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Making Windows into Men's Souls:
An Examination of Theological Norms at Elizabethan Cambridge

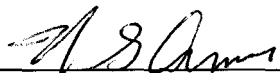
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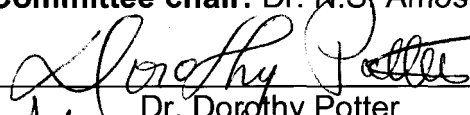
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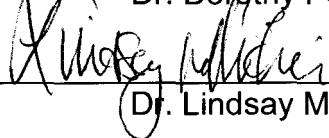
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Making Windows into Men's Souls:

An Examination of Theological Norms at Elizabethan Cambridge

John Parker

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of History 402

The nature of English religiosity that is both specific ideology and doctrine and how these were practiced in the adherent's day to day life, during the later part of the Tudor dynasty has been the subject of much debate and research. Due to the volume of work produced about this period it is necessary to differentiate between three categories: those works which are directly relevant to this examination, as they deal specifically with either the time or content of this essay, those which are useful to understanding the period directly preceding this examinations focus, and those which address subjects and themes which are largely outside the scope of this paper. By necessity this means that this paper will not exam or address a large segment of the work produced surrounding Elizabethan religiosity, This should not be taken to mean that those works which the author does not examine are without merit or validity, merely that this field is one in which a large and diverse body of work has been produced. There were also several phases to the Reformation in England and what holds true in one does not necessarily hold in the other. This essay is intended only to address those norms present at Cambridge during the reign of Elizabeth Tudor.

There are several works that have examined the nature of Elizabethan Religiosity, and asserted that there was a largely Reformed consensus among the laity, the parochial and episcopal strata. Most prominent among these is Nicholas Tyacke's *Anti-*

Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism (1987), in which Tyacke argues that by the end of Elizabeth's reign, and into the beginning of James I, there existed a broadly Calvinist consensus within the English Church. Further, this consensus was upset by religious innovations brought to the English communion in the later Stuart dynasty. While the precise nature of these innovations lies outside the scope of this investigation, what is pertinent is that the originators of the Reformation (primarily Jean Calvin, Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, and Peter Martyr¹) all possessed subtle and distinctly different ideologies, both in terms of church organization (ecclesiology) and the means of salvation and the nature of the divine (theology). The repercussions of these ideologies would have dramatic consequences both for England and the conception of civil society as whole in the seventeenth century. During the reign of the Stuart kings the methods and ideals of Reformed Protestantism and the Saints of the church, would find common cause with members of Parliament and bring about the first true revolution in the modern world.

Much of Tyacke's work, both in *Anti-Calvinists* and his later work, *Altars Restored* with Peter Fincham, focuses on the aesthetic implications of altars and rails. Tyacke utilizes these as symbolic of traditional Catholic ecclesiology and theology, and the reaction against their re-installation as proof of a Calvinist consensus. Tyacke argues that since the vast majority of adherents within the English communion were not virtuosos in terms of their religion, they were not initiates. The danger of the aesthetic was the possibility that the laity would misinterpret it as a continued endorsement of

¹For a broad exposition of the differing theological camps and the leanings of these men please see Appendix B

Catholic practices, specifically the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist and the veneration of Saints.

Tyacke correctly assumes that the laity remained at this stage passive participants in the church. In the Roman model the laity are the observers and the object of the mass; in the emerging Protestant model, the elite members of the community policed the forms and orders of worship so as to “protect” those who were not educated from error. Understanding that Protestantism was essentially a religion of the intellectual elite is vital. Tyacke traces the intellectual rise and decline of the movement at Oxford and Cambridge. The trajectory that Protestantism moves along in these intellectual centers is the backbone of Tyacke's argument. Those educated at both Universities if they did not enter a professional field, the law or medicine, almost universally became priests and ministers, this meant that the theological norms expounded by a local parish priest can be discerned by examining the environment in which that man was educated.

Tyacke essentially argues that the crest of Calvinism peaked in the 1590's and was challenged in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period, by a rise in Arminian or Crypto-Catholic theology². It is the thesis of *Anti-Calvinists* that the current examination intends to test. In order for this to be true there would have to be not only a rise in Arminian or Catholic ideologies being imported into England, but also evidence of a reaction to Calvinist doctrine within the established English community. Second, there

²Arminian theology understands Grace as being abundant and sufficient for the salvation of the adherent. The adherent, in this model, voluntarily engages and accepts God's Grace. The possibility of humanity's agency in this model would have been anathema to the first and second generation protestant thinkers, who held that the Divine is both absolute sovereign and arbitrary in regards to the dispensation of Grace. The possibility for Justification by and through works lead, inevitably, to charges of latent Catholicism by the more ardent Protestants.

would have to exist among divines the conception of disparate sects within Christianity, and one specifically, and openly aligned with Calvinism. Lastly, there would need to exist evidence that Reformed Theology was at odds with the established English church.

The inspiration for this argument arose out of an academic discussion, conducted in a series of books and journal articles, between Tyacke, Peter Lake, and Peter White. Lake, White and Alec Ryrie, whose works will be discussed below, through careful scholarship seriously, call into question the validity of Tyacke's findings. Their work points out a fallacy in Tyacke's theory, namely ascribing certain traits to Calvinism which were nearly universal to Protestant sects. The implication present with the institution of Altars and Rails was a real presence in the Eucharist, something no Protestant church would affirm, likewise icons and saints. Therefore Tyacke's insistence that any resistance to innovation may be laid at Calvin's feet is called into question.

In *Predestination Policy and Polemic*, White argues that Tyacke provides an overly simplistic view of Tudor religiosity. His thesis is that viewing England as theologically dualist is insufficiently nuanced to adequately engage Elizabethan Religiosity. White further fundamentally contradicts Tyacke, claiming that within the *Articles of Religion* there exists an express validation of free will. White's assertions on this point face difficulties, especially when the reader remembers that *Articles X-XIV* all specifically reject the sufficiency of "good works" and *Article XVII*³ specifically endorses the doctrines of Predestination and Election. The most relevant aspect of this work

³The *Articles of Religion* are in effect the litmus test for inclusion and conformity with the English Communion. As such these guidelines portray the first steps toward a uniquely English theology. They broad condemn traditional Roman beliefs and customs, such as transubstantiation, clerical celibacy etc. These

however is the cataloging of diverse writings concerning obscure points of dogma. It is precisely this diversity and the inability to clearly define and codify the beliefs of the English Communion, in line with Continental sects, that indicates the beginnings of an organic English understanding of the nature of the adherent's salvation.

Alec Ryrie in *Being Protestant* takes the middle path between Tyacke and White. Ryrie's examination of daily Reformation era Protestantism portrays a sect that evolves into a fairly cohesive and uniform set of doctrines from disparate origins. Ryrie's investigation is interesting also in the broad range of adherents whose works are examined in this volume. While the study currently being undertaken will focus almost entirely on the educated class, the clergy, Ryrie is still useful in placing these men in context. The clerical class was largely responsible for how their parishioners viewed and practiced their faith.

More relevant to this paper is a presentation produced by Ryrie as part of a symposium on the Reformation in Germany and England. This paper entitled *The Afterlife of Lutheran England*, examines the ways in which some aspects of Luther's theology was adopted by the Protestant sects in England. Ryrie effectively argues that concepts particular to Luther remained alive and influential, even within the works of men who were firmly within Puritan Orthodoxy. Ryrie's investigation while substantively different in method from this author's examination, lends further credence to the belief that the early years of Protestant England contained a large amount of intellectual exchange, and that once these ideas arrived and took root in the English mind they were difficult to dispel.

The most relevant work to this essay for several reasons is *Moderate Puritans and Elizabethan Church* by Peter Lake. Lake examines the doctrinal writings of four prominent Puritan thinkers, all of whom were educated at Cambridge between the years 1560-1600. These men and their theological leanings bolster any diversity found in the book lists from Cambridge. Further, these writing should validate the assertion that the books available for study at Cambridge were influential in forming an organic English Religiosity. The argument can be put forward that the diverse spectrum of Reformed theological works present at Cambridge, as well as decidedly Roman works such as the *Summa Theologica*, would only be present for one of two reasons. The first is that, if Tyacke's model of Calvinist dominance is correct, these works would be present as examples of error, and this would also explain the continuing availability of Roman works. The second and far more likely reason is that the sum total of these theological tomes had an important and lasting effect on the nature of English Protestantism.

All of the above mentioned scholars generally fall into the revisionist camp. This school of thought argues that it was *Arminian* or a *Catholic* innovation under the Stuarts that was primarily responsible for the heightened religious tensions leading up to the English Civil War. This view is borne out by the majority of evidence in the historical record; it is, however, not the traditional view. The traditional view holds that the Puritan ideology was the innovation which led to the first revolution in the western world. This view of the English Civil War was propagated by Anglican clergymen following the Restoration, due in no small part to the social implications of religion at this period. Paul Avis in *Anglicanism and the Christian Church* carefully lays out the early modern

English model where church membership and social inclusion were synonymous. More simply, the schismatic actions of the Puritans, Dissenters and Methodists, posed serious challenges for the State of England, and a conscious attempt was made to rewrite history in favor of the broad and high church. Due to this development there exists little in the historical record to validate traditionalist views on the nature of religiosity in Elizabethan England.

The Elizabethan Settlement, however, was as much a slight to the more radical elements of the English Church as it was an affront to the conservatives. The assertion has been made that this compromise was never intended to be a longstanding or permanent solution to England's theological woes; this is however an incomplete understanding of the Settlement. Following the Council of Trent, the Protestant Churches of Europe began in earnest to codify their own unique systems of Church hierarchy, and theology. Western Christianity had crossed the Rubicon, there was no unification with Rome on the horizon and the various communions were in uncharted territory. English Divines were aware of this and attempted to reconcile their new found autonomy.

Anglicans and Puritans: the English Church and the Continent

While the majority of the traditional works have been shown to be inaccurate⁴,

⁴Many of the interpretations and analyses of the English Civil War composed prior to the 1980's proposed that the major catalyst for the war was religious innovations on the part of the radical protestants, Puritans, in England. However the broad consensus of recent scholarship and the weight of historical evidence points to a firmly Protestant theology within the Church of England. The religious conflict that erupted into the Civil War had more to do with ceremonial innovations, the re-installation of altars and intricately decorated sanctuary and clerical vestments, than it did with any fundamental theological

one of them is particularly useful to this essay. Michael Walzer's *Revolution of the Saints* (1982), exams the transmission of doctrine and dogma within and from the clerical strata, and the attendant affect this had on religiosity in general. Though by and large Walzer's conclusions can be dismissed he argues that his treatment of how radical ideas from the continent migrated to the middle classes in England is incredibly useful for understanding the dynamics of religiosity in England. If one simply replaces radical Calvinism with Protestantism, Walzer's model becomes difficult to disprove. Walzer's examination of the relationship between class and religious affiliation does not bear up during the reign of Elizabeth, however, as all three of her Archbishops were both decidedly reformed and from the upper social strata. Even these men who held strong protestant beliefs and were heavily influence by the theology of Calvin, were “not so wholly addicted to him that (they would) condemn other men's judgments that in diverse points not agree not fully with him⁵.”

While the works discussed above provide an excellent lens through which to see the complex realities of early modern English religiosity, they provide little in the way of testable and quantifiable data. For this a copy of Leedham-Green's *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, a collection of the libraries left to the University of Cambridge during the Tudor and Jacobean, period is useful. Leedham-Green has carefully compiled all the

divide. The caveat must be offered however, that to the Puritan faction these physical innovations were perceived as a serious threat to their conception of “pure” religion.

⁵Whitgift Elizabeth's last Archbishop of Canterbury discussing Calvin. Whitgift occupied the middle ground theologically between Elizabeth's first Archbishop, Matthew Parker, who advocated a slow and incremental Reformation as well as a maintaining certain traditional aesthetic traditions from the extant Roman Church. Edmund Grindal, Elizabeth's second Archbishop, was of a much more radical bent, and advocated for immediate reinstitution of Edwards iconoclastic policies. Quoted in Avis, P. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church*. T&T Clark, New York, New York. 2002. pg. 23

records surrounding these works, including not only titles, authors, owners, date entered, but also the specific sections and contemporary value of these works. These final two classifications add texture and depth to an already exhaustive study. Much can be inferred by where in a library a book is stored and what purpose it serves in study; likewise the cost of each volume indicates in a very literal sense its value within society. Though Leedham-Green has compiled all this data she provides no analysis of the libraries or their contents; as such this work is an ideal primary source.

Reformation religiosity was a highly regional affair. Much can be inferred from the location, both in terms of origin and destination, of each of the correspondence. Zurich can be substituted for Zwingli, Wittenberg for Luther, and Geneva for Calvin. As such, examining the correspondence of prominent figures in the Elizabethan Church can yield insight into their theological leanings. An examination of the *Zurich Archives*, the *Parker Library*, and Hasting Robinson's *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation* helps to trace the correspondence of Matthew Parker, Edmund Grindal and John Whitgift. The inherent bias of the *Zurich Archives* must be taken into account when weighing the information provided within them. On the whole, however, the picture painted by these works indicates a clear connection between Geneva, Zurich and Canterbury.

Furthermore, running a search for keywords in *Early English Books Online*, and narrowing the time-frame to the years 1565-1610 contributes to this study. The result is once again a diverse selection of continental theologians. It is important to note that Jean Calvin is the most prominent name throughout all these records; however, certain

others appear with regularity and with interesting connections to the hierarchy of the English Church. Martin Bucer is the best example of this; a large collection of his work can be found in the *Book Lists* and numerous references exist within *E.E.B.O.*, including a sermon preached at his funeral by none other than Matthew Parker the future Archbishop of Canterbury.

The references to a broad swath of continental theologians is not however restricted to the ecclesiastical strata. There exist tracts produced by Heinrich Bullinger, Ulrich Zwingli and Peter Martyr⁶ that were translated into English from Latin. Protestantism is largely dependent on the ability of the adherent to read for themselves the Word of God; this was the cause for the publication and dissemination of the Bible in English throughout England. To the unlettered devout protestant illiteracy was something to be overcome or else they would not be able to fully harvest the fruits of their faith⁷. The emphasis on written material as containing the means for salvation meant that the average adherent in a Reformed Church would have access to the information and ideologies contained in these tracts. Even if they could not read themselves, no true saint would willfully deprive their brethren of access to the thoughts of godly men who held the “correct” understandings of God.

What is summarized above is a fraction of the work produced around Religiosity in the Tudor era. These delineations can on the whole be applied to the remainder of the corpus. It is impossible to make a blanket assertion about the religious leanings of people

⁶Once again for further explanation please see Appendix B

⁷For amplification the section on Protestantism and the Word in *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* by Alec Ryrie. Doctor Ryrie argues that the intellectualism of the Reformed church is “hard to underestimate”, and that methodical reading in conjunction with prayer was essential for the successful consummation of their faith.

during this phase of the English Reformation; there existed many pressures--social, religious and economic--which muddy these waters. The most valuable lesson learned from the above materials is that England existed as a poly-theological community during the Elizabethan period, and that the best that any modern researcher can hope to achieve is to survey the diverse and sundry ideologies, norms, and theologies present.

Cambridge

Nicholas Tyacke argues in *Anti-Calvinists* that during the reign of Elizabeth, Calvinism was the predominant theological movement in England; further, that “nowhere was that ascendancy more obvious than at Cambridge”⁸. Tyacke goes on to say that paradoxically, this Calvinist dominance created an environment that was conducive to the rise of anti-Calvinist thought and rhetoric. Tyacke asserts that this dominance was well enough established in the 1590's to defend its hegemony against attacks by faculty members on the Calvinist order. How is the reader to evaluate Tyacke's claims? Tyacke himself conveniently provides a few criteria with which to evaluate them. The first is the assertion that Calvinism was in full swing during the 1590's which provides a definite period within which to look. This would lead one to assume that there would exist a large demand for the works of Jean Calvin in the final decade of the fifteenth century. Testing these assumptions poses some challenges. A primary challenge is that the lists of Probate show a general decline in the addition of the works of continental Reformed

⁸Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*. Pg 29

theologians during this period⁹; however, this does not necessarily mean that Calvinism was in decline. One explanation for this is that, following a return to social stability, after nearly three generations without significant social and religious upheaval, English divines had begun to produce their own organic theological works. This hypothesis poses another difficulty, namely, how to differentiate between ideologies that often revolve around arcane, obscure and minute differences of doctrine. One way is to define in the broadest possible sense Calvinist ideology so as to evaluate within the works of William Perkins what, if any, lasting impact it had on endemic English theology.

In order to address Tyacke's claim of Calvinist dominance, this examination will first engage the writings of continental theologians' contemporaneously availability and proliferation of these works. To this end this essay will utilize Leedham-Greene's compilation of the lists of Probate contain within them the records for all the libraries at Cambridge broken down by author, owner and title. Compiling data on a cross section of the works of continental theologians yields the first test of Tyackes assertions. The initial result generally reaffirms the proposed Calvinist dominance at Cambridge¹⁰. Calvin leads the pack in total number of volumes, total titles and comes in a close second to Peter Martyr in ratio of titles to volumes.

Calvin is so dominant in total number of volumes that he outnumbers his nearest challenger, his Lieutenant Theodore Beza, by one hundred and three volumes. These records, upon further examination however, present a more nuanced view of the literary theological landscape. Though Calvin certainly was the dominant theologian, several

⁹E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories Vol. II.*

¹⁰Please see Table in appendix A

caveats must be noted. While Calvin holds the clear majority during this period, one hundred and ten of those volumes are biblical commentaries. These works, though they certainly reflect the theological leanings of their author, are substantively different than tracts on doctrine, or polemics composed as part of a larger protestant debate. The polemics and tracts composed during this time were designed to reach the largest possible audience and convert them to the differing factions active within the English communion. Exegetical works, on the other hand, would have been appealing primarily to initiates within a sect. It was within commentaries that the faithful, particularly in the Reformed churches, gleaned an appropriate and correct understanding of the gospel. These however would have been beyond the ken of those who were not full committed to a Reformed approach to religion. Removing the exegetical works causes Calvin's majority to shrink to one volume, ninety total tracts that either summarize his doctrine or expound one or more specific points of doctrine.

What is astonishing is that Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, for which there were thirty nine copies at Cambridge, a number equal to Martin Bucer's overall total, has by far the largest ratio of volumes per title. Printed in three editions, two being the complete works one in Latin and one in English, and one abridged volume in English, this work has by far the highest ratio at thirteen to one. The picture that emerges is that Calvin was clearly the dominant theological voice at Cambridge, in regards to those who were initiates of the Reformed faith. He was however not utilized as part of the program of conversion and public debates designed to win adherents

The assertion that Calvin was the principle theological voice at Cambridge seems

to hold at this point. While there were certainly other theological models present, Calvin's was by far the most prominent and no other author outlined their theology so completely as Calvin in *the Institutes*. Tyacke's argument focuses on the environment at Cambridge in the 1590's, when the average date of donation to the library for the Latin version of the *Institutes* was 1576. This printing also had the greatest longevity, 1543-1617, and comprised the bulk of the copies of the *Institutes*. The English edition on the other hand was donated between 1578 and 1593, with an average being 1588. This edition exists only five times in the records and so, even though the dates are roughly in line with Tyacke's claims of Calvinist hegemony, the influx of his works had obviously reached their peak before then. The inference can be drawn that Tyacke's assertions of Calvinist supremacy were overstated and that, beginning in the late 1570's, there was, if not a rise in the diversity of theological influences at Cambridge, at least a decline in the fervor for Calvin. There are several issues with this interpretation. The most pertinent to this examination is that books are not a single use commodity, nor are ideas a one off experience. The other possible conclusion is that by the beginning of the 1580's English theologians had begun their own unique and organic synthesis of John Calvin's theology and ecclesiology.

There exists evidence within the inventories to support this latter theory. Peter Martyr and Phillip Melanchthon¹¹, upon closer inspection, emerge as the most prominent non- Genevan theologians of the University. Martyr, as mentioned above, comes in third behind Beza in total volumes, and the ratio of titles to volumes of his works is four to one.

¹¹For amplification see Appendix B

Further Martyr's works continued to be regular addition to the libraries at Cambridge between 1558 and 1614. Only four volumes of Martyr's works fall outside the scope of this investigation, in other words, before 1565, or after 1610. The average date of donation was 1587, with a mode of 1589, and this indicates that Martyr's popularity peaked at or near the same time as Calvin, and Beza's. This could be seen to uphold Tyacke's assertions of a rise in Arminianism as they were all committed members of the Reformed Church. Martyr's refusal to sign the Wittenberg Concordat indicates his fully Reformed understanding of the Eucharist. This understanding of the Eucharist would have been completely in line with contemporary Anglican norms. The 1562 edition of the *Articles of Religion* clearly states "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith¹²", and as such should not be construed as an outlying, or heterodox position. Once again the Church of England at during the reign of Elizabeth was doctrinally a thoroughly Reformed communion.

The dominance of Swiss style theology that can be discerned so far is challenged by Luther's lieutenant Phillip Melancthon. Melancthon was a prolific writer and his works were an enduring part of the Cambridge libraries. While he comes in fourth in terms of total volumes of those examined, it must be noted that there exists a wide divide between Melancthon and Heinrich Bullinger, the next man on the list. The stark difference in amount of volumes indicates that there were two distinct groups of theological works present: those which specialists chose to add, which include Aquinas,

¹²*Articles of Religion XVIII*

Bullinger, Luther and surprisingly Bucer (the former Regius Professor of Divinity), and those that appealed to a wider audience. That Melanchthon was part of this more accessible group is important to understanding the composite nature of English thought, and further challenges Tyacke's assertion of Calvinist dominance. Further, Melanchthon had by and large the longest tenure in the archives with his first volume being donated in 1535 and the last in 1631, with an average date of donation being 1583. Not only was Melanchthon perpetually present in the Inventories, but the additions of his works began to decline at or about the same time as his Geneva fellows.

Melanchthon did not endorse nearly as radical a program of reform as those in the Reformed camp. Though he was accused of being a crypto-catholic for his belief in the validity of the forms and traditions of the church historic, his theology was thoroughly protestant. Melanchthon's adherence to traditional forms of worship is interesting both to the developing concept of *Adiaphora*¹³, and its implications as to the validity of Tyacke's theory. The beauty of English religion has repeatedly been its ability to compromise and equivocate; this is the essence of deciding which things may be considered "indifferent" in regards to the proper execution of religion. One of the major areas of contention and eventual compromise was the decoration of churches and clerical vestments, areas that Tyacke and Fincham have made the subject of careful examination. The very fact that these issues would even be considered indicates how far in the Protestant, if not Reformed, camp the English were. They readily differentiated between the church physical and the church spiritual. In many ways the Puritan insurgency of the Jacobean

¹³Things judged to be adiaphora were those aspects of religion which did not directly affect the adherent's understanding of the nature of both God, specifically in His incarnation as Jesus Christ and

period was a reaction against exactly this kind of compromise.

What then should be made of the traditionalist Melanchthon, and the mercurial Martyr Vermigli, being found so prominently in the Inventories? They are neither fully in line with Calvinism, or the Roman Church. They each possessed a subtle and compromising mind, were conflict averse and deeply committed to ecumenicism. In many ways these attributes were the opposite of both their contemporaries and the later Puritans, who were zealous to a fault. It is precisely Martyr and Melanchthon's willingness to accommodate and integrate diverse ideas with their own that is of importance. Their influence was not only on the theology of England but the method with which English divines approached issues of doctrine and aesthetic which arose from within their own sect.

The Theology of William Perkins

William Perkins, the successor to William Whitacre as the defender of moderate Puritanism at Cambridge, was a lecturer at St. Andrews during the time in which this examination is focused. Perkins is another one of the Divines at Cambridge whose ecclesiastical leanings were difficult to discern. Though openly critical of actions taken by the church hierarchy to suppress Presbyterian agitators, he never fully advocated separation as the method most appropriate for dealing with the differences between the rising Puritan movement and those who conformed to Anglican doctrine and forms. This should not be interpreted as ambivalence to the cause of continued church reform, indeed Perkins was one of the most vocal and staunchest supporters of the Puritan movement in

England¹⁴. More than that he was staunchly Reformed, endorsing Beza's Supralapsarian¹⁵ understanding of the fall of man, which though developed by Calvin's successor was considered “canonical”, and underlies many of the decisions made at the Synod of Dort.

The first order of business then is to roughly flesh out Calvinist theology. Once again, many of the contested issues are minute in scale and some are shared across doctrines; as such, in order to be considered Calvinist, the following tenets must be adhered to rigidly and entirely. More simply this is an all or nothing differentiation. The caveat must be given to that the definition of Calvinism which is used for the purpose of this investigation is inherently anachronistic. The so called *five points of Calvinism* (T.U.L.I.P) were developed in the early part of the Sixteenth Century, in response to attacks on Calvinist theology by the Remonstrants¹⁶. The five points are as follows (included in the following are definitions both from the Synod of Dort and the Institutes. This was done to validate the use of these delineations in this examination). The first is the nature of man in his fallen state, which is perpetual unless interrupted by the divine.

¹⁴Tyacke. Pg 31

¹⁵Supralapsarian is a way of understanding *Election*. More specifically the logical order in which God decrees (executes) the actions that lead both to the fall of humanity and their eventual election or reprobation. In this model God decides to sort Humanity, then he creates both species, the Elect and the Reprobate. This is followed by the Fall, and lastly the salvation or damnation of individual. Supralapsarianism is at odds with the Sublapsarian view which holds that the decree to sort humanity comes after creation.

¹⁶The Remonstrants were the Arminian faction in the Low Countries who published a series of tracts attacking Calvinism. The response to these was the codification of Calvinism as a theology at the Synod of Dort. Difficulty arises in that there was no codified system of belief for Geneva style Protestantism before [what?]. It can be safely assumed, however, that these tenets existed at least in a working model prior to their official codification. This paper provides both the definition of the theological model composed at the Synod and the concurrent passages from the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which was and is the litmus test for orthodoxy in the Reformed and Presbyterian churches.

Calvinist doctrine maintains that humanity in this condition exists in a state of “Total Depravity”.¹⁷ The second point is a reaffirmation of the sovereignty of the Divine, and a lynchpin of predestination, Unconditional Election.¹⁸ The third is Limited Atonement.¹⁹ The final two are Irresistible Grace²⁰ and the *Preservation of the Saints*²¹.

Perkins’ magnum opus *A Golden Chaine* published in 1591, is an archetypical Calvinist work. In discussing the fall of man and its after effects, Perkins asserts that,

¹⁷Total Depravity argues against humanity possessing any sort of moral compass. In other words, humanity is not inclined of its own volition to follow the will of the Divine; in fact, exactly the opposite. Calvin’s conception of *Total Depravity* is the natural evolution of Augustine’s doctrine of Original Sin. Within the *Institutes*, when Calvin describes the reprobation of humanity as being both total and inherited, he invokes Augustine as the one who, “labored to show, that we are not corrupted by acquired wickedness, but bring an innate corruption from the very womb” (*Institutes* 2:1:5). In this model then it is not voluntary actions, i.e. sin, which places man outside the grace of God, but his very essence.

¹⁸*Unconditional Election*, another extrapolation of Augustinian thought, asserts that the Divine chooses to save certain individuals before the creation of the world *for no other reason than that it is the will of the Divine*. Simply God chooses those who will bypass judgment without considering any actions beliefs or inner attributes of the Elect. To Calvin *Election* was the only means of receiving divine grace, and those chosen were the only ones who could enter into glory (*Institutes* 2:2:20), and is the basis of faith (*Institutes* 2:3:8). Further, this theological model prohibits good works as evidence of election. Since the decision of who receives grace is totally arbitrary there can be no certainty over the final fate of the adherent based on earthly actions, This definition would give rise to the beginnings of the inner tension that would come to define Calvinism.

¹⁹ *Limited Atonement* is the belief that, though the death of Christ, while more than able to redeem the sins of the world, is efficacious only for the Elect. This strengthens the sovereignty of the Divine in the face of worldly action. While Calvin asserts that the reprobate (those not elected) will receive justice, they cannot receive the redemption enabled through the atonement of Christ Crucified. The *Canons of Dort* do not equivocate on this point: “it was God’s will that Christ through the blood of the cross (by which he confirmed the new covenant) should effectively redeem from every people, tribe, nation, and language all those and only those who were chosen from eternity to salvation and given to him by the Father.”

²⁰ *Irresistible Grace* is the conception that the will of the Divine is so powerful and the will of man so ineffectual that when the adherent was called by Grace it was impossible to resist. “Faith is therefore to be considered as the gift of God, not on account of its being offered by God to man, to be accepted or rejected at his pleasure; but because it is in reality conferred, breathed, and infused into him; or even because God bestows the power or ability to believe, and then expects that man should by the exercise of his own free will, consent to the terms of that salvation, and actually believe in Christ; but because he who works in man both to will and to do, and indeed all things in all, produces both the will to believe, and the act of believing also.” *Canons of Dort Section 4 Article 14*.

²¹*Preservation of the Saints* refers to the inability of the members of the elect either to renounce their election or to fall from it. Being elected has become their permanent state. But God, who is rich in mercy, according to his unchangeable purpose of election, does not wholly withdraw the Holy Spirit from his own people, even in their melancholy falls; nor suffers them to proceed so far as to lose the grace of adoption, and forfeit the state of justification, or to commit sins unto death; nor does he permit them to be totally deserted, and to plunge themselves into everlasting destruction.

“The fruite or effectes out of this corrupt estate of our first parents, arose out of a state of unbelief, whereby God hath included *all men under sinne that he might manifest his mercy in the saluation (sic) of some and iustice (sic) in condemnation of other* [emphasis added]”.²² Perkins' understanding of the fallen state of humanity and the method of their salvation is firmly in line with Calvinist orthodoxy. Perkins goes on to assert that the decision by the Divine of who is to receive reprobation or be entered in the “booke of lyfe”, has nothing to do with the actions of the adherent. The mechanism of salvation is solely God's prerogative, “without whiche it is impossible to attaineth”²³ redemption and eternal life. Further, in his dialogue *A Case for Conscience*, Perkins clearly states that neither through works *nor* faith may the adherent find redemption²⁴. This is another hallmark of radical protestant orthodoxy, not only were the superstitions of Rome to be guarded against but also its false innovations. By addressing and rejecting Luther's doctrine of *Sola Fides*, Perkins identifies himself with the Swiss Protestant movement.

Discussing the ideal understanding of Christ, Perkins voices yet another Orthodox Calvinist ideal, “Christ hath procured unto us remission of all our sinnes past, and freed us from hell and damnation; *if there be but a sparke of grace within us*”²⁵, not due to the inherent worth or works of the adherent. Once again Perkins clearly shows that he is operating with the doctrine of predestination as his basis. There is the allusion also to the limited nature of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross which is efficacious only for those who have received the grace of God not all mankind. This theme of Christ alone as the

²²William Perkins. *A Golden Chaine*. pg 18.

²³Ibid. pg 26

²⁴William Perkins. *A Case for Conscience* pg 15

²⁵William Perkins. *On the Right Knowledge of Christ Crucified*. Pg 20 (My own emphasis)

“author and master of our iustice”²⁶, pervades Perkins’ work. Though this language is not unique to Protestantism, much less Swiss Reformed theology, the context in which Perkins employs it is striking. To him God alone arbitrates our salvation. The *Canons of Dort*, and Calvinism, are based on the fundamental principle that God is absolutely sovereign, holding dominion over all aspects of this world. How does this apply to adherents following their Election to eternal life? On this subject Perkins is equally doctrinal: in this life the elect can do nothing other than obey unthinkingly the law and order of the Divine. They “have a state of true perfection”²⁷, one that is perpetual and irrevocable. This cannot be interpreted as anything other than an endorsement of the doctrine of the *Preservation of the Saints*.

Perkins clearly endorses a Swiss Reformed understanding of the nature of Salvation, Justification, and Predestination. What then was his position in regards to acceptance within both Cambridge and the English communion as a whole? *A Golden Chaine* was published in English with the express approval of the Bishop of London. The publication of Perkins’ works in English validates the assertion that the English had begun to synthesize their own brand of Reformed theology by the 1590’s. The list of Probate contains ten volumes in English of William Perkins’ writings, while a search of Early English Books online yields another seven²⁸. No other theologian produced so large a volume of work in the local vernacular as Perkins. Nor one geared to the masses, another hallmark of Protestantism. Unlike the strict hierarchy of the Roman Church “the

²⁶William Perkins. *A Graine of Mustard Seede* pg. 34

²⁷William Perkins. *A Reformed Catholicke* pg 231

²⁸Leedham-Green. Vol II pgs. 608-609

lay and uneducated (Protestant) aspired to share the same religion as their preachers (many of them), and the preachers aspired to share it with them”²⁹. When the reader compares the availability of Perkins’ writings to those of Calvin, we see that, if the intent of the Reformed movement was to disseminate intellectual material as broadly as possible, it is Perkins who is owed the credit of spreading Calvinism among the English not Calvin himself.

Once again the reader can discern the current of a uniquely English religiosity at work. Though Reformed through and through, Perkins still maintained the validity of the ecclesiastical norms of the English church and never outright advocated for separation or dissent. Perkins’ belief that there existed continuity, in terms of the transmission of pure doctrine, between the original teachings of Christ and the theology presented in the Reformed church was of great importance. This is Perkins’ and the other Puritans’ understanding of Apostolic Authority, not as a corporeal transmission but an intellectual one. The lay of the historical landscape, and the mentality of any Early Modern theologian also play a part in this discussion. These men would have not have believed that they were in fact innovating or deviating from tradition, rather that they were re-implementing authentic religion³⁰. They could not discard the extant church in totality. If the Puritan movement is seen as one that directly challenges church polity and

²⁹Alec Ryrie, *personal correspondence*. September 20, 2013

³⁰“Our endeavour is not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived” Hooker, Richard. *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity. Book V., The Works of Richard Hooker, vol. 2* 1888. Sec 1. Hooker, along with Andrewes was one of the the principle Caroline Divines. This group of men came to define “Anglicanism” as a codified system of belief. A contemporary of Perkins his attitude is representative of the more moderate theologians, and speaks both to the continuity of the church and the theological willingness to accommodate diverse opinions within Anglicanism.

aesthetics rather than theological differences, then the intimate linking of the movement with a Calvinist understanding of Grace and Salvation, with this movement is disingenuous. More simply the Puritan movement held the same core tenets as the mainstream church, it was only their austerity that was novel.

Beneath this understanding of dogmatic succession is the concept that the universal church is one that has existed since the time of Christ. Though Perkins has little to say on this subject, James Ussher, a student and disciple of Perkins, unequivocally affirms the continuity of the church³¹, and does so using language strikingly similar to William Laud³², who represents the anti-thesis of the Puritan movement. Laud is not the aberration, among high churchmen, in his conception of the church, whether it be the invisible, or the corporate church, is found both in the *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Westminster Confession*³³, both of which outline the parameters of their respective sects. Both the BCP and the Confession served as the guidelines for acceptable theology, ecclesiology and worship within England, and both hold a Reformed understanding of salvation as well as reaffirming the validity of the church historic. This

³¹ “The field is the same: but weeded now, unweeded then; the grain the same, winnowed now and unwinnowed then. We preach no new faith, but the same Catholic faith that hath ever been preached”, James Ussher bishop of Armagh and student of Perkins discussing the physical and universal nature of the church. Found in Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church* pg. 70

³² “There is no greater absurdity stirring this day in Christendom than that the reformation of the old corrupted church, will be, nill we must be take for the building of a new....one and the same church still, no doubt of that; one in substance, but not one in state and purity.” William Laud discussing both aspects of the Church, the physical and the spiritual. Ibid. 135

³³ I. The catholic or universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the Head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that fills all in all.

II. The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation, as before under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion; and of their children: and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. *Westminster Confession XXV*

formal affirmation of church continuity furthers the assertion that even men like Perkins who were influential to the rise of English Puritanism, were not necessarily outside the realm of acceptability.

The theologians of England whether they be Puritan, Anglican, or Arminian, all acknowledged that the true head of the church was Jesus Christ. As such they would never have acknowledged any person as being incontrovertibly authoritative on matters of doctrine and dogma. This impulse was longstanding in the Church of England, and exemplifies the mercurial nature of English religion. It should not be surprising then that Perkins does not self-identify as a Calvinist, but rather as a humble servant of God. This mentality led them to embrace the concept that all men are inherently fallible and from the outset of the Reformation divines of all leanings paid homage to continental theologians, but never fully accepted or identified with a specific sect or teacher. Examples of this ambiguity and selective dogmatic adoption are found from Latimer to Whitgift, and does not challenge or define in an absolute way their theological or ecclesiological positions.

Conclusions

Utilizing the criteria distilled from the thesis of *Anti-Calvinists*, the argument can be made that on the whole Tyacke's assertions are incomplete. The theological material that was in high demand at the end of the Sixteenth Century was thoroughly Reformed in its understandings of the sacraments and the methods of salvation. The picture that emerges is that there were two distinct strata within the archives at Cambridge, those authors who appealed to the specialists and those who appealed to a broader audience.

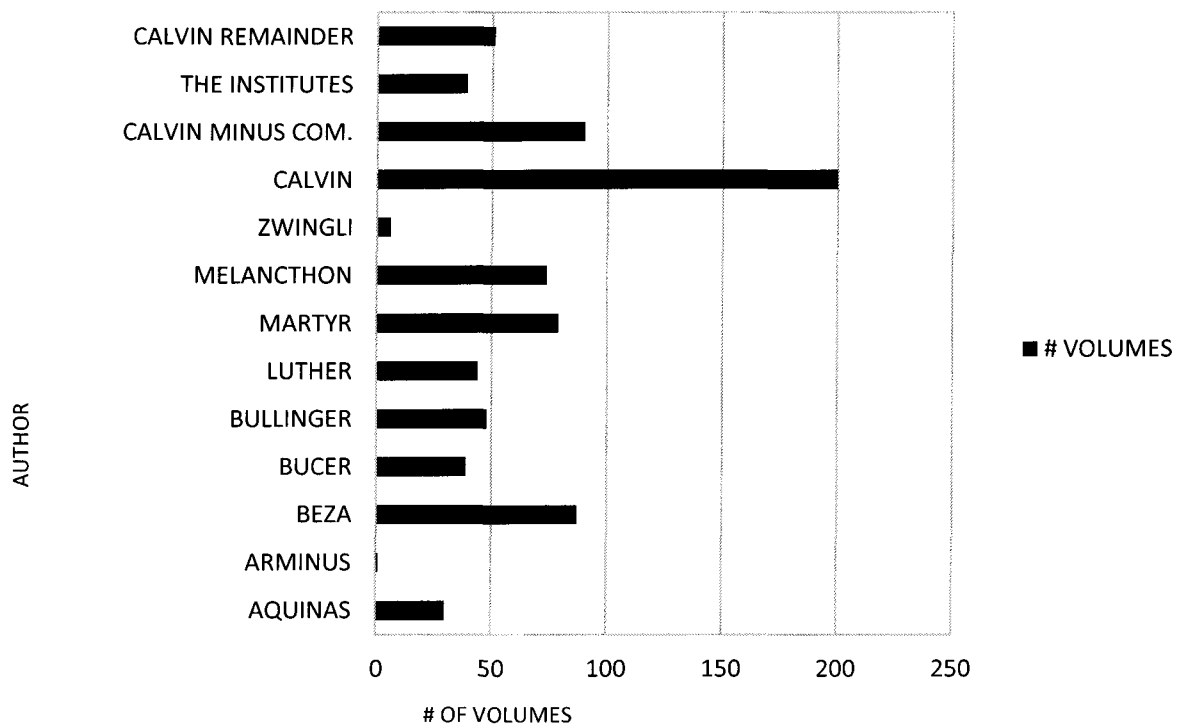
This latter group would be the ones responsible by and large for the dissemination of widely accepted intellectual and theological concepts. Bearing in mind the importance of the minutiae of doctrine to these men, a remarkable amount of diversity existed among this later group.

Tyacke's assertions of a predominantly Calvinist consensus at Cambridge can be dispelled. While there was indeed a broad consensus it was a Reformed, not Calvinist, one. The English Communion and the Divines at the ancient University would not be content to merely follow the teaching of Calvin; these men would take his and Beza's ideals, as well as those of any other theologian who did not offend the core tenets of Reformed theology, adopt and transform them into an English Reformed Church. To say that the English were Calvinist is far too simplistic an understanding of the dynamics of reform. These men compared and contrasted widely disparate models of religiosity, in an attempt to find the "correct" system and order of religion. This was a deadly earnest business to these men, one which had implications well beyond this life. In a time when communions were drawing up sides, the men at Cambridge chose to align themselves with the Swiss rather than Wittenberg or Rome

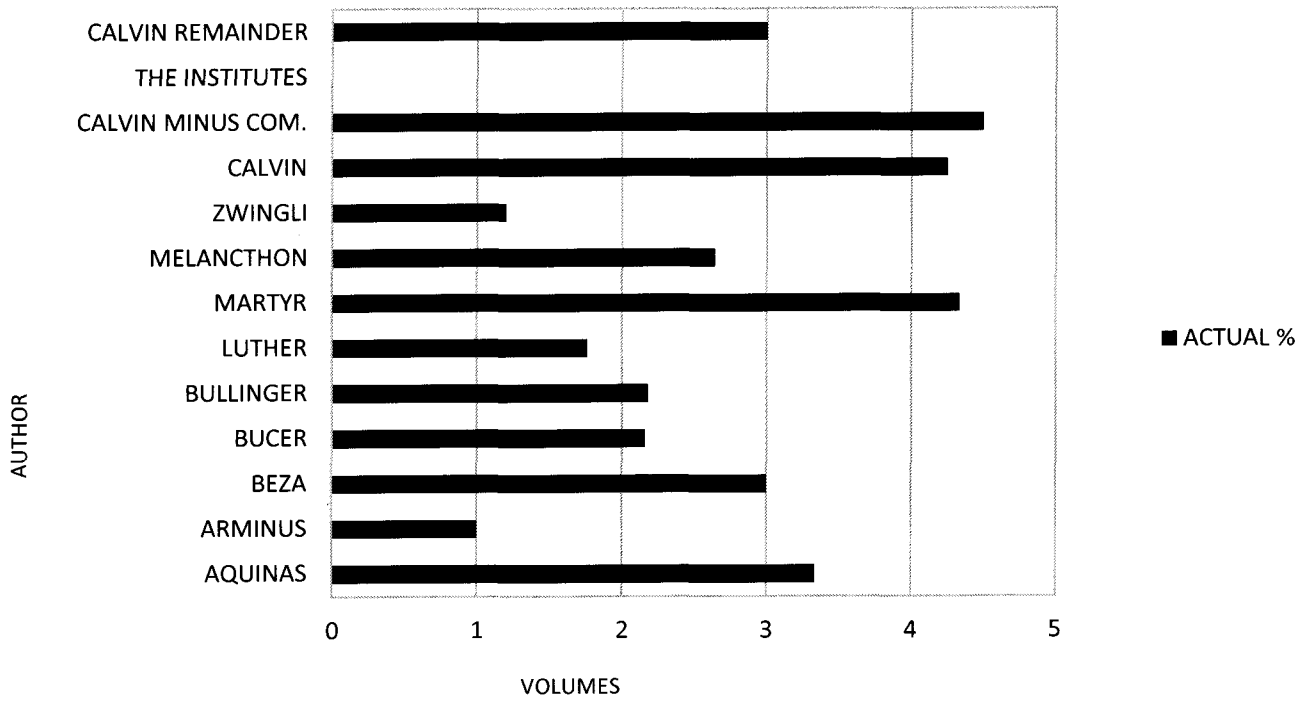
Appendix A
Compilation of data found in lists of Probate

AUTHOR	# VOLUMES	# TITLES	RATIO	ACTUAL %
AQUINAS	30	9	3 TO 1	3.3333333
ARMINUS	1	1	1 TO 1	1
BEZA	87	26	3 TO 1	3
BUCER	39	18	2 TO 1	2.16
BULLINGER	48	22	2 TO 1	2.18
LUTHER	44	25	2 TO 1	1.76
MARTYR	79	18	4 TO 1	4.33333
MELANCTHON	74	28	5 TO 2	2.64
ZWINGLI	6	5	1 TO 1	1.2
CALVIN	200	47	4 TO 1	4.25
CALVIN MINUS COM.	90	20	4 TO 1	4.5
THE INSTITUTES	39	3	13 TO 1	
CALVIN REMAINDER	51	17	3 TO 1	3

TOTAL VOLUMES IN CAMBRIDGE



AVERAGE VOLUMES PER TITLE



APPENDIX B

THEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

The arcane nature of the minute points of dogma that differentiate the several sects and movements within the early modern protestant churches is largely outside the scope of this examination. Further these differences require the modern reader to view them synoptically with the entirety of the church historic, they did not arise spontaneously they evolved. The modern reader must also be careful not to view the religious situation in Europe and the eventual schisms within protestantism at this time as a *fait accompli*. Though reunion with the Church of Rome was impossible in the wake of the Council of Trent the protestant churches were more dynamic than their Roman counterparts, more simply while the Roman Church had instituted strict and reactionary guidelines to distinguish themselves from the protestant communions no such attempts were made by the protestant churches. Orthodoxy evolved within the disparate communions, and those which shared core tenets and beliefs coalesced into what the modern reader would recognize as denominations. This process only began in earnest once the break with Rome was complete, until then these movements considered themselves to be reform movements within the Universal Church. The purpose of this addendum is two fold, the first is to broadly outline the competing theories of salvation and redemption that were active in the early modern world and to provide a brief theological sketch of the active participants.

The doctrines of Predestination and Grace were, and remain, central to

protestant theology. Grace is the means by which God saves those who are of the elect, and can roughly be understood in the following ways. Election is the concept that God has decreed to save and redeem some portion of humanity, and damn others. This model is a negation of free will and states that the Divine has ordained this decision either at the moment of creation or concurrent with the fall, i.e. before any of our actors were conceived. Sublapsarian and Supralapsarian, are the terms delineating the between that decision being made before the foundations of the world were laid in the first case and following the the fall. Irrespective, Grace that is issued by God on account of *his sovereignty alone*. This model totally negates any agency on the part of the adherent, humanities temporal actions do not enter into the equation, be they good or evil. This stands in contrast to Salvation with Foreknowledge, in this model the Divine chooses who shall be of the elect and the reprobate with an eye to their future transgressions or merits. God in this model is not omnipotent he is omnipresent. Remembering that the sovereignty of God of was of primary importance to those adhering to a more rigid for of predestination, at this point we can say Calvinism without being disingenuous, would have naturally found this doctrine offensive.

The Reformation in Europe was as mentioned else in this study a highly regional affair, and as such differing localities can exist as stand ins for theological norms. For the sake of convenience the differing prominent theological schools of thought will be addressed by location as well as

theologian. The caveat must be given at this point that there were many doctrines present in the sixteenth century which were anathema to all sects (Catholic and Protestant alike). This is evidenced by the burning of Servetus in Geneva, and the zeal with which the reformers distanced themselves from the Anabaptist movement.

Geneva:

Jean Calvin:

Grace: Calvin's understanding is that the will of God is absolutely sovereign and arbitrary. This means that the method of salvation is by Divine Grace alone. It negates any of the temporal actions of the adherent.

The Lord's Supper: Calvin understood there to be a real *spiritual* presence at the Eucharist. That is that the spirit of Christ alone is manifest during the sacraments. This is termed *symbolic instrumentalism*

Predestination: Understood that God elected some for salvation and some to damnation. Once the person was so defined there was nothing they could do about it. This doctrine while fundamental to Calvin's theological model was not as emphasized as it would become in later theological works. Double predestination, i.e. election to both life and salvation. Also called *monergism*

Theodore Beza

Grace and Predestination: Beza's understanding of the mechanism of salvation is deterministic. His model negates all free will or sovereignty of the adherent. This austere understanding of salvation is what would come to be characterized as Calvinism by its opponents. Double predestination Monergist

Lord's Supper: Symbolic Instrumentalist

Zurich:

Heinrich Bullinger

Grace and Predestination: Monergist along the lines of Zwingli.

Though not as strong and austere as those who held to double predestination.

The Lord's Supper: Understands there to be a correlation between the earthly sacrament and the presence of the Divine.

This has been termed *symbolic parallelism*

Heinrich Zwingli

The Lord's Supper: Zwingli believed that the Lord's Supper was purely a memorial of the institution of the New Covenant.

Therefore there existed neither a physical presence nor a spiritual

presence beyond the faith held by the adherent. This model is term *symbolic memorialism*.

Grace and Predestination: Zwingli and Beza both relied heavily on this when outlining their theology. Though present in other systems namely those of Aquina, Luther, and Augustine it was the cornerstone of his theology. Monergist

Strausburg:

Martin Bucer:

Martin Bucer is perhaps the most complicated figure of this period and a major qualification must be given before his positions are defined. To Bucer, Faith in Christ alone was the central point of doctrine. As such he was willing to engage and debate with diverse theologians (much like Melancthon) and as such his views on doctrinal issues were dynamic.

Grace and Predestination:

The Lord's Supper: Symbolic Memorialism, however; Bucer was eager to resolve differences between the Reformed and Lutheran communions in order to preserve and promote the "true" understanding of God.

Peter Martyr Vermigli:

Grace and Predestination: Double Predestination, Monergist.

The Lord's Supper: Symbolic Parallelism

Wittenberg:

Martin Luther:

Grace: Luther understood that Grace was the only means of salvation, but that it was brought about by the faith alone of the adherent (*Sola Fidelis*) as such Lutheranism retained some vestiges of free will and personal sovereignty.

Lord's Supper: Luther could not shake his belief in the real presence as reveal in the Bible. *Ad Hoc Corpus Meum*, this is my body. As such Luther believed that while there was no reenactment of Christ's sacrifice as in the Roman model, Christ was present "in with and under" the elements. Sacramental Unionism

Predestination: Monergist. Though not as strict and focal as the Swiss reformers.

Phillip Melancthon

Grace and Predestination : Melancthon believed that there existed a middle ground between the total depravity of humanity, as in Monergism and the validity of works of supererogation

found in Catholicism. This was aptly titled *Synergism*.

The Lord's Supper: Sacramental Unionism

Appendix C

Bibliography

The following sources were all used to establish the criteria for orthodoxy within the English communion during the reign of Elizabeth Tudor. Some of them such as the Book of Common Prayer and the Westminster confession contain within them creeds and confessions, as well as catechisms that clearly delineate the boundaries of orthodoxy. The writings of the Archbishops of Canterbury are a little more oblique. Though these Divines did not possess the same prerogatives as the Bishop of Rome, they exemplified the official positions of the Church of England. Therefore, their theological leanings can be interpreted as reflexive of current orthodoxy. Unless otherwise noted these resources were gathered from “Early English Books Online”

Anon. *A catechisme of Christian religion.*

Articles of Religion, 1571.

Grindal, Edmund. *A sermon at the funeral solemnitie.*

Parker, Matthew. *A briefe examination for the tyme.*

Parker, Matthew. *A funerall sermon both godlye learned.*

Parker, Matthew. *A defence of priestes mariages.*

Parker, Matthew. *An admonition to all such as shall.*

Robinson, Hastings. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation:*

Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen

Mary : Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich, Volume 1. Oxford, Oxford

University Press. 1847

Whitgift, John. *A_godlie_sermon_preched_before.*

Whitgift, John. *A most godly and learned sermon.*

Whitgift, John. *An ansvere to a certen libel intituled.*

Whitgift John. *Where sundrie preachers haue latelie.*

The following materials were used in the distillation of Calvinist Ideology.

Anon. *Canons of Dort.* (1614) “Early English Books Online”

The edicts that arose from the Synod of Dort defined Calvinism.

Though the ideology had existed in substance before it was not until this meeting in the face of the remonstrances of Arminians that any clearly codified system emerged.

Calvin, Jean. *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* Peabody, Hendrickson. 2007.

This is Calvin's *Summa Theologica*, in which the entirety of his doctrine is laid out. It was designed to be an augment to his commentaries on scripture but served as the vehicle for the transmission of his doctrine to the uninitiated. This work has become the standard for both the Reformed and Presbyterian communions. It was useful in this examination as a means to codify Calvinist

Ideology and to give continuity between Elizabethan Puritans the Canons of Dort.

Little, David. *Religion Law and Order: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Little's doctoral thesis traces the common cause made between the burgeoning middle class and the puritan movement in England. Focusing of the rulings on the Anglican Edward Coke, specifically those concerned with matters concerning monopolies and the autonomy of business, Little illustrates, that though Calvinism had broad appeal to the growing middle class, it was by no means the sole motivator for newly claimed prerogatives by this segment of the population. Little's exploration of the method inherent in Calvinism is useful to this examination, particularly the second and third Chapter in which Little deconstructs the Calvinist worldview.

Avis, Paul. *Anglicanism and the Christian Church: Theological Resources in Historical Perspective*. London, T&T Clark. 2002

Avis' work serves as a survey of the various trends and relationships with other communions throughout the Church of England's history. It was

useful for tracking the overarching movements within Anglicanism, as well as providing examples of contemporary theological conceptions. Many of the assertions made about Anglican norms in this paper reflect Avis' interpretations.

Fincham, Kenneth. Tyacke, Nicholas. *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 2002.

Altars Restored traces the effect within England of the High Church innovations of the 17th century. Once again primarily focusing on the aesthetic as representative of theological impulses Tyacke and Fincham not only carefully portray the reinstallation of altars and rails but also illuminate the systematic way this was achieved. It was precisely the programmatic effort made to restore them that lends credence to assertions made concerning the effects of Laudian and Caroline Religiosity on a traditionally Reformed Communion.

Lake, Peter. *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 2004

In this work Lake discusses the diverse nature of Puritanism in

England during the Elizabethan era. Though many scholars would ask us to believe that the Puritans marched in lockstep with a single purpose and will this was not entirely true. What Lake illuminates is that this strain of religiosity was as diverse and dynamic as any of its contemporaries. Through examining the writings of men at Cambridge, Lake provides the reader with a nuanced view of the issues and reactions of men pushing for purification within their communion.

Leedham-Green, E.S. ed. *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from the Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*. Chippenham: Cambridge University Press, 1986

Leedham-Green's two volume reference catalogs the contents of the the University Library of Cambridge. This reference will be one of the key resources of this examination, as within it lie not only a catalog of works arranged by author but also the number of times these volumes appear in the registry and to whom they belonged. This allowed for the calculation of not only the most popular works of theology per capita but also specific periods in which the ideas contained within them became fashionable.

Ryrie, Alec. *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 2013

Dr. Ryrie examines the day to day norms of a protestant in

England during the Reformation. Of extreme importance to this work was his section on “Protestantism and the Word”, wherein Ryrie discusses the intellectual nature of Protestantism and its reliance on the written word. Ryrie asserts that reading to the Reformed adherent was essential to the successful consummation of their faith, and as such most if not all adherents would either be literate or aspire to be.

Ryrie, Alec. *The Afterlife of Lutheran England*, in “Sister Reformations – Schwesterreformatione The Reformation in Germany and in England - Die Reformation in Deutschland und in England. Symposium on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Elizabethan Settlement September 23rd-26th, 2009”

Ryrie examines the assertion that Lutheranism had no longstanding effect on English understandings of sanctification and their religiosity in general. The essay is instructive in two ways, the first is the method in which Ryrie engages the topic. The second is the conclusion that the theology of Luther did not remain in an undiluted form within the English communion. The implication is that no “pure” doctrine was able to cross the English Channel. This author intends to utilize Ryrie's method in engaging the works of the Archbishops under Elizabeth

Tyacke, Nicholas. *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1990

Tyacke's work Traces the ascent of Arminianism under the Stuarts, and correlates this theological innovation with the English Civil War. The key to understanding Tyacke's interpretation lies not in written theology but the day to day execution of religiosity. The symbolic value of the chalice and the altar as well as vestments, not the esoteric ideas of clerics, signify the delineation of sects. Though Tyacke's conclusions are perhaps overbroad, his detailed scholarship as to the low church consensus in the English Communion is difficult to dispute. It is the purely Calvinist nature of this consensus that should be investigated as thoroughly.

Walzer, Michael. *Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origin of Radical Politics*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. 1982.

Walzer's Doctoral thesis examines the method instilled in the Calvinist revolutionaries as they anticipate the methods and ideologies of later revolutionary cadres, specifically the Bolsheviks. Tracing the increasing radicalization of Reformed clerics during the Marian Exile and contrasting the economic status of the Genevan and French protestants, Walzer argues that the methods of governance and resistance such men as Knox acquired on the continent found fertile ground in the landed gentry of England. This work is instructive in that it emphasizes the insular and radical nature of the "die hard" Calvinist, which necessitated a small and committed group rather than large scale general support.

White Peter. *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War*. Cambridge, Cambridge

University Press. 2002.

White argues that Tyackes understanding of a “broad Calvinist” is too simplistic to adequately address issues surrounding religious orthodoxy in early modern England. White examines the similarities between dissenting Churches and Anglican orthodoxy. Though the broad Protestant consensus is reaffirmed, White argues for a complex and dynamic English religion rather than a strictly Calvinist one.

The following works are tracts and polemics created as part of a larger debate within the English Communion. It should be noted that many of the writings present are from William Perkins, who became in many the English champion for the reformed cause. These works were designed to bolster and reaffirm the faith of initiates as well as gain new adherents.

Burges, Cornelius. *Baptismall regeneration of elect*. Early English Books Online

Joye, George. *A fruitfull treatise of baptisme*. “Early English Books Online”

Perkins, William. *A Case for Conscience*. “Early English Books Online”

Perkins, William. *A Golden Chaine*. “Early English Books Online”

Perkins, William. *A Graine of Mustard Seede*. “Early English Books Online”

Perkins, William. *A Reformed Catholicke*. "Early English Books Online"

Pressick, George. *A breife relation of some of the Wing*. "Early English Books" Online

Tyndale, William. *The Christen rule or state of all*. "Early English Books" Online