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From the Strange Death to the Odd Afterlife of Lutheran England

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FROM THE STRANGE DEATH TO THE ODD AFTERLIFE OF

LUTHERAN ENGLAND[*]

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Research on the relationship between England and Protestant Germany during the sixteenth century has recently experienced a revival. A significant area of concentration for confessional interests among Lutherans a century ago, Anglo-German relations took a backseat in Reformation historiography during the twentieth century, but during the last decade or so a host of scholars in the UK, Germany, and USA have once again turned their attention to the topic. This review article surveys trends in scholarship on Reformation studies in both England and Germany before turning specifically to works considering instances of interaction, cooperation, and adaptation across the confessional and geographic divides. Gathering a considerable array of secondary materials, the article offers an overview of the merits and criticisms of previous analyses and concludes by pointing out a few areas for future inquiry.

Alec Ryrie's 'strange death of Lutheran England' is with good reason one of the most recognized arguments addressing the English Reformation and its relationship with Lutheranism.[1] After noting similarities between early Henrician developments and Lutheran ideas, Ryrie argues that Reformed notions came to predominate during the 1540s and thus set the stage for the Reformation under Edward VI. His title (some may say underlying assumption) overestimates the degree to which England was actually 'Lutheran' during the 1530s, but his case for the ascendance of Reformed thinking is compelling and accords with much subsequent scholarship. The article also stands as something of a watershed in the

historiography of Anglo-Lutheran relations during the sixteenth century. Indeed, earlier work had shown some of the loose affinities and concrete examples of influence and collaboration across the North Sea, though during the 1980s and 1990s historians of religion in England tended to ignore Lutheran aspects in favour of Reformed ones. Ryrie's article determined otherwise for the early decades while simultaneously nailing down the Lutheran coffin by Henry VIII's death at the latest. Since 2002, however, the historiographical renaissance of 'Lutheran England' has clawed back, and Ryrie has been among those leading the charge.[2] This scholarly trajectory reflects the twists and turns of the English Reformation itself, as the Anglo-Lutheran relationship was fraught with complications from its optimistic but frustrating adolescence during the 1530s, through the mid-life crisis of the mid-Tudor years, and finally to its back-seat role when a younger generation took control during Elizabeth's reign. This article first briefly reviews general historiographical trends on the Reformations in England and Germany, showing how the fields have moved independently from relatively internal, theological discussions a century ago to a more outward-looking perspective sensitive to broader cultural and international factors. Second, scholarship directly addressing aspects of England's contact with German Protestantism – primarily Lutheranism – during the sixteenth and to a lesser extent seventeenth century will come into finer focus. Finally, in the light of activity during the last decade or so, it is suggested that although Anglo-German relations may remain a secondary field to many, the ground is fertile for further research.

I

Scholarship on the English Reformation has, in short, moved from *the English Reformation* to the *Reformations in England*. This shift is no simple matter of semantics, for historians' move, from a single and inevitable event unique to England, to overlapping and contingent developments with direct relationships to the European mainland, signifies the maturation of

the field.[3] Indeed, most now look beyond Pollard and the insular discussions of the early twentieth century, however much previous generations may have longed for the imperial past. To be fair, early Tudor England was never held in complete isolation from the mainland, though A. G. Dickens did much to bridge the Channel during the 1960s.[4] Dickens was also responsible for stamping as official the argument that the Reformation was the result of popular and elite cooperation to rebuild religious life after centuries of decay and corruption under the Catholic Church. This collaboration, readers were told, led to the English nation's relatively speedy conversion to Protestantism. The narrative is forceful, though revisionists – with Haigh and Duffy in the vanguard – have demonstrated beyond question the continued strength and vitality of Catholicism before and during the early sixteenth century.[5] The ensuing historiographical debate created the fast/slow-above/below matrix and has since been further complicated by postrevisionist scholarship, which has not so much displaced the revisionists as confirmed and developed their arguments by adding full-blooded/partial to the mix.[6]

The waters have further muddied, but the picture has in some ways become clearer. The relative strength of Catholicism and limited successes of sixteenth-century Protestantism, for example, have shown that the Reformation in England was more a prolonged process over several generations rather than a brief or decisive event.[7] Nevertheless, by the second half of Elizabeth's reign Calvinist doctrines dominated within the clerical establishment such that a loose consensus existed among many of its leading lights, and the necessary relationship between Reformation politics and religion has come back under review.[8] Historians have also shifted away from focusing primarily on doctrinal debates in the religious and political centres, and towards the reception of these ideas and pastoral concerns in the localities, illuminating how the laity could be active in the process. Such a move from traditional interpretations of ecclesiastical and political topics in favour of social and cultural

history has been repeated elsewhere.[9] If the speed and success of the Reformation in England has come into question, so too has the degree to which it was removed from the mainland; although previous generations of scholars did not entirely fail to recognize Anglo-European connections, more recent work has emphasized such contacts. Diarmaid MacCulloch and others have situated England on the Reformation map, as it were, demonstrating that while the early modern English were to some extent peculiar, they did forge meaningful links with and borrow from others in the Protestant world, most notably those in Zurich, Geneva, and other Reformed communities.[10] Indeed, as Patrick Collinson noted in a volume of proceedings from a British Academy symposium in 2007, '[w]e are now out of the tunnel and into sunny uplands. England is both part of a Britain whose diversity is now more amply acknowledged and a major European player at the heart of Europe.'[11] Seeing English developments in a pluralistic, international context is symptomatic of wider trends within the European Union and liberally inclined circles in the United States and elsewhere, and for historians, recognising the diversity and contingencies of the past can help scholars (and their students) appreciate a more accurate, if complicated, representation of the past. Work on the German Reformation has roughly followed the same lines but with special differences along the way.

Before the Second World War theological, forward-looking, or otherwise anti-historical approaches dominated the field in Germany. Concentrating primarily on Martin Luther, Karl Holl was particularly influential among a generation of scholars, though others focusing on a more general history of the early modern period offered a wider perspective.[12] During the 1950s and 1960s both anglo- and germanophone scholarship began to broaden attention further by seeking new sources and engaging trends in social history and context. Bernd Moeller's notion that the Reformation was, as Dickens later put it, 'an urban event' generated a great deal of research testing the grand narratives on a smaller level and led to a

more nuanced understanding of the variegated experiences throughout the Protestant

territories and cities from Zurich to Erfurt.[13] The role of the nobility, the development of the

burghers and their initiatives, the differences between town and country, and the attitudes and

actions of the common people and pastors also came into clearer view, particularly in

discussions of the Peasants' War and early dissenters like the Anabaptists.[14] Additionally, the

traditional perspective that the late Middle Ages were a period of darkness and decay began

to find new critics in, among others, Heiko Oberman, whose work was widely and justifiably

influential among both English and German speakers.[15]

By the 1980s German Reformation historiography had thus considered a range of

social strata and perspectives, even going so far as to bridge the divide between Before and

After Luther. Among more traditional and conservative scholars of theology, whose

interaction with wider historical discussions was limited, however, Luther and other

prophetic figures retained their primacy of place and were not entirely situated in context.[16]

Nevertheless, socially and contextually sensitive readings of the period continued to press

forward until cracks came from within. Particularly in works leading the 'cultural turn',

greater attention was afforded to popular religion (as distinct from high theology), lay piety,

and the roles played by ordinary or 'simple folk', women, and marginal groups.[17] Also, new

and grand narratives of early modern state formation and modernization by Heinz Schilling,

Wolfgang Reinhard, and their followers began to compete with micro-histories written by

social and cultural historians. The confessionalization thesis – or 'paradigm' – has been

criticized and qualified since its beginnings in the late 1970s. Indeed, many have disagreed

with its central tenets asserting a teleological and institutional framework for religious

experience and a relatively uniform, top-down direction of an orderly society in a proto-

modern European system of religion, politics, and diplomacy.[18] During the 1990s and more

recently, debates about the relative 'unity and diversity' of German Protestantism have

surfaced in the wake of arguments for modernization and uniformity, while Irene Dingel and others have brought attention to the vitriolic and sometimes violent disagreements among those opposed to Catholicism.[19] Overall, as the periodization between the late medieval and early modern periods has broken down, so too has the notion that the Reformation was complete by the mid-sixteenth century. In fact, the recognition of a long or 'second' (but less internationally connected) Reformation in Germany has come to resemble discussions of the situation in England; just as Haigh pluralized the Reformation, what was once understood as a cataclysmic event or revolutionary upheaval, '*The Reformation* has become a great many reformations' in Germany.[20]

II

The study of the relationship between England and Protestant Germany during the Reformation – however long understood – is not really a new field. Unsurprisingly, during the mid-nineteenth century, when history as an academic discipline was maturing into the form now recognized, scholars such as Leopold von Ranke and Heinrich Heppe observed parallel and related developments across the North Sea. Shortly after Ranke completed his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1839-47), he turned to English history and, although he remained sensitive to national differences, he noted similarities when relevant. His distinction between Germany (where doctrine was the primary concern) and England (where papal influence and politics were paramount) did not detract from the idea that the Reformation movements in each locale bore 'a deep inner analogy' ('eine tiefe innere Analogie').[21] More importantly, Heppe followed up his own *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555-1581* (1852-9) with a dedicated study and edition of the intercourse and correspondence between England and Germany.[22] This book was relatively short, but its significance lay in the use of German archival material and emphasis on the

relationship between religion and politics. By the late nineteenth century, projects were

underway in both countries to edit enormous bodies of primary sources: Well worn among

English historians, the *Letters and papers of Henry VIII*, *Calendars of state papers*, and

Historical manuscripts commission reports became bases from which to work, as did the

Corpus Reformatorum and editions of princes' correspondence for German scholars.[23] As

historians like Moriz Ritter used these materials, a better sense developed of the evolving

relationship, but the disconnect of English politics and German doctrine largely continued;

and despite German scholarship recognizing the international nature of the early

Reformation, Anglophone discussions remained predominantly insular with the exception of

Henry Jacobs's full-length study.[24] Jacobs, a Professor of Systematic Theology within the

Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, argued beyond all others for the heavy influence and effect

of Lutheranism in Reformation England. Of course, in consequence he overstated the case

and seems to have been largely ignored by *English* historians of England. The same could be

said for Charles Herford's grand study of the literary (and to a lesser extent religious)

relationship.[25]

During the first half of the twentieth century, the English Reformation remained a

largely political and isolated affair despite studies by Wilhelm Walther on Henry VIII's

personal contact with Luther, Albert Hauck on ecclesiastical comparisons with Germany,

Friedrich Prüser and Philipp Lang on Henry's negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League,

and Josef Bihl's more limited article on Elizabeth's dealings with the duchy of Württemberg.

Along with Johannes Schulze's doctoral thesis on the political relations between Elector

August of Saxony and Queen Elizabeth, Prüser's and Lang's work in the archives and edited

collections demonstrated the extent and impact of English correspondence and diplomatic

efforts; nevertheless, these interpretations tended to emphasize English political machination

as opposed to Lutheran religious sincerity.[26] Such assessments, as Rory McEntegart has

shown more recently, also characterized analyses by James Gairdner and A. F. Pollard, the latter of whom wrote that Henry VIII sought 'relief from the necessity of paying attention to German divines' and never took seriously 'a union with the Protestants'.[27] Indeed, to most scholars, Anglo-German relations during the early stages of the Reformation constituted essentially a dead letter. Works qualifying the prevailing indifference were the dangerously unreliable volume by Erwin Doernberg and the better but overstated work of Neelak Tjernagel, another Lutheran professor who thought that the English Reformation was Lutheran in its origins and in consequence 'left a Lutheran imprint on the Church of England . . . under Edward VI and Elizabeth I', and that 'the formative and determinative influence was that of Martin Luther and German Lutheranism'.[28] L. J. Trinterud adopted a more balanced approach in his reappraisal of Tyndale as a Lutheran; and a similar line was taken by William Clebsch in his evaluation of England's earliest Protestants – such as Barnes, Frith, and Tyndale – whom he saw not as mere conduits for a solely Lutheran Reformation in England but rather as multi-faceted theologians receptive to multiple influences and capable of thinking on their own.[29] A few additional studies during the 1980s contributed to the discussion by focusing specifically on divine right kingship vis-à-vis the Henrician royal supremacy, English translations of the Confession of Augsburg, and the German-born English denizen and perennial royal representative in Germany, Christopher Mundt.[30] Thus, by 1994, when Carl Trueman's *Luther's Legacy* brought a further nuanced view of early reformers like Tyndale and demonstrated how English evangelicals could employ Lutheran elements without adopting wholesale Luther's doctrine, only a few analyses of the Anglo-German theological relationship were considered to be of sufficient academic merit and without the confessional biases of former years.[31]

For the early decades of the Reformation, Anglo-German political relations remained a confessional curiosity (at best) or academic scarlet letter (at worst) until McEntegart's

reappraisal in 2002, when he overturned the 'deterministic outlook' and 'inevitability thesis' of previous generations. Using a wide array sources relative to domestic and foreign policies, from both English and German archives, McEntegart demonstrated the utility and reliability of diplomatic records for studies of Reformation England. Only by using these materials could he conclude with confidence that 'ideology, the ideology of religion, entered the stage for the first time as the essential determinant of political allegiance and behaviour', and that ideological motivation was 'why England engaged in such in-depth diplomacy with what was little more than a rag-bag collection of minor princes and provinces'.[32]

McEntegart's reassessment of Henry's dealings with the Schmalkaldeners opened the door to further research in Anglo-German relations just as Ryrie's argument tried to nail it shut, if only for a time. Since 2002, a number of studies have shown that, far from falling into a confessional backwater, work on the English and Lutheran Reformations has picked up steam. For the earlier period, Craig D'Alton has investigated the Lutheran threat in England during the 1520s, finding that Catholic powers sought to reform the heretics along humanist lines; John Schofield and multiple German scholars have revisited the difficult issue of charting Melanchthon's influence from Henry VIII to Elizabeth; Carl Trueman and Carrie Euler have tracked the reception and translation of Luther's works over the long Reformation; and Korey Maas and Katharina Beiergrößlein have, once more, evaluated Robert Barnes as well as his theology and diplomatic activity, concluding that while the reformer was much indebted to Luther, he was also heavily reliant on history for theological backup.[33]

As historiographical trends on the Reformations in England and Germany have independently extended the chronology under review, so too have investigations of Anglo-German relations considered more and more the Elizabethan and Jacobean reigns (in the English context) and the era after the Peace of Augsburg (in the German). Although Heppe

had evaluated the situation under Elizabeth, his work was largely forgotten and during the 1960s and 1970s several studies examined the period from multiple perspectives. Continuing a well-established tradition, Carl Meyer's Lutheran sympathies were evident in his appraisal of the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion. Seeing Melanchthonian sources and influences at work in 1559 and beyond, Meyer estimated that at least half of the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion were heavily indebted to the Confession of Augsburg, the Württemberg Confession, or other Lutheran documents.[34] Indeed, just as James McConica found an Erasmian spirit pervading much of Tudor England, Meyer held that Melanchthonian attitudes could be found directly and indirectly not only during the reformer's lifetime, but also after his death in 1560.[35] William Clebsch qualified Meyer's assessment with his own regarding Elizabethan attitudes towards Martin Luther, demonstrating that the English would not blindly adopt much that was solely characteristic of Luther and his doctrines. Instead, the reformer's influence was imprecise, according to Clebsch, and the 'spirit of Luther's religion and theology began to settle on Elizabethan England like a London fog; hauntingly unspecifiable, and with real welcome only after his death, it just seeped into the atmosphere.'[36]

Another factor taken into account by scholars was the role of diplomacy between England and the Empire after Augsburg. In an impressive evaluation of Elizabeth's prolonged marriage negotiations with Archduke Charles of Austria, and using a wealth of manuscript and printed sources, Kurt Diemer provided the most complete narrative to date and supplied several document transcriptions. Concluding that these negotiations constituted a series of missed opportunities, his work is particularly valuable to those yet to work in the archives of Vienna, Innsbruck, and Stuttgart.[37] A second occasion for Anglo-German cooperation during Elizabeth's reign arose during the 1570s when hard-line Lutherans sought to codify their body of doctrines (and condemn outsiders, Elizabeth's church included) in the Formula and Book of Concord. W. Brown Patterson's brief appraisal of English attitudes and

efforts observed that 'Elizabeth's diplomacy in Germany was dogged by frustration', and so

'for both religious and political reasons, informed Elizabethans were inclined to look with

suspicion upon Lutheranism and the Formula of Concord.'[38] Thus, by the late 1970s,

historians of various backgrounds had investigated a range of issues – theology, religion and

politics, literature, international diplomacy, and various case studies[39] – and the time had

come to take stock. Basil Hall's essay on the rise and decline of Lutheranism in England

offered an overview of previous scholarship and charted a course for the acceptance of

Lutheran ideas in Henrician England followed by their weakened influence among

Elizabethans. (As such, Hall in some ways anticipated Ryrie.[40]) Indeed, Hall found that

nearly all Elizabethans admired Luther 'for his stand against the pope, and for his great

insight in rediscovering the truth of justification by faith alone, but they believed that he and

his followers allowed in the Lutheran churches the development of dangerous doctrines and

the continuation of certain "popish" practices which must be totally rejected'. Hall's

understanding of the attitudes espoused by later Tudor Protestants confirmed a growing

unanimity among historians on the 'Calvinist consensus' within the Elizabethan Church.[41]

Despite the predominance of Calvinist (or better, Reformed) ideas relative to

Lutheran ones among Elizabethans and scholars of the 1980s, research continued on the

historical and diplomatic links between Protestant England and Lutheran Germany.

Tempering Hall's arguments for the gradual decline, Ronald Fritze and J. Wayne Baker held

that the person of Martin Luther may not have been crucial, but he was nevertheless

significant to many Englishmen; Baker located Luther's falling-off in the second half of the

seventeenth century, a full century later than had Hall.[42] Looking at a wider context than

Luther himself, Dewey Wallace investigated Melanchthon's reputation in Stuart England,

and Jill Raitt updated Patterson's investigation by drawing attention to Elizabeth's efforts to

forge a Protestant league despite the balkanization of the Lutheran world during the 1570s.[43]

The most significant contribution to scholarship on Elizabethan diplomatic overtures towards Germany, however, was E. I. Kouri's. His use of archival material from dozens of archives in several countries, along with the usual and less-known printed editions, showed the depth of sources for the latter half of the sixteenth century. Kouri's Cambridge Ph.D. and book were a thorough case study of the late 1560s, a moment of acute confessional and diplomatic tension, and concluded that Elizabeth's overall policy and individual attempts failed because of, among other issues, lacking sensitivity to religious divisions among the Protestants of the Empire. In this respect, Kouri's analysis tended to privilege political over religious motivations in foreign policy during the wars of religion, thus reflecting many of the same assumptions among previous historians of Anglo-Schmalkaldic relations. Interpretations of the topic have changed since the early 1980s, but looking back on Kouri's achievements in covering so much ground – particularly before German reunification – his most important lasting impact may have been simply to uncover the wealth of material in Germany, Austria, Denmark and elsewhere.[44]

During the 1990s a few studies focused directly on Lutheranism and the Reformation in England. In addition to Trueman's study of Luther's legacy among early reformers, Hirofumi Horie's examination of the Elizabethan Settlement brought a sensitive reading to political and diplomatic sources alongside those of a more religious nature; moreover, Horie incorporated a variety of underutilized materials including treatments and editions by Heppe and Ernst, as well as manuscripts in Stuttgart.[45] Along with Horie, Roger Bowers emphasized Elizabeth's preferences for an earlier, more Lutheran style of Protestantism as exemplified in the Prayer Book of 1549 instead of that for 1552. According to this reading, Elizabeth and others like Edmund Guest were relics of a Henrician (or early Edwardian) and conservative Protestantism evident in Elizabeth's partiality for the Real Presence in the Eucharist and her fondness for her former chaplain, Edmund Allen, who held similar views.[46] A careful if

speculative assessment of Elizabeth's religious convictions, however, offers something of a qualification. Patrick Collinson understood Princess and Queen Elizabeth not as the *politique* previous generations had seen, but rather as a religious conservative consistent with an 'odd and eclectic kind of Protestantism'. This hybrid of older and newer views situated Elizabeth 'in the Augustinian-Catholic-Lutheran tradition' regarding images and, further, within 'quasi-Lutheran, proto-Protestant, Augustinian limits' on soteriology.[47] Building on but disagreeing to some extent with Collinson, Susan Doran's reading of Elizabeth's letters holds that the queen 'stood firmly on the Protestant side of the confessional divide' and was not a 'crypto-Catholic' or 'indifferent to religion'. In contrast to the stark and pessimistic theological tastes of many holding positions in her church, Elizabeth 'seems to have been frozen into the religion of her youth which was heavily dependent on Erasmian, evangelical and Lutheran (of the Melanchthon ilk) influences'.[48]

In the past decade, just as research has returned to diplomacy during early decades of the Reformation, so too have scholars revisited the later stages and generations. McEntegart, it turns out, was one of many interested in the topic. From an English point of view, David Trim considered the motivations and sincerity of efforts to build a Protestant alliance in his article seeking to move the discussion of Elizabethan foreign policy beyond the secular attitudes of decades past.[49] Offering a German perspective, Inge Mager brought forth a wealth of material from German archives in her treatment on Elizabeth's overtures to the Protestant princes to forge a defensive league during the 1570s, and in so doing she demonstrated how many more sources were available than those used in previous studies.[50] Drawing on sources in both England and Germany as Kouri had, Simon Adams's relatively unknown contribution investigated England's relationship with the Protestant *Reichsfürsten* before the Thirty Years' War, finding that discussions of alliance remained central to the 'Calvinist International' well into the reign of James.[51] A historian of Denmark, Paul

Lockhart conducted an admirable study of King Frederik II's relations with a range of

Protestant leaders (German, English, Dutch, and French), and in the process he corroborated

newer trends in taking religion seriously and mining a range of archives.[52] These works

paved the way for a re-evaluation of Elizabeth's religious and diplomatic relations with the

German Princes over the duration of her reign, and these findings will likely shed light

elsewhere, too.[53]

From a more traditional approach to Reformation studies, several works on

theological aspects during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have also recently

come forth. In addition to Euler's on English translations of Luther, Michael Whiting has

studied the influence of Luther's Law-Gospel dichotomy on Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes,

while Robert von Friedeburg has explored the English use of arguments by Luther and

Melanchthon regarding tensions between church and state during the 1570s.[54] These direct

lines of contact via translation and appropriation have extended beyond Saxony to the

Palatinate, for Anthony Milton has noted the impact in England of divines like Zacharias

Ursinus, whose commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism was published twice as often as

Calvin's *Institutes*.[55] Indirect and subversive influences were also at work in Jacobethan

England, however, as Peter McCullough and Keith Stanglin have shown for Lutheran and

Arminian doctrines espoused by Lancelot Andrewes and Peter Baro.[56] Most symbolic of the

resurrection in interest have been the symposia organized by Dorothea Wendebourg of the

Humboldt University of Berlin. These two meetings focused on the 'Sister Reformations' in

England and Germany, and attracted an impressive group of historians from multiple

countries. At the first meeting, in 2009, commentary and investigations by, among others,

MacCulloch, Trueman, McEntegart, Wendebourg, Spinks, Davie, and Kaufmann illuminated

the various ways the two Reformation movements were necessarily connected yet

nevertheless distinct; predictably, many of these papers considered the most direct and visible

instances of contact. Ryrie offered historiographical perspective and noted his previous explanations why Lutheranism declined, arguments which 'seem to have held up tolerably well', but he similarly acknowledged that 'Lutheranism's supposed "death" . . . no longer seems so clear-cut. It has become increasingly clear that the schism between Lutheran and Reformed Protestants was not seen as a permanent or final one by the 1540s.'[57] At the second conference in Berlin, in 2012, participants considered a variety of topics focusing on ethics with relation to identity, war, politics, diplomacy, and beyond; as before, the proceedings will soon be available in print.

<div align="center">III</div>

Given the recent surge in research on Anglo-German relations during the Reformation, it seems likely that further light will be cast on issues familiar and less so. Much if not most of the work conducted to date has evaluated and re-evaluated the most accessible or visible topics. Early evangelicals like Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes have received a lot of attention over the years, and it seems more is yet to come; the same may be said for dealings with the Schmalkaldic League. Among Lutheran theologians, Martin Luther has been the obvious first port of call when looking for an influence in England, and historians considering his works in translation have shown their significance, but widening the scope to include secondary and tertiary figures would offer a more accurate measure of German Protestantism's reach during the long Reformation. Additionally, despite maturing, nuanced views on the relationship between English and Lutheran confessional documents, many still feel compelled to show doctrinal similarities across the early denominations opposed to Rome. This impulse to demonstrate Protestant affinities has uncovered much that is useful and correct for the sixteenth century, though it also reflects modern ecumenical attitudes seeking greater cooperation between the Anglican and Lutheran churches, and in consequence runs the risk

of distorting past polemics for present purposes. In the future, historians of early modern religion and theology would do well to integrate their studies with other fields – the dangers and difficulties of 'interdisciplinarity' notwithstanding – and looking to the history of ideas would be a sensible first option.[58] Moreover, cross-fertilisation from other sub-disciplines like economic history and literary studies has already shown potential, yet some of these studies have gone largely unnoticed.[59] In addition to the symposia in Berlin for postdoctoral and established academics, conferences in the UK and USA have welcomed presentations on aspects of Anglo-German relations by doctoral students like Russell Dawn and Benjamin Guyer, and it is hoped students will continue to bring fresh research from the archives to such meetings.[60] Further investigation should look into the similarities between Puritan and Gnesio-Lutheran attitudes regarding adiaphora, English translations and appropriations of lesser-known Lutherans such as Niels Hemmingsen, and the wider cultural significance of diplomats' and travellers' reports on their experiences in Protestant Germany and Denmark.[61] Moving forward, less energy ought to be spent searching for 'Lutheran England' than thinking about how Lutheranism mattered on a range of issues in England over multiple generations. If the rediscovered but still underappreciated older scholarship and more recent research is indicative regarding these 'Sister Reformations', then future work should have little difficulty bringing early-modern Anglo-German relations out of the long, dark shadow of the twentieth century, out of the woods, and into the sunny uplands.[62]

Notes

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[1] Alec Ryrie, 'The strange death of Lutheran England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), pp. 64-92.

[2] Alec Ryrie, 'The afterlife of Lutheran England', in Dorothea Wendebourg, ed., *Sister Reformations: The Reformation in Germany and in England: Symposium on the Occasion of the 450th anniversary of the Elizabethan Settlement, September 23rd-26th, 2009 / Schwesterreformationen: Die Reformation in Deutschland und in England: Symposion aus Anlaß des 450. Jahrestages des Elizabethan Settlement, 23.-26. September 2009* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 213-34. The phrase, 'Lutheran England', implies a sense of hegemony or uniformity in the same way 'Calvinist consensus' does; both are best jettisoned.

[3] Relatively recent discussions include David Loades, 'The historiography of the Reformation in Britain', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009), pp. 308-25; Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), pp. 564-86.

[4] A. F. Pollard's *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556* (New York, NY, 1906), included some discussion of mainland Europe. A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964); idem, *Martin Luther and the Reformation* (London, 1967), esp. chapter 6, 'Lutheranism Abroad' and pp. 130-2. On Dickens's limited but persistent influence among German historians, see Regina Pörtner, 'A. G. Dickens and the continental Reformation' and Robert von Friedeburg, 'Dickens, the German Reformation, and the issue

of nation and fatherland in early modern German history' in Rod Ambler and Glenn Burgess, eds., *Reformulating the Reformation. A. G. Dickens: his work and influence*, *Historical Research* (special issue), 77:195 (2004), pp. 59-78, 79-97.

[5] Christopher Haigh, 'The recent historiography of the English Reformation' *Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), pp. 995-1007; idem, ed., *The English Reformation revised* (Cambridge, 1987); idem, *English Reformations: religion, politics, and society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993). J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English people* (Oxford, 1984). Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars* (New Haven, CT, 1992). See also, G. W. Bernard's recent contribution, *The late medieval English church: vitality and vulnerability before the break with Rome* (New Haven, CT, 2012); contrast the firm, consistent hand of reform allocated to Henry VIII (and to Henry alone) in idem, *The king's Reformation: Henry VIII and the remaking of the English church* (New Haven, CT, 2005), the arguments and significance of which are too considerable to explore here. Additionally and most recently, the degree to which England was 'Protestant' in the usual sense has been called into question in Peter Marshall, 'The naming of Protestant England', *Past and Present*, 214 (2012), pp. 87-128.

[6] For a discussion of postrevisionism, citing the influential work of Ethan Shagan, *Popular politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), see Marshall, '(Re)defining', pp. 565-6, 574; compare Loades, 'The historiography', p. 315.

[7] On generational change, see esp. Norman Jones, 'Living the Reformations: generational experience and political perception in early modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 60 (1997), pp. 273-88; idem, *The English Reformation: religion and cultural adaptation* (Oxford, 2002); Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation of the generations: youth, age and religious change in England, c. 1500-1700', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (2011), pp. 93-121. Dickens long ago noted the duration, even calling the mid-seventeenth century 'a second English Reformation'. *The English Reformation*, p. 336; compare Anthony

Milton's current project on the same period, 'England's second Reformation', as noted in Marshall, '(Re)defining', p. 577, n. 57.

[8] For an overview and qualification of the 'Calvinist consensus', see Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 340-6. Patrick Collinson, 'The politics of religion and the religion of politics in Elizabethan England', *Historical Research*, 82:215 (2009), pp. 74-92.

[9] Nevertheless, doctrinal positions remain significant. What some have termed 'postconfessionalism' has shown that scholars' confessional allegiances may still affect the stories they tell. Marshall, '(Re)defining', pp. 571-5, noting the persuasions of Duffy, Haigh, Rex, Ryrie, Maltby, and others. Haigh, who is not a Catholic, offers an autobiographical account of his spiritual journey from Methodism to Anglican agnosticism in *English Reformations*, p. vii. See also, Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the map', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 15 (2005), pp. 75-95, at p. 76: 'It has been one of the exciting experiences of my academic career to see church history become once more a crowded area of exploration, where many young scholars without any confessional axes to grind feel that it is worthwhile to become familiar with the theological jargon and the agonies and ecstasies of early modern religion.' Compare his stress on the role played by 'historians from outside the traditions' in 'Protestantism in mainland Europe: new directions', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59 (2006), pp. 698-706, at p. 704. Younger scholars are not the only ones without such axes, as Peter Lake has openly stated his membership of a 'no "faith community"' in 'Anti-Puritanism: the structure of a prejudice', in Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, eds., *Religious politics in post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 80-97, at p. 86, n. 16. The current author similarly holds to the tradition of secular humanism, but he also takes religious belief and motivation seriously, and he fully recognizes the tendency among some others to relativize unfairly or reduce religion to mere irrationality.

On the dangers of strict secularism, Brad S. Gregory, 'The other confessional history: on secular bias in the study of religion', *History and Theory*, Theme Issue, 45 (2006), pp. 132-49; idem, *Salvation at stake: Christian martyrdom in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), esp. pp. 8-15.

[10] MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation', pp. 75-95. Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson, eds., *The reception of the continental Reformation in Britain*, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 164 (Oxford, 2010), esp. Collinson's introduction, 'The fog in the channel clears: the rediscovery of the continental dimension to the British Reformations', pp. xxvii-xxxvii, and chapters by Trueman and Euler, Kirby, Milton, and Thomson. Anthony Milton, 'Puritanism and the continental Reformed churches', in John Coffee and Paul C. H. Lim, eds., *The Cambridge companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 109-26; compare Milton's monumental *Catholic and reformed: the Roman and Protestant churches in English Protestant thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 377-528. Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the gospel: England and Zurich, 1531-1558* (Zurich, 2006). Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich connection and Tudor political theology* (Leiden, 2007). Earlier studies include Walter Phillips, 'Henry Bullinger and the Elizabethan vestiarian controversy: an analysis of influence', *Journal of Religious History*, 11 (1981), pp. 363-84; Ken MacMillan, 'Zurich reform and the Elizabethan settlement of 1559', *Anglican and Episcopal History*, 68 (1999), pp. 285-311.

[11] Collinson, 'The Fog', p. xxxi. He went on to say that scholars now understand 'Lutheran' to mean many things, and that 'the Palatine Connection' has not yet received its due.

[12] Modern anti-historicism stems from the Enlightenment and grew significantly during the Industrial Revolution, when novelty constituted improvement, and the past represented obstacles to be overcome. Overviews of German Reformation available in Thomas Kaufmann, 'Die deutsche Reformationsforschung seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg' and Thomas

A. Brady, Jr., 'From revolution to the long Reformation: writings in English on the German

Reformation, 1970-2005', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009), pp. 15-47, 48-64;

compare the broad historiographical survey of confessional, regional, social, and cultural

trends, David M. Whitford, ed., *Reformation and early modern Europe: a guide to research*

(Kirksville, MO, 2008), esp. chapter 1, David M. Whitford, 'Contributors to the Lutheran

Tradition', pp. 3-24. Still valuable are Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte des deutschen*

Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555-1581 (4 vols., Marburg, 1852-9); Moriz Ritter, *Deutsche*

Geschichte im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (1555-1648)

(3 vols., Stuttgart, 1889-1908). Discussions of the Scandinavian context available in Otfried

Czaika, 'Entwicklungslinien der Historiographie zu Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in

Skandinavien seit 1945', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009), pp. 116-37; Ole

Peter Grell, 'From popular, evangelical movement to Lutheran Reformation in Denmark. A

case of two Reformations', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 102 (2011), pp. 33-58.

[13] Seminal were the observations made regarding the imperial free cities and the differences

between northern Germany and southern Germany along with Swiss lands in Bernd Moeller,

Reichstadt und Reformation (Gütersloh, 1962), translated by H. C. E. Midelfort and M. U.

Edwards Jr. as *Imperial cities and the Reformation. Three essays* (Philadelphia, 1972). See

the comments of a generation later in Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *Zwickau in transition, 1500-*

1547: The Reformation as an agent of change (Columbus, OH, 1987), p. 3. A. G. Dickens,

The German nation and Martin Luther (New York, 1974), p. 182; at p. 196 he added 'a

second Reformation' during the 1520s and 1530s to stabilize the urban movement; see also n.

7.

[14] Kaufmann, 'Die deutsche Reformationsforschung', pp. 28-9; Brady, 'From revolution', pp.

51-3. For an example of research on pastoral life, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, 'Luther's

pastors: the Reformation in the Ernestine countryside', *Transactions of the American*

Philosophical Society, 69:8 (1979), pp. 1-80. Discussions among historians in Germany were most often divided between those living in the West (the Federal Republic) and those in the East (the Democratic Republic).

[15] Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *The harvest of medieval theology: Gabriel Biel and late medieval nominalism* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), translated by Martin Rumscheid and Henning Kampen as *Spätscholastik und Reformation, Bd. I Der Herbst der mittelalterlichen Theologie* (Zurich, 1965). Oberman had planned two further volumes eventually never published, *Luther und die Theologie des Spätmittelalters* and *Die Gegenreformation und die Theologie des Spätmittelalters*, but his work continued and can be found in, among various works on Luther, *The dawn of the Reformation: essays in late medieval and early Reformation thought* (Edinburgh, 1986). See also the more recent celebration of Oberman's work, Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Katherine G. Brady, Susan Karant-Nunn, and James D. Tracy, eds., *The work of Heiko A. Oberman: papers from the symposium on his seventieth birthday* (Leiden, 2003), esp. the chapter by William J. Courtenay, 'Fruits of the *Harvest*', pp. 133-45.

[16] Christoph Burger, 'Theologiegeschichtliche Darstellungen zur Reformation seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 100 (2009), pp. 326-49; Kaufmann, 'Die deutsche Reformationsforschung', pp. 16-7, 21-8.

[17] Central are, in addition to others of Robert W. Scribner's works, his *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981; 2nd edn Oxford, 1994), and his essays in idem, *Popular culture and popular movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987) and idem, Lyndal Roper, ed., *Religion and culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, (Leiden, 2001). See also Berndt Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Johannes von Paltz und seinem Umkreis* (Tübingen, 1982); idem, Robert J. Bast, ed., *The Reformation of faith in the context of late medieval theology and piety. Essays by Berndt Hamm* (Leiden, 2004).

[18] Confessionalization's broad significance and refinements are too complex to explore here. The most convenient, if critical, assessments are Thomas A. Brady, Jr. 'Confessionalization – The career of a concept', in John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand, and Anthony J. Papalas, eds., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555- 1700* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 1-20; idem, '"We have lost the Reformation" – Heinz Schilling and the rise of the confessionalization thesis', in Stefan Ehrenpreis, Ute Lotz-Heumann, Olaf Mörke, and Luise Schorn-Schütte, eds., *Wege der Neuzeit: Festschrift für Heinz Schilling zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin 2007), pp. 33-56. See also the judicious overview charting the 'refinement – or redefinition – of the concept' in Ute Lotz-Heumann, 'Confessionalization', in Whitford, ed., *Reformation and Early Modern Europe*, pp. 136-57. For an international dimension, Heinz Schilling, 'Konfessionalisierung und Formierung eines internationalen Systems während der frühen Neuzeit', in Hans R. Guggisberg and Gottfried Krodel, eds., *Die Reformation in Deutschland und Europe: Interpretationen und Debatten / Reformation Germany and Europe: interpretations and issues* (Gütersloh, 1993), pp. 591-613. Schilling's paradigm has been applied in the English context, but among the common people 'confessionalization in England cleared the ground and prepared for a general, worshipful acquiescence rather than a doctrinal consensus and consolidation'. Peter Iver Kaufman, 'Reconstructing the context for confessionalization in late Tudor England: perceptions of reception, then and now', in Headley *et al.*, eds., *Confessionalization in Europe*, pp. 275-87, at p. 284.

[19] Berndt Hamm, Bernd Moeller, and Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformationstheorien: Ein kirchenhistorischer Disput über Einheit und Vielfalt der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1995). Irene Dingel, *Concordia controversa: die öffentlichen Diskussionen um das lutherische Konkordienwerk am Ende des 16 Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1996); idem, 'The culture of conflict in the controversies leading to the Formula of Concord (1548-1580)', in Robert Kolb, ed., *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 15-64; idem,

<http://www.litdb.evtheol.uni-mainz.de/datenbank/index_front.php>. Robert Kolb, *Luther's heirs define his legacy: studies on Lutheran confessionalization* (Aldershot, 1996); idem, *Confessing the faith, reformers define the church, 1530-1580* (St. Louis, MO, 1991). Thomas Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur: Lutherischer Protestantismus in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformationsjahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2006).

[20] Brady, 'From revolution', p. 64; compare comments in Tom Scott, 'The Reformation between deconstruction and reconstruction: reflections on recent writings on the German Reformation', *German History*, 26 (2008), pp. 406-22. Bodo Nischan, *Prince, people, and confession: the second reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia, 1994). Diarmaid MacCulloch's *The later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (New York, 1990) became in translation *Die zweite Phase der Englischen Reformation (1547-1603) und die Geburt der anglikanischen Via Media* (Münster, 1998). Although most treatments of the Reformation(s) in Germany are nationally or regionally focused, some exceptions include works (largely on foreign relations rather than the Reformation *sensu stricto*) by Holger Thomas Gräf, *Konfession und internationales System: Die Außenpolitik Hessen-Kassels im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Darmstadt, 1993); idem, 'Die Kasseler Hofschule als Schnittstelle zwischen Gelehrtenrepublik und internationalem Calvinismus', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 105 (2000), pp. 17-32; idem, '"International Calvinism revisited" oder Europäische Transferleistungen im konfessionellen Zeitalter', in Thomas Fuchs and Sven Trakulhun, eds., *Das eine Europa und die Vielfalt der Kulturen: Kulturtransfer in Europa 1500-1850* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 137-58. See also, Gerhard Menk, 'Landgraf Wilhelm von Hessen-Kassel, Franz Hotman und die hessisch-französischen Beziehungen vor und nach der Bartholomäusnacht', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 88 (1980-1), pp. 55-82.

[21] Leopold von Ranke, *A history of England principally in the seventeenth century* (6 vols., Oxford, 1875), I, pp. 239, 154 (quotation); *Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (7 vols., Berlin, 1859-68), I, pp. 314, 203 (quotation). Long before Ranke, Burnet's and Strype's observations in various works noted similarities, though 'Lutheran' was most often used without specificity.

[22] Heinrich Heppe, *The reformers of England and Germany in the xixteenth century*, trans. Hermann Schmettau and B. Harris Cowper (London, 1859); *Der kirchliche Verkehr Englands mit dem evangelischen Deutschland im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Marburg, 1859), with the subtitle, '*ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des evangelischen Bundes*'.

[23] The *Calendars* included research in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, but no attempt was made to survey the regional archives of Germany. Unrelated publications, however, did shed light on Zurich and Denmark. Still widely used are the Parker Society's *Original letters . . . chiefly from the archives of Zurich*, *The Zurich letters*, and *Epistolae tigurinae* of the 1840s, though less often are Chr. de Treschow, *Contributions to the history of Queen Elizabeth derived from documents in the Danish state archives* (London, 1871), and *Report of the deputy keeper of the records*, 45th, Appendix II (1884); 46th, Appendix II (1886). In addition to *Corpus Reformatorum*, German editions include *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipp's des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer*, ed. Max Lenz (3 vols., Leipzig, 1880-91); *Briefwechsel des Herzogs Christoph von Wirtemberg*, ed. Viktor Ernst (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1899-1907); *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen Kurfürsten von der Pfalz mit verwandten Schriftstücken*, ed. A. Kluckhohn (2 vols., Brunswick, 1868-72); *Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir mit verwandten Schriftstücken*, ed. Friedrich von Bezold (3 vols., Munich, 1882-1903). Editions of university matriculation books yielded results in, for example, Preserved Smith, 'Englishmen at Wittenberg in the sixteenth century', *English Historical Review*, 36:143 (1921), pp. 422-33.

[24] Ritter, *Deutsche Geschichte*. Geoffrey Parker's comment holds: 'None of [the] more modern surveys . . . matches the superb vintage study of Moriz Ritter . . . Nowhere else are the international repercussions of each separate event in the Empire so thoroughly and lucidly presented . . . Ritter remains fundamental and indispensable.' Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War* (2nd edn, London, 1997), p. 249. Henry Eyster Jacobs, *The Lutheran movement in England during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and its literary monuments* (Philadelphia, 1890).

[25] Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the literary relations of England and Germany in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1886).

[26] Wilhelm Walther, *Heinrich VIII. von England und Luther, ein Blatt aus der Reformationsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1908). Albert Hauck, *Deutschland und England in ihren kirchlichen Beziehungen* (Leipzig, 1917). Friedrich Prüser, *England und die Schmalkaldener, 1535-40* (Leipzig, 1929). Philipp Lang, 'Die englisch-deutschen Beziehungen 1531 bis 1535 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Politik Philipps von Hessen' (Ph.D. thesis, Marburg, 1924). Josef Bihl, 'Württemberg und England im Zeitalter der Königin Elisabeth (1558-1603)', *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, 42 (1936), pp. 107-58. Johannes Schulze, 'Die politischen Beziehungen des Kurfürsten August von Sachsen zur Königin Elisabeth von England (1559-1586)' (Ph.D. thesis, Leipzig, 1911).

[27] Rory McEntegart, *Henry VIII, the league of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 3. The political interpretation continued in E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the making of the English Protestant tradition* (Cambridge, 1947). See also, Preserved Smith, 'German opinion of the divorce of Henry VIII', *English Historical Review*, 27:108 (1912), pp. 671-81.

[28] Erwin Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther: an account of their personal relations* (Stanford, CA, 1961). Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, *Henry VIII and the Lutherans: a study in Anglo-*

Lutheran relations from 1521 to 1547 (St. Louis, MO, 1965), p. 250. Despite strong biases in interpretation, both Jacobs and Tjernagel reproduced, compared, and translated several primary source documents from the English and Lutheran churches. Carl Meyer, whose works are discussed below, sympathized with the arguments of Doernberg and Tjernagel but acknowledged that 'Trinterud or Clebsch would not agree' with them, and that '[a] whole host of Anglican historians will probably give [Tjernagel's book] short shrift.' Carl S. Meyer, review of *Henry VIII and the Lutherans*, *Church History*, 35 (1966), pp. 470-1, at p. 470.

[29] L. J. Trinterud, 'A reappraisal of William Tyndale's debt to Martin Luther', *Church History*, 31 (1962), pp. 24-45. William A. Clebsch, *England's earliest Protestants, 1520-1535* (New Haven, CT, 1964); compare idem, 'The earliest translations of Luther into English', *Harvard Theological Review*, 56 (1963), pp. 75-86. See also, W. D. J. Cargill Thompson, 'The two regiments: the continental setting of William Tyndale's political thought', in Derek Baker, ed., *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c1500-c1750* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 17-33.

[30] S. W. Haas, 'Martin Luther's "Divine Right" kingship and the royal supremacy: two tracts from the 1531 parliament and convocation of the clergy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), pp. 317-25. James H. Pragman, 'The Augsburg confession in the English Reformation: Richard Taverner's contribution', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 40 (1980), pp. 75-85; compare John K. Yost, 'German Protestant humanism and the early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and official translation' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 32 (1970), pp. 613-25. Esther Hildebrandt, 'Christopher Mont, Anglo-German diplomat', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15 (1984), pp. 281-92.

[31] Carl R. Trueman, *Luther's legacy: salvation and English reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford, 1994). MacCulloch's observation, '[t]his is an important and useful book', sums most

scholarly opinion. Diarmaid MacCulloch, review of *Luther's legacy*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), pp. 567-8, at p. 567.

[32] McEntegart, *Henry VIII*, pp. 6, 220, 225; compare, idem, 'Towards an ideological foreign policy: Henry VIII and Lutheran Germany, 1531-47', in Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson, eds., *Tudor England and its neighbours* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 74-105. See the more recent qualification of Henry's religious sincerity in Katharina Beiergrößlein, *Robert Barnes, England und der Schmalkaldische Bund (1530-1540)* (Gütersloh, 2011). On the revival of diplomatic history since 2002, see John Watkins, 'Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), pp. 1-14; Mary Lindemann, 'The discreet charm of the diplomatic archive', *German History*, 29 (2011), pp. 283-304.

[33] Craig W. D'Alton, 'The suppression of Lutheran heretics in England, 1526-1529', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), pp. 228-53. John Schofield, *Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 2006). Armin Kohnle, 'Philipp Melanchthon und die Bündnisverhandlungen mit Frankreich und England 1534 bis 1536', Johannes Wischmeyer, 'Übersetzung und Kontaktaufnahme: Wissenstransfer und persönliche Kommunikationsbeziehungen zwischen Melanchthon und dem Königreich England', and Hans-Otto Schneider, 'Melanchthons Gutachten über das Interim vom 16. Juni 1548 in englischer Übersetzung', in Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle, eds., *Philipp Melanchthon: Lehrer Deutschlands, Reformator Europas* (Leipzig, 2011), pp. 43-50, 303-14, 315-34; Irene Dingel, 'Melanchthon's paraphrases of the Augsburg confession, 1534 and 1536, in the service of the Smalcald league', in idem, Robert Kolb, Nicole Kuropka, and Timothy J. Wengert, *Philip Melanchthon. Theologian in Classroom, Confession, and Controversy* (Göttingen, 2012), pp. 104-22. Carl R. Trueman and Carrie Euler, 'The reception of Martin Luther in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England', in Ha and Collinson, eds., *The*

Reception of the Continental Reformation, pp. 63-81. Carrie Euler, 'Does faith translate? Tudor translations of Martin Luther and the doctrine of justification by faith', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), pp. 80-113. Korey Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes: history, theology and polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge, 2010). Beiergrößlein, *Robert Barnes, England und der Schmalkaldische Bund*.

[34] Carl S. Meyer, *Elizabeth I and the religious settlement of 1559* (St. Louis, MO, 1960), pp. 154-5.

[35] James K. McConica, *English humanists and reformation politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford, 1965). Carl S. Meyer, 'Melanchthon's influence on English thought in the sixteenth century', *Miscellanea Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 2 (1967), pp. 163-85; compare idem, 'Melanchthon, theologian of ecumenism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 17 (1966), pp. 185-207.

[36] William A. Clebsch, 'The Elizabethans on Luther', in Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., *Interpreters of Luther: essays in honor of Wilhelm Pauck* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 97-120, at p. 116; Clebsch highlights the central role of John Foxe in English publications of Luther's works. On Foxe and the mainland, see Mark Greengrass and Thomas S. Freeman, 'The Acts and Monuments and the Protestant continental martyrologies', *The unabridged Acts and Monuments online* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), available via <www.johnfoxe.org> (Version 2.0, 2011). See also, William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: the struggle for a stable settlement of religion* (Cambridge, 1968). For another example of Elizabethan translations of Lutheran works, see J. Francis Watson, 'Robert Vaux and Martin Chemnitz: an Anglican-Lutheran encounter', *Anglican Theological Review*, 79 (1997), pp. 38-44.

[37] Kurt Diemer, 'Die Heiratsverhandlungen zwischen Königin Elisabeth I. von England und Erzherzog Karl von Innerösterreich, 1558-1570' (Ph.D. thesis, Tübingen, 1969). See also,

Victor von Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and some foreigners: being a series of hitherto unpublished letters from the archives of the Hapsburg family* (London, 1928); Susan Doran, 'Religion and politics at the court of Elizabeth I: the Habsburg marriage negotiations of 1559-1567', *English Historical Review*, 104:413 (1989), pp. 908-26; idem, *Monarchy and matrimony: the courtships of Elizabeth* (London, 1996). Doran used von Klarwill but appears to have been unaware of Diemer.

[38] W. Brown Patterson, 'The Anglican reaction', in Lewis W. Spitz and Wenzel Lohff, eds., *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord: Studies in the Lutheran Reformation's Formula of Concord* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 150-65, at p. 164.

[39] See also studies on Scottish Lutherans and diplomacy between Denmark and the British Isles: John T. McNeill, 'Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran (1500-1565)', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 55 (1964), pp. 161-91; James K. Cameron, 'John Johnsone's *An confortable exhortation of our mooste holy Christen faith and her frutes*: an early example of Scots Lutheran piety', in Baker, ed., *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 133-47; Harald Ilsøe, 'Gesandtskaber som kulturformidlende faktor: forbindelser mellem Danmark og England-Skotland o. 1580-1607', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 11th Series, 6:5 (1962), pp. 574-600; Thorkild Lyby Christensen, 'Scots in Denmark in the sixteenth century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 49:148 (1970), pp. 125-45; with caution, Walther Kirchner, 'England and Denmark, 1558-1588', *Journal of Modern History*, 17 (1945), pp. 1-15.

[40] See, though, Ryrie, 'Strange death', p. 66.

[41] Basil Hall, 'The early rise and gradual decline of Lutheranism in England (1520-1600)', in Baker, ed., *Reform and Reformation*, pp. 103-31, at p. 107. Suggestive of historiographical currents at the time (and to come) was Patrick Collinson's essay immediately before Hall's in the same volume, 'Calvinism with an Anglican face: the stranger churches in early Elizabethan London and their superintendent', pp. 71-102, esp. 102, 'the distinctive and

coherent body of divinity implied by [Anglicanism] had no apparent existence in the days of the Elizabethan Calvinist *consensus*'.

[42] Ronald H. Fritze, 'Root or link? Luther's position in the historical debate over the legitimacy of the church of England, 1558-1625', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 37 (1986), pp. 288-302. J. Wayne Baker, 'Sola fide, sola gratia: the battle for Luther in seventeenth-century England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16 (1985), pp. 115-33. On historical links and cooperation, compare Norman L. Jones, 'Matthew Parker, John Bale, and the Magdeburg Centuriators', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12 (1981), pp. 35-49.

[43] Dewey D. Wallace, 'The Anglican appeal to Lutheran sources: Philipp Melanchthon's reputation in seventeenth-century England', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopalian Church*, 52 (1983), pp. 355-68. Jill Raitt, 'Elizabeth of England, John Casimir, and the Protestant league', in Derk Visser, ed., *Controversy and conciliation: the Reformation and the Palatinate, 1559-1583* (Allison Park, PA, 1986), pp. 117-45.

[44] E. I. Kouri, *England and the attempts to form a Protestant alliance in the late 1560s: a case study in European diplomacy* (Helsinki, 1981); idem, ed., *Elizabethan England and Europe: forty unprinted letters from Elizabeth I to Protestant powers* (London, 1982); idem, ed., 'Six unprinted letters from Elizabeth I of England to German and Scandinavian princes', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 73 (1982), pp. 237-54; idem, 'For true faith or national interest? Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant powers', in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott, eds., *Politics and society in Reformation Europe: essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his sixty-fifth birthday* (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 411-36. Kouri's emphasis on politics and commerce over religious motivations has continued in idem, 'Die Entwicklung eines Systems der europäischen Außenpolitik in der Zeit von 1558-1603 aus englischer Perspektive', in Friedrich Beiderbeck, Gregor Horstkemper, and Winfried Schulze, eds., *Dimensionen der europäischen Außenpolitik zur Zeit der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 2003),

pp. 307-36. Kouri's interpretation of diplomatic failure and Anglo-German miscommunication has been influential in both scholarly and more popular treatments, e.g., Susan Doran, *England and Europe in the sixteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 88-95.

[45] Hirofumi Horie, 'The Lutheran influence on the Elizabethan settlement, 1558-1563', *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991), pp. 519-37. On the similarities and differences between the Royal Supremacy in England and the situation in the Empire, see Ronald G. Asch, '*No bishop no king* oder *cuius regio eius religio*: die Deutung und Legitimation des fürstlichen Kirchenregiments und ihre Implikationen für die Genese des "Absolutismus" in England und im protestantischen Deutschland', in Ronald G. Asch and Heinz Duchhardt, eds., *Der Absolutismus—ein Mythos? Strukturwandel monarchischer Herrschaft in West- und Mitteleuropa (ca. 1550-1700)* (Cologne, 1996), pp. 79-123.

[46] Roger Bowers, 'The chapel royal, the first Edwardian prayer book, and Elizabeth's settlement of religion, 1559', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp. 317-44; contrast MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation', p. 88, n. 29. Alongside Elizabeth, Guest, and Allen, Richard Cheyney also stands out as an enigmatic (blend of) Protestant(isms). Caroline Litzenberger, 'Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester: an infidel in religion?', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994), pp. 567-84. Elizabeth's Lutheran tutor has recently come to light in Simon Adams and David Scott Gehring, 'Elizabeth I's former tutor reports on the Parliament of 1559: Johannes Spithovius to the chancellor of Denmark, 27 February 1559', *English Historical Review*, 128:530 (2013), pp. 35-54.

[47] Patrick Collinson, 'Windows in a woman's soul: questions about the religion of Queen Elizabeth I', in idem, *Elizabethan essays* (London, 1994), pp. 87-118, at pp. 114, 113, 98.

[48] Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I's religion: the evidence of her letters', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000), pp. 699-720, at pp. 716, 720. The most thorough analysis of the Queen's

religion will undoubtedly be Simon Adams's forthcoming biography, *Elizabeth*, for Yale University Press.

[49] David J. B. Trim, 'Seeking a Protestant alliance and liberty of conscience on the continent, 1558-85', in Doran and Richardson, eds., *Tudor England and its neighbours*, pp. 139-77.

[50] Inge Mager, 'Die Verhandlungen Elisabeths I. von England mit deutschen evangelischen Fürsten über ein Defensivbündnis', in Wolfgang Sommer, ed., *Kommunikationsstrukturen im europäischen Luthertum der Frühen Neuzeit, Die Lutherische Kirche* (Gütersloh, 2005), pp. 100-12.

[51] Simon Adams, 'England und die protestantischen Reichsfürsten 1599-1621', in Beiderbeck *et al.*, eds., *Dimensionen der europäischen Außenpolitik*, pp. 61-84.

[52] Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant cause: Denmark's role in the wars of religion, 1559-1596* (Leiden, 2004).

[53] David Scott Gehring, *Anglo-German relations and the Protestant cause: Elizabethan foreign policy and pan-Protestantism* (London, 2013).

[54] Michael S. Whiting, *Luther in English. The influence of his theology of law and gospel on early English evangelicals (1525-35)* (Eugene, OR, 2010). Robert von Friedeburg, 'Ecclesiology and the English state. Luther and Melanchthon on the independence of the church in English translations of the 1570s', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101 (2010), pp. 138-63.

[55] Anthony Milton, 'The Church of England and the Palatinate, 1566-1642', in Ha and Collinson, eds., *The reception of the continental Reformation*, pp. 137-65, on Ursinus's commentary at pp. 140-1.

[56] Peter E. McCullough, 'Lancelot Andrewes's transforming passions', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), pp. 573-89. Keith Stanglin, '"Arminius *avant la lettre*": Peter Baro, Jacob Arminius, and the bond of predestinarian polemic', *Westminster Theological Journal*,

67 (2005), pp. 51-74. Nicholas Tyacke has repeatedly observed similarly regarding the Danish Lutheran, Niels Hemmingsen, whose works were widely available in England either in English translation or in the Latin original; see for example, 'Anglican attitudes: some recent writings on English religious history, from the Reformation to the Civil War', *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996), pp. 139-67.

[57] Ryrie, 'The afterlife', p. 213. Because Mohr Siebeck, rather than a British press, published the volume in Tübingen, *Sister Reformations* has not received the attention it deserves from scholars in the UK and USA; likewise underappreciated is Günther Gassmann and Vilmos Vajta, eds., *Tradition im Luthertum und Anglikanismus* (Gütersloh, 1972). MacCulloch's involvement in Berlin (and elsewhere) is indicative of his reading of a 'shallow' Channel, but Patrick Collinson was probably correct when he stated that 'MacCulloch is not, I think, a member of the Luther fan club', in his review of MacCulloch's *The Reformation: Europe's house divided* (London, 2003), 'Part of the fun of being an English Protestant', *London Review of Books*, 22 July 2004, pp. 22-3, at p. 23.

[58] Stanley Fish, 'Being interdisciplinary is so very hard to do', *Profession*, 89 (1989), pp. 15-22; reprinted elsewhere and easily available online. Anthony Grafton, 'The history of ideas: precept and practice, 1950-2000 and beyond', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67 (2006), pp. 1-32.

[59] Beverly A. Dougherty, 'German and Italian merchant colonies in early modern England', in Victor N. Zakharov, Gelina Harlaftis, and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, eds., *Merchant colonies in the early modern period* (London, 2012), pp. 31-44, 187-92. Raingard Esser, 'Germans in early modern Britain', in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain since 1500* (London, 1996), pp. 17-27. T. H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157-1611: a study of their trade and commercial diplomacy* (Cambridge, 1991). Derek Keene, 'New discoveries at the Hanseatic steelyard in London', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, (1989), pp. 15-25. Peter

Damrau, *The reception of English puritan literature in Germany* (London, 2006). Edgar McKenzie, *A catalog of British devotional and religious books in German translation from the Reformation to 1750* (Berlin, 1997). Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall. Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1987). Josef Benzing, 'Der Buchdrucker Wilhelm Antonius zu Hanau (1593-1611) als Vermittler englischen Schrifttums', in D. E. Rhodes, ed., *Essays in honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz, 1970), pp. 68-89. Irene Wiem, *Das englische Schrifttum in Deutschland von 1518-1600* (Leipzig, 1940; reprinted New York, NY, 1967).

[60] Russell Dawn, 'The eucharistic theology of Richard Field (1561-1616): confusion, contradiction, or creative synthesis?', *Renaissance and Reformation Review*, 8.2 (2006, published 2008), pp. 147-60; originally presented at the Society for Reformation Studies Conference in Cambridge, April 2007. Benjamin Guyer, '*Juxta normam Augustanae confessionis*: Lutheran theology in Elizabethan England', paper presented at the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference in Cincinnati, October 2012. I am grateful to Mr. Guyer for sharing his paper before its presentation.

[61] See my *Diplomatic intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI: Three Treatises* (Camden Fifth Series, Cambridge, forthcoming).

[62] One may point out that 'Sister Reformations' overstates the case, and that 'half-sisters' (like Mary and Elizabeth) is the better comparison.