cardinal Pole-Papal Legate to England in Mary Tudor's Reign (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1972) particularly chapter III.

92. Though in a different area of life it is probable that the democratic spirit towards the spread of learning shown in the Christ Church Circle helped to encourage a new attitude towards the people in Goodman. In common with his fellow protestants Goodman believed that once the people had read and 'properly' understood the Bible they would agree with his opinions.

93. See Hale 39-40 and M.A.J. Huizinga The Waning of the Middle Ages (1924) Chapter on The Hierarchic Conception of Society'.

94. H.S.P. 37.

95. H.S.P. 149 sidenote.

96. H.S.P. 136.

97. H.S.P. 181.

98. H.S.P. 182.

99. H.S.P. 185.

100. It was singled out in attacks on his book (see above 42n.9) most especially in his Reconciliation (see below 357-8 n.62.). It is interesting that the reaction against the participation of the people is stronger in the drafts of the reconciliation. B.L. Add MS. 29546 f. 30 and 32 and the quotations from 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd' on f.31. It is possible that the presence of Goodman's friend Thomas Randolph may have helped to soften the final draft of the Reconciliation f.29.

101. H.S.P. 180.

102. H.S.P. 188.

103. H.S.P. 139 also 187-8.

104. H.S.P. 144. There was one exception to this. A tyrant could be obeyed in external matters if the people of God were in captivity, like the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar. This situation was an extreme punishment from God, which, as yet, had not befallen the English and so, Goodman argued, Jeremiah's advice to the exiled Jews to remain quiescent was not applicable. H.S.P. 125-38.

105. H.S.P. 139.

106. For the doctrine of moral responsibility see Baumer 192f.

107. H.S.P. 140.

108. This was what keeping the law of God meant as a political obligation. Internal convictions were the church's proper sphere.

109. H.S.P. 118.

110. H.S.P. 139. Biblical reference to 1 Samuel 24 v6.

111. H.S.P. 103.

112. See above 298.

113. H.S.P. 113. Likewise 'Servantes oppressed may seke lawfull remedy against their maisters' (118 sidenote).

114. H.S.P. 140.

115. H.S.P. 30-31.

116. H.S.P. 129.

117. See above 260.

118. Goodman virtually ignored Parliament: see below 345.

119. For a critique of the neo-Marxist view of the alienation of the exiles found in M. Waizer's Revolution of The Saints (1966) see Professor Skinner's article 'The Non-Existence of the Calvinist Theory of Revolution' in the forthcoming volume dedicated to J.H.Hexter.

120. H.S.P. 100 and 178.

121. H.S.P.144-5.

122. H.S.P. 199-200.

123. H.S.P. 196 and also the example of Mattathias 75-81, see above 251-2.

124. H.S.P. 196-7.

125. H.S.P. 198 'to resiste evill...and to mayntayne Godlynesse, but symply and unfaynedly, for the love of vertue and hatred of vice'.

126. H.S.P. 197. My underlining.

127. H.S.P. 197-8. Also the example of 'David's owne private cause', 138-9.

128. Especially the biblical references 198: Deuteronomy 32 (v35); Ezekiel 9; Romans 12 (v19); see above 281 n.75.

129. H.S.P. 202-13.

130. H.S.P. 206-7.

131. H.S.P. 207.

132. H.S.P. 206.

133. H.S.P. 142.

CHAPTER EIGHT

a) The Church

There was no place within Goodman's hierarchy of resistance for the church or its ministers.¹ Leading resistance was not part of their duty within the commonwealth of the people of God. Goodman built up his picture of a faithful minister by linking together a whole series of images culled from the Epistles.² The ministers had been given custody of a precious jewel, the word of God. When preached to the people it became a mighty and spiritual sword with which the preachers fought in God's cause against the rebelliousness of man.³ If the battle brought persecution with it the pastoral duty was plain.

"No minister ought to flie and forsake his
flocke, except he be persecuted onely, and
not his flocke".

4

It was just as much a dereliction of duty to stay with the congregation but keep silent like a dumb dog. In such a position the practice of the apostles under persecution should be followed: that was to continue preaching Jesus Christ to the people notwithstanding any contrary command from the magistrates.⁵ Although the minister preached the Word his hearers were not to accept his doctrine on his authority but to test it by its conformity to the Scriptures. Preachers were to be obeyed only when they brought God's Word.⁶ Goodman was anxious to stress that even the learned and godly martyrs had occasionally been wrong. They had taught the dangerous doctrine of non-resistance and had thereby misled the majority of their countrymen.⁷

Goodman did not think that the clergy should have led a revolt against Mary. He believed that those to whom the

spiritual sword was entrusted should not use the temporal sword as well.⁸ The two swords should be used to fight for the same cause.⁹ The ultimate aim was the same but the methods used to achieve it were different and ought to remain distinct. Goodman's whole theory of the people of God showed that he thought that the temporal sword was essential for the maintenance of Christ's kingdom. The temporal sword upheld the covenant, that is it maintained an external purity based upon the revealed law of God. It also defended the church which controlled the other relationship between God and his people based upon the individual's faith in Christ.

Goodman's picture of the church must be pieced together from hints scattered throughout the book. This in itself is an indication that he thought the achievement of Christ's kingdom on earth was a political rather than an ecclesiological problem. Goodman lavished considerable abuse on the Catholic church. It was Satan's synagogue, the exact opposite of the true church because it had lost that vital element of obedience to God. Catholics had deviated from the truth by basing their doctrines upon human authority, which was incapable of guarding against error.¹⁰ Goodman thought that the papists were worse than the Jews,

"for that under the Name of Christe, whom they dare not deny, they worke previe treason agaynst him, to subverte the truethe of his Gospel, and whole fruite of his death and passion".¹¹

Goodman believed that Catholic beliefs and practices were idolatrous and blasphemous and so denied the majesty of God. He concentrated his attack upon the beliefs surrounding the eucharist and images.¹² It was the duty of a true

christian to separate himself completely from the Catholic church which was part of Antichrist's kingdom. He must

"utterly forsake the wicked doctrine and doinges of the papistes". 13

The positive side of Goodman's picture of the church was presented in his descriptions of the churches of the English exiles; but it is not clear whether Goodman regarded them as representative of the organisation of the church in the christian commonwealth. In their churches the English exiles

"with great freedome of conscience heare the worde of God contynually preached, and the Sacraments of Our Saviour Christ purely and duely ministared, without all dregges of prooperie, or superstition of mans invention". 14

It is noticeable how much Goodman stressed the importance of the corporate life of the congregation. The church was where the brethren assembled. It was in the company of the brethren that God had promised to pour out his spiritual gifts and graces which were given in order that they might be bestowed in the church of God to comfort other members of the congregation.¹⁵ Goodman attacked those who brought slander on the church by deliberately absenting themselves from the congregation.¹⁶ It was not enough

"to place your selves in corners where you maye be quiete, and at ease, and not burthened withe the chardges of the poore, thinking it sufficient if you have a litle exercise in your houses in reading a chapiter or two of the Scriptures, and then will be counted zealous persons and great gspellers". 17

To do this was to show a lack of zeal which should be in all the true professors of the gospel.¹⁸ Goodman went further and suggested that a christian's faith was unfulfilled and inadequate unless it was practised in the company

of fellow believers.¹⁹ All men were imperfect and, like the apostles, should desire to have their faith increased. They should seek

"the chiefest means that God hath ordeyned, which is the Congregations of his people, where his worde, the fountayne of faith, is moste purely preached, and where the Godly examples of others maye be a sharper spurre to prick them forward".

20

The effects of such congregational solidarity and fellowship were exhibited in the churches of the exiles where

"ye may do good to your selves and others, where ye may be free from superstition and idolatrie, where your faith may be increased rather then diminished, and your selves strengthened, confirmed, and more strongly armed".²¹

Goodman's emphasis on the solidarity within the church was coupled with the language of warfare. He spoke about the soldiers of Christ resorting to his standard and obeying his trumpet calls.²² Exile was seen as part of the struggle against the kingdom of Antichrist. It was a training-ground for the battle which was being waged in England. Goodman thought that the purpose of the exile was to prepare christians to fight and die for Christ. He informed them that

"you being with others refreshed for a space, and more strongly fortified, may be also with others more willing and ready to laye downe your lyves at Gods appoyntment. For that is the chiefest grace of God, and greatest perfection, to fight even to the bloude under Christes banner, and with him to geve our lives".

23

Goodman did not explain whether he envisaged a return to face martyrdom or to encourage revolution: he would not have distinguished between the two categories. In his call to the English to follow the example of Wyatt Goodman explained

"if ⁱⁿ this case considerately begone in the

feare of God, it shuld happen any of you to perishe, consider you perishe but in the fleshe to lyve with God: leaving in the meane tyme an example behinde you, that you lived in his feare and soght his glorie according to your duetye".

24

b) Law and Justice

Goodman thought about law and justice in two different ways. The first was his view of the general principle of justice; the second was his highly specific view of the law of God. The two were not separate because Goodman believed that the law of God was the perfect manifestation of the principle of justice. In his treatment of the general principle of justice, Goodman came closest to the theories of John Ponet.

Goodman stressed the social dimension of justice. To him it was the essential ingredient of a community: it was the means by which a society was bound together. When justice was subverted, disorder and confusion took over and the commonwealth disintegrated.²⁵ There were no half measures; an act without justice was reduced to an arbitrary exercise of will and so totally selfish and unprincipled. Justice was identified with an attitude towards the community rather than the correct legal form. In Goodman's mind justice could never be in conflict with equity for the two were synonymous.²⁶

Every society needed a common and recognisable standard with which to bind together its members and maintain a fair balance among them. The common standard would prevent any one group dominating the others and exploiting them in the pursuit of selfish interests. The unifying bond was

found in the practice of justice which preserved and maintained the necessary balance of interest because it was the expression of the common good and not a particularist or majority interest. The common good was found in the objective principle of justice and not in the will of the people. Through the equilibrium brought by justice, the true commonwealth was realised.²⁷

The common standard of justice to which all must adhere in order to live a proper communal life was part of man's nature. God created man as a socially responsible animal designed to seek the good of his neighbour.²⁸ All men were brothers and should love one another because each was made in the image of the living Lord. Goodman stressed that this involved a positive duty to uphold justice; it was not sufficient to refrain from being unjust. He commented,

"The verie Gentils with out God were taught so much of nature, that to do wronge to a nother is not onely iniurie, but also they condemne him as an iniurious persone, which can, and will not withstande wronge done to a nother".

29

Communal life was a natural feature of man's life upon earth, and social and political organization was part of God's general purpose for mankind.

Goodman was sure that the self-evident truths of the law of nature had been engrafted into the hearts of man.³⁰ He pointed out that the apostles Peter and John had believed such principles to be irrefutable and so had dared to appeal to their enemies, the Sanhedrin, to judge their cause. They were confident because

"verie nature doth teache all men, which be not destitute of their comon sense and reason, that God oght rather to be obeyed then man".

31.

The truths of the law of nature were perceived by the use of reason. Man was created as a reasonable creature and his capacity to reason was the characteristic which distinguished him from the brute beasts.³² Goodman did not present reason as an intellectual skill polished in the schools, though he did not minimise nor deride that ability. He saw reason as a moral activity; it was the presence within man of a social conscience with which to distinguish between right and wrong in the community by deciding whether an action was in the common interest. In connexion with 'reason and God's Worde' Goodman spoke of man's

"owne propre conscience which will (iustly examined) teache him how Gods ordinance ought to be revered, especially serving to the preservation of the people, in suppressing wickednesse, and promoting Godlynesse". 33

Goodman asserted that the loss of reason and the loss of justice were intimately linked and that they resulted in the diminishment of man's nature. A tyrant was more like a wild beast than a man.³⁴ He paid no regard to justice and so lost that characteristic of rationality which distinguished men from animals; the attempt to create and live in a just society. To make the point clearer, Goodman contrasted two types of man without reason, the fool and the idolatrous tyrant. A fool was far preferable especially as a ruler, because

"follie hath comonly ioyned with it simplicitie voyde of malice and easie to be ordered: but idolatrie and tyrannie resembleth more the nature of wilde beastes, cruell beares, and raging lyons, then the condicion of man". 35

A loss of intellectual capacity was far less dangerous than

the attempt to overthrow rationality. The comparison brought out the link in Goodman's mind between reason, justice and the preservation of the commonwealth.³⁶ The link suggests that justice and reason were Goodman's words for expressing civic consciousness. Tyranny not only destroyed the humanity of the tyrant, it also removed the cohesive force in a society and by subverting justice, undermined its very existence.

Goodman rarely spoke about justice without tying it closely to God and his revelation of himself. Justice was an attribute of God and could never be separated from him. It sprang from the will of God: justice was just because it was judged so by God the true Judge. It comprised those things which were lawful in God's eyes. There could not be two forms of justice, God's and man's; all human efforts must attempt to conform to the will of God.³⁷ Any justice in the lives of men was the gift of God.³⁸ For Goodman the insistence upon the divine nature of justice preserved its objectivity.

Although man's capacity to perceive justice had been given at creation, the fall had meant that it could only be used properly when man was obedient to God.³⁹ As Goodman was discussing the issue within a christian context, the possibility of man achieving a just society based upon the law of nature and reason by themselves was not applicable and not treated.⁴⁰ On the contrary, Goodman emphasised the polarisation of his time into the forces of Christ and the forces of Antichrist. Justice was the distinguishing mark and badge of Christ and his army. Tyranny was the hallmark

of Antichrist whose soldiers were constantly

"subverting the Lawes of God and of nature". 41

Against such a background Goodman was able to make the transition from the general principle of justice to the specific application of the law of God. He used the polarisation to cut away the middle position. Goodman believed that England was faced with a straight choice between justice and tyranny, the kingdoms of Christ and Antichrist. He asserted that in the Kingdom of Christ, the general principle of justice was given a perfect particular form, the law of God. He could then suggest that if the particular form were rejected, so was the whole principle of justice.

The law of God was Goodman's main concern. In his references to it he did not provide a definite textual passage but nearly always referred in the margin to one of the books of the Pentateuch, most frequently to Deuteronomy.⁴² He always spoke of the law of God in the context of the people of God as a political community. He seemed to suggest that God had two types of relationship with his people. In the first God operated through the redemptive work of Christ to save the individual's soul; this was the realm of faith and grace. In the second, God in Christ ruled the community of the people of God and brought about their temporal salvation; this was the realm of obedience and law. The first area was the concern of the individual and the church, the second of the whole people of God in their political and social organization.⁴³

These ideas show similarities to the later covenant theories which distinguish between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. Goodman does not make such

distinction, particularly not in the sphere of personal redemption. Goodman did think that the people of God had more than one type of relationship with God, but he did not think of their society being divided into two parts. He would not have endorsed the doctrine of the two kingdoms.⁴⁴

In his book, Goodman was concerned with the political, not the theological use of the law of God in a Christian society. As with the covenant he allocated it exclusively and specifically to the political life of the people of God, and so bypassed the theological difficulty of reconciling law and grace. As it was removed from any conflict with God's saving grace Goodman could give it a separate and important place within God's providential plan. The law was concerned with outward righteousness, with the establishment and maintenance of an external code of morality. The law had a more positive function than that ascribed to it in the political sphere by Luther: it was more than a way of restraining the impious from breaking all moral codes.⁴⁵

Goodman believed that the law and the outward conformity it produced were of great value, but their worth was temporal more than eternal. He thought that the level of external purity was directly linked to the temporal welfare of the people and produced the prosperity or calamities they experienced.

Goodman went further than this in his belief in the use of the law of God. He thought it was possible to create a just society upon earth based upon that law. It could only be done with the assistance and through the grace of God. Goodman believed that it was part of God's purpose that such a society, which he called the people of God, should exist.

God had revealed this aspect of his will in his disclosure of himself at Sinai. Then God had given to Moses the pattern for the political and social organization of the people of God. Although there were differences between the two dispensations, before and after Christ, the covenant relationship was still the way in which God chose to direct the communal political life of his people. The content and the mark of the covenant was the law of God.

Justice was achieved in the society by the whole community adhering to the revealed standards of the law of God. In this way, the collective will of the people was united in submission to the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures. Goodman seemed to suggest that this was the only way to create a collective will, and that the law of God held the balance of interest in which lay the greatest good for all. Goodman's imagery varied in his descriptions of the just society. He presented a picture of harmonious co-operation between all the different sections of the community.⁴⁶ He also used the imagery of balance; the law of God arbitrating between the competing forces within society and keeping them in creative tension. The former imagery connected him with the tradition of the body politic, the latter with the new 'republican' strand in political thought.

Goodman focused upon the law of God because he saw justice as the essence of sovereignty and the basis of all civil society. Justice was found where good was defended and evil punished; this was the prime function of political government. If God's will was to be directly involved in the political life of a community, it must be active in the administration of its justice.

Goodman thought that God's sovereignty should be acknowledged in the political sphere, he was sure that the kingdom of Christ had a temporal reality. He made a sharp distinction between the function of the historical Jesus and that of the risen, ascended and glorified Christ who led his army against the forces of Antichrist. Christ the King was also the Judge of the Last Judgement and the visible sign of his Kingdom on earth was the administration of justice. Goodman thought that the test of allegiance to any ruler was the amount of obedience given to his laws and so he believed that the Kingship of Christ was displayed by unswerving obedience to the law of Christ.⁴⁷ Christ's law was the law of God, the distinctive code revealed to Moses which, within the context of the covenant, remained the pattern for the Christian commonwealth. The law of God was the perfect particular form of justice.

At the same time Goodman recognised that man had produced several codes of positive law. The validity of these codes was limited because they were only partial reflections of the law of nature. Man was only capable of acting according to his rational capabilities when he was obedient to the will of God. If he deviated from this path and measured obedience by his own corrupt judgement he lost justice, right and virtue.⁴⁸ Such an argument enabled Goodman to make his own selection from the codes of positive law. He could single out those parts which assisted his purpose and present them as conforming to the revelation of the justice of God, and ignore the rest. By this means Goodman could concede that the Gentiles had been right to hold religion in the highest

honour.⁴⁹ He could also cite the Civil Law in the contrast between the fool and the tyrant and say, concerning that particular ruling,

"This besides reason, experience teacheth all men to be moste true". 50

The exact status of positive law in the polity of the people of God was left intentionally vague. Goodman's book contained only one passing reference to Parliament and very few to the distinctive system of English law.⁵¹ The omission was almost certainly deliberate. Goodman's arguments rested upon first principles and if they were pushed to their logical conclusion, they implied a revolutionary re-ordering of English politics and society. Goodman knew that the call for such a revolution would receive little support from his fellow countrymen. So he was forced to walk the tightrope between an assertion of the principles on which he rested his case and an attempt, through the use of familiar language and concepts, to associate himself with conventional and reassuring modes of thought. This balancing act was shown most clearly in his dealings with the question of law.

At the time Goodman wrote his book, the debate on the place of positive law was still continuing in England. The question had been raised in an acute form by Henry VIII's assertion of the Royal Supremacy.⁵² Sir Thomas More had stated then that the Act of Royal Supremacy was

"directly repugnant to the lawes of God and his Holye Church,...(and it was)..... insufficient to charge any christen man". 53

The debate was resumed in the reign of Mary over the method of re-establishing papal supremacy, whether or not it had

to be done through Parliament.⁵⁴ Similarly the problem of the title to monastic property and the papal dispensation connected with it, ensured that the question would not be forgotten.⁵⁵

The power of the prerogative was also in dispute. The scope and nature of royal proclamations had been defined in various and conflicting ways by the judges.⁵⁶ In 1556 at an informal meeting, the opinion of the Marian judges had resulted in a very limited view of the scope of a proclamation, making it subordinate to statute law and to be used to confirm statute, never to change it.⁵⁷ In addition to the questions of the relation of statute law and divine law and the various types of positive law, English common law was being challenged by the champions of civil law and Roman jurisprudence.⁵⁸ All these debates contributed to a singular lack of definition of the concept of law in the minds of his English readers which helped Goodman to move from one definition to another with relative ease and make his balancing act feasible if not always successful.

Goodman carefully avoided becoming involved in the intricacies of these debates. Like most of the exiles he had been progressively disillusioned and alienated throughout Mary's reign. The hope that there would be some opposition to Mary's policies through constitutional channels had proved illusory. England's return to Catholicism had been accomplished constitutionally and with a careful regard to due legal form. It had become impossible to defend the protestant case on constitutional or legal grounds.⁵⁹ An appeal to first principles had become absolutely necessary.

The argument based upon the constitution and law of

England was available in the discussion of the position of Philip and the Spaniards in England. To be of direct use to the protestants it was necessary to link protestantism and the opposition to the Spaniards. By the time Goodman was writing, the link was firmly established. Goodman deliberately identified the two causes and made them virtually interchangeable. This enabled him to employ the constitutional argument which the call to first principles in defence of the protestant position had denied him. His legal terminology for his vision of the people of God helped cover the shifts of level from one type of law to another. His concept of justice was the bridge between the two by which he linked protestantism and patriotism.

For Goodman, justice represented both the administration of the law of God and the general principle behind all positive law. By appealing to it he could elide the two types of law, divine and positive. Justice was the common 'person' in which the two different natures, the laws of God and the realm, were equally represented. It was therefore possible to transfer to one nature, the attributes proper to the other nature. The technique had obvious similarities to the 'communicatio idiomatum' employed in Christology, whereby because of the unity of Christ's Person, His human and divine attributes might properly be exchanged.⁶⁰

Strictly speaking there was only one type of law, the law of God. It was afforded this status because it was an expression of the will of God. Goodman would not accept the view that a law was valid because the authority which promulgated it had been properly constituted. In his opinion,

a law could not be valid if it were unjust. He could not, and did not want, to make any concessions on this point. It was the harsh imperative behind his condemnation of the situation in England under Mary and a vital part of his call for her overthrow. The return to Catholicism had been legal in the sense of being constitutionally accomplished and it could only be declared unlawful by reference to eternal principles. Goodman insisted that it was the eternal standard, the law of God, and not the legislator which mattered.

His stance denied intrinsic authority to all of English law, any part of which could be invalid because it failed to conform to the law of God. The issue was presented most starkly in Goodman's ideas on royal election. In such a case, Goodman categorically asserted that all human customs and traditions must give place to the law of God as revealed in the Scriptures, in this instance Deuteronomy 17. The implications of this for England were shown in his comments upon the events at Edward VI's death, when he asserted that the vain and ungodly decrees of men, by which he referred to common and statute law, should have given place to the constant and undoubted law of God.⁶¹ Goodman thought that the revealed law of God should be the basis for all English law.

Goodman could not avoid this plain attack upon the structure of English law because in addition to appealing to first principles, he was also suggesting a social and political alternative. It was as important to point out the ideal pattern which should be adopted as to condemn the illegal actions of Mary. This was one of the most controversial sections of the book. At this point it was

impossible to cloak the radical nature of his vision of the people of God and the revolutionary implications for English law and politics. There could be no compromise over the choice of a king because Goodman believed that the pattern was explicitly laid down in the law of God. It was essential to the ordering of the polity of the people of God and demonstrated the fundamental re-ordering of political priorities within that society.⁶²

Although Goodman was determined to base his view of political life on a new set of principles, he did not want to destroy the structure of English politics and law. He thought that the forms which expressed English political life possessed no intrinsic value. However provided their subordinate nature was acknowledged, their subsidiary importance could be upheld. He was concerned to show that although the basic underlying premises of English society must change, the conventional forms need not necessarily be altered.⁶³ He went further and asserted his solution was the only way in which the survival of these forms could be guaranteed. In this sense he maintained that the integrity of England was best preserved by adherence to the law of God. Goodman was not prepared to sanctify the forms of English politics such as the common law, statute law, parliament or the privy council: they were all dispensable. He refused to talk specifically about them and so avoided having openly to condemn them. By remaining largely on the plane of the first principles he could present his vision of the people of God living according to the revealed law of God without having to spell out the exact implications of the adoption of his vision in England. Even on the question of royal election, he remained deliberately

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vague as to the precise method. By association he suggested that present procedures were acceptable so long as the new principles on which they were based were acknowledged. He tried not to antagonise or frighten his audience more than necessary and did not explicitly call for a root and branch revolution. He sought to achieve this by using traditional sounding vocabulary without allowing it to be too specific. For instance he spoke of counsellors and justices but not of the privy council nor of the law courts.

Goodman's vagueness was not simply a calculated piece of policy. It could be justified because the people of God had an area of responsibility for the working of their polity. The people had received the law of God through their covenant with God but they were also given custody of the sword of justice. Justice was worked out in the administration of the law of God, in the daily government of the people of God. Within this area of justice there was a certain area of flexibility in the interpretation of the law of God. In this limited area, the people were capable of making positive law, the particular interpretation of justice and the law of God.

The area of the people's control was demonstrated in the contract they made with the king.⁶⁴ It was concerned with the enforcement of the law of God and so covered all aspects of justice. If the king failed in his duty to govern justly, there were various methods of correcting the lapse. Even though it might be necessary for the people to restrain its exercise, the ruler's authority was not automatically invalidated by a failure to act justly. The authority of the king as executive agent of the people remained intact. A breach of the contract and even the

positive law was reprehensible and Goodman was clear that it should be remedied. But only if lesser restraints proved ineffective was the king to be deprived of his office. The case was different if the ruler openly broke the law of God, the code of morality. This proved that he was unfit to administer justice and was disqualified from rule. His authority was automatically forfeit.

The question of deprivation showed how Goodman's concepts of law and justice bring together authority and obedience. True obedience was owed to God and his law alone; it was unquestioning and absolute. All other allegiances flowed from this basic loyalty which was enshrined in the covenant. These lesser obediences could only be conditional. On the one hand, the law of God was given by God to his dependent people whose response was complete acceptance and obedience. On the other, justice was assessed by its relation to the common good. It was a joint act which required the co-operation of equal parties. This interpretation led Goodman towards a 'republican' type of polity, within the limited area of the people's control.

The co-operation or constructive tension that was necessary to produce justice was possible because the people were free subjects and not bond slaves. This gave them a stake in the country they inhabited and a right to be treated as brothers and equals of their rulers.⁶⁵ Goodman implied that this included the right to be consulted about the government of their country but he provided no details as to how the consent of the people should normally be expressed. He only specified how the ruler should be restrained through

the hierachy of resistance. All the people however lowly their status had the right to

"lawful remedie at the handes of superior powers". 66

They also had the right to their property, both goods and lives, and to its defence. Goodman believed it to be every-one's duty

"to save, preserve, and defende, as well the goodes as the persones of our brethren and neighbours".

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All these rights were summed up by Goodman in the concept of Christian liberty. This meant that the only legitimate restraint upon the people of God was the law of God, in all other things they were free. Under this condition, sovereignty lay with the people. Like the law they were empowered to make, their sovereignty was the reflection of Christ's, and totally dependent upon him.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Cf. opposite attitude in Ponet, see above 225.
2. H.S.P. 66-7.
3. H.S.P. 78; 67; 121-2.
4. H.S.P. 32 sidenote.
5. H.S.P. 31.
6. H.S.P. 33 (Cf. Whittingham's advice in Preface - see above 246).
7. H.S.P. 30.
8. H.S.P. 121.
9. H.S.P. 122 sidenote 'As the preachers are charged to use the spiritual sworde, so are the Magistrats bonde to set forthe God's glorie (with the tem)poral sword'. Line missing through printing error.
10. H.S.P. 22. In a contemptuous aside Goodman said 'concerninge their Concils, I may not answere now: for that were an infinite worke to repeate all their absurdities. Yf any man wolde but once reade them over, he sholde nede no other persuasion to abhorre them'. (24-5).
11. H.S.P. 27. Once again Goodman introduced the idea of treason.
12. H.S.P. 26-7; 86-7; 170-3. The Catholic belief in celibacy was presented by Goodman as a rejection of lawful marriage for ministers of God's Word, whilst it permitted clergy and religious to live 'in all kinde of filthie unclennesse'. (172) Goodman might also have been objecting to the hierachical system within the church. He referred to the

'Sodomiticall Priestes, Monkes, Freers, Nonnes, Cardinales, Deanes, Archdeacons, and all other orders of Satan'. (172-3)
The venom might be directed simply against their incontinence and not against their ecclesiastical status.

13. H.S.P. 200.

14. H.S.P. 224.

15. H.S.P. 227. The recipients of the graces were not to apply them 'to their owne private fantasie, which is to lappe them up in a clowte, and not to put them forth to the vantage of the owner, as did the unprofitable servant'. (229-30).

16. H.S.P. 230.

17. H.S.P. 226.

18. H.S.P. 227-8.

19. H.S.P. 229. It was no excuse for christians to 'aleadge that they beleve to be saved by Christe, that they have sufficient knowledge of their duety, and the reste, they can supplie by their owne diligence'. Such a stance must qualify the term 'individual' when used to describe Goodman's view of eternal salvation. He could not envisage the salvation of a Christian independently of his brethren. Justifying faith must be expressed through and in the community of the faithful, the church. However this does not alter the fact that the church is composed of individuals who are working out their personal salvation together. Although the way must be pursued in community the goal is personal. By contrast in the political sphere the unit is the body politic and both ~~its~~ means and its end are strictly corporate.

20. *ibid.* On the subject of edification see Coolidge 23-54.

21. H.S.P. 230.

22. H.S.P. 226-7; 230.

23. H.S.P. 224.
24. H.S.P. 213.
25. H.S.P. 148 and see above 255.
26. H.S.P. 113.
27. H.S.P. 148-53.
28. H.S.P. 89 and 70.
29. H.S.P. 91 and 92.
30. H.S.P. 12.
31. H.S.P. 85; 39-42 and 53.
32. H.S.P. 146 and 148-9.
33. H.S.P. 112-3, 90 and 9.
34. H.S.P. 142-4.
35. H.S.P. 143.
36. H.S.P. 9-10.
37. H.S.P. 44 sidenote, 59-60, 168.
38. H.S.P. 48 and 214 sidenote.
39. H.S.P. 10-11.
40. By contrast to Ponet's approach see above 223.
41. H.S.P. 13. Goodman could not have endorsed Sir Thomas More's statement to William Roper made whilst More was Lord Chancellor, 'Howbeit, this one thing, sonne, I assure thee on

my faith, that if the parties will at my handes call for iustice, then, all were it my father stode on the one side, and the devill on the other, his cause being good, the devill shoulde have right'. Harpsfield's Life of More, ed. E.V. Hitchcock and R.W.Chambers, Early English Text Society, 186 (1932) 53.

42. In the biblical references in the margin there were sixty-three citations of the Pentateuch of which thirty-one were to Deuteronomy.

43. See above n.19.

44. For works referring to later covenant theology, see those cited above 283 n.90.

45. See Ebeling 64.

46. H.S.P. 105.

47. H.S.P. 157 and 46-7.

48. H.S.P. 9-10.

49. H.S.P. 155-6.

50. H.S.P. 144.

51. H.S.P. 152. Goodman did refer to specific judicial officers, see above 308 at n. 85.

52. For two different approaches to the question, those of Stephen Gardiner see P.Janelle, Obedience in Church and State, Cambridge (1930); and Christopher St. Germain, see F.V.Baumer, 'Christopher St. Germain: the Political Philosophy of a Tudor Lawyer; American Historical Review, XLII (1936-7) 631-51.

53. Harpsfield's Life of More 193-4. For a discussion of More's views see R.W.Chambers, Thomas More (1935) 291-350.

54. For Cardinal Pole's view that as the legislation concerning the Royal Supremacy was against divine law, it was automatically null and void, see Loades Oxford Martyrs 108-9.

55. Loades op.cit 145.

56. See R.W. Heinze, The Proclamations of the Tudor Kings, Cambridge (1976) 34-7.

57. The Judges said that 'no proclamation in itself can make a law which was not made before', and that the proper role of a proclamation was 'to confirm and ratify a law or statute, and not to change a law or make a new law'. But this opinion was qualified because diverse precedents were found and drawn out of the Exchequer to the contrary', quoted in F.A. Youngs The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens, Cambridge (1976) 28. Youngs translation of the law French in G.Dalison, Les Reports Des Divers Special Cases, (1689) 241.

58. See B.Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-41 Oxford (1973). 122-57.

59. Stephen Gardiner had found himself in a similar position at the beginning of Edward VI's reign when he attempted to block the introduction of protestant measures.

60. See J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (1968) 143. Goodman might have been influenced by Martyr who based all his theology on the concept of analogy deduced from the doctrine of the Person of Christ, see above 117.

61. H.S.P. 55

62. It was precisely this point of correct title to the throne which was picked up in Goodman's 'Reconciliation' of 22nd October 1571. 'And I also proteste that the Quenes Majestie is most lawfull Quene and Governor, not onelie by Gods providence, permission, dispensation or appointment. But also by naturall birthe and due discente, as laufull daughter and heire to King

Henrie the eight her father, and so also by the Lawes of the realme perfitlie established, and that her issue being male or female, yonge or olde, ought to be received, as by a iuste right, wherunto by god, and by the stablished pollecie of the realme we are all bounde'. B.L. Add. MS. 29546 f29, this section is omitted in the version in the Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 538/47 f43 and in Strype's Annals I 184-5. Also see Goodman's Protestation of Obedience of 26th April 1571 B.L. Add. MS. 29546 f28, another copy Cott. MS. Vesp C XIV (ii) f528 and printed in Strype's Annals I 140-1, and see above 42.

63. H.S.P. 214 sidenote. He was prepared to retain English judicial officers which he regarded as a grace of God.

64. See above 298 at n. 45.

65. H.S.P. 149. Goodman also spoke of defending the people's 'right and title, as wel concerning religion, as the freedome of their naturall countrie' (180).

66. H.S.P. 118. Goodman insisted that 'unlawful demandes may be lawfully denied'. H.S.P. 113.

67. H.S.P. 70.

CONCLUSION

By using Goodman's career and thought as its backbone this study has sought to demonstrate the interaction between men and ideas in England during the middle years of the sixteenth century and so provide a clearer picture of the development of English protestant thought. It has set out to discover three things about Goodman and his book 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd'. The first was to explain his intention in writing the book; the second to describe its content; and the third to understand its impact in 1558.¹

As a study of this book cannot be divorced from the study of its author, the biographical details of Goodman's early life and career have been investigated. They help to give the fullest possible picture of his intentions in writing his book. The first crucial stage in Goodman's experience was the time which he spent in Oxford. Having encountered the best of traditional piety at Brasenose he moved to the opposite extreme of radical protestantism at Christ Church. At some point Goodman had himself become a convinced protestant. In the congenial atmosphere of Christ Church he pursued his own theological studies and became deeply involved in the teaching and administration of the college and the university. As an enthusiastic disciple and colleague of Peter Martyr, Goodman was also a member of the Christ Church Circle.

The atmosphere in Oxford at Mary's accession forced Goodman to leave. He went first to London where he seems to have become involved with the underground protestant

movement there and then in 1554 he left for the Continent. Although it would have been useful to have known more details about the time Goodman spent in exile, especially the part he played in the troubles at Frankfort, an adequate picture of his activities has been pieced together. It reveals that by the end of the Frankfort troubles his ideas about the church had crystalized and he had emerged as a leader of the faction opposed to ceremonies. Goodman, Whittingham and Gilby took their faction to Geneva and on 1st November 1555 erected the English exile church there. Goodman's ministry to the English exile community at Geneva was one of the happiest and most creative periods in his life. He helped to produce the Form of Prayers and the Geneva Bible. His own book should be seen as part of this larger effort, demonstrated in practice as well as print, to provide the English with the necessary equipment for reconstructing a 'godly' society.

When considering Goodman's intention, it is important to remember that the original form of 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd' was a sermon. The change from sermon to book altered Goodman's aim and audience. The transition also seems to have provoked Goodman to develop and clarify certain aspects of his thought. The original sermon was directed at the English exile community in Geneva, the book at the whole English nation. The change of audience is one reason for the greater emphasis upon the role of the people in the second part of the book. More important in Goodman's thinking than the immediate aim of inciting the English to revolution, (which he probably recognised

was a forlorn hope), was the need to offer a new pattern of politics. As a preacher, Goodman felt called to expound the Word on the subject of obedience. Although it is more obvious in the sermon, the exegetical and didactic aim remained paramount for the book as well. Goodman regarded himself as a prophet issuing a warning and presenting a vision of the people of God. Consequently it is inappropriate to look for a systematic and complete description of a political system. Goodman was concerned that the covenant relationship with God would control the political life of the people of God; he was not worried about the details of their daily politics. His duty was to set forth the perfect political pattern as it was contained in God's Word.

The content of Goodman's book can only be adequately described when its ideological context is understood. Then it is possible to distinguish between the unusual and the commonplace. In this study the ideological setting has been focused around the details of Goodman's career and those of his acquaintances. This was not intended as a search for 'influences' and direct causal links, though it has yielded suggestions of important connexions such as Peter Martyr. It is rather the description of the complexity of ideas within which Goodman lived and from which he developed his own theories. For this reason the personnel, activities and ideology of the Christ Church Circle have been documented, for the first time. It can now be seen that Goodman's thinking on the subject of relationship, for instance, has similarities with Martyr's eucharistic theology. Both use the idea of a vehicle which will lead the participant, either community or individual, to God. In Goodman's case the

vehicle is obedience, in Martyr's faith. They emphasise the dynamic nature of the relationship and the complete dependence on the work of God which gives to the relationship an objective reality. The dependence does not detract from the need for participation to make the relationship effective. An example of both similarity and contrast is found in the examination of Hooper's contribution to the argument concerning the nature and function of Mosaic law. From this it can be seen that Goodman's ideas are not entirely new. But it also shows how great a development Goodman had made when he took the Mosaic law and the covenant and treated them as the pattern for political organization. Hooper and the Zurich reformers whom he followed were a long way from such a suggestion.

In their ideology and their actions the Christ Church Circle offered an example of a highly motivated group dependent upon internal discipline. It was the very nature and function of discipline which came into dispute among the exiles at Frankfurt. The troubles broke the personal and ideological unity of the Christ Church Circle on the rock of ceremonies. Goodman and his faction thought that a disciplined purity was a more important guideline to a commitment to protestantism than a visible continuity with other English protestants. For them discipline involved adherence to a creed and to the actions based upon the beliefs set out in the creed; discipline was not the recognisable coherence of a party. They also minimised the role of the clergy in the government of the church, stressing instead the participation of the whole congregation.

At Geneva there was a self-conscious effort to set out and defend these ecclesiological preoccupations in the Form

of Prayers which Goodman probably helped to write. In this service book the closest parallels to Goodman's own ideas are found and provide the proof that many of his political concepts have been translated from corresponding ideas concerning the church. Goodman did not divide life into two separate compartments of church and state, but saw them as two aspects of the one community, the people of God. The unity is shown most clearly in the baptismal service which becomes the sign of entry into membership of God's people as a church and as a polity.

The Geneva setting of Goodman's work provided his book with that vital ingredient of hope. It has only been possible to discern that hope and track it to its source by seeing the contrast with other exile propaganda and in particular the work of John Ponet. It can also be seen that Goodman was able to give a sharper edge to his work by taking two separate ideas current among the exiles and bringing them together. One instance of such a practice is when the apocalyptic ideas on the Kingdom of Antichrist, which had removed the passivity from the disobedience practised by the English protestants, were combined with the attack on the political subversion of justice so well described by Ponet. The result was a simpler and more damning identification of the enemy and the unification of a political and religious duty of resistance.

Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace in detail the reaction to Goodman's book, but it is possible to say something about its immediate impact. This is particularly important because it was regarded at the time as revolutionary. Goodman's fellow countrymen were

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shocked by two ideas in his book. They were worried by the overriding commitment to the law of God, especially as it affected the royal election. They were even more concerned about Goodman's description of the role of the people. These two ideas were rightly believed to threaten the accepted bases of English politics. Goodman's vision of the covenanted people, which embraced both of the ideas, demanded a reordering of society. However close his language came to that of his contemporaries, on this point he was offering something very different. But one of the reasons why his contemporaries were worried and shocked by his book was that so much of it sounded familiar and was rooted in their own ideological experience. Goodman had achieved his revolutionary stance by redefining clichés and combining commonplace ideas.

In November 1558 a tide in the affairs of men had turned, and Elizabeth sat on the English throne. Goodman's book, which had been directed against Mary, was left stranded above the water-line; an embarrassment to the protestant cause in England. This point of timing has helped to label the book as an aberration in the development of English protestant thought. It has obscured the fact that Goodman's new solution to the question of political obedience was constructed in familiar language and ideas, and that when it was published in January 1558 it was far more acceptable to his contemporaries than most of them would have cared to admit a year later.

NOTE

1. The case for this type of methodology has been convincingly argued by Professor Skinner in his article 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas' History and Theory VIII (1969) 3-53.

APPENDIX A.THE EDWARDIAN STATUTES OF CHRIST CHURCH

Among the Chapter House records at Christ Church, which are uncatalogued, there is a volume containing draft statutes: those given by Henry VIII to his college in 1532¹; and several copies, one of which is the original and signed by the Visitors, of a set given in 1549. They were discovered at Christ Church at the turn of the century but their existence has not generally been known, nor appreciated, and they came to light again recently during the search for other documents. Two letters were found lying loose in the volume of statutes. The first, written by H.L.Thompson to the Dean of Christ Church on 8th November 1903, (that is, after he had written his college history) made the following comments upon the statutes:

"The Edwardian statutes were framed by the Visitors appointed by Edward VI on May 8th 1549. They set to work pretty soon to visit the University and to draw up statutes for both university and colleges - in Hearne's Trokelowe you will see the names of J.Warwick etc. appended - the same visitors whose names are appended to our statute are

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards (Oct. 11th 1551) Duke of Northumberland
Henry Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln 1547-52
Richard Cox, Dean 1546-53, Chancellor of Oxford 1547-52.

Simon Heynes, Dean of Exeter and sometime V-Chancellor of Cambridge.

Cox signs as visitor imposing, not as Dean accepting the statutes. S.Heynes is quite distinct from William Haines Canon of Christ Church. You will see a full list of the Visitors in Wood's Annals under 1549. The Commissioners took some time in framing the statutes for the various Colleges. But from Warwick's signature ours must have been completed before Oct. 11th 1551.

They are framed upon the existing state of things, and I don't suppose that they ever had any authority; or rather, that they were ever acted upon in Christ Church. Mary's reign brought them practically to

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an end with us, as in the other Colleges.
If you look at Register 37 in the Chapter House
you will find the oath taken by students on
admission:- and I think you will find anno
1552 the promise "omnibus et singulis statutis
editis et in posterum edendis per illustrissimum
L Xto principem Eduardum Sextum fidelitum obs....
This may imply acceptance of the Edwardian code:-
and it coincides with the English oath written
on the last page of these statutes:- but down
to quite recent days the students swore to
observe all statutes "ad huc sancita et in
posterum sancienda" though we were always told
that no statutes had ever been "sancita".....
P.S. There is no entry in the chapter books
implying any recognition of the Edwardian statutes:-
at least I have no note of such an entry".

In the second letter from W.H.Frere to Strong dated
February 13th 1911 Frere stated his opinion of the statutes:-

"...I should fancy that technically the injunctions
of visitors such as these would hardly count as
statutes in the full authoritative sense of the
term. The tendency I think then was to regard
nothing as a formal set of statutes from the
Crown unless it was under the Great Seal.
I don't quite know of course from the extracts
that you send what the exact form of this set is:-
but whatever they are called I think they would
hardly reckon as foundation statutes. A royal
visitor I think was always a tinker not a manu-
facturer".

As Thompson mentioned in his letter similar statutes
for Oriel College can be found in J.Trokelowe Annales Eduardi
II, Henrici de Blandforde Chronica....² The statutes are
signed by Holbeach, Cox, Heynes, Morison, and Nevyson. Some
further injunctions are signed by Warwick, Holbeach, Cox, and
Heynes, the same four as signed the Christ Church set.³ The
injunctions for Magdalen, which was a special case, are in
Visitation Articles and Injunctions ed. W.H.Frere & W.M.
Kennedy.⁴

The statutes do describe the foundation as it was set
up in 1547.⁵ In the considerable number of cases where
they can be checked against the decrees made by the Dean and

Chapter, Thompson's statement that the statutes "are framed upon the existing state of things", is confirmed. In this limited sense of describing the foundation, the statutes can be called foundation statutes although as Frere points out in his letter they have no such official status. Merely because they were of no permanent significance, the statutes should not be dismissed as irrelevant, as Thompson tends to do. For the remaining years of Edward's reign the 1549 statutes were almost certainly observed. Cox would probably have ensured that the oath, to which Thompson refers, was administered to every^{one} who was a member of the foundation. It can be found at the end of the statutes in both Latin and English⁶ and at the end of the Chapter Register.⁷ The full text is:-

"I, N, promise and sweare that I will faithfully observe and keepe to the uttermost of my power all statutes and ordinaunces of this Church now made and hereafter to be made by our moste excellent prince founder King Edward the Sixt, and that I will yeelde due obedience and reverence to the Deane and Subdeane and other officers of this Church. And that I will doe all thinges whiche I shall be lawfullye commanded by the Deane or Subdeane or their Deputyes, and that so longe as I live I will be faythfull and kind unto this Church ready at all tymes to profitt and honour the same. In doing the contrarye I yeelde myself obediently to suffer all paynes and punnishmentes in the aforesayd statutes contayned against transgressours thereof, as God liveth and as by him I woulde have my life maynteyned".

It is not clear why King Edward VI should be called the founder of the college in this oath, unless the founder is the person who gives the foundation statutes.

Because of the doubt surrounding the statutes, they have not been cited as evidence for what was happening at Christ Church during Edward's reign.

NOTES APPENDIX A.

1. Printed in Statutes of the Colleges, Oxford (1853)
II separate pagination.
2. ed. T. Hearne Oxford (1729) 342-65.
3. op. cit. 365-8; 369-70.
4. Alcuin Club Collections XV (1910) II 228-9.
5. See above 10f. ; Statutes 1-10 (2-6, using my
numeration of the statutes from one of the later copies which
had been collated with the statutes of Corpus Christi College).
6. Statute 54 (31-2).
7. Chapter Register f127c; MS. Wood C8 31-2.

APPENDIX B.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION OF THE 'FORM OF PRAYERS'

It has been assumed that the 'Form of Prayers' of the English exile church in Geneva was written in Frankfort in the middle of the liturgical troubles. The belief was derived from the statement on the 'Troubles' that the Frankfort congregation,

'coulede not agree upon anie certeine order, till after longe debatinge to and fro, it was concluded, that Maister Knox, Maister Whittingham, Maister Gilby, Maister Fox and Maister T. Cole shulde drawe forthe some order meete for their state and time: whiche thinge was by them accomplished and offred to the congregacion (beinge the same order off Geneva whiche is nowe in print)'.¹

The last phrase is ambiguous as it could also mean Calvin's own order, though this has previously been called the 'order of Geneva whiche then was alreadie printed in Englishe' and 'the Booke off Geneva'.² If the phrase does refer to the 'Form of Prayers' a problem of timing remains.

According to the 'Troubles' the first committee was formed in January 1555, possibly after the 20th of that month,³ and they composed the 'Form of Prayers'. Its reception at Frankfort was mixed:

'This order was verie well liked off many, but suche as were bent to the booke of Englande coulede not abide it'.

After Gilby's tearful appeals for a godly peace and unity, it was decided to set up another committee comprising Knox, Whittingham, Parry and Lever. They produced an order which was accepted and approved by the congregation on February 6th.⁴ Following this timetable, two different committees produced two separate orders, both of which were presented to the congregation and discussed all within the space of a couple of weeks. It does not seem feasible that the 'Form of Prayers', which shows considerable originality and the careful integration of a variety of liturgical sources, could have been rushed through in about half of that time.

It seems far more likely that in Frankfort the first committee produced a version of Holy Communion and the Sunday Morning Service, as these were the services upon which the dispute centred. This version was used as the basis for the 'Form of Prayers'. The rest of that order was composed in Geneva between October 13th and February 10th.⁵ If, as has been assumed, the 'Form of Prayers' was complete on arrival at Geneva, it is surprising that it was not printed sooner. Knox, who had been one of the original drafting committee in Frankfort, was not in Geneva for the revision and completion of the 'Form of Prayers'.⁶ Most probably Whittingham, another committee member, and the ministers of the Genevan church, Goodman and Gilby were in charge of the production of the 'Form of Prayers'.

This explanation of its composition and authorship seems to fit far better with the mood of the 'Form of Prayers'. It is not a work which suggests the heat of controversy or the pressures of compromise. Instead it reflects the optimism of the English exiles who felt they were making a new start in Geneva. The stark simplicity of the 'Form of Prayers' was a demonstration of the 'purity' which they believed they were creating.

NOTES

1. Troubles XXXVI - XXXVII.
2. Troubles XXVII and XXVIII.
3. In the Troubles it is placed after the receipt of a letter from Calvin dated January 20th 1555, but the debate about a liturgy had begun before that had been received.
4. Troubles XXXVII
5. The two dates are those of the arrival of the English in Geneva and the date of publication of the 'Form of Prayers'. See above 158a-160.
6. See above 195 n. 64.

APPENDIX CKNOX AND GOODMAN

Much has been written on the subject of John Knox and his political ideas and in this thesis I have deliberately avoided becoming entangled in the controversies which surround the man and his thought.¹ Ever since the sixteenth century, the names of Knox and Goodman have been linked and their political opinions have been thought to be identical.² It has been asserted that Goodman was only the mouthpiece of Knox.³ This statement can be disproved simply by looking at the publication dates of their books. Goodman's book was published on 1st January 1558, Knox's 'First Blast' was published in the spring of 1558 and his 'Appellation' on 14th July 1558. Although both men advocated resistance to Mary Tudor, the arguments they used were not the same. There can be no doubt that the two men agreed with each other's views, but these cannot be dismissed as identical. As friends at Frankfort, if not before, and colleagues in Geneva, Knox and Goodman were bound to have discussed the question of obedience to the magistrates and to have exchanged ideas. As one would expect in such a situation, there is no direct evidence of dependence and any attempt at an assessment would have to rely upon the internal evidence of the two men's books. Knowing that they worked together and were drawing upon the same stream of ideas, such an exercise is unproductive.

It is probable that Knox, who had been wondering about the possibility of resistance since 1554,⁴ encouraged Goodman to think along the same lines. Goodman developed the ideas which he had drawn from Peter Martyr and his fellow exiles into his sermon of 1557 which Knox probably attended. Knox, whose attention had been drawn to the question of female rule, probably had persuaded Goodman that it was against the law and will of God for a woman to be on the throne. Although Goodman

used this idea in 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd', he gave surprisingly little space to it and it does not form part of the main argument.⁵ Goodman's justification for resistance, was based upon his concept of the people of God. It seems probable that Knox, after reading Goodman's book, adopted the argument his friend had constructed and used it in his own 'Appellation' and the 'Letter to the Commonalty'. Knox also intended to change from an attack upon female rule to a description of a godly political community for his 'Second Blast of the Trumpet'.⁶ In many respects the notes he made for this second blast read like a summary of 'How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd'. Whatever the lines of influence between Knox and Goodman, it is possible and desirable to separate Goodman's ideas from Knox's and to study them on their own.

NOTES - APPENDIX C

1. See the book by Ridley and articles by Greaves and Little and the thesis by Kyle cited above 194; 283; 234. P.Janton. John Knox, L'homme et l'oeuvre, Paris (1967) provides a new perspective on Knox but is brief on his political thought. W.S.Reid, Trumpeter of God, New York (1974) adds little that is new, neither did W.J.Veysey 'The Sources of the Idea of Active Resistance in the Political Theory of John Knox' (Unpub. Ph. D. thesis Boston 1961). Some interesting points are made in the quartercentenary lectures edited by D.Shaw, John Knox, Edinburgh (1975). Professor Greaves' latest contribution provides an adequate survey of the present state of the debate, see 'John Knox, the Reformed Tradition, and the Development of Resistance Theory', Journal of Modern History (On Demand Supplement) (1976) 1-35. The most satisfactory description of Knox's political thought and its background remains Professor Burns' thesis (chapter III 130-230 and for 1554-9, 137-80) and his article 'The Political Ideas of the Scottish Reformation; Aberdeen University Review 36 (1955-6) 251-68.

2. For instance Cecil wrote to Sadler and Crofts on 31st October 1559. 'of all others Knoxees name if it be not Goodman is most odiose here'. B.L.^{Add}MS. 33,591 f 249r, and see above 188. Some people even thought that Goodman had written the First Blast.

3. Allen 117.

4. The questions to Bullinger, O.L. II 745-7 and see J.H.Burns' Knox and Bullinger' Scottish Historical Review 34 (1955) 90-91.

5. See above 294.

6. Knox Wks. IV 539-40. Professor Burns reached the same conclusion; 'it seems probable that Goodman's (mind) moved both more rapidly and decisively and that Knox's writings in the summer of 1558 owe much of their character to his reading of Goodman's pamphlet'. (Burns thesis, Appendix D, 444).

APPENDIX D.COPIES OF 'HOW SUPERIOR POWERS OUGHT TO BE OBEYD'

Apart from the manuscript^t version of 'How Superior Powers Ought to Obeyd',¹ there are eleven printed copies in the British Isles and five more in the United States. The details and location of all these copies have been investigated; those which I have not seen I have checked by letter. They can be found in the British Library (2); Bodleian (2); Cambridge University (2); Brasenose College; Durham University; Ediburgh University; Lambeth Palace; John Rylands Manchester; Folger Shakespeare Library; Harvard University; Union Theological Seminary; Williams College; Yale University. Two copies were found which do not feature in Ramage's Finding List.² One was discovered at Brasenose College, the other was the second copy at Cambridge University.³ Among all the copies of Goodman's book only one of the Bodleian copies has a different colophon which might suggest a second edition of the work.⁴

Contemporary manuscript notes were found in one of the British Library copies and those at Brasenose, Lambeth Palace and Durham. The copy at Lambeth was owned by Richard Bancroft before he became Archbishop, and bound together with Knox's 'First Blast' and John Bradford's 'Coye of a Letter'. The British Library copy with manuscript markings was bound in with the 'Theses Martinianae of Martin (Marprelate) Junior'. In the other cases where works have been bound with 'How Superior Powers Ought to be Obedy', the binding is not contemporary. A note on the flyleaf of the Durham copy states that it was given by the author to its owner 'Morley'.

In 1931 a facsimile edition of Goodman's book was printed in New York, edited by C.H. McIllwain.

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NOTES - APPENDIX D.

1. B.L. Add MS. 18, 670 and see above 274 n. 8.
2. D. Ramage A Finding List of English Books to 1640 in Libraries in the British Isles Durham (1958).
3. The first copy is the one listed by Ramage under Peterborough Cathedral and now deposited in Cambridge University Library.
4. See above 273 n. 1.

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THE EARLY CAREER OF CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN AND HIS PLACE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH PROTESTANT THOUGHT

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Durham

1978

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