THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

'For a decent order in the Church':

Ceremony, Culture and Conformity in an Early Stuart Diocese,

with particular reference to the See of Winchester

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The title of this thesis is taken from the Book of Common Prayer, specifically from the section 'Of Ceremonies: Why some be Abolished and some Retained'. It takes as its premise the theory that arguments over the way in which worship was conducted were more important than doctrinal matters in the religious tensions which arose before the Civil War, focussing attention upon the diocese of Winchester. The thesis is split into three broad sections.

The first section deals with the ceremonies of the church, and is split into two chapters. The first of these chapters is based largely around the physical structure of a church, whilst the second is more concerned with the rites and rubrics as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer.

The second section, in three chapters, focusses upon the use of the arts in the early Stuart church. The first of these chapters concentrates on the visual arts, and the way in which they were used, particularly with regard to their hierarchical arrangement. The second turns attention to the aural arts, examining the differences, and similarities, in approach taken at the time. The third examines the idea that there was a specific culture which can be associated with Puritanism.

The final section focusses upon the defence of hierarchy within the church. The first chapter in this section examines defences of Episcopal government which were produced by clerics who worked in the diocese. The second chapter looks at attempts to induce greater conformity within the diocese, and places this in the context of national events.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of preparing this thesis I have accumulated numerous debts, and it is only right that I should attempt to express my gratitude to all who have helped me in the completion of my research. Primarily, thanks must be given to my supervisor, Professor Glenn Burgess, who has caused me to consider alternative interpretations, hinted about further useful material, and provided a certain degree of criticism (which has always been constructive). Without his support throughout my research this thesis would have been a lesser work.

The staff at various libraries have always been helpful, particularly those at the British Library and the Brynmor Jones Library at the University of Hull. In the latter, the nature of my research has meant that the Inter-Library Loans department has been particularly busy with requests from me. At a more local level, help at Winchester Cathedral was provided by the Cathedral librarian, John Hardacre.

The number of Record Offices which were consulted means that a full list of staff who helped my research would be unduly long, but some people must be selected for especial thanks. At Southampton City Archives, Jo Smith arranged for a microfiche copy to be made for me of the St. Lawrence churchwardens' accounts, and Richard Smout at the Isle of Wight Record Office kindly allowed me to borrow microfilm reels of the accounts of Newport. My research on the Channel Islands would have been impossible without the help of Darryl Ogier at Guernsey Island Archives, and, for Jersey documents, Helen Evans, who is currently working on her PhD at Cambridge. Other than the aforementioned, the

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

BL	British Library
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
GIA	Guernsey Island Archives
Greffe	The Greffe, Guernsey
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
IAS	Island Archives Service, Guernsey.
IWRO	Isle of Wight Record Office
JECR	Jersey Ecclesiastical Court Records
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
Mildon	W.H.Mildon 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1934).
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PCRO	Portsmouth City Record Office
PRO SP Dom	Public Record Office, State Papers (Domestic)
SCA	Southampton City Archives
SHS	Surrey History Services
VCH	Victoria County History

Dates used in the thesis are Old Style, but with the year beginning on 1 January. Unless stated otherwise, the place of publication of cited works is London. A footnote marked with + indicates my translation from the French; those marked with * my translation from the Latin.

INTRODUCTION

Historiographical Background and Note on Sources

At the time of the Restoration of the Crown in 1660, the immediate religious causes of the Civil War seemed to be fairly clear cut. The rise of Puritan opposition to the policies of Archbishop Laud in the 1630s had disastrous effects not only on the church, but also in the state. One of the first comments upon the outbreak of the War, for example, came from Thomas Hobbes, who queried

> Had it not been much better that these seditious
> ministers [Puritans], which were not perhaps 1000,
> had all been killed before they preached? It had been
> (I confess) a great massacre; but the killing of
> 100,000 [in the Civil War] is a greater...[1]

Similarly, in the first detailed examination of the Civil War, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, placed the blame with the puritan clergy, who 'had much to answer for; it was they, above all, who had raised the political temperature to such a height in the 1640s...by their inflammatory preaching'.[2] A triumvirate of contemporary historians who attacked the Puritans for their rôle in the period before the onset of war was completed by Peter Heylyn, who has been seen as the most important of all, as until recently historians have 'swallowed wholesale the Royalist, Anglican tradition stemming from the writings of Laud's chaplain, Peter

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[1] . T.Hobbes <u>Behemoth on the Long Parliament</u> (ed. F. Tonnies, London, 1969), p.49, cited in R.C.Richardson <u>The Debate on the English Revolution Revisited</u> (1988), p.25. Richardson does go on to point out, however, that Hobbes 'had no great love for clergymen of any persuasion'.

[2] . <u>ibid.</u>, p.34.

Heylin'.[3] In many ways this was true - standard works emphasised the importance

of Puritanism as a defining factor, and the Civil War became termed the 'Puritan

Revolution'.

Inherent to this view was the fact that the Church of England had developed a

distinct position somewhere between the excesses of Geneva and the errors of

Rome. This much vaunted via media, which found its first staunch adherent in

Richard Hooker,[4] has recently been seen as a means through which English

churchmen, and subsequent historians, could ignore the radical nature of the

Reformation in England.[5]

Whilst the debate on the nature of the English Reformation will not be the

central concern of this work, it is essential that some notice is taken of the

arguments that have occurred.[6] On the one hand, the Reformation is seen as a long,

drawn out process, which did not engender strong support amongst the population.

To Jack Scarisbrick, for example, 'the spread of Protestantism in England was a

slow and painful process'.[7] For other historians, the Reformation 'was a stripping

away of familiar and beloved observances', and the Tudor population 'were no

reformers'.[8] Agreeing with the idea that religious conservatism was more

important during the sixteenth century than has hitherto been appreciated,

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[3] . A.Foster 'Church Policies of the 1630s', in R.Cust & A.Hughes (eds.) Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642 (1989), p.194. Andrew Foster errs, however, when he states that Heylyn was Laud's chaplain. See N.Tyacke 'Archbishop Laud', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642 (Basingstoke, 1993), p.256, fn.3.

[4] . R.Hooker Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity (1594-1597).

[5] . N.Tyacke 'Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', Journal of British Studies, vol.35 (April 1996).

[6] . A good introduction to the debate can be found in R.O'Day The Debate on the English Reformation (1986).

[7] . J.J.Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People (1984) p.56.

[8] . E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580 (1992), p.591.

Chistopher Haigh has proposed that there was not one reformation, but a series of alterations, political, religious and social, throughout the period.[9]

In contrast to this opinion, which emphasises the conservative nature of the population (and thus the need to enforce the changes rigourously),[10] the establishment of the Church of England has been seen not only as a radical move, but also a popular one. One historian has thus criticised 'the myth of the English reformation [which] is that it did not happen, or that it happened by accident rather than design, or that it was half-hearted and sought a middle way between Catholicism and Protestantism'.[11] The Reformation was a revolutionary change, especially during the reign of Edward VI, from which a clique within the church gradually moved away during the course of the later sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth.[12]

In many ways the divisions between historians of the English Reformation is a direct result of the encompassing nature of the Elizabethan Settlement.[13] Whilst contemporary clergymen could use particular parts of the Book of Common Prayer to perform services in a certain way, historians have similarly been able to promote different perspectives whilst still adhering to the hard facts.

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[9] . C.Haigh English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors (Oxford, 1993), (ed.) The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge, 1987), especially chapter one, pp.19-33.

[10] . Such enforcement may well also have been tempered somewhat by the opposition that the state would have encountered from a conservative population.

[11] . D.MacCulloch 'The Myth of the English Reformation', Journal of British Studies, vol.30, no.1 (January 1991), p.1.

[12] . D.MacCulloch Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation (1999).

[13] . The encompassing nature of the Elizabethan Settlement is particularly apparent when the words of administration of the sacrament are examined. See below, pp.113-116.

The inclusive nature of the Elizabethan Settlement allowed Puritanism to remain the <u>bête noire</u> of historians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the mid-eighteenth century, for example, it was noted that

> [Elizabeth] left that turbulent sect of men in a condition that enabled them to distress her successor throughout all his reign and in that of his son, to subvert the monarchy as well as the episcopacy, liturgy, and the whole constitution of the Church of England.[14]

This view that the Puritans were to blame for the outbreak of the Civil War proved to be extremely resilient. It always had strong support, and became the orthodox interpretation during the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth, largely as a result of the predominance of the work of S.R.Gardiner.[15] The last quarter of the twentieth century, however, has seen a sea change in understanding with regard to the position of the Church of England between the Reformation and the Civil War, and the extent to which Puritans can be seen as members of the Church of England, if not the mainstream part of it. Far from being the result of Puritan opposition to the policies of Laud, the crises of the 1630s are now seen in the light of Laudian innovations which upset the settled character of the church, which was 'by the end of the sixteenth century...largely Calvinist in doctrine'.[16] An overriding concern with the doctrine of the church,

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[14]. T.Carte <u>General History of England</u> (1747-1755), vol.III, p.703, cited in R.C.Richardson <u>The Debate on the English Revolution Revisited</u>, p.46.

[15]. S.R.Gardiner <u>A History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of Civil War</u> (10 volumes, 1884), <u>Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660</u> (Oxford, 1883-1884).

[16]. N.Tyacke <u>Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640</u> (Oxford, 1987), p.3.

however welcome, has meant that historians seem to have swung to the opposite extreme. Whilst Heylyn's opinion has been pushed into the wings, the views of William Prynne have taken centre stage, even though it was his recognition 'that Laud's principles had won a large base within the Church' that caused him to take a more extreme position.[17]

Alterations in the understanding of the Church of England during this period have focussed upon doctrine. Alexandra Walsham has recently noted that 'Arminianism has often been presented as an intellectual movement whose origins lay almost solely in academic circles', and that this is largely a result of historians' emphasis on the literature of learned divines.[18] Peter Lake has appeared somewhat dismissive of the opinions of the general population, stating that, especially in terms of the doctrinal position, 'we are concerned...with the opinions of an educated élite',[19] but 'it is becoming increasingly clear that soteriology was not the chief source of discord in the 1630s and early 1640s: ceremony, discipline and ecclesiology were far more important'.[20]

It has been stated, in support of this view, that 'most of the apologiae for ceremonies during the 1630s suggest little concern for theology',[21] and it is doubtful how far doctrinal debates would have affected the laity. Another historian has gone further and stated emphatically that 'the religious tensions of 1640-2 had

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[17]. W.Lamont Marginal Prynne (1963), p.137.

[18]. A.Walsham 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and "Parish Anglicans" in Early Stuart England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.49, no.4 (October 1998), p.629.

[19]. P.Lake 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', Past and Present, vol.114 (1987), pp.33-34.

[20]. A.Walsham 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism...', p.623.

[21]. K.Sharpe The Personal Rule of Charles I (1992), p.329.

little to do with the doctrine of predestination'.[22] An examination, published at almost exactly the same time, of the literature which was available to the general population supported this view, showing that, whilst publications were distinctly Protestant, there 'is little sense of a predestined elect'.[23] If it is indeed the case that debate centred around ceremony and ritual, then the impact of any changes made in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on local practices needs to be explored further if a fuller understanding of the breakdown of the 'Calvinistic consensus' is to be achieved. It is with this in mind that this study attempts to avoid the finer doctrinal points, and to focus upon the wider rôle of the church as a cultural institution within early Stuart society - as such, it should begin to answer Kevin Sharpe's call for 'a final evaluation of what has been too simply called the "Laudian church"...[which] awaits a great deal more research'.[24]

The work of David Underdown has in many ways set the agenda for the development of research into the cultural background of the Civil War. His article on the links between cultural traditions and the stances taken by the clubmen in the later period of the Civil War invigorated investigation in this area.[25] Subsequent work by historians such as Patrick Collinson has developed the ideas of cultural identity, and refocused the attention of those interested in Elizabethan

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[22]. P.White Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge, 1992), p.312. White emphasises this point, and the sentence quoted contains the final words of the book.

[23]. T.Watt Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge, 1991), p.106. At this point the focus is on ballads, but the statement encapsulates many of the conclusions drawn by Dr. Watt.

[24]. K.Sharpe The Personal Rule of Charles I, p.402.

[25]. D.Underdown 'The Chalk and the Cheese: Contrasts among the English Clubmen', Past and Present, vol.85 (November 1975). He developed the ideas on a more extensive scale in Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1985).

religion onto matters of a less doctrinal nature;[26] subsequent examination has continued this process.[27] It is unfortunate, however, that despite these developments there has been less work done to discern common bonds between various elements within the church with regard to ceremony and culture than has previously been done to uncover a common doctrine. There is, therefore, still an underlying belief that a strict delineation can be found between Puritans and Laudians with regard to the cultural milieu within which they operated.

This is possibly best shown in the collection of essays which sought to uncover what exactly constituted the culture of Puritanism.[28] This work attempted to cross the traditional divide between Puritanism and culture, which had resulted in the 'popular stereotype of the Puritans as cultural philistines'.[29] In doing so, it unfortunately reinforced the idea that a Puritan was a member of a clique - there was an 'antagonistic, mutually exclusive reciprocity of popular and puritan culture [which] is very neat'[30] - and thus has accentuated the impact of a contrasting, 'Laudian' view of the church.

Whilst it has to be admitted that there was an alteration in the number, and nature, of ceremonies used within the church under Laud's control, there has been

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[26]. For example, P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), particularly chapters four and five; The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke, 1998).

[27]. For example, the festschrift in honour of Patrick Collinson, A.Fletcher & P.Roberts (eds.) Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 1994).

[28]. C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996).

[29]. S.K.Baskerville 'Puritans, Revisionists, and the English Revolution', Huntington Library Quarterly vol.61, no.2 (1999), p.167.

[30]. P.Collinson 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, p.50. Collinson is here making the point that, although there was such a thing as Puritan culture, at the same time, there was another 'popular' culture which was antagonistic towards it. The separation of the two may well be too precise.

scant examination of how far Laud was, as he claimed at his trial, building upon elements that were already in place. A recent examination has shown that this was indeed the case, as 'the innovations of the 1630s could not have been introduced, even less enforced' if there had been no support for them.[31] This work, however, tends to focus upon the necessary support which Laud obtained from the King, rather than exploring the possibility that there was also some support amongst the laity. An investigation of the ways in which worship was conducted within the church at the time might reveal not only evidence for Laud's defence, but also links between the contrasting cultures of Puritanism and Laudianism which have remained largely unnoticed.

Some developments have occurred in this area, notably Kenneth Parker's work on the attitude taken toward the Sabbath and Horton Davies's examination of preaching styles.[32] However, it is true to say that these works study these links with regard to one particular aspect of religious culture, and there is a need to attempt to bring such links together in a more coherent whole.

In any examination of culture, and its use, it has to be understood that cultural media were used for didactic purposes, especially in the early modern period. Such use has been increasingly studied when an élite audience has been present - for example the recent examinations of court sermons by Peter MacCullough and Lori

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[31]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641 (Oxford, 1992), p.309.

[32]. K.L.Parker The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge, 1988), H.Davies Like Angels from a Cloud: The English Metaphysical Preachers 1588-1645 (San Marino, 1986).

Anne Ferrell[33] - but the emphasis has tended to centre upon secular culture, such as masques, failing to recognise that 'the rituals and ceremonies of state were simply the secular counterparts of similar performances that, simultaneously promoted in the Church, were the direct focal point of Puritan disobedience'.[34] It is these ceremonies, the way in which they were promoted, and the evidence of previous examples of such ceremonies, which this work will attempt to uncover.

This work is designed as a local study. The rise of local studies was largely influenced by the work of Alan Everitt, whose work was seminal in developing a more nuanced interpretation of local history:

> Rejecting the limited, imitative model of local history accepted by an earlier generation of local historians who had set out simply to illustrate the familiar pattern of national events, Everitt emphasized the need to penetrate the internal intricacies of the local world itself to appreciate the true significance of the local determinants of local issues.[35]

This study differs from many local studies in that it is based on a diocese, whereas many local studies have focussed on areas defined by other criteria. Most notable of these has been the county. The work of Everitt which has been so influential for local historians of the period focussed upon Kent, and a few years

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[33]. P.MacCullough Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching (Cambridge, 1998); L.A.Ferrell Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625 (Stanford, 1998).

[34]. S.K.Baskerville 'Puritans, Revisionists, and the English Revolution', p.168.

[35]. R.C.Richardson The Debate on the English Revolution Revisited, p.141.

later John Morrill produced a similarly important examination of Cheshire.[36]

Further examinations of counties have been undertaken by Anthony Fletcher, Ann

Hughes and Mark Stoyle,[37] whilst a broader approach has been undertaken by

Clive Holmes and David Underdown.[38] It is somewhat surprising that the diocese

remains an under-examined entity, especially with regard to religious history, as it

was one of the main units of ecclesiastical organisation. The fact that the diocese

was more of an administrative unit rather than a community may explain this to

some degree. This is not to say, however, that diocesan examinations do not exist.

The most obvious example is Margaret Stieg's investigation of Bath and Wells,

but work has also been undertaken on Peterborough by Allen and Fielding; Exeter

has been investigated by Vage.[39]

It is not expected that a study based upon the diocesan unit will provide the

answer to the ongoing question which impels most early modern historians to

examine this period - 'What caused the Civil War?'. Nor is it expected that a

simple geographical distinction will be found between Parliamentarians and

Royalists, or, in the period before the Civil War, between 'Puritan' and 'Laudian'.

[36]. A.Everitt The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion 1640-60 (Leicester, 1966); J. Morrill Cheshire 1630-1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution (Oxford, 1974).
[37]. A.Fletcher A County Community In Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660 (1975); A.Hughes Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620-1660 (Cambridge, 1987); M.Stoyle Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War (Exeter, 1994).
[38]. C.Holmes The Eastern Association and the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974); D.Underdown Revel, Riot and Rebellion.
[39]. M.Stieg Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century (1982); A.J.Fielding 'Conformists, Puritans and the church courts: the diocese of Peterborough 1603-1642' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1989), 'Arminianism in the localities: Peterborough diocese, 1603-1642', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642 (Basingstoke, 1993) pp. 93-114; E.J.I.Allen 'The State of the Church in the Diocese of Peterborough 1601-1642' (unpublished BLitt thesis, University of Oxford, 1972); J.A.Vage 'The Diocese of Exeter 1519-1641: a study of church government in the age of reformation' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991).

It is hoped, however, that a greater understanding of the differences, and indeed similarities, between the ways in which worship was conducted in the early Stuart period might show how similar examinations can be undertaken in a national context, and that a comparable picture may have been present on a larger scale. It has therefore been thought expedient that, whilst this is a local study, at appropriate points, allusions to the national picture should also be included.

A note needs to be made here about the sources available in the diocese. One of the crucial sources for religious history on the local scale is churchwardens' accounts. The evidence which can be produced from these is always open to some debate, as they show 'only what churchwardens spent, not what they thought, and certainly not what the rest of the parishioners thought'.[40] Nonetheless, the accounts should not be discounted, as they do give some indication of what the local practice actually was - in some cases they record the donation of gifts or money to the church from the wills of the dead, bequests which allow us some insight into the religious priorities of the deceased.[41] The accounts which survive in the diocese of Winchester are in themselves somewhat variable in quality and quantity. In terms of quality, some only list the names of the churchwardens for each year; others note the money handed over to the incoming churchwardens, but little else; a few contain full records of the expenditure undertaken, and do so for every year of the period. When the quantity of accounts is noted, other provisos

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[40]. C.Haigh English Reformations, p.17.

[41]. R.Houlbrooke Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750 (Oxford, 1998), pp.110-146.

have to be kept in mind. Of 365 parishes within the main part of the diocese,[42] accounts survive for fifty seven, although only a handful are complete. This should not, however, dissuade an attempt to draw conclusions from them - John Morrill examined 150 sets of accounts from ten counties (compared with the three counties within the Winchester diocese), and judged that 'there is no reason to doubt that the 150 sets of accounts are a representative cross-section'.[43]

Turning to official documentation from the cathedral itself, bishops' registers survive for nearly all the incumbents during the period in question - there are two missing collections, those of James Montague (1616-1618) and Lancelot Andrewes (1618-1626); the latter is a particularly unfortunate loss, given Andrewes's importance at the time, both as a court preacher and as a polemicist.[44] The registers are largely administrative, listing the admissions of clergy to parish churches, but occasionally extra items of note are added, particularly with regard to the Channel Islands.

More important administrative records exist with visitation books and the records of the Consistory Courts. In these various incumbents, churchwardens, and parishioners were presented for a multitude of failings. Sexual indiscretions, be they adultery, fornication or, in a few cases, incest occur repeatedly throughout the period. Whilst these misdemeanours were taken extremely seriously at the time, of more importance to this thesis will be the faults concerning the practice of religion

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[42]. There were also twenty two parishes in the Channel Islands which, although part of the diocese, were in many ways detached from it, as will be seen later, especially chapter seven. Allusions to the Channel Islands will, however, continue to appear throughout the thesis.

[43]. J.Morrill The Nature of the English Revolution (1993), p.164.

[44]. See recent works on preaching at court, such as P.MacCullough Sermons at Court and L.A.Ferrell Government by Polemic.

in the parishes, such as the refusal to wear the surplice or the failure to use the cross in baptism. The visitation books and court records, like churchwardens' accounts, have to be treated with some care. We can never be certain of the grounds upon which people were presented. They might have been genuinely obstinate in their refusal to adhere to certain rites or used as scapegoats for a larger group of transgressors; alternatively, they might have been cited in the courts purely as a result of some personal animosity. The fact remains, however, that they were presented to the courts, and, without access to other evidence, this has to be the basis upon which any conclusions can be drawn.

Again, there are failings with the evidence that is available. It is possible that many disputes were resolved at a local level, without recourse to the courts, which must have been seen as a last resort. This idea has recently been put forward as one of the reasons why the Jacobean church was able to paper over differences in opinion so well - the parish and diocesan authorities were prepared to 'wink' at deviations from the set forms, a practice which became less common during the Caroline period.[45] The documentation that survives from the courts also differs in the quantity of evidence that can be examined - whilst records remain for most of the period for Hampshire,[46] only two Consistory Court records are extant for Surrey.[47]

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[45]. D.Cressy 'The Erosion of Community in Charles I's England', Huntington Library Quarterly, vol.61, no.2 (1999).

[46]. Visitation books only survive for specific years - 1606, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1617, 1618, 1620, 1622, 1633, 1636 and 1641-1642 - and there are gaps in the Consistory court records 1608-1611 and 1628-1636.

[47]. For 1620 and 1622.

Other records are more extensive. Quarter Sessions returns survive for

Hampshire throughout the period; court leet records survive for Southampton, and

have, like many documents in Southampton City Archives, been published by the

Southampton Record Society;[48] and there are extant records for the Corporation of

Newport on the Isle of Wight. Documentation for the Channel Islands is similarly

patchy, but in Jersey the Colloquy minutes survive until 1614 and the

Ecclesiastical Court records are extant from 1623.[49] Many of the Guernsey records

are secular, but the Colloquy minutes survive until 1619, and many documents in

the collections held at the Greffe are related to the religious situation in the island.

Moving away from the manuscript sources, numerous clergymen in the diocese

published material. Some of these were voluminous writers, such as Daniel

Featley (rector of Lambeth 1619-1643), George Hakewill (archdeacon of Surrey

1616-1660), Peter Heylyn (rector of Alresford 1633-1662), and Alexander Ross

(rector of All Saints', Southampton 1628-1642). Others, as well as publishing

during their lifetimes, have risen in prominence as a result of later historical

research - for example Lancelot Andrewes (bishop 1618-1626),[50] Arthur Lake

(archdeacon of Surrey 1605-1616),[51] and Adrian Saravia (a Dutch émigré who

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[48]. F.J.C.Hearnshaw & D.M.Hearnshaw (eds.) Court Leet Records (Publications of the Southampton Record Society, vols. 1,2,4; 1905-1907).

[49]. The Colloquy was a meeting of all the ministers of the island, along with two elders (appointed overseers) from each parish. Officially it met every three months, ten days before each celebration of communion, to discuss matters of significance at either parochial or island level. In practice, however, it often met more frequently. See D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), chapter 5, for the structure of ecclesiastical discipline in Guernsey. The Colloquy is explained on pages 103-104.

[50]. Andrewes was almost immediately given posthumous accolades, with the publication of his XCVI Sermons in 1629, recently described as 'a distinctly "Laudian" project'. P.McCullough 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', Historical Journal, vol.41, no.2 (1998), p.402.

[51]. Lake has been a particular favourite of Patrick Collinson in, for example, The Religion of Protestants, p.85.

worked in Guernsey and Southampton).[52] When using printed material of divines who served in the diocese, particular attention has been paid to the works that they produced whilst they worked within the diocese, as the way in which they conducted worship is likely to have reflected the opinions which they expressed in such works. It is also likely that clerics were placed in a parish because their particular opinions were considered to be in tune with those of the local congregation, although the authorities' consideration of local convictions may in itself have been influenced by the beliefs of the patron of the parish.[53] The combination of these two possibilities means that proceeding to analyse the manuscript evidence in conjunction with the published material of an incumbent ought to provide a more complete picture of the local situation, although any conclusions drawn will inevitably have failings. This will become particularly apparent when the placement of the communion table in the church at Lambeth is examined.[54]

It has also been considered necessary to use publications which were produced by these ministers before or after their time in the diocese, if the work is of especial importance to a particular discussion. Whilst there are examples of clerics changing their opinions over time,[55] these cases are notable because they are

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[52]. W.Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c.1532-1613): Dutch Calvinist, First Reformed Defender of the English Episcopal Order on the Basis of the Ius Divinum (Leiden, 1980).

[53]. See, for example, R.H.Fritze 'The Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The Case of Hampshire in the 1560s', Historical Journal, vol.25, no.2 (1982), pp.267-287.

[54]. See below, pp.75-76, 366-367.

[55]. Possibly the most famous example in England at this time would be John Donne, who transferred allegiance from Rome to the Church of England, becoming Dean of St. Paul's in 1621.

unusual - it was far more common for opinions to remain broadly the same, although the position taken often became more immoderate as tensions rose.[56]

In a similar fashion, it has been thought necessary to use occasional citations from contemporaries with little or no connection with the diocese when they have been particularly apposite. It would, for example, be somewhat absurd to discuss Peter Heylyn's works in defence of the altar policy without recourse to the writings of his respondent, John Williams. Moreover, as was stated earlier, this is an examination on a local scale, and it is hoped that it will provide a local reflection of the national picture; it would be foolhardy, in this case, to avoid the national debate just because a particular voice in it did not work within the geographical confines of the diocese. Nevertheless, the main focus will remain the Winchester diocese, and thus a brief description and the general history of the area will constitute the first section of this work.

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[56]. For a study of conversions during the period, see M.C.Questier Conversion, Politics, and Religion in England, 1580-1625 (Cambridge, 1996).

PROLOGUE: THE DIOCESE

The diocese of Winchester has always been seen as one of the most important in the Church of England. It was founded as a see in 1079, and the importance attached to it can be seen from the fact that the third bishop of the diocese, Henry de Blois (1129-1173), hoped that it might become the third English archbishopric.[1] In the early modern period the diocese covered the counties of Hampshire (including the Isle of Wight) and Surrey, and extended across the sea to include the Channel Islands; as such it was one of the most extensive in the southern province. In addition to this, it was also one of the wealthiest dioceses in Christendom - second only, in fact, to Milan.[2]

As a result of this situation, it is somewhat surprising that the diocese has not been examined in any real depth, especially during the early Stuart period. Nonetheless, four works which have focussed upon the diocese should be noted. Ronald Fritze has examined the years on either side of the Reformation, and shown how important the changes that occurred were in terms of the development of local rivalries and factions.[3] Ralph Houlbrooke has examined the workings of the church courts during a similar period, and has shown the conservative nature of the diocese at that time - a conservatism that will be seen to have continued up

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[1] . B.Carpenter Turner A History of Winchester (1992), p.20.

[2] . T.W.Mayberry Estate Records of the Bishops of Winchester in the Hampshire Record Office (Hampshire County Council, 1988), p.4.

[3] . R.H.Fritze 'Faith and Faction: Religious Change, National Politics, and the Development of Local Factionalism in Hampshire 1485-1570' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1981).

to the time of the Civil War,[4] although the differences noted by Fritze meant that the diocese was far from united.

Another historian who has investigated a comparable time scale, although he extended it into the seventeenth century, was Richard Christophers, who focussed his work upon the origins of Surrey clergymen.[5] His work shows them to be staunch Calvinists, and notes that the authorities had more problems with recusancy in Hampshire than in Surrey,[6] a difference that will be investigated further in this thesis.

The most important work on the diocese at this time is that of W.H.Mildon, although this author, like Christophers, concentrated on one part of the see. Whilst Mildon's work is important, and an essential starting point for any investigation of Winchester in the post-Reformation period, it is also disappointing. Mildon constantly overstated the strength of Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, and occasionally exaggerated the importance of the evidence. To take an extreme example, Mildon noted at one point that the inventory of church goods at St. Thomas's, Portsmouth, displayed 'enough Puritan valuation of things to place the Bible first in the list' - hardly a defining feature of Puritanism![7]

The lack of research that focusses upon such an important diocese has probably arisen for two reasons. Firstly, the available source material, whilst not exceptionally poor, is somewhat patchy.[8] Secondly, the diocese itself has been

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[4] . R.Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation (Oxford, 1979).

[5] . R.A.Christophers 'Social and Economic Background of the Surrey Clergy, 1520-1620' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1975).

[6] . ibid., pp.323-324.

[7] . Mildon, p.132.

[8] . See introduction, pp.11-14.

overshadowed by the bishops of the period, particularly Lancelot Andrewes and Richard Neile, and examination of their careers has focussed elsewhere.[9] It is hoped that an examination of the successive incumbents of the Winchester diocese will shed more light upon the religious turmoil of the time across England as a whole, as well as remedying the neglect from which it has previously suffered.

At the time of the split with Rome, Winchester had been under the control of one of the most conservative bishops of the period, Stephen Gardiner. Although presented to the diocese in 1531, diplomatic commitments meant that he spent much of the initial years of his incumbency in France, and he did not, in fact, visit the diocese until 1534. Despite attempts by the king's ministers to impose a more Protestant disposition in the diocese (notably through the work of Thomas Cromwell, who had various patronage links with the diocese), 'Protestantism remained very weak in Hampshire and vulnerable to adverse changes in royal policy'.[10] This vulnerability to change became increasingly evident in the following years. Gardiner's conservative views, combined with the influence of Cromwell, led to many divisions within the local population, which reached a climax in 1548 and, in part, led to Gardiner's imprisonment in the Tower in the middle of that year. A new bishop was appointed in John Poynet (installed 1551), who was of a much more Protestant bent, and thus more responsive to the ideals of

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[9] . Work on Andrewes has often centred on his position at court, whilst examination of Neile's place in the early Stuart church has looked at his influence on Laud whilst at Durham. P.MacCullough Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching (Cambridge, 1998); V.Raymer 'Durham House and the Emergence of Laudian Piety' (unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard, 1981). Andrew Foster has examined Neile's life in a broader context. A.W.Foster 'A Biography of Archbishop Richard Neile (1562-1640)' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1979), 'Archbishop Richard Neile Revisited', in P.Lake & M.Questier (eds.) Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church c.1560-1660 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), pp.159-178.

[10] . R.H.Fritze 'Faith and Faction...', p.138.

Edward VI. The accession of Mary to the throne following Edward's death in 1553, and the subsequent return to Catholicism, saw Gardiner released from the Tower, and he was reinstalled as bishop, a position which he held until his death in 1555. The esteem with which Gardiner was held by Mary can be seen from the selection of the Cathedral as the site for her marriage to Philip II of Spain on 25 July 1554.[11] It is also possible that there was a depth of feeling in the diocese in favour of the religious reversals which she had imposed as, 'according to the Spanish ambassador, the queen chose Winchester because the people round about were Catholic and obedient, unlike the citizens of London'.[12] The local clergy were also Catholic in their viewpoint (or, at least, silenced their reservations), and 'the only man in the whole diocese deprived specifically for heresy was Philpot, the Protestant archdeacon'.[13] The Marian authorities appear to have chosen to focus their attention upon those dioceses which had been strongly influenced by heretical opinions, which 'would help to explain why a comparatively conservative diocese such as Winchester should have escaped persecution despite the fact that Lollardy and Protestantism had won some converts within it'.[14]

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[11]. A document which survives in manuscript only, and which it has been claimed was Gardiner's last work - the Ragionamento dell'advenimento delli inglesi et normanni in Britannia - 'shows us a far more pro-Spanish Gardiner than we had known about before', which may also have influenced Mary's decision. P.S.Donaldson 'Bishop Gardiner, Machiavellian', Historical Journal, vol.23, no.1 (1980), p.1. Donaldson's attribution has, however, been queried by, amongst others, Dermot Fenlon and Sidney Anglo, P.S.Donaldson Machiavelli and Mystery of State (Cambridge, 1998), p.38, fn.5.

[12]. A.B.Rosen 'Economic and Social Aspects of the History of Winchester 1520-1670' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1975), p.82. Whilst it is difficult to discern popular views on (1) the wedding and (2) the religious changes, it seems unlikely that the ceremony would have occurred in a place where open hostility could have been expected.

[13]. ibid., p.81.

[14]. R.Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People, p.238.

Upon his death, Gardiner was replaced by John White, who was similarly conservative in his views, and who later preached the funeral sermon for Mary, in which he 'praised the deceased Queen and her faithful obedience to traditional religion'.[15] With the return of Protestantism under Elizabeth, White was deprived of the bishopric in 1559, having opposed the Act of Supremacy, and replaced by John Pilkington. Pilkington was almost immediately nominated to Durham, and Winchester now entered the most staunchly Protestant period it had experienced.

From 1561 until 1579 the see came under the control of Robert Horne, who proved to be one of the most zealous reformers in the Elizabethan church. During his time at Durham, Horne 'had destroyed with his own hands not only what were technically "superstitious monuments", but much that was purely artistic'.[16] He had suffered during Mary's reign, being deprived of the Durham deanery, and fled to Zurich when he discovered that Mary planned to place him in the Tower. In 1559 Horne returned to the deanery, and was translated to Winchester in the following year. Once at Winchester, Horne continued his zealous reform: his 'puritanical fanaticism led him in his visitations of his cathedral...to order the destruction of every picture, painted window, image, vestment, ornament or architectural structure, which he regarded as superstitious'.[17] The actions which he advocated riled the local population, as his outlook was 'totally alien to the recalcitrant diocese with which he battled for nearly twenty years'.[18] Undeterred, Horne continued with the approach which he had taken whilst in Durham; in 1571

[15]. R.H.Fritze 'Faith and Faction...', p.302.

[16]. VCH Hampshire (5 volumes, 1900), vol.ii, p.74.

[17]. See DNB entry.

[18]. A.B.Rosen 'Economic and Social Aspects...', p.83.

he focused his attention upon the cathedral, 'where he ordered the removal of the

stone cross in the cathedral churchyard [and] the destruction of all images of the

Trinity in the glass windows'.[19] In attacking windows in this fashion, Horne

exceeded the approach taken by most bishops, who acknowledged the economic

problems that replacing windows would engender - replacement of glass removed

in such a manner had been ordered in Injunction 23 of 1559,[20] but many bishops

did not enforce this Injunction. On a national scale, the survival of stained glass

was noted by William Harrison in 1577:

> All...[aspects] of idolatry are removed...only the
> stories in glass windows excepted, which, for want
> of sufficient store of new stuff and by reason of the
> extreme charge...are not altogether abolished in most
> places...[21]

Horne extended the impact of his reforms during his stay at Winchester,

ordering that all church organs should be removed.[22] His labours may have been

effective outwardly, but, given the history of the diocese up to this point, his

enthusiasm may not have been popular with those of the population who wished to

cling to tradition despite his efforts. Many may have joined the ranks of 'church

papists' attending the parish church as necessary, whilst failing to accept the break

with Rome, but it is certainly true that Hampshire became a notorious base for

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[19]. A.B.Rosen 'Economic and Social Aspects...', pp.85-86.

[20]. See M.Aston 'Puritans and Iconoclasm', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996), p.84.

[21]. W.Harrison The Description of England (ed. G.Edelen, Ithaca, New York, 1968), pp.35-36, cited in M.Aston 'Puritanism and Iconoclasm', pp.98-99.

[22]. N.Temperley The Music of the English Parish Church (Cambridge, 1979), p.42. But see below, p.203.

recusants.[23] It is, of course, possible that the high level of discovered recusancy is a result of the more efficient policing which a bishop such as Horne would have tried to enforce. Whatever the reason for the extent of recorded recusancy in Hampshire, it would appear that there was an underlying traditionalism inherent in the county, and (even discounting recusancy) it remained 'one of the most conservative dioceses in southern England'.[24]

Horne's successor, John Watson, seems to have been somewhat capricious in his theological leanings. He had become known in the early part of his career as a reformer, resulting in his preferment to the second prebend at Winchester in 1551. Despite this, he appears to have survived the Marian reaction, and the flexibility which he showed may have influenced his further rise to be Archdeacon of Surrey from 1559. His experience during the Reformation period may have altered his viewpoint over the way in which the church was to develop, and in 1562 he voted against any reduction in ritual, despite his earlier reforming character. Throughout his tenure recusancy continued to be a problem, and by 1582 the number of recusants in the Hampshire part of the diocese was only exceeded in Lancashire and Yorkshire.[25] To say that 'his religious views were obviously of an accommodating nature' may well be something of an understatement.[26]

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[23]. VCH Hampshire, vol.ii, p.76. For a detailed examination of the problem of recusancy within the Hampshire part of the diocese, see J.E.Paul 'Hampshire Recusants in the Time of Elizabeth I, with special reference to Winchester', Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club, vol.XXI, part II (1959), pp.61-81.

[24]. R.Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People..., p.260.

[25]. See DNB entry for Thomas Cooper. Yorkshire was, of course, a much larger county than Hampshire, and Lancashire held a reputation as one of the 'dark corners' of the land, where 'Catholics are so numerous that priests can wander through the villages and countryside with the utmost freedom'; cited in C.Haigh English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors (Oxford, 1993), p.292.

[26]. See DNB entry (John Watson).

Watson died in 1584, and was replaced by Thomas Cooper, who had previously

delighted Elizabeth with his <u>Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae</u> of 1565.

Widely recognised as an impassioned preacher, Cooper had been presented with

the deanery of Gloucester in 1569, and promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln in

1571. Soon after his translation to Winchester he became embroiled in one of the

major controversies of the time, producing rejoinders to the anti-episcopal

pamphlets of Martin Marprelate.[27] The main thrust of Cooper's work was,

naturally enough, the defence of Episcopal jurisdiction over the church. The

alternative to the Apostolic succession, the basis for government by bishops, was,

for Cooper, 'common election of Ministers...[which] will breede greater strife and

contention, then without danger will be appeased'.[28] Not only was this a danger to

the church, but, through the interrelationships between various aspects of social

and political hierarchy of the time, it was a threat to the country as a whole:

> ...if this outragious spirit of boldnesse be not stopped
> speedily, I feare he wil proue himselfe to be, not
> onely <u>Mar-prelate,</u> but <u>Mar-prince, Mar-state,</u>
> <u>Mar-lawe, Mar-magistrate,</u> and all together, vntil he
> bring it to an Anabaptisticall equalitie and
> communitie.[29]

The threats posed by Marprelate were not solely displayed through his attacks

upon Episcopacy. A more subtle danger came from the refusal to accept some

aspects of worship which were not doctrinal requisites, but which had been

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[27]. The Marprelate Tracts had, to a large extent, been provoked by the writings of one of
Winchester's prebendaries, John Bridges.

[28]. T.Cooper <u>An Admonition to the People of England</u> (1589), p.82.

[29]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.36.

ordered by the church authorities. Thus Cooper indicated that 'some learned and godly Preachers' had taken it upon themselves to refuse to wear the surplice. Shortly after this, there had arisen the belief amongst some that these 'thinges indifferent' were 'distayned with Antichristian idolatrie', and thus ought to be removed from the church completely. The next step from this was to state that such things were, indeed, of little importance - much more pressing was the establishment of a fully Reformed church. Thus the things which had to be altered included 'the booke of Common prayer, the administration of the Sacraments, the gouernement of the church, the election of Ministers, and a nomber of other like'.[30] The link between matters indifferent in the church, and the doctrinal requisites was something which was to cause difficulties for the church authorities in the first half of the seventeenth century.[31]

When Cooper died in 1595 there followed two short incumbencies, those of William Wickham (-1596) and William Day (1596). Little is known about Wickham, and his incumbency was too short for him to have had any lasting influence, as he only lived for three months after his installation. Day had been nominated for several bishoprics - including Chichester and London - but had to wait for the closing days of his life before he gained preferment, replacing his brother-in-law at Winchester. The delay which he faced before attaining a

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[30]. T.Cooper An Admonition..., p.158.

[31]. Whilst the link between ceremony and doctrine has not been specifically denied, it is true to say that the emphasis recent historians have placed upon the doctrinal consensus in the early Stuart church has seemed to imply that differences over the ceremonial aspects of worship declined after the debates of the 1580s, and did not cause as much tension until Laud's time as Archbishop of Canterbury.
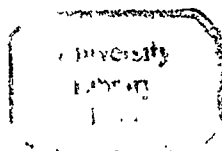
bishopric possibly resulted from his reforming zeal - at the Convocation of 1562 he had supported moves to abolish saints' days and the cross in baptism, along with the chanting of psalms and the use of organs. He also wished to stop the use of surplices and copes. Such extreme policies were hardly likely to endear Day to Elizabeth, with her own personal fondness for the ritualistic aspects of worship.[32]

The death of Day brought Thomas Bilson, a native of Winchester, to the see. He was to have a prominent part in the Hampton Court Conference, being a staunch supporter of Episcopal church government, and speaking out against the Puritan faction at the Conference. Bilson recognised, however, that there were several strands of religious thought within the Church of England, an insight which can be seen in the well-known letter which he wrote to James concerning the appointment of Laud to the Presidency of St. John's College, Oxford in 1611.

As Bishop of Winchester, Bilson was also visitor of St. John's College, and he wrote to James about the election of Laud, noting that there were certain irregularities in the process. Bilson was 'privately settled and resolved' at the result, but felt that the king out to know about these irregularities. Most importantly, however, Bilson noted that there were 'greate favourers on both sides', hinting that, at least in certain circles, the essence of the future Archbishop's convictions were known and appreciated.[33]

Bilson here indicates, and seems to accept, that there were various parties within the church; in appealing to James he attempted to avoid taking sides in the dispute, leaving the decision to James. As a direct appeal to the supreme governor

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[32]. See DNB entry.
[33]. PRO SP Dom 14/64/35.

of the church, this was indicative of one of Bilson's main concerns - the need to retain its hierarchy. In doing this he challenged the more zealous members of the church, and simultaneously asserted the rôle of the bishops. Bilson here displayed a fear that there were extremists, albeit concealed, at least in the area of church government, who wished to pursue a course which remained a cause for concern, even though James had clearly been seen to support government by bishops at the Hampton Court Conference some years previously.

Bilson was succeeded by James Montagu (1616-1618), who had been a dean of the Chapel Royal under James, before becoming bishop of Bath and Wells in 1608. Once there, Montagu displayed great concern over the state of the diocesan buildings, rebuilding the Episcopal palace at Wells and apparently spending some £1000 on the Abbey church at Bath. Had he lived longer, Montagu might well have exhibited similar concern in the Winchester diocese, but he was to die of jaundice and dropsy only two years after being translated.[34]

It was at this point that the diocese entered what was, arguably, its most influential period.[35] From 1600-1609 the Dean of Winchester had been George Abbot, who was later to become Archbishop of the southern province. It was

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[34]. See DNB entry.

[35]. As I have said, this is an arguable point. Some historians would probably promote the incumbency of Henry de Blois between 1129 and 1173 as more important, given the mooted establishment of Winchester as a third archbishopric (above, p.17). Others might assert the importance of Stephen Gardiner at the time of the Reformation, and some would no doubt claim similar importance for later bishops. Educational historians would almost certainly focus on the time of William of Wickham (1366-1404), as he also founded Winchester College and New College, Oxford. Musicians might even focus upon the time that Samuel Sebastian Wesley was organist at the cathedral (1849-1865). A succession of highly important clerics being associated with the diocese during the early seventeenth century, however, makes this a valid claim.

during his time at Canterbury that Winchester was held successively by Lancelot Andrewes (1619-1626) and Richard Neile (1628-1632). Both of these bishops had different views from Abbot's and both have been seen as influencing William Laud: it would not be surprising if their relationships with Abbot were somewhat strained. Neile was succeeded by Walter Curle, and the tenures of these three bishops will be the main focus of this study.

Richard Neile and Walter Curle have both been seen as members of the Laudian faction in the years leading up to the Civil War, and Laud is often seen as one of Neile's protégés. Their predecessor is more difficult to assign to any particular camp, but it is appropriate, not least because of the esteem which was accorded him by Laud,[36] and possibly Prynne's attack on his personal chapel,[37] to place him in the same category, or even to follow the lead of Peter Lake in using the label avant-garde conformists for this group.[38] The preferences of these prelates, and the degree to which they had to enforce their views upon a diocese which contained large areas of a conservative disposition, should enable us to discover whether or not antecedents to Laud's ideas were visible within the diocese at this time.

The appointment of Andrewes to the Winchester diocese was particularly apt. As has been stated, Hampshire had long been seen as a stronghold of Catholic recusancy, and 'seems to have been free from any overt display of Puritanism' at

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[36]. Laud referred to Andrewes on the latter's death as 'the great light of the Christian world'. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, DD (7 volumes, Oxford, 1853), vol.iii, p.196.

[37]. W.Prynne Canterburies Doome (1646), pp.123-125. It should be noted, however, that Prynne's accusations, printed in a very partisan work, may or may not have been founded in fact.

[38]. P.Lake 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in L.Levy Peck The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (Cambridge, 1991).

the time of the Hampton Court Conference.[39] By contrast, recusancy in Surrey was almost non-existent by 1616; in that county bishops 'ceased to have to deal with any large number of Roman recusants, but were not free from threatenings of troubles with Puritans'.[40] Such a difference could be enlightening when the onset of the Civil War is considered, although, as David Underdown and Mark Stoyle have shown, whilst it may be possible to discern some broad patterns at this level, there was actually much greater diversity at the village/parish level than such generalisations would allow. The possibility also has to exist that the difference is one which has been applied to the diocese in later studies. If it is assumed that there was such a general division (with the proviso that there were variations within it) then the bishop of Winchester would have to tread a fine line between the two tendencies. In a statement which surely contains a large amount of hyperbole, Andrewes has been seen as innately capable of this, it being claimed that 'he belonged, more than any other bishop of the seventeenth century, to the whole Church of England'.[41] Andrewes was certainly committed to the Church of England as established at the time, and felt that, with it, he was steering a middle course between the extremes of Puritanism and Roman Catholicism.[42] This idea of the Church of England as a via media between Rome and Geneva had grown out of the fact that the Church of England, whilst discarding many of the trappings of Roman Catholicism, had held on to certain matters of indifference which it was

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[39]. VCH Hampshire, vol.ii, p.85.

[40]. VCH Surrey (4 volumes, 1900), vol.ii, p.30.

[41]. VCH Hampshire, vol.ii, p.87. My emphasis.

[42]. Andrewes, indeed, attacked both parties. He argued against the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference; and his refutations of the beliefs of the Papacy can be seen in his printed arguments against Cardinals Bellarmine and Peron.

believed could aid devotion. The idea became firmly established largely as a result of the work of Richard Hooker, and was developed during the seventeenth century.[43]

Despite Andrewes's attacks on both Catholics and Puritans, his emphasis upon the senses and the substance of the Eucharist was bound to aggrieve those within the church who wished for a fuller reformation.[44] Despite this, Andrewes did not arouse much opposition, and was seen by many as an important mirror of the church's position, not least because of his close links with the monarch and his advocacy of the royal supremacy. It was his perception of Andrewes as characteristic of the Church of England that led Laud to extol him after Andrewes's death in 1626. Laud was not the only bishop who held Andrewes in high esteem, and many 'exponents of the new Caroline dispensation...regarded Andrewes as a founding father...in many respects they were correct'.[45] Laud would go on to promote Andrewes's work with the 'polemically aggressive, consciously constructed' publication of the XCVI Sermons in 1629,[46] and later, at his trial, to appeal to the influence which Andrewes had exerted upon him. Andrewes may have had his reputation as a proto-Laudian foisted upon him by the archbishop as justification for Laud's own actions.

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[43]. R.Hooker Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity (1594-1597). See also P.White 'The via media in the early Stuart Church', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642 (Basingstoke, 1993).

[44]. The complexities of Eucharistic doctrine will be discussed in chapter two, in particular the differences between it being seen as either a sign or an effective agent of God's grace.

[45]. See above, fn.36. N.Tyacke 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in P.Lake & M.Questier (eds.) Conformity and Orthodoxy, p.32.

[46]. P.MacCullough 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', Historical Journal, vol.41, no.2 (1998), p.402.

Laud was thus able to appeal to Andrewes as an authority at his trial because he promoted a position from which Andrewes was seen to epitomise the church at the time - but Laud would hardly have appealed to someone who could not be seen as representative of the Church. If, however, Andrewes was more representative of the church as a whole than Laud presented him, it was appropriate that he should have taken control of the Winchester diocese. As the diocese covered two counties with apparently divergent approaches to worship, a divine would be needed who could argue the Church's case against both extremes, whilst being accommodating to the less radical members of the church - someone who could be seen as the epitome of a Jacobean bishop.[47]

By way of contrast, Andrewes's successor, Richard Neile, can in no way be seen as a bishop who was prepared to straddle the divisions present in the Church of England at the time. Neile was a ceremonialist, and prepared to punish those who failed to conform. In January 1611, for example, he had informed James I about the mayor and aldermen of Coventry, who refused to receive communion on their knees, and his visitation articles were far stricter with regard to the surplice than those of some other bishops.[48]

Neile was the patron of William Laud, as well as many other Arminian bishops,[49] and in many ways exceeded Laud in the enforcement of his ideals. Whilst Neile was at Winchester, for example, Thomas Gataker, the rector of

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[47]. K.Fincham Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I (Oxford, 1990).

[48]. ibid. p.239, K.Fincham 'Episcopal Government 1603-1640', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, p.78. See also K.Fincham Visitation Articles of the early Stuart Church (2 volumes, 1994, 1998), and below, pp.325-334.

[49]. K.Fincham Prelate as Pastor, pp.46-47.

Rotherhithe (Surrey), complained that the King's instructions were more stringently enforced by Neile than Laud, who was bishop of London at that time.[50] Given the concerns held by many Protestants at the time, it is not surprising that Neile was seen as one of the architects of Arminianism, which was seen as 'a bridge to popery'.[51]

Walter Curle's position is more difficult to evaluate. He has been seen as 'a most zealous co-operator' of Laud's,[52] and it is clear that many of Laud's ideal were also of interest to Curle. He recommended more use of the 'beauty of holiness', and cited the Chapel Royal as an example; he also suspended fourteen clergymen for failing to read the Book of Sports.[53] Curle did, however, have Calvinist credentials: in his one surviving sermon he stated that

> No man can come to salvation, as the end, but by
> sanctification as the meanes. No sanctification in
> this life, no salvation in the life to come.[54]

Curle's Calvinism was also accepted by the authorities when the Long Parliament commenced, and he served on various committees during its first eight months.[55] Clearly the beauty of holiness was not anathema to Calvinism - at least, not in the opinion of Curle.

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[50]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism (Oxford, 1992), p.136.

[51]. ibid., p.90. The other architect of this bridge is stated here to be Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, whose tomb at Winchester Cathedral will be examined later in this thesis.

[52]. DNB entry.

[53]. K.Fincham 'Episcopal Government 1603-1640', p.85.

[54]. W.Curle A Sermon Preached at White-hall the 28 of April 1622 (1622), p.44.

[55]. J.Maltby Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England (Cambridge, 1998), p.145.

Curle sided with the King when the Civil War began, remaining in Winchester at the outbreak of hostilities. The city fell to Parliamentarian soldiers twice, and on the second occasion the bishop fled, probably to his palace at Bishop's Waltham. He returned to Winchester - by then back in Royalist hands - after the palace was destroyed by Parliamentarian troops, but when Oliver Cromwell took the city in 1645, Curle withdrew to his sister's house at Soberton until his health failed two years later.[56]

The different approach taken towards worship by the two counties might simplistically be seen as the result of the county boundary - conservative Hampshire (with its inherent problem of recusancy) compared with the more zealous Surrey (possibly sheltering puritan fanatics) - but the situation was actually more complex. Strong divisions such as this seldom hold up to close scrutiny, and, whilst a general observation may be made about a county, it is also true to say that examination of the diocese is likely to find that there were plenty of areas within each county that bucked the general trend. Even if such a generalisation can be shown to be true, the county boundary may not be the only factor, and indeed this would appear to be the case in the diocese of Winchester.

The Winchester diocese was one of the few in England which had boundaries which were almost exactly coterminous with those of the counties, and the division of the two counties corresponds with the division of the bishopric into the archdeaconries of Winchester (covering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight) and Surrey.

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[56]. see DNB entry.

There were a few parishes, however, that confuse the jurisdictional situation somewhat. Two parishes did not lie within the county divisions just noted. Stratfield Mortimer (Hampshire) was in the archdeaconry of Berkshire, part of the Salisbury diocese, and Frensham, whilst being a parish in Hampshire, lay under the control of the archdeacon of Surrey. Considering the size of the diocese, these two discrepancies are of little significance.

More important were the ecclesiastical peculiars within the diocese. There were approximately fifty of these in the archdeaconry of Winchester, but these were all peculiars of the incumbent, and thus not subject to any external influence. Of greater note were those within the archdeaconry of Surrey. These nine parishes[57] formed the deaconry of Croydon, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Having noted these discrepancies, it is necessary to return to the more general division of ecclesiastical power within the diocese, and examine whether any links might be found between the archidiaconal boundaries and broad patterns of allegiance upon the outbreak of Civil War. In order to do this, the viewpoints of the respective archdeacons need to be considered. In the Winchester archdeaconry the holders of the office were Michael Renniger (1575-1609), Ralph Barlow (1609-1631) and Edward Burbay (1631-1660).

Of these, only Renniger left any publications, the main thrust of which was the defence of the hierarchy of the church, particularly the Royal Supremacy. In 1587 he produced <u>A Treatise Conteining Two Parts</u>, the first of which promoted loyalty

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[57]. Barnes, Burstow, Charlwood, Cheam, Croydon, East Horsley, Merstham, Newington and Wimbledon.

to Elizabeth, who 'God hath made...[as] our <u>Moses</u> to bring vs out of the house of bondage, and conduct vs through the wildernesse of this worlde'.[58] Having called for loyalty towards Elizabeth from the population of England, Renniger proceeded in the second part of his treatise to argue against the flip side of the same coin - rebellion and disloyalty. Shortly after James's accession to the throne, Renniger produced a defence of the Divine Right of Kings, developing the ideas he had put forward in his earlier work.[59] The staunch defence of church hierarchy which Renniger took up in his works, which included plentiful references to Old Testament examples, implies that he would have also defended the use of matters indifferent, so long as they had been ordained by the authorities.

Ralph Barlow was an industrious cleric, who preached five of the eight sermons produced during the visitation of 1619:[60] he has to be seen in conjunction with Arthur Lake, his contemporary archdeacon in Surrey.[61] Not only were they both active in the diocese at the same time, but they had also been at New College, Oxford together. It is interesting to note that 'in his will, Barlow reproduced verbatim the preamble to Lake's...and asked to be buried near the Bishop's tomb'.[62]

The Surrey archdeaconry was held during the period by James Cottington (1580-1605), Arthur Lake (1605-1616) and George Hakewill (1616-1660).

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[58]. M.Renniger <u>A Treatise Conteining Two Parts</u> (1587), sig.T4r.

[59]. M.Renniger <u>Syntagma Hortationum Quarum Capita Insequenti Pagina Denotata Sunt</u> (1604).

[60]. HRO 21M65/D1/4, K.Fincham 'Clerical Conformity from Whitgift to Laud', in P.Lake & M.Questier (eds.) <u>Conformity and Orthodoxy</u>, p.134.

[61]. see pp.36-37.

[62]. K.Fincham <u>Prelate as Pastor</u>, p.157, fn.51.

Cottington, like his counterparts in the Winchester archdeaconry, left no printed

material. Arthur Lake was a native of Southampton who went on to become

bishop of Bath and Wells; he has been seen as part of a Winchester-Wells

grouping of divines which was 'as distinctive as the Arminian/Laudian connection

which succeeded and displaced it'.[63] Lake was a prolific preacher, and often

preached in parishes adjacent to his actual cure.[64] Lake was certainly a Calvinist -

he has been designated the 'archetypal evangelical Calvinist' - but was of an

accommodating nature, noting that, as God's predestination could not be

perceived by man, a minister should serve as if all were capable of receiving

grace.[65] Despite this, he was 'a high churchman',[66] who did not wish to see the

church abandon all its traditions just because they had been abused by the Roman

church. Having been appointed Dean of Worcester in 1608, for example, 'he...was

instrumental in the setting up of a great organ in the cathedral',[67] and in a 1623

sermon at Paul's Cross he argued that those who argued that Rome had destroyed

religion exhibited 'too much preciseness'.[68] Lake was one of a group of clerics

who 'saw Rome as a true Church, though in serious error', arguing that the

Catholic church was but a constituent member of the true universal church, which

falsely claimed exclusive authority.[69] The main thrust of Lake's position was that

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[63]. P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), p.85.

[64]. ibid., p.87. See also Lake's printed sermons which show his pastoral concern through preaching around the Winchester area during his time as master of St. Cross.

[65]. J.S.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church, p.124.

[66]. P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants, p.88.

[67]. C.F.Russell A History of King Edward VI School Southampton (Cambridge, 1940), p.108. For the debate over organs see below, pp.202-205.

[68]. K.Fincham Prelate as Pastor, p.261.

[69]. ibid., p.270, A.Milton Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English

in order to cleanse the church of errors that had crept in, it was necessary to construct a pan-Protestant alliance which could teach Rome the error of her ways through example. Thus he was reluctant to condemn Arminians at the time of the Synod of Dort, believing that 'the Remonstrants might be brought round...if some of the more excessive elements of continental Calvinism were withdrawn from the propositions offered for their assent'.[70] Lake thus serves as a reminder that there were, in fact, distinct differences of opinion within the dominant Calvinism of Church of England at the time. It was even noted that, had Lake been a Catholic, he would have been 'a strong candidate for canonization'.[71]

George Hakewill was a more stringent Calvinist, one of a group of divines who 'argued as strongly as puritans that Romanism was a contrary religion, akin to heathenism', believing that 'reconciliation with Rome was a foolish and impossible dream'.[72] He was to later argue against Laud's close ally, Peter Heylyn (who also held the living of Alresford in Hampshire) on the eve of the Civil War over the nature of the Eucharist.[73] In many ways Hakewill also conformed to what has become the popular stereotype of a Puritan, warning that the devil often uses the senses as a method of capturing the human mind. This was most easily done through sight:

Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge, 1995), p.140.

[70]. ibid., p.417.

[71]. P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants, p.88.

[72]. A.Milton Catholic and Reformed, pp.175, 345.

[73]. G.Hakewill A Dissertation with Dr. Heylyn: Touching the Pretended Sacrifice of the Eucharist (1641). It has often been stated that Heylyn was Laud's chaplain, but 'there appears no evidence...that Heylyn was ever chaplain to Laud'. N.Tyacke 'Archbishop Laud', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, p.256, fn.3.

> ...the devil wel understanding [the dangers,] in his
> last, and hottest assault vpon our sauior, tempted
> him by the eie, in shewing him <u>all the kingdomes of
> the world, and the glory of them</u>[74]

Hakewill was thus more cautious about the effect of traditions within the church

than Lake was, displaying a difference in approach by the two archdeacons. A

common link between them, however, was that many of their publications were

printed versions of their sermons, a contrast to the works of the archdeacon of

Winchester, Michael Renniger, who produced polemical treatises. To ascertain

whether there was indeed a division between the two archdeaconries which was

reflected by this different approach, or whether there were far more differences

between parishes within an archdeaconry, it will be necessary to undertake

investigation on a much more localised scale.

The idea that a correlation between geographical and theological boundaries

might also provide insight to the development of differing religious cultures before

the Civil War is largely supported by the history of the Channel Islands in the

century after the Reformation. These dependencies of the English crown were for

a long time in a somewhat curious position. When the crown had lost Lower

Normandy in 1450, it managed to hold on to these outcrops, but they retained

strong links with their former overlords in France - given their proximity to the

French coast this is not surprising. Such links were clear in the religious arena.

Despite being part of the crown lands, the Islands remained part of the diocese of

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[74]. G.Hakewill <u>The Vanitie of the Eie</u> (Oxford, 1608), p.12.

Coutances, even though papal bulls had been granted transferring the jurisdiction

of the Islands to Salisbury in 1496 and then to Winchester in 1499.[75]

This did not cause any problems in the years before the Reformation,[76] but in

the following years the Islands were to take a distinctly different course from that

of the rest of England. Closer to France in many more ways than geographically

(they retained Norman law and continued to use the French language), the Islands

found over time that their spiritual home was more with the French Huguenots and

the Genevan discipline than the established Church of England. In many ways the

Islands faced a stark choice 'between the Roman Catholic Church and the French

Reformed Churches of the Geneva model'.[77]

It would have been inconceivable, given the fact that the Islands were officially

affiliated to the crown, for them to have decided upon the Catholic faith, although

recent studies have shown that the local populations were reluctant to change their

allegiance in the early years of the Reformation.[78] Once the new faith had been

accepted, however, the Islands accepted not only a stridently reformed theology,

but also a Presbyterian form of church government, based upon the Genevan

example, and no doubt influenced by the Islands' increasing reputation as a safe

haven for continental refugees. The Presbyterian system, although viewed with a

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[75]. A.J.Eagleston <u>The Channel Islands under Tudor Government: A Study in Administrative History</u> (Cambridge, 1949), p.49.

[76]. As has recently been stated, the situation 'may be a unique example as far as the English crown is concerned of that common situation in continental Europe, a diocese crossing the boundary between two sovereign units'. C.S.L.Davies 'International Politics and the Establishment of Presbyterianism in the Channel Islands: The Coutances Connection' <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, vol.50, no.3 (July 1999), p.499.

[77]. A.J.Eagleston <u>The Channel Islands...</u>, p.131.

[78]. D.M.Ogier <u>Reformation and Society in Guernsey</u> (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996); H.M.E.Evans 'Les Débuts de la Réforme Protestante dans l'Île de Jersey' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Caen, 1997).

certain amount of disfavour, was accepted by the government of Elizabeth. Strict

restrictions were placed upon the Islands, though, notably that the Genevan form

of worship was only to be used in the town churches of St. Peter Port and St.

Helier. Despite this proviso, Presbyterianism took such a hold that this restriction

was ignored, and it was not until the accession of James I that the problem was

faced.

At his accession James was immediately presented with a petition from the

Islanders that they be allowed to continue with this form of church government.

James accepted the current state of affairs, possibly because, as Heylyn was later

to claim, he believed 'that <u>Princes at their first entrance to a Crown ought not to</u>

<u>innovate the government presently established</u>'.[79] It was soon decided, however,

that the Islands should conform with the rest of England. In a report to the

treasurer, one of the Royal Commissioners stated that before 1611 it had been

decided to introduce the English system of church government into the Islands.[80]

Furthermore, 'on 2 November, 1613, Council letters were sent to both islands

announcing the king's resolution to establish religious uniformity in all his

dominions, and consequently to introduce Anglicanism into the islands as

opportunity offered'.[81] The strength of James's resolution to enforce conformity is

a matter of some conjecture. John Morrill has seen James's policy as a move

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[79]. P.Heylyn <u>A full relation of two journeys, the one into the main-land of France, the other into</u>
<u>some of the adjacent ilands</u> (1656), p.380.

[80]. A.J.Eagleston <u>The Channel Islands...</u>, p.129.

[81]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.131. Eagleston's work, though an essential starting point for historians of the Channel
Islands during this period, largely fails in its approach to ecclesiastical affairs. Notably, his use of the
term 'Anglican' here implies a far greater degree of agreement within the Church of England than
was the case. See, for example C.Haigh 'The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and
Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', <u>History</u> vol.85, no.280 (October 2000).

towards 'the "congruity" of the churches', but this is, importantly, in an essay which focuses on the relationship between the English, Scottish and Irish churches.[82] The case of the Channel Islands was distinctly different, as a result of their history and their position as part of the state of England, and it seems that James did wish to bring them to uniformity. Indeed, one early historian (and polemicist) of the period states quite clearly that James

> ...had alwaies fostered in himself a pious purpose...of reducing all his Realms and Dominions into one uniform order and course of discipline; which thing he avoweth, in his Letters Patent unto those of Jarzey.[83]

The actual moves to bring greater uniformity to the Islands will be examined in more detail later on,[84] but the results of actions taken with regard to the Channel Islands needs to be briefly covered here. The deposition of the established Presbyterian system was successfully achieved in Jersey: by 1619 it had been agreed that a Dean would be appointed, although discussions over the details of the arrangements meant that the appointee, David Bandinell, did not take up his post until 1620. New canons were introduced in 1623, a move which signalled 'the end of Presbyterianism in Jersey, except for a temporary revival under the Commonwealth'.[85] The successful introduction of the Dean was achieved with the

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[82]. J.Morrill 'A British Patriarchy? Ecclesiastical Imperialism under the Early Stuarts', in A.Fletcher & P.Roberts (eds.) Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain (Cambridge, 1994), p.216.

[83]. P.Heylyn A full relation..., p.379.

[84]. Chapter seven.

[85]. A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands..., p.140.

help of the governor, Sir John Peyton, who managed to drive a wedge between various parts of the local population.

The population of Guernsey, however, remained united in their defence of Presbyterianism. Any attempts to change the situation were to be frustrated by the fact that the governor, Lord Carew, was generally absentee, and the lieutenant governor and bailiff, Amias de Carteret, hailed from a Presbyterian family. The population remained solidly attached to Presbyterianism, and any designs on altering the form of worship in that island were put on hold.[86]

Thus, by the time of the Civil War, Jersey had been persuaded to accept an Episcopal form of church government; Guernsey had remained Presbyterian. At the outbreak of the Civil War both islands inclined towards the Parliamentarian side. By the end of 1643, however, Jersey had been taken for the King, and the island remained Royalist for the duration; Guernsey (except for the battalion at Castle Cornet) opted for the Parliamentarian side, and (as had happened before with regard to church order), remained stronger in defending its beliefs. There would appear to be some sort of correlation between the island's defence of Presbyterianism and its similarly staunch adherence to the Parliamentarian side.

The methods by which religious allegiance developed in the Channel Islands were strongly influenced by the political ambitions of the early Stuarts, something which was compounded by local factionalism and rivalries. Factions had also developed within the mainland part of the diocese in the early years of the

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[86]. This is not to say that the authorities did not wish to see uniformity. Heylyn noted later that Laud 'would have proceeded to reform the Church in Guernsey, and had actually selected a person with knowledge of the islands to conduct a visitation [Heylyn himself?]...but was prevented by the outbreak of the troubles in Scotland'. P.Heylyn Cyprianus Anglicus (1668), p.357.

Reformation, and were similarly based upon political divisions.[87] The time which had passed between the development of these factions and the choice of religious alignment on the eve of the Civil War dictates that other possible causes of disagreement need to be examined before conclusions can be drawn.

In an examination of the risings of the clubmen towards the end of the Civil War, David Underdown placed emphasis upon local economies for the positions taken by the participants.[88] This idea was later developed in a broader context in Revel, Riot and Rebellion.[89] Underdown's thesis is that different regional ecologies, settlement patterns and economic practices had influenced the culture of particular regions. From this, specific traditions had developed in these regions, which in turn influenced the ways in which people approached religion. As this theory rests largely upon land use, and thus the underlying geological structures, it is unlikely that any such allegiances will follow a simple correlation with boundaries between counties, bishoprics, or archdeaconries. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine the pattern of land use within the area in order to discover whether or not this had any influence upon the development of a particular religious culture.

The first areas which will be examined in this respect are the various islands within the diocese. The Channel Islands, distant as they were from the rest of England, had developed their own distinct economy, and they had become

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[87]. R.H.Fritze 'Faith and Faction...', passim.

[88]. D.Underdown 'The Chalk and the Cheese: Contrasts among the English Clubmen' Past & Present, vol.85 (November 1975), pp.25-48.

[89]. D.Underdown Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford 1985).

important trading posts for ships travelling to and from both England and France. They also needed to develop a local system of agriculture which was fully self-sufficient, and this had been done very successfully. During his tour of the Islands, Heylyn noted that the land of Jersey yielded not only 'Corne enough for the people of the Island, but also an ample surplusage, which they barter at St. Malo with the Spanish merchants'.[90] The inhabitants of Guernsey had not adapted themselves so well; whilst the land there was 'more rich...than that of Jarsey', it was 'not so fruitfull in the harvest, because the people there addict themselves to merchandise'. Both islands based their agriculture, however, in small enclosures, all farming them according to their own needs.[91] The difference in approach between the two islands is noteworthy, with Guernsey's more market based economy coinciding with the island's stauncher defence of a more fully reformed church, a correspondence which supports Underdown's thesis to a degree. Underdown noted that 'the most solidly parliamentarian region [in the West Country] was the dairying and cloth-making country of north Wiltshire and north Somerset',[92] economic activities which are more conducive to trade. By contrast, areas where the economy was based on arable farming, which Jerseymen seem to have developed more effectively than their compatriots in Guernsey, 'were clearly on the other side'.[93] The agreement between the two areas should not be

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[90]. P.Heylyn A full relation..., p.301.

[91]. ibid., pp.297, 301.

[92]. D.Underdown Revel, Riot and Rebellion, p.165.

[93]. ibid., p.167. However, it is also likely that other factors were at least equally important in developing the differences between the two islands. Guernsey, for example, had better harbour facilities, which in itself promoted trade once links had been established with other ports, particularly Southampton, where there was a refugee Huguenot community, and those of France. See D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey, pp.173-177.

overstated, however - as islands, Guernsey and Jersey were more self-contained economic and cultural units than the areas under investigation in the West Country.

Moving across the English Channel another island community is next encountered within the diocese. The Isle of Wight was in many ways similar to Guernsey and Jersey, as its separation from the mainland demanded a degree of economic independence. The island is geographically split by a range of hills running east-west through the middle: to the north of this range the land is of a clay consistency, and at the time this was by far the more forested area; the southern area was primarily arable land. Unfortunately there is a severe lack of documentation for the island in the early Stuart period, except for the main town of Newport, so that differences between the north and south of the island cannot be ascertained. It would appear, however, that the overriding concern upon the outbreak of Civil War was an attempt to stay out of the conflict - although most initially declared for the King, the appearance of Parliamentarian ships off the coast of the island for the siege of Portsmouth in 1642 brought little resistance from the islanders, and by the end of the month Parliament had gained control.[94] There also seems to have been very little opposition to Parliament during the Interregnum, as a letter to the Governor of the island, William Sydenham, in February 1650 called for information about 'malignants' in the island, particularly the western part, but only two were named.[95]

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[94]. G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45) (Southampton, 1904), p.28.
[95]. BL Additional Mss 29319, fol.45r.

The overall effect of the island's economy had been that farming and fishing became the main areas of trade, whilst very little manufacturing industry developed. The importance of trade to the island can be seen in the development of Newport during the Elizabethan era, a town which, in 1559, had a population of only 1,175; this figure had risen to 'about three thousand soules' by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War.[96] As the only market town on the island, its growth had led to a shift in the relationship between it and its neighbour, Carisbrooke, which had previously been the more important of the two. As a result of Carisbrooke's previous dominance, the town of Newport had not been granted parochial status (the church being a chapel of ease), despite the fact that it had developed into the most important town on the island. It was this which had led the leading townsmen of Newport to petition Parliament in 1641 that 'the said Burrough of Newport maybe a distinct parish of yt selfe'.[97] The development of Newport to such a dominance had coincided with the emergence of a particularly strong adherence to the Elizabethan church settlement in the island; although staunchly Protestant, there was 'little evidence of the more extreme and radical puritanism'.[98]

The position of the various islands in the English Channel thus show that distinctly different cultures had arisen between the islands, but also that a large degree of agreement was present within each island, probably as a result of their geographical separation. Each of them, however, was constant in its Protestantism, although that of the Channel Islands was more extreme than that of the Isle of

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[96]. PRO SP Dom 12/7/61; IWRO NBC/45/16a fol.406. See also J.D.Jones 'The Isle of Wight 1558-1642' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 1978), p.118.

[97]. IWRO NBC/45/16a, fol.406-407.

[98]. J.D.Jones 'The Isle of Wight 1558-1642', p.229.

Wight. The proximity of the Channel Islands to the continent was without doubt a factor in the establishment of a more reformed ethic than that seen on the mainland , as it was the first refuge for persecuted French Protestants. The Isle of Wight probably developed such a strong adherence to the Elizabethan Settlement as a result of concern over invasion from the continent, as it was an area in which surreptitious landings could occur fairly easily.[99] In such an area any hint of Catholic residue would be perceived as a threat which the Papacy could exploit - the intense policing of recusancy in the small fishing communities on the south coast of mainland Hampshire indicates that there was similar concern in that region over the possibility of surreptitious invasion.[100]

Moving into the mainland part of the diocese, Hampshire has usually been seen to have remained much more conservative in its religious outlook than Surrey. This is a generalisation, however, which would appear to place too much emphasis upon the county boundary as something which marked out a strict divide between religious cultures. The refutation of this idea is one of the main thrusts of Underdown's thesis, as regional ecologies would have influenced economics and settlement patterns, and from this the cultural identity of the area; such properties do not necessarily coincide with county boundaries. It is thus necessary to examine parts of the diocese in smaller sections if any conclusions are to be drawn.

The southern part of Hampshire was dominated by large areas of woodland, the most conspicuous being the New Forest in the south west and the area extending

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[99]. There was also a strong tradition of smuggling on the southern coast.
[100]. J.Paul 'Hampshire Recusants...', pp.72-73.

from Portsdown Hill to the north of Portsmouth eastward to the Hampshire-Sussex border. This was interspersed with sections of 'heathland and bracken', and areas where 'the soil is rather poor and heathy'.[101] Whilst this land did not lend itself to extensive arable farming, it did produce large areas in which animal husbandry dominated, allowing Hampshire to become a centre for the woollen industry during the sixteenth century. The decline of this industry during the seventeenth century as the Dutch developed new techniques meant that the port of Southampton, which had expanded greatly through its reliance on the woollen trade, now went into serious decline. The decline of the town had been hinted at by John Norton in his 1595 'Chorographicall description' of six southern counties when he noted that the church at St. Mary's was 'a decayde church yet a greate parish'.[102]

Despite its trading influences, however, Southampton was somewhat reluctant to side with the Parliamentarians at the outbreak of the Civil War, suggesting that links between economics and religion should not be overemphasized. The town in fact initially sided with the Royalists, and when the High Sheriff attempted to raise a militia for Parliament on 11 August 1642 he was 'attacked by between sixty and seventy Cavaliers and about 100 persons who disliked the proceedings'.[103] The town officially declared for Parliament shortly afterwards, but 'this declaration

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[101] J.Chandler (ed.) John Leland's Itinerary (Stroud, 1998), p.207. At this point Leland is referring to land between Southampton and Portsmouth, but the areas of heathland are a dominant feature of the New Forest area to the west of Southampton as well.

[102] BL Add. Mss. 31853, p.42.

[103] G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45) (Southampton, 1904), p.6.

was at the instance of Captain Swanley, the Parliamentary naval commander, whose ships were in Southampton Water'.[104]

Southampton was not a town which unquestioningly accepted Parliament's ideals; as Godwin has noted, 'the majority of the townsmen seem to have favoured the Royal cause',[105] and the town was to become something of a haven for sequestered clergy. The incumbent at Holy Rood, John Bernard, kept his living despite becoming one of the 'notorious enemies to the Commonwealth'; the rector of Chalton, Dr. George Gillingham, 'was driven from place to place and took shelter for a time in Southampton'; and Alexander Ross (All Saints') was supported by the Corporation whilst being under fire from the Parliamentarian authorities.[106]

The decision to side with Parliament was thus more one of convenience than conviction. The town saw itself as under threat from the naval battalion under Swanley, which had been sent to the area to help Parliament gain control of Portsmouth, where 'all the soldiers and every townsman except three or four declared for the King'.[107] The ensuing siege became one of the most important episodes in the early stages of the war, and the resolution of it in Parliament's favour may well have persuaded the townsfolk of Southampton that, with Swanley's ships offshore and an army available to Parliament within a fairly short distance, compliance with the ascendant party was the safest option.[108]

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[104]. Mildon, p.7.

[105]. G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45), p.5.

[106]. Mildon, pp.201, 184, 274.

[107]. G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire, p.11.

[108]. See J.Webb 'The Siege of Portsmouth in the Civil War', in R.C.Richardson (ed.) The English Civil Wars: Local Aspects (Stroud, 1997).

The underlying Royalism which can be seen in Southampton was not, however, a universal feature, and cannot be seen as blindly accepting the Church of England as promoted at the time. Within the city walls there was a refugee Walloon church, and when Laud's Vicar-General visited the town in 1635, he noted that 'there are many that doe straggle to other parishe Churches from their owne'.[109] This, ostensibly showing evidence of sermon gadding within the town, has been seen as evidence for a sizeable Puritan population in Southampton,[110] an opinion which was further supported by the reception afforded William Prynne and Henry Burton when they returned to England in 1640.[111] But this is simplistic. The parishioners of St. Mary's, for example, had been 'forsed to repayre ells wher for their spirituall comforte' as early as 1595, as a result of the dilapidated state of the parish church,[112] so factors other than Puritanism may need to be taken into account. Furthermore, the Vicar-General also noted during his visitation that 'I found no Puritans in this place'.[113] Given the ever-broadening definition of 'Puritan', Puritanism does not appear to have been particularly strong in Southampton at this time.[114]

Moving north through the county one next encounters the western edge of the South Downs, cutting across the county from west to east, and providing a chalky

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[109] PRO SP Dom 16/293/128.

[110] For example, Mildon, p.56. Throughout the thesis, Mildon overstates the strength of Puritanism within the area.

[111] G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire, p.2.

[112] BL Add. Mss. 31853, p.42.

[113] PRO SP Dom 16/293/128.

[114] The Vicar-General was, of course, reporting directly to Laud, so the broader, 'Laudian' definition of 'Puritan' was the most likely meaning of the word in this context.

soil much more suited to arable farming than the clay of the coastal region, although the area also remained heavily forested. The farming associated with this type of land has been seen by David Underdown as one which coincided with a more conservative religious culture,[115] and the later risings of the Clubmen in this area tended towards the Royalist cause.[116] It should be noted, however, that this was also the area where the bishop had vested interests - the bishop's palace was sited at Bishops Waltham on the southern edge of the downland, and when the Clubmen rose it was noted that 'many of them [are] popish and many others the Bishop of Wintons tenants'.[117] It may be that the bishop's presence had been influential on the Clubmen's activities here, but it is also true that the area had been a base for recusancy.[118] In addition to this, whilst Hampshire was well provided with market towns, each village being within easy reach (approximately seven miles) of a market, there was 'a gap south-east of Winchester...where there was no market town within about six miles'.[119] This is a significant fact: the lack of a market town within this area resulted in close links being forged with Winchester, and influences from the cathedral city (including religious ones) may well have been increased by this.

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[115] D.Underdown Revel, Riot and Rebellion, especially his discussion on regional cultures, chapter four.

[116] Such risings in this area were often noteworthy for the presence of local ejected clergymen within the Clubmen's ranks. G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire, p.314, G.J.Lynch 'The Risings of the Clubmen in the English Civil War' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1973), p.41.

[117] BL Additional Mss. 24860, fol.137.

[118] J.Paul 'Hampshire Recusants...', pp.72-73.

[119] A.B.Rosen 'Economic and Social Aspects...', p.189.

The northern reaches of the county coalesce, in terms of predominant soil type (and hence farming practices), with the south western corner of Surrey, and it is in this area that Underdown's thesis begins to break down somewhat. Whilst the northern parts of Hampshire continued to display a level of royal support - especially at the besieged Basing House and around Alton - a more puritan ethic has been claimed when the county boundary is crossed.[120] This is despite the fact that the local economic influences are similar - the chalky downs of north east Hampshire being more responsive to arable farming than pasture in a similar way to the south and west parts of Surrey, which 'challendge not commendation for frutefulnesse of the soyle'.[121] The only significant change in the geological structure does not appear until the north eastern hundreds of Croydon, Kingston, and Allington, where the land becomes marshy and thus less amenable to agriculture of any sort. Beyond this, the area around Southwark and Lambeth displays the influence of London, and a strong level of support for Parliament was found there.

Surrey itself had very few population centres. It would appear that, around 1620, there were only seven towns in the county which had more than 1,500 inhabitants, and of these only Croydon managed to reach 2,500.[122] The exception to this was the town of Southwark, on the south bank of the River Thames, which

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[120]. VCH Surrey, vol.ii, p.30, which states that the bishops ' ceased to have to deal with any large number of Roman recusants, but were not free from threatenings of troubles with Puritans'. It has to be noted, however, that these Puritans aimed at further reformation of the church from within - they might be called 'Church Puritans' - and it was not until the 1630s that failure to acquiesce with the church authorities became much of a problem. See R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational background of the Surrey clergy, 1520-1620' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1975), p.345.

[121]. BL Add Mss 31853, p.30.

[122]. R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational background...', p.13.

had been incorporated into the city of London as 'Bridge ward Without of the City' in 1550.[123]

The lack of towns, often seen as the foci of Puritan sentiment, in Surrey indicates (especially if compared to the situation in Hampshire) that allegiance on the eve of the Civil War did not wholly depend upon economic and cultural factors of the area; Underdown has shown that his 'chalk' and 'cheese' definitions are extremely useful in the West Country, and in large areas of the Winchester diocese a similar situation can be observed. There are, however, areas in which the definitions are less useful, although this is not to derogate the importance of Underdown's work. Underdown himself admits that there are areas where the broad picture does not fit the local particulars, and that in some cases other factors may have had greater importance.[124] Underlying cultural differences based upon regional ecologies might have played some part in the choice of allegiance at the outbreak of war. But above all else, the traditions which had developed were certainly linked intrinsically with religion, which would appear to have been the overriding concern.[125] Within the diocese of Winchester, the case of Southampton shows that the situation could be incredibly complicated. Having accepted the inherent difficulties which one faces when trying to make any sort of generalisation about the situation in the years leading up to the Civil War, it becomes increasingly necessary to examine the minutiae. Thus having examined

[123]. R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational background...', p.15.

[124]. D.Underdown 'The Chalk and the Cheese', pp.43-44. See also J.S.Morrill 'The Ecology of Allegiance in the English Revolution', Journal of British Studies, vol.26 (October 1987).

[125]. Explaining religious belief in ecological and economic terms remains a problematic exercise; although it has been necessary to touch on the debate, it remains largely outside the scope of this thesis.

the overall situation in the diocese as a whole, it is necessary to look at some of

the finer details in order to reach some understanding of the situation.

PART ONE : CEREMONY

As has been seen in the previous section, the diocese of Winchester was, from the installation of Andrewes in 1619 to the outbreak of the Civil War, held by bishops of what has loosely been termed a 'Laudian' persuasion. This in itself highlights a problem facing historians of the period - such bishops are seen in the light of Laudianism, yet it is clear that they were active in the period before Laud's influence came to predominate in the years following his promotion to the Archbishopric. As such, any aspects of Laudianism which occur in the diocese during this period would imply that, when Laud claimed at his trial that he was building upon traditions which were already present in the church, he was basing his defence upon some foundation of fact. It is also noteworthy that the main authority that Laud appealed to was Lancelot Andrewes, and so an examination of the tenures of Andrewes and his successors in the diocese may show that there was a body of opinion within the diocese, possibly reflective of a similar body throughout the country, which can be seen as an influence upon the Archbishop (and also the king) in the years before the Civil War.

To see any such opinions as proto-Laudianism[1] or avant-garde conformity[2] is, however, to put the proverbial cart before the horse, placing such ideas in terms of later developments. Whilst Laud's ideals might have been foreshadowed by ecclesiastics such as Hooker and Andrewes, to term the opinions 'Hookerian' or

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[1] . For example P.E.McCullough Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching (Cambridge, 1998).

[2] . See P.Lake 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-garde Conformity at the court of James I' in L.Levy Peck The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (Cambridge, 1991).

'Andrewesian' would be to overemphasise the rôle played by those divines if, indeed, there was a body of clergy who held similar views. It would also straitjacket clerics into a particular liturgical camp, whilst (as will be shown) views which did not deride the use of extra ceremony were not the preserve of a small clique of clerics, and actually crossed any theological divides which may had been present since the Reformation.[3]

The presence of bishops such as Andrewes, Neile and Curle might suggest that the period saw a greater emphasis upon the ceremonial aspects of worship, something which historians have suspected of being promoted to the detriment of preaching at the time. This section will examine the way in which the liturgy was followed within the diocese, and attempt to discover whether or not this conclusion is tenable.

In the first chapter the focus will be on the physical layout of churches, placing the Laudian 'altar' policy in the context of differing approaches to the architectural setting. Allied to this will be an examination of the differing emphases placed upon the sacrament and the word, as reflected in the relationship between the communion table and the pulpit. As the removal of the communion table to the east end of the church in the 1630s was perceived by some as a move back towards Rome, the preservation of another 'Popish' symbol in the form of the surplice will be examined in the closing part of the chapter.

The second chapter will examine the development of the liturgy, touching on the theological tenets inherent in it, along with the discussions about the nature of

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[3] . For an examination of the way in which divisions remained in the church after the Reformation, see D.MacCulloch Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation (1999).

the Eucharist as sacrifice, memorial or feast. The main thrust of the chapter will, however, be to analyse the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and attempt to uncover any variations in the ways in which these were followed.

CHAPTER ONE

The Externals of Worship

In their seminal work on the physical layout of the parish church,[1] Addleshaw

and Etchells have indicated that, across Europe, the removal of the communion

table was not as innovatory as the polemicists of the seventeenth century would

have us believe. The importance of this to the debate in the Church of England at

the time is how novel the idea was in England, and to what extent it was seen as

part of a conspiracy to reconcile the English church with Rome. Addleshaw and

Etchells confused the debate somewhat by talking about the situation in England

at the same time as they discussed the continental position:

> The idea of railing the altar...was not an invention
> of Laudian churchmen; rails were being widely used
> on the Continent at the time as a substitute for
> chancel screens, which had no place in the baroque
> conception of a church.[2]

Furthermore, the authors also embrace an area which was a less emotive subject

- as will be seen, the railing of tables had not been unknown in England in the

period after the split with Rome,[3] although the combination of railing and moving

to the east end of the church did prove to be a volatile topic. The statement does,

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[1] . G.W.O.Addleshaw & F.Etchells The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (1948).

[2] . ibid., p.121.

[3] . Edmund Udall, for example, noted that' many people...tell of rails in churches, whereof there is sufficient record in the books of some churches in London, which mention the setting up of them in the beginning of...Elizabeth's reign'. E.Udall Communion Comeliness (1641), p.153, cited in J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism (Oxford, 1992), p.210.

however, serve as a useful base from which an examination of the 'altar' policy can be conducted.

The first specific mention of altar rails, according to these authors, occurred in 1576 at the fourth provincial synod of Milan, and similar synods in the Roman church followed this line.[4] It is likely that the accusations which Laud faced of favouring Romanism with regard to the altar stem from this, and it is easy to see why such an idea could generate such support. However, it was also apparent to many, on both sides of the debate, that the use of an altar and rails was not the preserve of the Roman church. At the height of the argument, Peter Heylyn (the incumbent of the parish of Alresford in the Winchester diocese) answered the criticisms of his adversary in print, John Williams, noting that 'altars doe stand still in the Lutheran Churches...[which] by the Epistoler [Williams] is confessed'.[5] It is important to note Heylyn's point: Williams also recognised the existence of altars in the Lutheran church, so their use within Protestant churches was acknowledged by both sides of the debate. It has to be accepted, however, that the church in England had undergone a different reformation than the churches on the continent, one in which the authorities had played a much more important rôle, and which had led to a far stronger link between church and state than in other Reformed churches.[6] Although the overriding concern in Protestant churches was

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[4] . According to one contemporary, however, rails had been erected prior to this time. See fn.3.

[5] . P.Heylyn A Coale from the Altar (1636), p.28.

[6] . The debate about whether the English Reformation was brought about from 'above' or from 'below' continues. The idea that the Reformation was a genuinely popular movement found one of its strongest affirmations in A.G.Dickens Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558 (1964). The contrasting view, that it needed to be imposed from above and generated little support (albeit, little opposition too) has been put forward by J.J.Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People (Oxford, 1984), E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580 (1992), and C.Haigh English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society

that opposition to Rome should continue, the differences between the churches should be noted, as it explains the differences which had arisen in the layout of ecclesiastical buildings. Luther's acceptance of late-medieval philosophy which allowed for two types of being meant that he could accept the 'real' presence of Christ in the Eucharist more readily than Calvin, who would only accept a 'spiritual' presence.[7] A 'real' presence within the sacrament implied a sacrificial element to the rite, and thus the work of the priest at the altar was to be separated from the rest of the church. The lack of this 'real' presence in Calvinistic worship meant that the idea of sacrifice was removed, except the recipient's sacrifice of thanksgiving, and thus the communion table did not need to be separated from the church. The disputes about this were crucial to the arguments about altar rails, and thus about the physical layout of the church, which had been altered in England during the sixteenth century.

Most significantly, the removal of rood screens had marked a distinct transformation in the arrangement of the English church. Medieval churches had been constructed as a series of separate, yet linked, rooms, developing from the porch to the nave and up through the chancel into the sanctuary. This plan of a church was seen by the proponents of the altar policy as being based upon the design of the churches of the early Christians. Thus Heylyn cites the case of Genebrad:

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under the Tudors (Oxford, 1993).

[7] . F.Fernández-Armesto & D.Wilson Reformation: Christianity and the World 1500-2000 (1996), p.73.

> Hee divides their [the Greek and Latin] churches
> into these five parts: the first called...the holy
> Tabernacle, so called because it is mounted up by
> steps; and this is entered into by none but the Priests.
> The second...the Quire or Chancell...a place assigned
> for the clergie and singing men. The third was the
> Pulpit-place, where the Epistles and Gospels were
> reade, and Sermons preached unto the people. The
> fourth...the body of the church, wherein the people
> had their places, both men and women, though
> distinct: and last of all the place for Baptisme.[8]

This quote, although extensive, is crucial in understanding the development of a Laudian style of worship. An intrinsic sense of order and hierarchy pervades the extract, and this appeal to evidence from the early church is typical of, in particular, 'Laudian' propagandists.[9] Heylyn also uses the philosophy of 'the exception that proves the rule' to show that this gradation of use was common in the early church, noting that when Socrates spoke of the church in Antioch, he stated 'that it was built in a different manner from all the other churches. How so?...Because the Altar was not placed to the East-ward'. It was clear to Heylyn that well before the corruptions of Rome 'the generall practise of the Church [was that] the Altars used to stand to the Eastward onely'.[10]

This opinion was also held by another Hampshire incumbent who wrote a tract over the disputed policy. Eleazor Duncon had been made a prebend of the cathedral in 1629, and held the parish of Chilbolton between 1631 and 1633. In

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[8] . P.Heylyn Antidotum Lincolniense: or an answere to a book entitled, the Holy Table, name, & thing (1637), pp.249-250.

[9] . Anti-Laudians tended to emphasise Scripture over Patristics, but this divide was not a strict one.

[10] . P.Heylyn A Coale from the Altar, pp.56-57.

1633 he completed his doctorate with a work concerned with the altar debate, which was published posthumously. In this he similarly noted that

> Nicephorus and Socrates indeed make mention
> of...two Altars placed in the West end of the Church,
> but they...timely admonish, that they were then
> accounted as very strange, being directly contrary to
> the custom of the Church...[11]

Heylyn and Duncon thus saw it as the custom of the early church to have altars placed at the eastern end. With most churches having their main entrance either in the west wall or towards the western end of the nave, this imbued the building with an architectural hierarchy which focused upon the table at the east end, and this would increase reverence for the sacrament. This ideal was clearly stated in an anonymous publication of 1638, which attempted to place this hierarchical structure in the context of ancient tradition:

> The man who enters the West doore from farre
> beholding the Altar where he seriously intends to
> offer his devotions to his God and Saviour, shall find
> his devout soule, more rapt with divine awe and
> reverence, more inflamed with pure and holy zeale,
> in the delay and late approach unto it, then if at first
> he had entered upon it.[12]

This hierarchical approach had been reflected in the design of medieval churches, with the separation of the nave from the chancel by the Rood Screen. The majority of these screens were removed in the early stages of the

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[11]. E.Duncon Of Worshipping God towards the Altar: Or that Pious and Devout Ceremony of Bowing Towards the Altar Vindicated (1660), p.26.

[12]. R.T De Templis, A Treatise of Temples (1638), pp.190-191.

Reformation, largely because of the possibility of idolatry associated with them.[13]

The destruction of screens had been almost universal; as Eamon Duffy has noted, 'the removal of Roods and drawing down of altars...fill the pages of virtually every set of [churchwardens'] accounts from 1559 to 1561'.[14] It would appear that this destruction also saw the removal of most screens, as a Royal Order had to be issued in October 1561, stating that whilst the rood and its figures should be removed, the remaining screen should be preserved.[15] Clearly removal of screens was so widespread that Elizabeth felt obliged to act.

Once the screen had been removed, the partition between the chancel and the nave became less clear. The separation of the chancel in the early church had been noted in a sermon preached at the Winchester assizes in 1623 by Abraham Browne. In this sermon, Browne stated that the altar 'stood in the middle of the church: What else? It had rails about it, and those rails called the Chauncell'.[16] The meaning of Browne's statement is somewhat obscure - he certainly accepted that a case could be made for a physical separation between the table and the rest of the church, but whether he meant that the walls of the chancel should provide this division or that further rails should be added is open to interpretation. The important thing is, however, that the separation was deemed appropriate.

It would appear that there was a move back towards this separation in the early years of the seventeenth century. Browne preached his sermon in 1623, long

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[13]. This possibility took two forms: the inability to see the priest could lead to superstition, and reverence could be paid to the images painted on the screen.

[14]. E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580 (1992), p.570.

[15]. R.J.Brown The English Village Church (1998), p.256.

[16]. A.Browne A sermon preached before the assizes, holden at Winchester the 24 day of Februarie last... (1623), p.12.

before the table became such a source of contention. In his visitation articles for Winchester (1619 and 1625), Lancelot Andrewes asked 'whether in any of your Churches the partition between the Chancel and the body of the church be taken away, and how long since, and by whom the same hath been taken away?'.[17] This is an unusual enquiry, and only two other bishops appear to have asked such a question - Richard Montagu at Norwich (1638), and William Juxon in London (1640).[18] All bishops asked showed concern that the chancel was kept in a 'comely' or 'decent' fashion, but this extra separation of it from the body of the church, inquired after only by bishops of a 'Laudian' persuasion, would appear to imply that these bishops wished to emphasize the difference between the two parts of the church. Although specific questions about the separation of the chancel from the nave were very rare, it would appear that some churches were reintroducing the separation of their own volition, even before 'Laudianism' took such a strong hold in the upper echelons of the church - George Yule has noted, for example, that 'many screens were rebuilt under James'.[19]

To rebuild chancel screens would have been a major drain on parish finances, and it is not surprising, therefore, that many places actually opted for cheaper alternatives. The most common way in which the distinction between the chancel and the nave was restored without spending large sums upon a new screen was to

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[17]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes (11 volumes, Oxford, 1841-1854), vol.xi, pp.114, 127. The quotation is from the 1619 articles on p.114.

[18]. K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church (2 volumes, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1994, 1998). The questions of Montagu and Juxon, are in volume 2, pp.192, 225.

[19]. G.Yule 'James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms', in A.Fletcher & P.Roberts (eds.) Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain (Cambridge, 1994), p.193.

erect a rail, as at Seale in Surrey, where a new 'balastrade & a post & a raile' were erected as early as 1611.[20] At Newport on the Isle of Wight the separation between the two parts of the church can be seen in the fact that a 'dore to the chansell' was built in 1625,[21] and in the previous year the churchwardens at Putney needed to strengthen a similar 'dore going to ye communion table ye dore being weake'.[22] Such activity continued into the Caroline period, and in 1631 Mortlake recorded a payment of £1 11s 9d 'for setting upp of the partition in the church which divides the church and the chancell'.[23] This use of rails to show the hierarchy of the church was later developed further with rails added to separate the communion table within the chancel.

In some cases, however, the church authorities found enough money to build a complete screen. One of the most important ones erected during this period - and a focus of attention at this point because it was the only complete rebuilt screen in the diocese for which there is firm evidence at this time - was that designed by Inigo Jones for the cathedral at Winchester. When Laud's Vicar General, Nathaniel Brent, visited the cathedral in 1635, he reported that the building was in much decay, and a visit by Charles instigated work to rectify the situation. As Matthew Wren wrote in 1636:

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[20]. SHS SEA/2/1. Whilst there is no indication of where this rail was actually erected, Seale built a rail for the communion table in 1635. I have failed to uncover evidence for rails other than between the chancel and nave and for the communion table, so this would appear to be an example of the first.

[21]. IWRO NPT/PR/55.

[22]. LMA P95/MRY1/413.

[23]. SHS 2414/4/1.

> ...his majestie was pleased to tell me that when he
> was last at Winton, he much disliked the placing of
> the Chapter house, which stands cross ye Navis
> Ecclesiae, before the West dore of ye Quire...[and]
> he willed the Deane to take it down. But the Deane
> now by his letter proposes that he hath confered with
> workmen, and finds, that they can remove the whole
> structure, and set it close up the West end of ye
> Quier, instead of ye partition between ye Quier &
> the Body of the church...[24]

In the context of this work, it is important to note two facts about this alteration. First, it served to reinforce the distinction between the Quire (or chancel) and nave, as a previous partition was to be replaced by a much more imposing structure. Secondly, although this particular screen was built towards the end of Charles's Personal Rule - work began in 1638 [25] - the initial division was already present.

The screen was built in the typically Palladian style of Jones (which was, incidentally, completely out of keeping with the rest of the building), and also served to indicate the link between church and state. Brass statues of James and Charles, commissioned from Herbert le Sueur, were included in niches on either side of the main doorway - the hierarchical separation of the Quire from the nave was allied with political and social imagery to reinforce the philosophy of the Divine Right of Kings.[26]

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[24]. Bodleian Library, Tanner Mss 70, fol.103. Cited in J.M.G.Blakiston 'The Inigo Jones Screen: Part 1. "New Front for the Queer" ', (Winchester Cathedral Record, vol.45, 1976), p.10.

[25]. F.Bussby Winchester Cathedral 1079-1979 (Ringwood, 1979), p.128.

[26]. These links between the hierarchy of the church and the hierarchy of state will be examined later (chapter six).

The separation of the chancel from the nave was manifested through the use of rails; it was further enhanced in some places by raising the chancel to a higher level than the rest of the church. This is something which has been seen as indicative of Laud's 'altar policy', not least because of the articles of impeachment brought against one of the staunchest enforcers of the program. When Matthew Wren faced trial, one of the articles brought against him was that

> Whereas many chancels of Churches, during all the time of Queen <u>Elizabeth,</u> King <u>Iames,</u> and of his Majesty that now is, had been laid and been continued even and flat, without any steps ascending towards the East-end...he of his own minde and will...in the year 1636...ordered and enjoyned, that the same should be raised towards the East-end...[27]

Wren, who had been a chaplain to Andrewes when the latter was bishop of Winchester, was thus censured for what was seen as an innovatory act. There were, however, precedents for such a viewpoint; one of the most surprising pieces of evidence comes from Thomas Bilson, a future bishop of Winchester, who, whilst warden of Winchester College, noted that in the early church

> ...the <u>Presbyters</u> were like the wise severed from the people. For they had a place enclosed from all the Laitie, where the Lords table standeth in the middest...<u>it was somewhat higher than the rest of the church</u> [my emphasis] that all the people might behold it.[28]

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[27]. <u>Articles of Impeachment, of the Commons...Against Matthew Wren</u> (1641), BL Thomason Tracts E.168 (11), pp.3-4.

[28]. T.Bilson <u>The Perpetual Government of Christes Church</u> (1593), p.190. This does not mean that Bilson would have been in favour of a raised chancel. It does show, however, that Bilson, who was certainly a Calvinist (as compared to Laud's anti-Calvinism), accepted that this elevation of the chancel had been common in the early church; it was the early church to which Laudians, in particular, appealed. Despite the precedents which could apparently be claimed, Wren appears to

If the chancel was to be separated from the nave, and in some cases raised, it is

clear that there was a body of opinion within the church at the time which saw the

chancel, and the table within it, as an area of which special care should be taken.

Irreverence towards the table was often cited by the advocates of Laud as a main

reason for their actions, and, indeed, many parishes were brought before the

Consistory Court of the Winchester diocese because their chancel (specifically

mentioned, as opposed to the church in general) was in decay. The distinction is

important: over time it had become something of a tradition that the parson

maintained the chancel, whilst the parishioners were responsible for the nave.[29] By

the early Stuart period there is evidence that parishioners were just as concerned as

the authorities that their incumbent was not fulfilling the rôle expected of him;

hence the presentations that can be found in the records of the Consistory Court.

There were ten such presentments in 1607-08, followed by a reduction to two in

1611-12, before the number of incumbents seen as failing in their duty rose to ten

again in 1618, and nine in the following year.[30] The attempts of the authorities to

demand a greater respect for the chancel made some headway, as only one parish

was presented for a similar problem in 1621-22, and three between 1623 and 1625

(although one of these, Wellow, was presented twice).[31] With this imposition of a

greater respect for the chancel in mind, it was a short step from the re-erection of

have been the only bishop who actively encouraged the use of chancel steps. See K.Fincham (ed.)
Visitation Articles.... Wren's directives, enacted whilst at Ely (1638-1639), can be found in volume
two, pp.150-151.

[29]. E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars, p.132.

[30]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1, 21M65/C1/30, 21M65/C1/32, 21M65/C1/33.

[31]. HRO 21M65/C1/34, 21M65/C1/35.

screens, or the building of chancel rails, to the addition of a further barrier in the form of rails separating the table in order to increase devotion at the focal point of the Eucharist. Indeed, the church authorities appear to have instigated a further crackdown on disregard for the table itself between 1623 and 1625, when twenty one parishes were cited for various faults about their communion table. It was in concerns such as these that the move towards railing the altar at the east end of the church germinated.

Once again, this was a move which has been seen as a Laudian innovation. Yet there is evidence to show that rails were more common than anti-Laudian polemicists would have us believe. In Hampshire the churchwardens accounts for Fordingbridge show that in 1609 money was 'laid out for "minding" [i.e. mending] the raile about the communion table and for timber and railes'.[32]

It has been claimed that rails were also erected in the Jacobean period in the Hampshire parishes of Bentley, East Wellow, Empshott, Froyle, Monk Sherborne, Selborne, Titchfield and Winchfield, with further erections during the Caroline period in the cathedral at Winchester and in the parish of Bishops Sutton.[33] These attributions, by Nikolaus Pevsner and David Lloyd, have to be treated with a degree of caution. In most cases, Pevsner and his colleagues dated items such as communion rails on stylistic grounds, and there is often very little concrete evidence upon which such claims can be based. It has become, however,

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[32]. HRO 44M82/PW5. The terminology here is important and will be discussed in relation to St. Saviour's, Southwark and Putney, pp.74,77.

[33]. See N.Pevsner & D.Lloyd The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight (1967, reprinted 1996), pp. 100, 205, 212, 237, 339, 495, 621, 722, 675 and 103. It is also claimed that the rails at Bishops Waltham were erected circa 1600, ibid., p.105.

something of a commonplace to accept these designations in the absence of documentary evidence,[34] and it has to be admitted that the stylistic grounds for such claims are strong. Pevsner himself appears to have held back at times - in his notes he attributed the rail at Easton to the sixteenth century, a designation which is omitted in the printed volume.[35]

Other sources display the problems associates with such designations. Mildon, for example, had previously decided upon a slightly later date for the rails at Bentley and Monk Sherborne, seeing them as contemporary to those erected at Greatham and St. Mary Bourne in the Laudian era. R.J.Brown similarly disagreed with Pevsner over the attribution at Winchfield, seeing it as genuinely 'Laudian'.[36] A further disagreement over such attributions can be seen in the Victoria County History of Hampshire, whose authors saw the rail at Froyle as a late seventeenth century erection.[37] The possibility has to be accepted that some of these earlier writers had access to documents that no longer survive.[38]

The erection of a communion rail was a noteworthy expense for a parish, yet few examples for the Laudian period are noted in the surviving churchwardens' accounts for Hampshire. There are references to the expenditure in the accounts of

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[34]. For example, G.Yule 'James VI and I...', passim, R.Walker 'William Dowsing in Cambridgeshire', in T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing (2001), especially p.46, fn.33.
[35]. N.Pevsner & D.Lloyd The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, pp.201-202. Pevsner's notes are held at the National Monuments Record Centre, Swindon.
[36]. Mildon p.160; R.J.Brown The English Village Church, p.224.
[37]. VCH Hampshire, vol.ii, p.501. Pevsner described the rail as 'Jacobean', N.Pevsner & D.Lloyd The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, p.237.
[38]. It is also claimed at Droxford that the 'Jacobean oak communion rails...were restored to their old place in 1903'. This claim, however, appears in the church notes, and as such needs to be treated with even greater caution. Pevsner, however, compares the rail here with that at Bishops Waltham (see fn.33), ibid., p.193. The two villages are only four miles apart, and it could well be the case, therefore, that the same craftsman is responsible for both.

North Waltham (1635), Alton, Wootton St. Lawrence (both 1636) South Warnborough, and the church of St. Lawrence, Southampton (both 1637).[39] The parishes of Corhampton (1636), Mapledurwell (1637) and Ellingham (by 1639) also erected a rail, but the evidence for these is in the parish register.[40] All things considered, this shows, in Hampshire, a surprising dearth of evidence: it seems unlikely that such an expense would go unnoticed, and Hampshire churchwardens were, generally, meticulous with their accounts. The lack of evidence suggests either that Laud's injunctions were ignored, or that rails were already present when the orders were issued. In fact, there is evidence of only one parish, Botley, being ordered to erect a rail in this period.[41] It is also worth noting here that Laud's policies were seen, by one opponent, as originating at the Chapel Royal, moving on to the Universities, and 'from thence to <u>Canterbury, Winchester</u> and most other Cathedralls in England...'.[42] The diocese was recognised at the time as being at the forefront of Laudian 'innovations'; it may have been a precursor.[43]

The diocese was not, however, united in its approach to communion rails. The Isle of Wight, although part of Hampshire, was in many ways a distinct unit. Administratively, for example, whilst the Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire was also Governor of the Isle of Wight, 'the Deputy-Captains of the Isle continued to be local gentlemen, the Deputy-Lieutenant on the mainland having no authority

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[39]. HRO 41M64/PW1, 29M84/PW1, 75M72/PW1, 70M76/PW1; SCA PR4/2/1.

[40]. HRO 81M76/PR1 (but see fn.69), 70M76/PW1, 113M82/PW1. The inventory in the Ellingham accounts refers, in 1639, to 'i communion table railed about the kings instructions'.

[41]. HRO 21M65/B1/33.

[42]. W.Prynne <u>Canterburies Doome</u> (1646), p.58.

[43]. I have developed this idea elsewhere, see 'Precedence and Precedents: The "Laudian" Altar Policy in the Diocese of Winchester', <u>Anglican and Episcopal History</u> (forthcoming).

there'.[44] More importantly in this discussion, the Island formed its own deanery within the archdeaconry of Winchester, and it is of importance that there is proportionately much more evidence (given the Island's size) of communion rails being erected, and a new attitude towards the table engendered, around the time of Laud's proclamations. Shalfleet, for example, noted down expenses in 1635 for 'a new Bible & a new altar'. Whilst this does not specify the details of railing the table at the east end, the use of the term 'altar' hints that this was indeed the case. It should be noted, however, that, as the reference is in the accounts for 1634-35, the rail would, again, have been set up before Laud's injunctions came into force.[45] The rest of the Island needed more persuasion to conform with the emerging practice.

At Thorley the churchwardens were more lax in the registration of expenses, noting little except for the amount handed over to their successors. These are informative, however, because there was a marked decline in 1636 - from £24 2s in 1634 and £25 8s in 1635 to just £3 10s in 1636 before recovering to £12 8s in 1637. The severe decline in revenue that could be handed on to subsequent churchwardens in 1636 is evidence that the parish had to fund some alterations of some sort, in addition to the everyday costs of upkeep. Given the instructions which had gone out at the time concerning railing the communion table, it is likely that this fall in assets resulted from such an expense. The parish of Shorwell also

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[44]. B.J.Richmond 'The work of the Justices of the Peace in Hampshire 1603-1640' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Southampton, 1969), p.45.

[45]. It is somewhat unclear exactly when the order for the railing of tables was actually issued. Indications are that the first instructions went out early in 1634, and subsequent orders were included in Nathaniel Brent's visitations of the dioceses during the following three years. Importantly, Winchester was not visited until 1635. See J.Davies The Caroline Captivity..., pp.215-218.

appears to have erected rails at this time, although it is referred to in the accounts as 'a frame for the communion table';[46] at Newport rails were erected in 1636.[47] The Isle of Wight appears to have been more puritan in its outlook than the Hampshire mainland, and more pressure was needed for parishes to acquiesce. The fact that a higher proportion of examples can be found in the churchwardens' accounts for the Island than for Hampshire - all the Island parishes with surviving accounts erected rails at the time compared with only 40 per cent in Hampshire - adds weight to the impression that many Hampshire parishes already had rails in place.

Along with the Isle of Wight, the archdeaconry of Surrey was another part of the diocese where rails would appear to have been less popular. Far fewer accounts survive for the county, and many of those which do are less detailed than those of Hampshire, but a far higher proportion of them indicate a diffident (at best) approach to the construction of rails until the mid 1630s. A couple of inconsistencies, where tables appear to have been sited in the chancel, but with a rail around them, can be seen at St. Saviour's, Southwark, and Putney; at the latter the table had been built back in 1624, when it had been 'geven by Mr Knewett' with 'a frame about it'.[48] At St. Saviour's a rail had certainly been erected around the table - after disturbances in the church, and the disordered removal of the table from the east end in 1641, the churchwardens were instructed by the House of Lords to set the rails up as they had been before the mid-1630s.[49]

[46]. IWRO SHAL/REG/COM/1, THOR/APR/2A/1, SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[47]. IWRO NPT/PR/67.

[48]. LMA P95/MRY/413.

[49]. Journal of the House of Lords vol.iv (1628-1642), p.270.

At this point, recent investigations by Nicholas Tyacke need to be taken into account. His examination of the churchwardens' accounts of St. Giles', Cripplegate would appear to describe a communion table surrounded on all four sides by a rail during the time of Robert Crowley, which was later altered by Lancelot Andrewes.[50] This is seen by Tyacke as a form of 'Protestant' railing around the table, making the chancel a communion room rather than a place in which the altar was separated; a division that was more akin to Catholic worship. This appears to have been the arrangement at Southwark and Putney, and the words used to describe the rail at Fordingbridge in Hampshire may indicate a similar layout.[51]

In many Surrey parishes the churchwardens' accounts only list the expenditure for the year as a whole, and thus specific expenses cannot be accounted for, but a decline in money handed over to the subsequent churchwardens can often be seen for the middle years of the 1630s. This probably occurred, as was seen at Thorley on the Isle of Wight, as a result of building a rail. The accounts which do go into further detail do suggest that the altar policy did need to be enforced in the county more strongly than in Hampshire: most parishes did not erect rails until later, as at Woking in 1635, and Chobham, Mickleham, Seale and Wandsworth, all in 1636.[52]

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[50]. N.Tyacke 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in P.Lake & M.Questier (eds.) Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English church c.1560-1660 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), pp.20-21.

[51]. See above, p.69. This should not detract from the earlier discussion of rails that have been attributed to the Jacobean period, as all of these are in an east-west, 'Laudian' position. It does, however, make the removal of the altar to the east end of the chancel, to be discussed shortly, much more important.

[52]. SHS WOKP/7/4(4), CHOB/7/1/3, MIC/1/1, SEA/2/1; LMA P95/ALL1/44. The relative size of the two counties makes the numbers in Surrey (which had 116 parishes) proportionately much higher than those of Hampshire (227 parishes). Of the Surrey accounts which survive, 71 per cent show evidence of rails being built in the mid-1630s.

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A concomitant part of the 'altar policy' was the removal of the communion table to the eastern wall of the chancel - indeed it was this that was the most controversial aspect, as in some cases it altered the emphasis from a communion room to something which could be perceived as more idolatrous, and hence more Catholic. It appears that this was, as with rails, not unknown before Laud's term of office. The communion table at East Meon had been moved to the east end in the mid 1620s, as Dr. Robert Moore stated before the House of Commons in 1629 that such a change 'had been made about four or five years previously', an action which clearly took place before Laud's injunctions were issued.[53] At Lambeth the communion table had been moved into the centre of the chancel at a similar time, but 'the parishioners...with publike consent removed it to the place where it first stood time out of mind'.[54] It also appears that the table at Newport, Isle of Wight, was situated against the wall at the east end, although it was not railed until 1636.[55]

In two of these cases - East Meon and Lambeth - it would appear that the table remained in the chancel permanently, a technical breach of the 1559 Injunctions. At Lambeth the table was immovable, being encompassed by a rail, as Daniel

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[53]. Mildon, p.49. At this point Mildon's references are extremely lax. Mildon quotes extensively from the case, and only cites the Commons Journals (vol.i, p.930). The Journals, however, only record that 'Dr. Moore [was] called in and asked by Mr. Speaker, what Conference passed between the bishop of Winchester and him', and that 'He relateth many Passages', which were delivered, in writing, to the Commons the following day. The published manuscripts of the year's debates shed no further light on the matter. W.Notestein & F.Relf (eds.) Commons Debates for 1629 (Minneapolis, 1921). In the absence of other firm evidence, and given that Mildon's material appears in quotation marks, one has to assume that Mildon's citation is accurate.

[54]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, Or the Vindication of Dr Featley (1644), pp.8-9.

[55]. See the later discussion of the church at Newport, pp.350-360, especially p.355.

Featley noted at his trial.[56] At Newport, by comparison, the Injunctions may have

been followed to the letter, as there was no rail until 1636 - the table appears to

have stood adjacent to the east wall, as there was a wainscot adjoining it in 1632,[57]

but it is possible that it was moved into a central position in the chancel for

services.

If it was indeed the case that these tables were railed in what could be termed a

'Protestant' fashion, the reasons for this need to be examined. Fortunately, some

concise answers were provided by Daniel Featley during his appearance before the

Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1643. Featley argued that there were four

reasons for railing tables:

> 1. That we might come as neare as might be to the
> example of Christ and his Apostles...
> 2. That the communicants might according to the
> Rubrick, draw neare to the holy table
> 3. That the Communions might be with more
> facility and decent order celebrated...
> 4. That irreverent abuses might be prevented...[58]

The reasons behind the railing of communion tables were undoubtedly altered

during the 1630s, and they became more of a focal point for worship rather than a

communal feast, and this resulted in a shift in the exact design of such rails. It is

clear, however, that the use of a communion rails was not completely anathema to

contemporary theological opinion, so long as the rail was not used as a point of

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[56]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, p.9.

[57]. IWRO NPT/PR/62. The OED definitions of 'wainscot' indicate that the term was used to designate oak panelling, indicating a position next to the wall.

[58]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, p.9.

division between the clergy and the laity - such a division would have been enhanced by the railing of the table at the eastern end of the church.

Further evidence that communion rails may not have been universally derided can be seen by determining when they were taken down, if there is any evidence for this. The first evidence for rail removal comes from parishes where such removal was done by disorganised crowds. In Esher, Surrey, a band of people broke into the church in July 1640 and removed the rails.[59] On the south bank of the Thames, parishioners at St. Saviour's, Southwark, were presented for removing the rails without authority in June 1641. The House of Lords, determining that the rails had been removed 'in an insolent and Tumultuous Manner' ordered that 'new Rails shall be forthwith set up...about the Communion-table, in the same manner as they have been for the space of Fifty Years last past, but not as they were for Four or Five Years last past'.[60] In July 1641 the parishioners petitioned Parliament that they might be freed from their penalties[61] - on 9 September 1641 the House of Commons decided 'that the Churchwardens of every Parish Church and Chapel respectively, do forthwith remove the Communion-table from the East End of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, into some other convenient Place; and that they take away the Rails, and level the Chancels'.[62] This order had been decreed without the consent of the Lords, but two years later, on 28 August 1643, the ordinance was repeated, this time with the support of the Lords, and further action was to be taken against all

[59]. PRO SPDom 16/460/31.
[60]. Journal of the House of Lords, vol.iv, p.270.
[61]. D. Cressy Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford, 2000), p.207.
[62]. Journal of the House of Commons, vol.ii, p.287.

other 'superstitious and idolatrous monuments'.[63] From this point on, therefore, rail removal was to be organised, and as such, evidence should be found in churchwardens' accounts.[64]

When the accounts within the diocese of Winchester are examined, however, there is even less evidence for the removal of rails than there is for the erection of them. The parish of St. Lawrence in Southampton noted that Will Dinning was paid one shilling 'for taking down the railes' in 1641; the sum of 4d was paid 'for takeing up the rayles of the Chauncel' at Chawton in 1643; and at Shorwell on the Isle of Wight the ground at the communion table was 'levelled' in 1643.[65] These appear to be the only parishes which carried out Parliament's instructions with any sense of urgency.[66] It was not until 1649 that the churchwardens at Upham paid Peter Barton 'for the Communion rayles' (presumably this was for their removal), and at Odiham the only reference to such action is payment 'for taking upp the rayles & postes for the Clark to pass through', and this did not occur until 1655.[67] Rails survived in some parishes intact - the destruction, as W. H. Mildon has noted, 'was not carried out everywhere in Hampshire, for Communion rails set up

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[63]. Journal of the House of Commons, vol.iii, p.220.

[64]. Elsewhere in England such action was certainly noted in churchwardens' accounts. T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001). Appendix 8 (pp.351-381) cites the parish records.

[65]. SCA PR4/2/1; HRO 1M70/PW1; IWRO SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[66]. It should also be noted that, whilst the parishioners of St. Lawrence removed the rail when the Commons ordered such action, the parishes of Chawton and Shorwell waited until this had been sustained by the Lords.

[67]. HRO 74M78/PW1, 47M81/PW1. The position of the parish clerk is unclear. One aspect of his job was to help saying the service, although he was not allowed to perform many of the rites - Samuel Taylor, clerk at St. John's-in -the-Soke, Winchester, was presented to the Consistory Court in 1618 for churching a woman, HRO 21M65/C1/32. The Odiham reference would appear to refer to the clerk helping the minister during the communion. As the Eucharistic prayer was to be said by the celebrant standing at the table, the indications are that the table was railed, although why rails needed to be removed for this particular clerk is a mystery.

in Laud's time still exist at Bentley, Tichborne, Monk Sherborne, Greatham and St. Mary Bourne'.[68] In addition to Mildon's statement, a note added to the parish register at Corhampton states that 'Arthur Taylor, Churchwarden, set up the Pews, Rails and Pales in the year of our LORD 1636. The Pews remained until the year [date omitted, but in an eighteenth century hand] when by reason of their decay they were removed and the present set up'.[69] It appears from this that in some parishes rails were left in position (either through an appreciation of their symbolism or because of the unreliable political situation) after Parliament had ordered their removal.

In some cases the incumbent was prepared completely to ignore Parliament's orders. At Newtown, Isle of Wight, the churchwardens laid out seventeen shillings in order to purchase a new table in 1653; when it arrived at the church, the vicar, Francis Edwards, proceeded to place it 'altarwise'. For his pains he was called before Quarter Sessions the following Easter, and ordered to move it into the body of the church.[70] Such reluctance to follow Parliament's instructions may have been more widespread than has been thought - a similar phenomenon has been uncovered with regard to 'church furniture' by Mark Stoyle in his study of Devon.[71] Apart from the cited examples, there are no other references to expenditure for rail removal in other accounts in the diocese.[72]

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[68]. Mildon, p.160. It should be noted that three of these rails have been declared to be 'Jacobean' by Pevsner, a designation which he often uses in a somewhat haphazard fashion. See also Pevsner's previously noted ascriptions, fn.33.

[69]. HRO 81M76/PR1. Importantly, it is only stated that the pews were replaced, although the possibility has to remain that rails had been removed previously.

[70]. HRO Q1/3, pp.225-226.

[71]. M.Stoyle Loyalty and Locality (Exeter, 1994), pp.212-213.

[72]. It has to be admitted that there is a very poor survival rate for documents in this period - only 20

To summarise the situation outlined above, a brief quantitative study can be undertaken. Firm evidence for the erection of rails in the mid-1630s only exists for seven Hampshire parishes, or 40 per cent of those for which records survive specifically for this period. On the Isle of Wight, all the accounts which cover the crucial time indicate that rails were erected, whilst in Surrey five of the seven parishes which have entries for the mid-1630s (71 per cent) note such action. Whilst the survival rate for this critical period of controversy is admittedly poor in the Winchester diocese, it should be noted that, on a national scale, Julian Davies has concluded that 90 per cent or more of churches in the archdeaconries of Peterborough, Chichester, St. Albans, London and Middlesex had introduced the rail by the end of 1637.[73] The distribution of rails within the Winchester diocese can be seen in the maps on the next two pages.

It seems, therefore, that Laud's critics oversimplified the situation in the parishes with regard to the communion rail. Prynne's attacks on Laud's policies put forward the view that communion rails were put up in the mid 1630s as a result of a belligerent campaign.[74] This opinion was enhanced by the articles of impeachment drawn up against Matthew Wren, formerly chaplain to Lancelot Andrewes when he was bishop of Winchester, which categorically stated that railed altars within his diocese of Norwich had been forced upon the population in 1636.[75] The destruction which William Dowsing wrought in East Anglia during

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parishes out of some 365 in the diocese - but, given this proviso, this remains a low figure.

[73]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity... pp. 221, 222, 228. It is important, in the context of this work, to note that Davies has not established how many of these churches had the rail before the mid-1630s.

[74]. W.Prynne Canterburies Doome.

[75]. Articles of Impeachment..., p.4.

Map 1. Erection of Communion Rails.
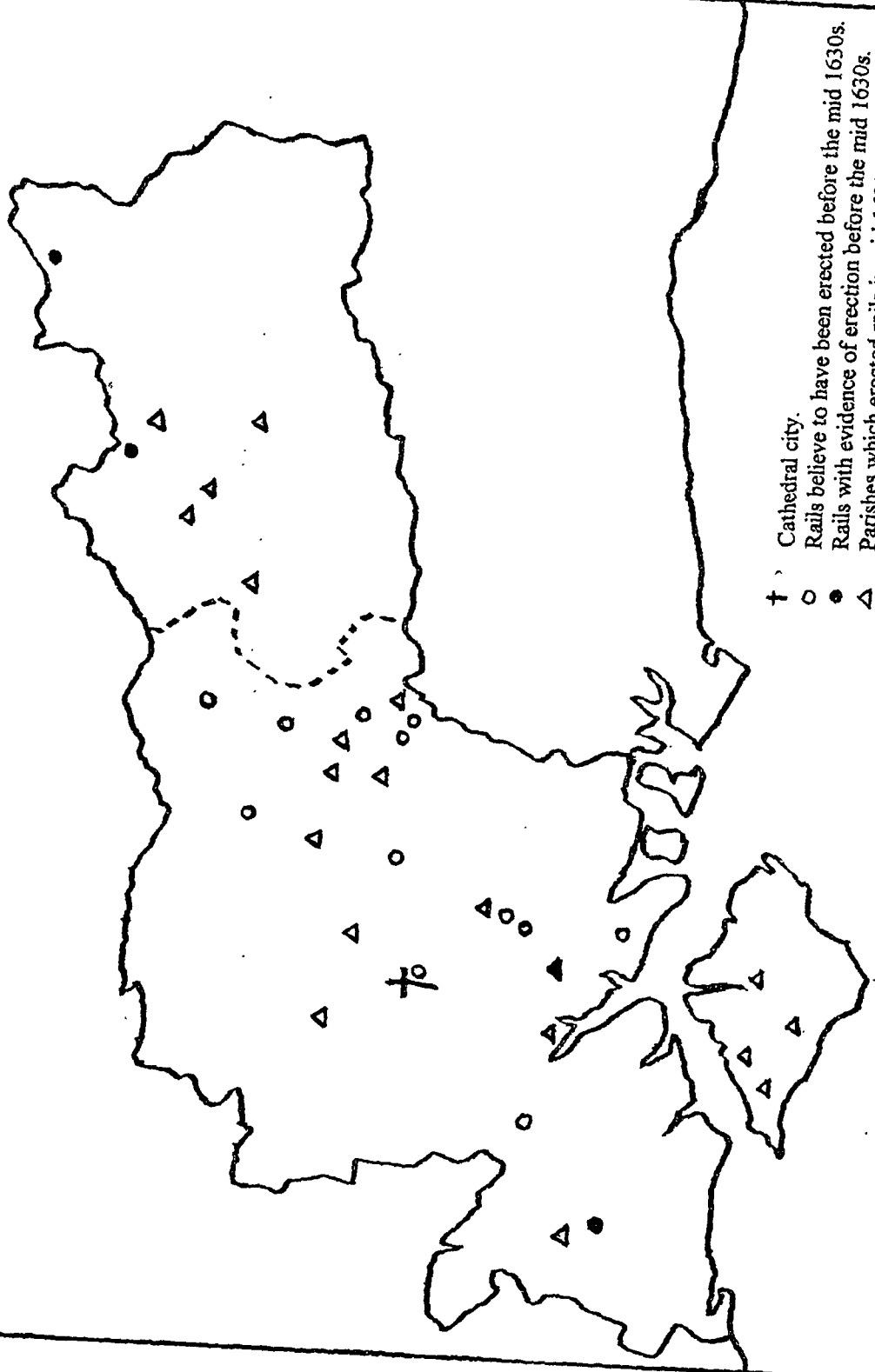
† Cathedral city.
○ Rails believe to have been erected before the mid 1630s.
● Rails with evidence of erection before the mid 1630s.
◁ Parishes which erected rails in mid 1630s.
▲ Parishes ordered to erect rails.

Map 2. Destruction of Communion Rails.

+   Cathedral city.
o   Parishes where rails are believed to have survived.
△   Parishes which removed rails in early 1640s.
▲   Parishes which removed rails in late 1640s/1650s.
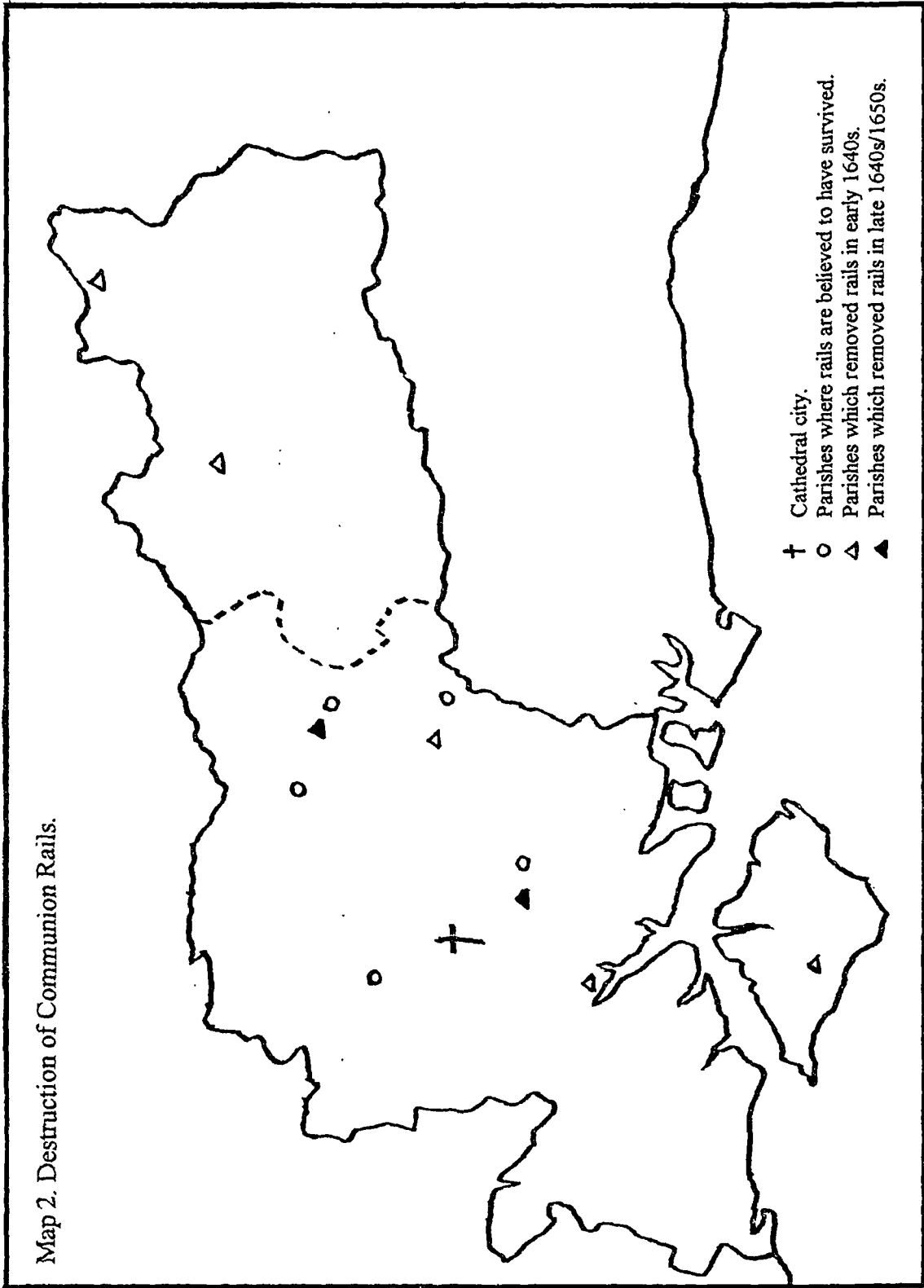
the campaign to remove rails there has similarly coloured later interpretations, giving the impression that such destruction was widespread.[76] This interpretation of events has been challenged by Julian Davies, who indicated the importance of each bishop's personal enthusiasm for the altar policy in shaping their enforcement of it.[77] In particular, it should be noted that Davies refers to the rails' 'popularisation by Andrewes [which] suggest[s] that Charles I was not the sole promoter of these alterations, which predated his reign'.[78] Whilst Davies notes examples of parishes across the country that did have rails before 1634, he emphasizes the exploitation of these examples by Charles and Laud, rather than developing the idea that railed tables may have been popular in some areas.[79] Crucially, Davies notes, in his discussion of the Winchester diocese, that 'many were set up between 1635 and 1636, which suggests that the bishop merely speeded up a process started by Brent [Laud's Vicar-general] in 1635.[80] When the evidence from the diocese is examined in closer detail, however, it becomes clear that some rails were present well before Brent visited the see, particularly in the Winchester archdeaconry.[81]

It thus appears from the Hampshire records - an area which had clearly come under the influence of Laud's theological guide (Andrewes) and mentor (Neile) - that such a policy was certainly hinted at, if not actively followed, before Laud and

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[76]. T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing

[77]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity... (Oxford, 1992), especially chapter 6.

[78]. ibid., p.210. My emphasis.

[79]. ibid., p.209, fn.19.

[80]. ibid., p.233.

[81]. It is somewhat unclear exactly when the order for the railing of tables was actually issued. See above, fn.45.

Charles promoted it. In Hampshire it can be seen that there are few parishes which fit the popular idea that rails were raised in the mid 1630s only to be razed in the early 1640s. It is important to note that, of all parishes with surviving accounts, only two (St. Lawrence, Southampton and Chawton) correspond to this model.

The railing of the communion table was, as was suggested earlier in this chapter, a way of helping the laity understand that there was something special about it, and (more importantly) something special about what happened there during the course of the communion service. If the 'altar policy' was imposed from above it might be expected to have met with resistance from the general population. Evidence for the opinion of the laity is difficult to evaluate, but, in the case of church furniture, a certain level of public respect may be discernible from the care with which the fittings were maintained. W. H. Mildon, whilst trying to prove the heartfelt support which Puritanism had found in Hampshire, noted that

> The furnishing of the communion table during the years 1570-1620 was very simple...but the years 1620-1640 saw adornment added to this simplicity. In many instances additions were spontaneous.[82]

Churchwardens' accounts are a mine of information for the extra adornment which Mildon noticed, and there are plentiful examples of the care taken of the church fittings. Nearly every parish notes money laid out for washing the church linen (this is a reference to the accoutrements of the pulpit and table - linen in general, not the particularities of the surplice which will be examined later);

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[82]. Mildon, p.110. My emphasis.

references which occur year after year. Furthermore, it can be seen that additions were made to the linen which the church possessed.

In some cases these additions had been requested by the church authorities at the Consistory Court. Hence there was a need for new communion cloths at Chilton Candover, Sparsholt and St. Mary's (Southampton) in 1619.[83] Five years later the parishioners at Quarley were informed that their communion table cloth was not broad enough, although this would appear to be part of a wider investigation of failings within the diocese, as many parishes were instructed at this time that their communion table did not have the necessary equipment upon it, notably a lack of flagons.[84]

In one case there is evidence suggesting that some parishioners were unhappy with the additions to the communion table that were purchased. The responses to the 1618 visitation of the diocese from the parish of St. Swithin's, Winchester, show that three parishioners were presented for 'not paying...for a booke of comon prayer & a surples & Clothes for the Communion table'.[85] The recalcitrance of these parishioners probably resulted from a belief that the Church of England was not fully reformed - even the Prayer Book was tainted - and they took offence at being asked to donate towards what they perceived to be relics of Popery. It would appear that other parishioners were content with the Prayer Book, surplice and table accoutrements, although it is possible that the three offenders were

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[83]. HRO 21M65/C1/33.
[84]. HRO 21M65/C1/35.
[85]. HRO 21M65/B1/28.

ringleaders of a larger group, and brought to the attention of the authorities as scapegoats.

Not all the amendments to the communion cloths appear to have been enforced by the church authorities though. In Overton, for example, money was paid in 1623 'to John Woodward['s] mother for certayne cotton to make a new cloth to cover the Communion Table'; and in 1625 North Waltham paid out 11s 10d 'for a carpett for the communion table'.[86] Neither of these parishes had been brought before the Consistory Court for not keeping their communion table to the required standard. Alton similarly bought a 'carpet' for the table in 1635; and at St. Peter, Cheesehill (Winchester) in 1625 a certain amount of extravagance can be seen, as the church had

> ...two carpets of blew silke for the communion
> table one embroydered with gold and silke that Mr
> Bartholomew Smith gave to the church and one
> holland cloth for the communicants.[87]

In none of these is there any evidence that these additions were made under duress. In the parish of Andover, the inventory of church goods for 1635 shows that there were four different communion cloths - blue, crimson, damask and velvet - far more than required by the Canons, and possibly indicative of a ritualistic tendency based on a recollection of the changes in clerical vestments which occurred throughout the liturgical year in the Catholic church.[88] Such vestments had been removed in many parishes since the Reformation, but this

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[86]. HRO 81M72/PW1, 41M64/PW1.

[87]. HRO 29M84/PW1, 3M82W/PW1.

[88]. HRO 35M48/16/8.

aspect of the cleansing of Roman superstition went unrecorded in most parish accounts - they were possibly used until they fell into disrepair and were then discarded. The churchwardens of Clapham, however, noted that they had sold 'dyvers olde stayned clothes for the doynge of ceremonyes lately used in the churche' in 1550.[89]

Far from being antagonistic to the Laudian reforms, therefore, it appears that (at least in some parishes) parishioners appreciated the communion table as something special, and were prepared to lay out money in order to preserve its integrity - indeed, at St. Peter, Cheesehill, it was a parishioner who donated the cloth. In laying out such money they were following a long tradition. As the anonymous author R. T. noted in 1638, '...of all parts of the chancell that where the Communion Table stands has ever been the most sacred. In adorning that, no cost ought to be considered too much'.[90] Although R. T. was writing during Laud's tenure as archbishop, the expenditure, as can be seen from the previous examples, may well have predated Laud's ideas and as such it appears that there was at least a proportion of the population concerned with the beauty of holiness well before Laud; aesthetics within the church will be examined later.[91]

Some additional evidence concerning the regard with which the communion table was held can be gleaned in an examination of the provision of plate for the sacrament. A lot of church plate was replaced during the early Stuart period,

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[89]. E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars, p.502.

[90]. R.T. De Templis..., pp.199-200. The punctuation has been modernised.
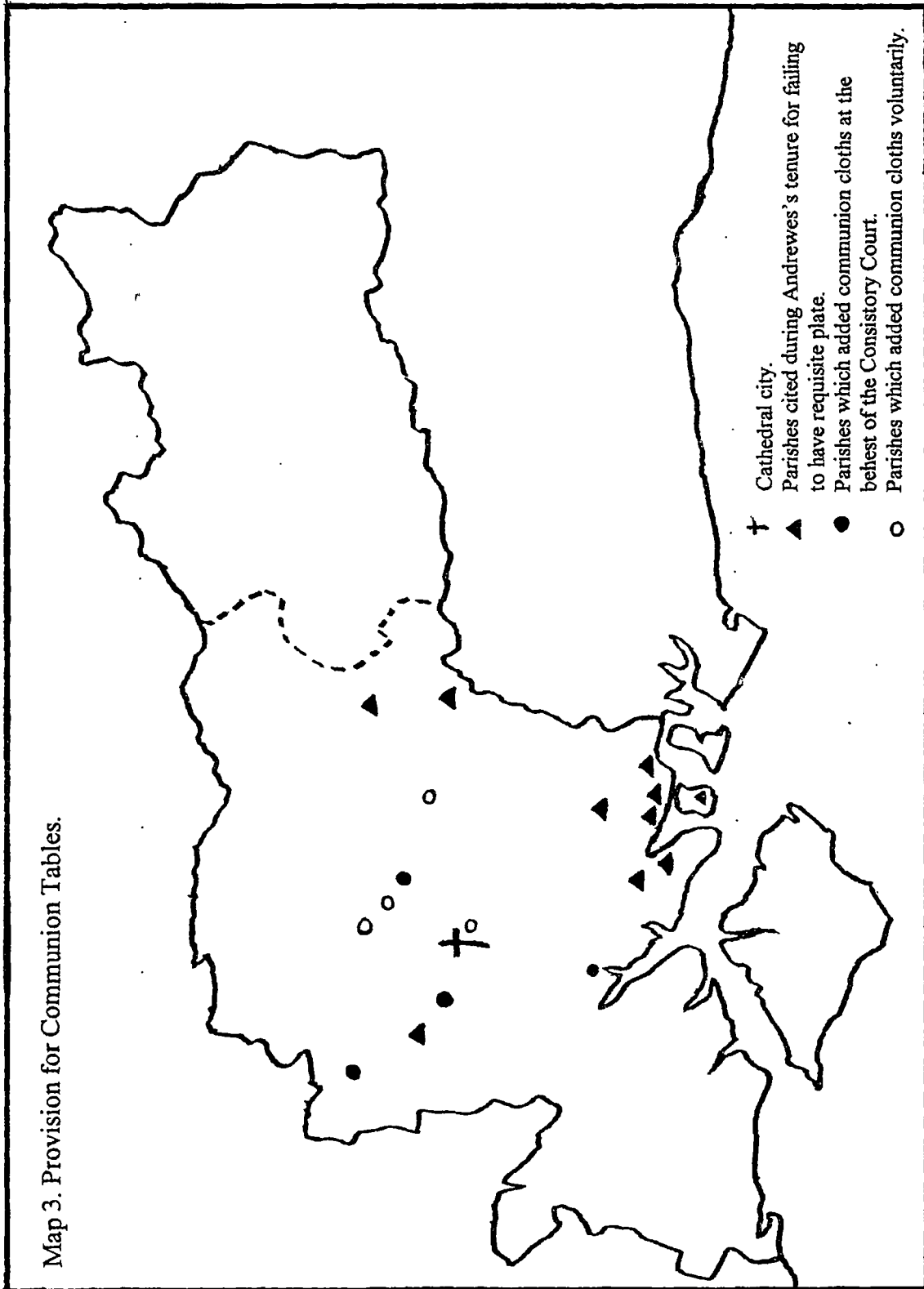
[91]. Chapter three.

indicating that it was felt that attention had to be paid to such externals of worship in order to uphold respect for the central element of the church's liturgy. Lancelot Andrewes has, once again, been seen as 'the greatest single influence in [this] development', particularly with regard to the decoration which appeared on such plate.[92] He would, indeed, appear to have been the instigator of heightened concern over the provision of sacramental equipment within the diocese. Whilst some parishes had been brought before the Consistory Court for failing to have a carpet for the communion table, it was not until after Andrewes became bishop that citations appear for failing to have a flagon for the communion wine. The first citations (four) occurred in 1619, and there were eight presentments between 1623 and 1625.[93] The low number of citations for failings in this area, however, shows that the provision of the basic utensils for the sacrament was not cause for too much concern within the diocese at this time, and the requirements of the Prayer Book were being met.

Whilst there is evidence that there were many parishes that took a great deal of care over the communion table during the whole period, and that a sizeable number had rails before Laud promoted their use, there also needs to be an examination of the other aspect of worship which aroused controversy at the time - the provision of a preaching ministry. Before proceeding to examine the rôle of the

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[92]. C.Oman English Church Plate 597-1820 (1957), p.145. Oman's evidence for the influence of Andrewes is slight, being based upon bequests in his will to Pembroke Hall, and the fact that 'there is no lack of plate made in accordance with his views', ibid., p.146.

[93]. HRO 21M65/C1/33 - Cosham, Greatham, Long Sutton and Wherwell; 21M65/C1/35 - Cosham (twice more), Fareham, Hambledon, Havant, Portsea, Whiteley and Wymering. Interestingly, there is a cluster of these in the vicinity of Portsmouth. See map 3, p.89.

Map 3. Provision for Communion Tables.

+ Cathedral city.
◄ Parishes cited during Andrewes's tenure for failing to have requisite plate.
● Parishes which added communion cloths at the behest of the Consistory Court.
o Parishes which added communion cloths voluntarily.

preacher both within the diocese and the parish,[94] investigation should be

undertaken to try to uncover whether there was any alteration in the physical

layout of churches in order to provide this requirement. The Jacobean period has

long been acknowledged as one during which there was a great increase in the

provision of pulpits, notably in the development of those of the three-Decker style,

from which a differing emphasis could be placed on the three ways in which the

Word was to be pronounced - sermons, readings and the liturgy. One of the central

strands of 'Laudian' thought, the desire for order and hierarchy to be displayed

through the use of differentiation within the church is thus seen again; the visible

distinction of the three levels of the pulpit reflected the relative importance of the

spoken word.

It has been claimed that 'there must be at least 1,000 Jacobean pulpits

throughout the country'.[95] The decline in pulpit building during the Caroline era

could be seen as an element in an attempt to promote the Sacrament at the expense

of the Word, but this is an oversimplification. The very fact that so many pulpits

were erected in the Jacobean period, including several in the Winchester diocese,

means, inevitably, that there was less of a demand for new pulpits in the ensuing

time.[96] As with communion rails, many of the ascriptions are made on stylistic

grounds, but there are a few cases where firmer evidence can be found, such as at

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[94]. An examination which will take place in chapter five.

[95]. G.Yule 'James VI and I: furnishing the churches...', p.189.

[96]. Pevsner, for example, ascribes (in Hampshire) the surviving pulpits at Basing, Chilbolton, Easton, East Wellow, Ellingham, Idsworth, Kingsclere, Leckford, Nursling, Sopley and Upper Clatford to the Jacobean period. A similar designation is given to the Isle of Wight parishes of Brighstone, Mottistone, Whitwell and Wootton. The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, pp.89, 164, 202, 205, 210, 273, 306, 311, 317, 361, 510, 631, 735, 748, 775.

Wootton St. Lawrence, where £3 6s was paid 'for the pulpit' in 1624.[97] This

should not detract from the fact that pulpits were built during Charles's reign,

showing that a concern for the dissemination of Scripture remained an important

part of the Caroline church.

In Hampshire, the pulpit at Durley is dated 1630; that of Bishops Waltham is

believed to have been donated to the parish by Lancelot Andrewes in 1626;[98] and

the pulpit of the church at Newport, Isle of Wight was erected in 1631.[99] One of

the most intriguing designations which Pevsner gave when dating the pulpits was

that given to Hartley Wespall, which he ascribed simply as 'Laudian'.[100] In the

Surrey archdeaconry only three pulpits are ascribed to the period, of which two are

Jacobean, and one Caroline.[101] Again, as the case was with communion rails, a

difference can be drawn from the evidence. In Hampshire there was a greater need

for pulpits during the early years of the century, whilst in Surrey demand was less,

mainly because the county had embraced Reformation theology more

enthusiastically, and hence the county had already seen the erection of 'more

galleries, more pews and new pulpits, as the sermon grew in popularity'.[102]

[97]. HRO 75M72/PW1.

[98]. Andrewes did not mention such a bequest in his will, and the churchwardens' accounts for
Bishops Waltham do not survive. The incumbent of the parish at the time was Dr. Robert Ward, the
son of Andrewes's first schoolmaster, with whom Andrewes had collaborated on the Authorised
Version of the Bible, J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, pp.iv, cxiii. This, allied
to the style of the pulpit and the fact that Andrewes did donate £10 to the town in his will - ibid.,
p.ciii - have led to the traditional assumption that the pulpit was given to the parish by Andrewes.
The £10 given to the town may well have been used to build a new pulpit, especially as the donation
came from such an eminent preacher as Andrewes.

[99]. IWRO NPT/PR/60.

[100]. N.Pevsner & D.Lloyd The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, p.274.

[101]. N.Pevsner & I.Nairn The Buildings of England: Surrey (1963, reprinted 1995). The parishes in
question are West Molesey ('Jacobean'), Stoke d'Abernon (1620) and Pyrford (1628), pp.514, 468,
419.

[102]. R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational background of the Surrey Clergy, 1520-1620'
(unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1975), p.302.

As the congregations cared for their communion tables, so they showed concern over their pulpits. The parish of St. John's, Winchester, expended money in 1603 'to the painter for...the paintinge of the pulpit'; St. Lawrence, Southampton paid out 'for mending the canopy over the pulpit' (presumably the sounding board) in 1621 and for further repairs to the pulpit itself in 1630. The pulpit at Wootton St. Lawrence, which had only been erected in 1624, had to undergo further repair in 1633.[103]

The care shown by the parishioners extended beyond the pulpit itself: repair of its accoutrements was just as important. In 1637 Hambledon parishioners paid the somewhat extravagant sum of £3 6s 4d 'for the pulpit cloth and cushion', and three years later the churchwardens of Upham noted that 1s 2d had been spent 'for leather for the pulpit cushion'.[104] There is also evidence that the church authorities were sometimes informed of cases of neglect. Hence in the presentments at the 1618 diocesan visitation it was noted that 'there wanteth a pulpett cloth' at Ellingham.[105] Similar needs were noted at Thorley (Isle of Wight) in the following year,[106] but the lack of extensive requests to provide further items for the pulpit indicates that in many parishes attention was being paid to the appearance of it.

It has thus been seen, from the attitude taken towards both the communion table and the pulpit, which in some cases led to extra adornment of them, that there was an acceptance during the early Stuart period that there was more than one channel

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[103]. HRO 88M81W/PW2; SCA PR4/2/1; HRO 75M72/PW1. An idea about the distribution of pulpits within the diocese can be seen in map 4, p.93.

[104]. HRO 46M69/PW7, 74M78/PW1.

[105]. HRO 21M65/C1/32.

[106]. HRO 21M65/C1/33.

Map 4. Provision of Pulpits.

† Cathedral city.
○ Parishes with pulpits ascribed to or built during
  period c.1600-1625.
● Parishes with pulpits ascribed to or built during
  period 1625-1642.
△ Parishes which spent extra money on their pulpits.
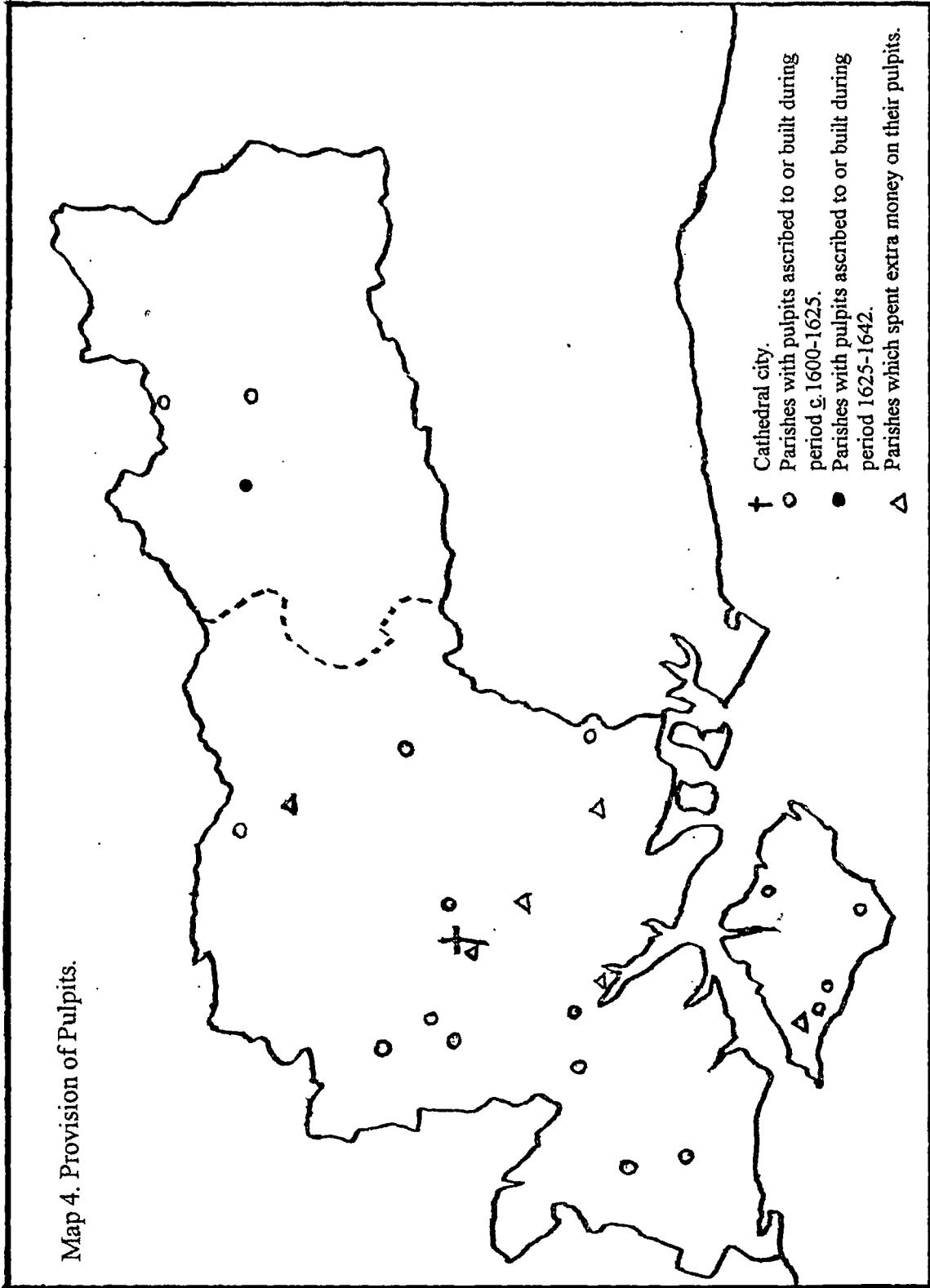
through which God operated. The communion table was seen as one area from which divine help could be sought; on the other hand, scriptural teaching could also be disseminated from the pulpit - both pieces of church furniture were looked after and any negligence with regard to them checked. It would be too much of a generalisation, therefore, to find a simple differentiation amongst the population at large between the doctrine of the sacrament and the doctrine of the word. In some cases, however, a different emphasis can be seen in the importance attached to each.

The emphasis which has been placed upon the sermon as the central part of the service has led to the view that for many the pulpit was at least as important as the table, if not more so. Seating arrangements within a church occasionally radiated around the pulpit, rather than in eastern facing rows. In these cases the pulpit would appear to be held in higher regard than the table, as at Carisbrooke (Isle of Wight), where 'the pulpit in Mr Smith's time [1654-1689]...was standing in the north end of the Church....'.[107] In some areas there seems to have been a greater equality between the two, for example the Channel Islands, where the table was to be left 'in some convenient place near the Pulpit',[108] although the specific wording of this hints that the pulpit is the more important of the two. Both these approaches show a distinct emphasis upon the preached word rather than the sacrament. However, as has been seen above in the discussion about the position of the communion table, there were some places where the table was seen as the focal

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[107]. IWRO CAR/APR/100/1. Whether this was a new arrangement during the Interregnum, or had been established beforehand, is unclear.

[108]. Huntington Library, EL 1897.

point. Whilst this elevated view of the sacrament did tend to be an opinion more of 'Laudian' or 'proto-Laudian' divines, this was not an exclusive division, as seen by the defence given by Daniel Featley at Lambeth.[109]

It cannot be denied that there was an increased emphasis upon the importance of the communion table, and hence of the sacrament, during the Caroline/Laudian period, but it does appear that this was being done in light of a tradition which was already present in the church, although it had become a minority view. The increased emphasis was seen by many as a move back towards Rome, and thus attention began to be focussed upon anything which could be perceived as a remnant of Catholicism, the most obvious being the surplice.

Refusal to wear the surplice was not a new phenomenon. The Vestiarian controversy of the 1560s had signalled to the authorities, both in church and state, that some of the clergy were unhappy with retaining 'Popish' vestments such as the surplice. Although the problem was largely subdued during Elizabeth's reign, there continued to be a few ministers who refused to wear the surplice. Such was the case at Headbourne Worthy in 1599, which may have been a reason why Elizabeth Wyat refused to take the communion at her home parish, preferring to travel to the cathedral at Winchester.[110]

The use of the surplice was a major point of contention at the time. Its use was enjoined in Canon 58 of 1604 - 'Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the church, shall wear a decent and

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[109] See above, pp.75-77, below, pp.366-367.
[110] Mildon, p.91.

comely surplice with sleeves...',[111] and an interesting contrast can be seen in the

Channel Islands, where there is no mention of the surplice, even after new canons

were drawn up in accordance with those of the Church of England in 1623.[112]

In the mainland part of the diocese, there was one notorious case concerning the

surplice, when Matthew Nicholas acted as a visiting minister to the parish of

Wherwell in 1636. Matthew performed the liturgy in hood and surplice, but when

he called the communicants to the chancel to receive many walked out. This,

which may have been a display of puritan displeasure at the way in which

Matthew performed the rite, surprised him, as can be seen in the letter which he

wrote to his brother concerning the incident:

> I did not think there had bin a congregation in
> Hampshire soe refractory to good order, but the fault
> is the vicar, who doth not only himself connive at
> their inconformity, but is himself soe inclined,
> howsoever he makes a shewe to the contrary.[113]

Matthew implied here that the incumbent was prepared to go along with the

strictures of the Prayer Book when necessary, whilst personally having severe

doubts about them, and probably failed to follow the rubrics when possible. The

phenomenon of 'Church Papists' has long been known;[114] here we appear to see a

distinction between 'Puritans' and 'Church Puritans'. Puritans can be seen as those

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[111]. G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.347.

[112]. The canons were first printed in P.Heylyn A full relation of two Journeys, the one into the main-land of France, the other into some of the adjacent ilands (1656), pp.393-411. The lack of reference to the use of the surplice would appear to be a concession to the islanders, given their Presbyterian past.

[113]. PRO SP Dom 16/352/29.

[114]. The best study is A.Walsham Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England (Bury St. Edmunds, 1993).

who refused to adhere to ceremonies for which they could not find any basis in Scripture, as opposed to 'Church Puritans' who accepted matters indifferent, although hoping for greater reform within the church. The distinction between the two was becoming increasingly blurred - it has recently been noted that court sermons of the early Jacobean period increasingly defined '"Puritanism" as "radicalism", associating that radicalism with Scottish presbyterianism', an association which was to have great consequences with regard to the approach taken to clerical nonconformity in the Caroline period.[115] Recent historiography has emphasised moderate, conforming Puritans, and implied that extremists were in a very small minority. Whilst this is probably true, it should be acknowledged that there were different degrees of Puritanism, and the distinctions between them still needs further clarification.

The extent to which the surplice was used in the early Stuart church cannot be understood with any real certainty, but an idea can be gained from churchwardens' accounts and Consistory Court presentations.[116] In several of the surviving accounts there are references to money laid out for washing the surplice - for example at Overton (throughout the 1620s), St. Mary's, Portsea (throughout the 1630s) and South Warnborough (regularly throughout the period)[117] - a clear indication that such vestments were being used. Several other parishes have occasional references, indicating that the surplice was worn, even if its use was

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[115]. L.A.Ferrell Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity 1603-1625 (Stanford, 1998), p.31.

[116]. Map 5 show the distribution of surplice use within the diocese, p.98.

[117]. HRO 81M72/PW1; PCRO CHU2/3/6; HRO 70M76/PW1. The South Warnborough accounts show such action in 1613, 1615, 1619, 1623, 1628, 1630, 1631, 1632 and 1636.

Map 5. Surplices.

† Cathedral city.
○ Parishes where the surplice was used regularly.
● Parishes where the surplice was used irregularly.
◁ Parishes which bought a new surplice voluntarily.
◀ Parishes which were cited in the Consistory Court for failing to have, or use, a surplice.
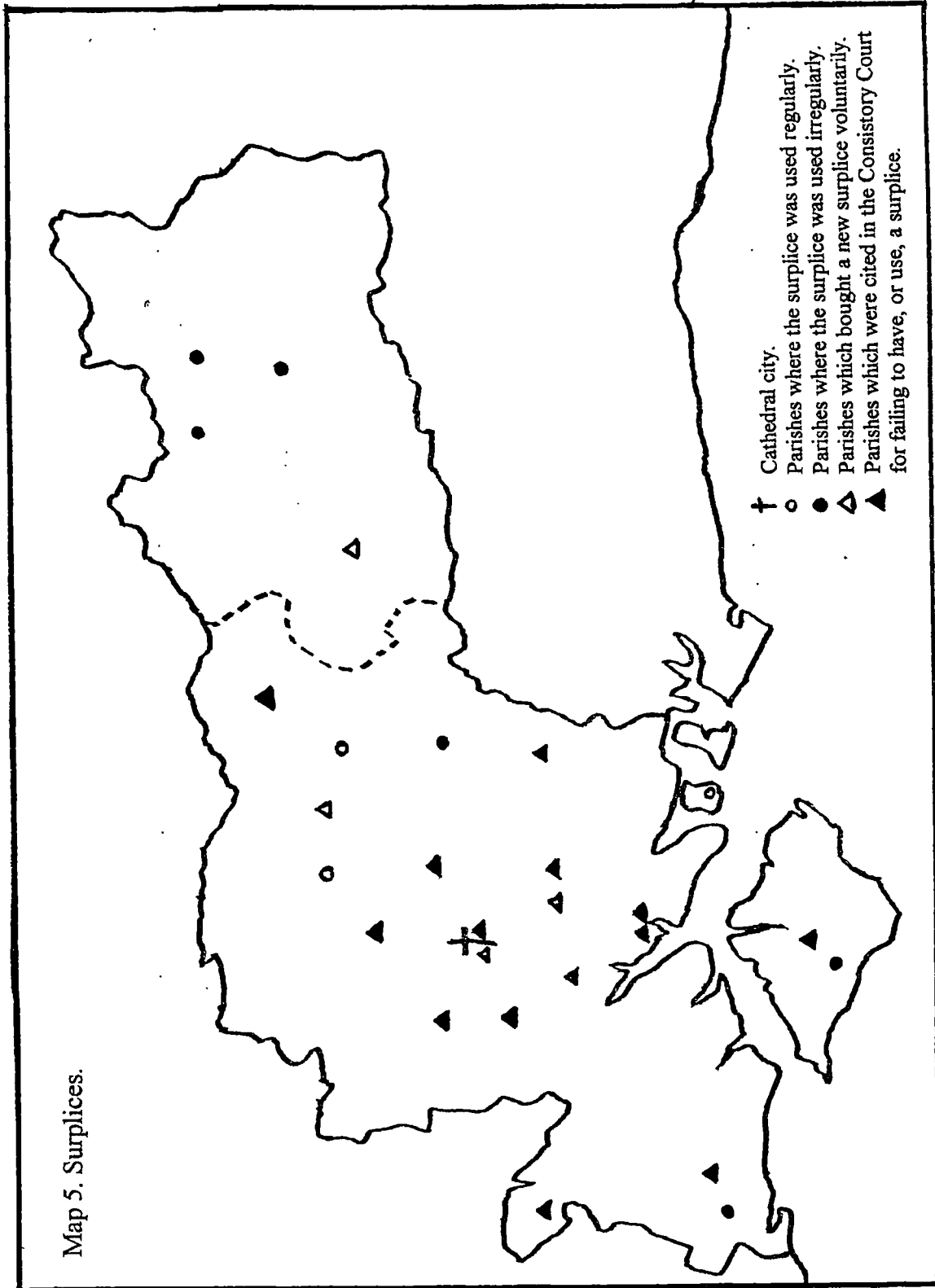
less keenly observed. This less frequent use of the surplice is seen in two

Hampshire parishes - Holdenhurst (1621) and Chawton (1634) - and at one on the

Isle of Wight (Shorwell, 1623 and 1624), although the possibility has to be

accepted that the surplice was just cleaned less often, or even without any

remuneration for the parishioner who cleaned it.[118] In Surrey the vast majority of

parishes for which accounts survive fail to mention any use of the surplice - the

lack of accounts from large areas of the county is a significant drawback here -

and those of which there is evidence of use of the surplice display a certain laxity.

In Wandsworth the only time there is clear evidence that the surplice was washed

was in 1621, whilst in two parishes the only evidence of use comes in the late

1630s and early 1640s. The increase at that time might suggest that there were

moves at the time for stricter enforcement of the Prayer Book rubrics, although the

poor survival rate of the documentation has to be acknowledged.[119]

Several parishes bought new surplices during the period - Compton (Surrey) in

1617, Durley and St. John's Winchester in 1618 and Wootton St. Lawrence in

1627 (all in Hampshire). None of these parishes had been admonished for failing

to have a surplice, so it may be that they had made the purchases of their own

volition. It is interesting to note that of this group, all the Hampshire parishes show

some evidence of use of the surplice after its initial purchase, with parishioners

being paid for cleaning it, but Compton has no such payments.[120]

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[118]. HRO 9M75/PW1, 1M70/PW1; IWRO SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[119]. The parishes concerned are Clapham between 1638 and 1640 and Mickleham between 1639 and 1642. LMA P95/ALL1/44, P95/TRI1/1; SHS MIC1/2.

[120]. SHS COM/6/1; HRO 97M82/PW3, 88M81W/PW2, 75M72/PW1.

There were, of course, parishes that wished to avoid using the surplice. Hence we find that some parishes were presented at the Consistory Court for such failure. This occurred at Chilbolton, Chilworth, Carisbrooke and St. Mary's (Winchester) - all in 1607, Brown Candover (1608), Farley Chamberlayne (1612), Prior's Deane (1619), Longparish and Netley (both 1623).[121] Other parishes were presented for failing to even own a surplice, as at Rockbourne (1607), St. Clement's, Winchester, and Hartley Wintney (both 1618), Sopley and St. Mary's, Southampton (both 1619), Chilbolton and Droxford (both 1623).[122]

The vast majority of those who were presented did not respond to the accusations, so whether they actually changed their ways is unknown. None, however, were re-presented in the following years for a similar fault, which suggests that action was taken to remedy the situation. One curate who did respond was George Baxter of Chilbolton, who in 1607 claimed that 'he doth ordinarilie wear it, yet sometimes he hath not[,] not because of any dislike thereof', and it was ordered 'that henceforth he doe weare the surplisse according to order'.[123] He did not, however, go on to explain his reasons for not wearing the surplice. In 1623, moreover, the parish was presented for not having a surplice, rather than not using it, making his claims that it was not for the dislike of it seem somewhat disingenuous. More believable was the claim of Joseph Hancock of Farley Chamberlayne, who stated that he 'is willing to weare the surples if the

[121]. HRO 21M65/C1/28, 21M65/C1/29/1, 21M65/C1/30, 21M65/C1/33, 21M65/C1/35. The Chilworth example will shortly be examined in further detail.
[122]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1, 21M65/C1/32, 21M65/C1/33, 21M65/C1/35.
[123]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

churchwardens would provide a convenient fitt surplys', something upon which they could not agree.[124]

A further example from the Consistory Court serves to show that some parishes had elements within them that were particularly averse to the use of the surplice. John Taylor of Gosport was charged in 1607 that 'when he was churchwarden [he] did convaie awaie the surples and never gave any accompt for it'. He claimed that his fellow churchwarden had the surplice, but this was rejected, and he was ordered to pay the current churchwardens for a new one.[125]

There were thus different attitudes towards the surplice within the diocese. Some parishes were ordered to buy a new surplice, and some others appear to have bought one of their own volition. Several others noted the expense which had been caused by repairing their surplice. In Hampshire this happened at Hambledon and St. Peter, Cheesehill (Winchester) in 1616, St. Lawrence (Southampton) in 1629, and Chawton in 1630; on the Isle of Wight similar expenditure is noted at Newport (1604) and Shorwell (1633).[126] In the archdeaconry of Surrey repairs were undertaken at Mickleham and Wandsworth in 1614 (although these both appear to have been seldom used), and at Putney in 1627 and 1635, the latter being when the surplice was 'torne and full of holes'.[127]

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[124] HRO 21M65/C1/30.

[125] HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

[126] HRO 46M69/PW7, 3M82W.PW1; SCA PR4/2/1; HRO 1M70/PW1; IWRO NPT/PR/34, SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[127] SHS MIC/1/2; LMA P95/ALL1/44. For the apparent lack of use of the surplice in these parishes see above, p.99. LMA P95/MRY1/413.

In some areas of the diocese there is evidence that use of the surplice continued during the Interregnum, when such accoutrements were discouraged. Thomas Crosfield, the minister at Godshill on the Isle of Wight, found himself locked out of his church by the Puritan section of the community. As a result of this he sent for his surplice and preached to the loyal members of his congregation in the church porch.[128] This is important for three reasons. First, it shows that Crosfield's use of the surplice (and, presumably, also the Book of Common Prayer) engendered some support within the parish. Secondly, the fact that the Puritan parishioners felt that they had to lock their minister out of their church shows that they were prepared to employ extreme measures to silence him. Finally, and possibly most importantly, it shows that the community was not united in its approach to forms of worship. The Isle of Wight was, generally, an area sympathetic to puritans, yet this episode indicates that some rituals gained support, even in an area which was broadly consistent in its opposition to the Caroline régime (the only real Royalist support at the outbreak of the Civil War had come from Sir John Oglander at Carisbrooke Castle).

A further example of a split community can be seen at Chilworth, just to the north of Southampton. On 8 September 1607 six parishioners were presented by their churchwardens for various offences against the church. Most notably, the churchwardens 'insisted that Robert & Nicholas Davy openly said in the church & churchyard of Chilworth that the surplesse was a relique of Popery, and that...[Robert] Austin sayd in the churchyard aforesaid...that the surplisse was as

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[128]. Mildon, p.169.

fitting to putt on the Minister then was his wives smock'. It soon became clear that 'there is sum iarring between the parties complayned on & the other parishioners, some being forward in Religion & therefore termed by the other to be puritanes, And they on thother side terming the others to be prophane men'.[129] Chilworth would appear to have been split between two particularly vociferous factions - there may have been many other parishes which were similarly split, but which managed to keep their differences under greater control.

There is thus quite strong evidence that there were differing opinions about the use of the surplice: despite Puritan disdain of it as a remnant of Popish superstition, in some parishes would appear to have been used fairly frequently, and repaired when necessary. It should also be noticed that the surplice did not have to be plain, and a degree of aestheticism was sometimes introduced. Hence, when the surplice was repaired at Holdenhurst in 1609, it was not left plain, but had 'a new wrought band' on it[130] - how often such decoration was used is impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty, given the proportion of extant documents. It may be that such decoration was a common feature of surplices at the time, and thus that Holdenhurst was not exceptional in this regard. It was seen before that enrichment of the communion table and pulpit had occurred in some places before Laud's attempts to reintroduce the 'beauty of holiness'; similar moves could be taken with regard to the surplice.

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[129]. HRO 21M65/C1/28.
[130]. HRO 9M75/PW1.

There was, therefore, a degree of attachment to some aspects of the liturgy as established in the Prayer Book. The Book was, of course, outlawed during the Interregnum and replaced with the Directory of Worship, an attempt by the authorities to remove any vestige of Popery from the liturgy. Despite this, there were several parishes within Hampshire where the rubric and forms of the established church continued to be used throughout the period of illegality. In Bishopstoke the minister, Thomas Gawen, was sequestered and replaced by Peter Smart. The parishioners petitioned the Committee for Plundered Ministers in support of Gawen, and later aided him in regaining the rectory.[131] At Meonstoke, Robert Matthew applied for readmittance at the Restoration, claiming that he had always used the set forms of the church, and during the Interregnum the minister of Holy Rood, Southampton, attacked the lectureship in the town, and thus made himself one of the 'notorious enemies to the Commonwealth'.[132] Perhaps the greatest show of adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, however, came from the cathedral city itself.

Winchester, like many cathedral cities during the period, was antagonistic to the reforms of Parliament. Late in the Civil War it had become clear that many 'conservative or royalist clergy, especially from the Episcopal sees of Winchester and Chichester...[were] directing the clubmen against the roundheads'.[133] Such opposition to the Parliamentarian cause was not a new occurrence in Winchester though. From the outbreak of hostilities the city had supported the King, and Sir

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[131]. Mildon, p.191.

[132]. ibid., p.201.

[133]. G.J.Lynch 'The Risings of the Clubmen in the English Civil War' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1973), p.242.

William Waller had encountered a strong rearguard action whenever he attempted

to take it for Parliament. No doubt realising the allegiance of the city, Nicholas

Preston took refuge there when he was ejected from his living at Droxford.

Preston's support for the established church and its rituals was noted at the time of

his death, for an inscription in the church at Droxford notes:

> Here lies the body of Nicholas Preston...for his
> eminent loyalty and zeal sequestered in the year
> 1650...He spent his dayes in a pious and painfull
> ministry...

Even allowing for the exaggeration which often accompanies such memorials, it

appears that Preston's stance against Parliament was appreciated. His stance

turned out to be a bold one as, after entering Winchester, he took charge of an

empty church (St. Michael's, Kingsgate Street) and, with the help of Richard

Ayleward (a former minor canon at the cathedral), continued to use Common

Prayer and its inherent ceremonies.[134]

This continued use of the Book of Common Prayer has been examined in some

detail by John Morrill.[135] Unfortunately, evidence of a similar type to that used by

Morrill - Quarter Sessions, county committee records and (above all)

churchwardens' accounts - does not survive for the Winchester diocese in

sufficient quantity for any conclusions to be drawn. Hints that there was an

attachment to the rites of the Prayer Book can be found when Parish Registers are

consulted, particularly with reference to record of baptisms and births.

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[134]. Mildon, p.203.

[135]. J. Morrill 'The Church in England, 1642-9', in J.Morrill Reactions to the English Civil War (Basingstoke, 1982), pp.90-114.

In September 1653, Parliament passed the Registration Act, by which the records of births, marriages and deaths was transferred from the church to civil authorities. Whilst this was, technically, a purely bureaucratic alteration, there are hints that the registration of births took on greater significance to some of the population. There are two main reasons for believing that such a view was sometimes held.

In the first place, of those parishes where the registers do show an alteration in the way in which births were recorded, the vast majority of them return to former ways at one of two dates - 1660, with the restoration of the monarchy, or 1662, with the publication of a new version of the Book of Common Prayer. The second date is not surprising, as the introduction of a new Prayer Book, replacing the Directory of Worship, would have included the reintroduction of rites that had been discontinued during the Interregnum.[136] The former date is somewhat less expected, and my well indicate a spontaneous return to more traditional methods at the same time as the monarchy was restored.

The second, and probably more important, reason to believe that there may have been more to the changes than pure bureaucracy is the fact that there are entries in some registers that stand out as exceptions within that parish. In Horley (Surrey), for example, the entries in the Parish Register remain 'baptized' throughout the period, but there are nine entries which are noted as 'borne'. Of these nine entries

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[136]. The rite of baptism in the Directory stated that the minister was to 'Baptize the Childe with water: which for the manner of doing it, is not onely lawfull but sufficient and most expedient to be, by powring or sprinkling of water on the Face of the childe, without adding any other Ceremony' [my emphasis]. C.H.Firth & R.S.Rait Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-60 (2 volumes, 1911), vol.i, p.596. The sign of the cross was thus not to be used, and the return of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662 reopened the possibility that it could be employed.

that stand out as different, five are children born into the Woodman family, possibly indicating that this family had been particularly affronted by the rite of baptism as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer[137] - by having their children registered as births rather than baptisms, the parents would have signalled their belief that the old, 'Papist' rites had been overturned. Exceptions in a similar vein occurred in the Surrey parishes of Ash, Chiddingfold, Mortlake and Ockley.[138] In Hampshire, parishioners from only one parish appear to display similar disapproval of the rites of the Prayer Book, whilst on the Isle of Wight similar exceptions to the norm occurred in two parishes.[139]

By way of contrast, a few parishes see records change in 1653 from 'baptized' to 'borne', with some parishioners appearing to state their allegiance to the Prayer Book by having their child registered as baptized. This occurred in Hampshire at Alverstoke, and in Surrey at Seale and Witley.[140] In one parish, the records note that several baptisms in the late 1640s occurred in private houses - unless the children concerned were believed to be close to death, this is almost certainly a sign of dissatisfaction with the Directory of Worship, and supports the opinion that noting baptisms in parish registers could indicate some support for the old rites.[141]

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[137] SHS P30/1/2. It is unlikely that the family would have taken umbrage at the rite of baptism itself, only the ways in which the rite was to be celebrated in the Prayer Book. See also fn.136.

[138] SHS AS/1/1-2, CHID/1/1, 2397/1/1, OCK/1/1.

[139] Hambledon, HRO 46M69/PR1; St. Helens and Thorley, IWRO ST.H/REG/COM/1, THOR/REG/COM/1.

[140] PCRO CHU42/14/1; SHS SEA/1/1, WIT/1/1.

[141] St. Thomas's, Southwark, LMA P71/TMS/1358A. As there are no other entries in the register for private baptism, it is unlikely that these examples were the result of poorly children, as similar entries would be expected in other years if this was the case.

Overall, examination of the parish registers of the Winchester diocese draws some interesting results. In the Hampshire part of the diocese, nineteen out of ninety nine parishes (19%) for which sufficient records survive altered the method of registration between 1653 and 1660/1662. In Surrey the figure rises to thirty one out of seventy seven (41%), and on the Isle of Wight the proportion is even higher, with nine out of fourteen parishes (64%) altering the way in which births were recorded.[142] In many ways these figures show similar differences between the areas of the diocese to those found when the erection of communion rails was examined, supporting the theory that Surrey and the Isle of Wight were more puritan in their outlook than Hampshire.

These conclusions have to treated with caution. In some parishes there was almost certainly a degree of inertia amongst the people charged with making entries into the registers - elected 'registers' who were more often than not the incumbent or parish clerk, who had made the entries before the Act was passed. The changes were also mainly bureaucratic, and as such do not necessarily display underlying theological or cultural beliefs. Mildon certainly simplified the position when it was noted that 'at All Saints', Southampton...the Puritan Nathaniel Robinson ministered, [and] births were recorded but at Holyrood the Anglican Bernard...registered baptisms'.[143] However, the examples of parishes where parishioners appear to have stood out against the prevailing tenor of the parish

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[142]. In these figures I have discounted parishes for which only a handful of entries occur during the period in question, and also three parishes that do not fall within any of the above categories. These three parishes, all in Hampshire, changed their methods of recording in 1648, significantly earlier than the Act was introduced . HRO 6M77/PR1 (Eversley), 83M82/PR1 (Weston Patrick), 13M67/PR1 (Wherwell).

[143]. Mildon, p.335.

show some tentative links between bureaucracy and local practice can be drawn, links which appear to support the idea that broad (though by no means complete) differences existed between Hampshire, Surrey and the Isle of Wight.[144]

It thus appears that the Book of Common Prayer - and the rites inherent in it - did retain the support of some of the population. In some cases, such as that of Nicholas Preston in Winchester,[145] this occurred despite the attempts of suppression by the authorities after the Civil War. As such, it is important to note that the continued use of the Book of Common Prayer was noticed at the time, and in 1652 Richard Major of Hursley noted that 'Ceremonies and Superstitious vanities prescribed in the booke called the booke of Common prayer...have ben often inhibited, and yet in many places [are] ever reteined'.[146]

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[144]. I hope to develop the ideas put forward in this discussion shortly.

[145]. above, p.105.

[146]. BL Add Mss 24861, folio 72v. My emphasis.

CHAPTER TWO

The liturgy

It was seen at the end of the last chapter that Richard Major noted in 1652 that, whilst the 'formes, Ceremonies and Superstitious vanities prescribed in the booke called the Booke of Comon Prayer' had been officially proscribed by Parliament, they were in 'many places ever reteined'.[1] About four years later,[2] Major noted that Nicholas Preston, previously removed from St. Michael's, Kingsgate (Winchester), for continued use of the Book of Common Prayer, had 'againe taken up ye boldnes to himself by Encouragement of ye same disaffected party as before, & in ye same place as formerly, to sett up againe their constant publike meetings...'. Major went on to state that, because of this, 'Episcopall Ceremoniall superstitions...are now againe by his preaching and practice received[,] people hardened in them, &...a wide doore opened to superstition & prophanes...'.[3]

The fact that Richard Major noted that these (in his view, superstitious) ceremonies had been in many places retained, despite the fact that they were strictly illegal, shows that there were sections of the population which had taken the Book of Common Prayer to heart, and felt a strong adherence to it. This is something which has been studied in some detail by Judith Maltby, particularly with regard to Cheshire, but in a way which opens up new avenues for research across the country.[4] The Book of Common Prayer was, for the general population,

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[1] . BL Add Mss 24861, fol.72v.

[2] . ibid. Undated petition, but appearing after a folio dated 1656.

[3] . ibid., fols.113v-114r.

[4] . J.Maltby 'Approaches to the Study of Religious Conformity in late Elizabethan and early Stuart

the essence of their religious instruction. Attendance at divine service was enforced upon all parishioners every Sunday, sermons were to be preached at least once a month, and the sacrament was to be distributed regularly. Encompassed within the pages of the Prayer Book were the fundamental elements of faith, and it was from these essentials that the population was to take succour and support during their time on earth, and looked in hope to the promise of life everlasting after death.

Historical research of the past thirty years has made it increasingly apparent that, doctrinally, 'the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean church was a predominantly Calvinist church',[5] until Laudianism and English Arminianism burst onto the scene and disrupted this consensus.[6] Whilst it cannot be denied that there was a large number of Calvinistically inclined people within the church, it seems improbable that the seismic shift which occurred when Charles and Laud allied themselves in order to enforce a 'new' order upon the church cannot have had some precedent in the country beforehand. Later debate on the subject has, indeed, hinted that this may well be the case.[7]

The prominence of Calvinism within the church at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century relies, to a large extent, on the printed material which

England, with special reference to Cheshire and the diocese of Lincoln' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991), Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England (Cambridge, 1998).

[5] . C.Haigh 'The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', History, vol.85, no.280 (October, 2000), p.577.

[6] . See, for example, P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), N.Tyacke Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640 (Oxford, 1987).

[7] . For example, P.White Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge, 1992).

survives, and this will, of necessity, produce an incomplete, somewhat top-heavy

view of the church at the time. As Peter Lake has acknowledged, in the debate

over the doctrine of the church, 'we are concerned...with the opinions of an

educated elite'.[8] Similarly, Nicholas Tyacke has stated that 'by the 1590s

Calvinism was dominant in the highest reaches of the established church'.[9] He also

acknowledged that there were dissenters from this view:

> There had always been English dissenters from
> Calvinism. The difference, however, between the
> anti-Calvinist challenges of the 1590s and that of the
> 1620s is that on the first occasion Calvinism
> remained firmly in the saddle, whereas at the second
> attempt it was toppled.[10]

This is an important statement. What were the reasons for the different outcome

in the 1620s? The debate in the 1590s had largely been conducted around the

doctrinal issues, culminating in the Lambeth Articles, and was thus largely

detached from the general population. In contrast, developments during the 1620s

had been less specific, with more emphasis upon the style of worship, and thus the

laity was more involved: the debate was therefore much more open. Much of this

would have resulted from the acceptance of the Prayer Book over time, which had

become 'a settled habit...[with] an interest in the externals of worship coming to

be shared by clergy an laity in many local communities'.[11] With this in mind, the

final sentence of Peter White's investigation becomes intrinsic to the nature of the

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[8] . P.Lake 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', Past and Present, vol.114 (1987), pp.33-34.

[9] . N.Tyacke 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, vol.115 (1987), p.202.

[10]. ibid., p.207.

[11]. P.White 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered: A Rejoinder', p.219.

debate: 'The religious tensions of 1642 had little to do with the doctrine of predestination'.[12] If, as Lake has stated, the intellectual élite are to be the focus of study, then predestination, and the intricacies of theological debate, should be the areas under discussion. If, however, an attempt is to be made to interpret the wider picture, and the opinions of those who were not in the educated élite, then the way in which worship was to be conducted may be of far greater importance.[13] For that reason, the way in which the liturgy was performed has to be investigated in order to understand where the differences lay.

To examine the development of the liturgy into the form which was prescribed in the Prayer Book, it is first necessary to understand the nature of the English Reformation, and the developments which had occurred since the break with Rome, before attempting to return to the local level to discover the ways in which worship was followed, and what controversies there were in the parishes.

The central act of the Prayer Book liturgy was the distribution of the bread and wine during the communion service, and this underwent several changes in the early years of the English Reformation. The first Edwardian prayer Book of 1549 was extremely conservative in the words spoken at the time of distribution:

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[12]. P.White Predestination, Policy and Polemic, p.312.

[13]. This idea supports that put forward recently by Judith Maltby that 'in the localities such abstract theological disputes may have seemed remote and irrelevant whereas the familiar words of the liturgy which gave shape to the day, the week and the year, and which accompanied the rites of birth, coupling and death were anything but abstract. This...reflects a different set of theological and pastoral priorities about the role and purpose of the church...'. J.Maltby Prayer Book and People, p.106.

> The body of our Lord Iesus Christe which was
> shed for thee, preserve thy bodye and soule unto
> everlasting lyfe...
> The blood of our Lord Iesus Christe whiche was
> shed for thee, preserve thy bodye and soule vnto
> everlastynge lyfe...[14]

There remains an inherently conservative, if not Catholic, element to this wording of the distribution; its emphasis on 'the body' and 'the blood' and the capacity for the communicant to be saved through these elements being strongly reminiscent of the Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Indeed, the whole service, as it was presented in this first version, was basically a simple translation of the Catholic Mass, and the title of the service in the book had the appendage 'commonly called the Mass'.[15] As Diarmaid MacCulloch has recently said, 'there was enough scope for traditionalist ceremony in the book...to enable its eucharist to be dressed up as something very like the old mass by those who wanted to'.[16] By the time of the 1552 revision, a much more Reformed attitude was being taken towards the bread and wine:

> Take and eat this, in remembraunce that Christe
> died for thee, and feede on him in thy heart by faith,
> with thankes geuing...
> Drinke this in remembraunce that Christes bloud
> was shed for thee, and be thankfull...[17]

These statements have a much more symbolic meaning. There is no mention of the body of Christ, and his blood is only mentioned in terms of remembrance; the

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[14]. F.E.Brightman The English Rite (2 volumes, 1921), vol.ii, p.700.

[15]. ibid., p.638.

[16]. D.MacCulloch Tudor Church Militant (1999), p.89.

[17]. F.E.Brightman The English Rite, vol.ii, p.701.

distribution is thus based wholly on the communion as a memorial of the Last Supper, and thus the elements have no power whatsoever. The nearest either communication gets to any capacity in either the bread or wine is 'and feede on him in thy heart by faith', but it is quite clear that this is a spiritual achievement of the recipient rather than a physical capability (tangible or intangible) of the elements.

By the time of the 1559 Prayer Book, England had undergone the trauma of the Marian reaction, and therefore it is not surprising that a degree of compromise can be seen in the wording of the distribution. It was this version that was used during the early Stuart period, and it is thus crucial in understanding the theology of the Eucharist at that time. The 1559 version combined the 1549 and 1552 statements:

> The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given up for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in they heart by faith, with thanksgiving...
> The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life: and drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful...[18]

This was a compromise in more ways than theological. In an detailed examination of the development of the Prayer Book during this period, Norman Jones has shown that political infighting and factionalism played an important part in the formulation of the Book.[19] Concessions to Catholics, such as taking the title 'governor' rather than 'supreme head' and altering the words of distribution

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[18]. J.E.Booty (ed.) The Book of Common Prayer 1559 (1976), p.264.
[19]. N.Jones Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559 (1982).

allowed Elizabeth to introduce a variation upon the 1552 book in the face of strong Catholic opposition from the Lords.[20]

The doctrine of the Eucharist had thus swung from a pseudo-Catholic form which had lingering suspicions of transubstantiation to a Reformed commemoration; the Elizabethan Settlement produced an inexact position which 'kept the peace by avoiding precise and divisive definitions'.[21] This position would never satisfy certain elements of the population, showing that consensus about doctrinal matters was far from complete, and probably (as the wording was a compromise) impossible to achieve completely.

In considering the different attitudes taken towards the Eucharist, there were two main areas of debate: whether there was any sacrificial element in the rite, and the problem of the presence of Christ. Before examining the different opinions which were put forward it is necessary to briefly summarise the latter of these two problems, as it was central to post-Reformation thought.

Late medieval theology had been largely influenced by Aristotle's philosophy of the nature of being. Existence was divided into two elements - the substance and the accident. The accidental element of being was the visible sign, which man could actually see, and which did not change - in the Mass this was tangibly the bread and wine. The substance of the bread and wine, however, the inner elements from which it was actually made, were removed during the act of consecration, and replaced with the substance of Christ (as this was the substance of Christ, his

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[20]. N.Jones Faith by Statute, p.188.
[21]. ibid., p.188.

physical body and blood were not discernible). Luther maintained this 'real presence' of Christ was in the sacrament, but altered the understanding so that the substance of Christ was joined to the substance of the elements - according to this theory of consubstantiation, 'both the bread of the offering and the body of Christ were "really", essentially present after consecration'.[22] Christ was thus really present <u>with</u> the bread and wine rather than <u>in</u> them.

This conservative view contrasted with an extreme Protestant view enunciated by Ulrich Zwingli, who 'regarded the consecrated elements as merely symbols of the body and blood of Christ...[he] explained the Eucharist as a commemoration'.[23] Calvin's position was more akin to that of Luther than Zwingli, admitting that there was a presence, but, importantly, the belief was that it was spiritual rather than real - hence the bread and wine remained the same at all times, and became conduits through which the spirit of Christ acted. This spiritual presence had effectively become the official line of the Church of England in 1549, when Thomas Cranmer affirmed 'a spiritual eucharistic presence [which was] granted by grace only to the elect believer'.[24] As will be seen, however, debate about the nature of the presence - whether it was in, with, or through the bread and wine - remained a contentious matter in the seventeenth century.[25]

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[22]. F.Fernández-Armesto & D.Wilson <u>Reformation: Christianity and the World 1500-2000</u>(1996), p.73.

[23]. D.Stone <u>A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist</u> (2 volumes, 1909), vol.ii, p.38.

[24]. D.MacCulloch <u>Tudor Church Militant</u>, p.92.

[25]. I am grateful to Rev. Clive Hillman for guidance on this matter. It is impossible to discuss the particulars of Eucharistic doctrine in such a small space. Further examination of the history of changes in Eucharistic thought can be seen in G. Macy 'The doctrine of transubstantiation in the Middle Ages', <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, vol.45 (1994), pp. 11-41, J.N.Backhuizen van den Brink, 'Ratramn's eucharistic doctrine and its influence in 16th century England', in G.J.Cuming

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The debate over the communion service was not confined to the nature of the presence of Christ within it. Intrinsically linked with discussions about the presence was the debate about whether or not there was a sacrificial element to the rite, and several clergymen in the diocese put forward their views on the matter. The sacrificial element, as was noted by Lancelot Andrewes, had been based upon the idea that 'Christ's death did succeed to the Sacrifices of the Old Testament'.[26] The problem arose as to whether the sacrifice was repeated within the church at the time of the Eucharist. George Hakewill, the archdeacon of Surrey, certainly thought not:

> That he [Jesus] consecrated the Elements of bread and wine to a mysticall use...we willingly grant, but that at his last Supper he either offered Sacrifice himself, or gave them [the Apostles] commission so to do, that as yet rests to be proved.[27]

In contrast, Lancelot Andrewes argued that there was little difference between the Church of England and Rome over the presence of a sacrificial element in the rite. Writing against the Roman church during his time as bishop of Winchester, he noted that 'the Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a

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(ed.), Studies in Church History, vol.2 (1965), pp.54-77, P.N. Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist (1965, revised 1992). I am grateful to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch for information about these publications.

[26]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes (11 Volumes, Oxford, 1851-54), vol.xi, p.20.

[27]. G.Hakewill A Dissertation with Dr Heylyn: Touching the Pretended Sacrifice in the Eucharist (1641). BL Thomason Tracts E. 157 (5), p.20.

Sacrament, and as a <u>Sacrifice</u>'.[28] Similarly, in a sermon preached in Winchester

Cathedral in 1624, John Gumbledon emphasized the sacrificial element in the rite:

> Wee are not now charged to offer vp either Beasts
> or Birdes, and yet there still remaines a Sacrifice to
> be offered vp; namely...a sacrifice of
> Thanksgiving...every man must prepare to offer up
> this sacrifice.[29]

Although Gumbledon is here talking of an internal sacrifice on the part of the

communicant, admitting any sacrificial facet to the Eucharist was contentious, and

unleashed the far more controversial subject of presence within the elements. It

has already been seen that the words of distribution attempted to avoid the

extremes of carnal presence and pure symbolism,[30] but this did not quell

discussion of the subject.

George Widley, a minister at Portsmouth in the early years of the century took

the Reformed view that the bread and wine were little more than symbolic. In his

<u>Doctrine of the Sabbath</u> of 1604, he adheres strongly to this position, stating that

'the bread and wine have no more holinesse in them, of themselves, than any other

bread and wine'.[31] For Widley the only way in which the elements were holy was

that they were put to a holy use. The central act of the communion was the faithful

Christian's remembrance of Christ's death; as such 'the external eucharistic rite

and particularly the elements [were] superfluous, for the same action [could] take

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[28]. J.Bliss (ed.) <u>The Works of Lancelot Andrewes</u>, vol.xi, p.19.

[29]. J.Gumbledon <u>Three Sermons Preached in Severall Places</u> (1627).

[30]. Above, pp.113-116.

[31]. G.Widley <u>The Doctrine of the Sabbath, handled in four severall books or treatises</u> (1604), p.120.

place without them'.[32] This view of the sacrament as a memorial of Christ's

passion, with little or no effect upon the recipient, was indicative of the more

extreme forms of Protestantism, but it has also become associated with some of

the more Puritan sections of the English church. It is noteworthy, therefore, that in

early 1608 Widley was suspended from executing any ecclesiastical function

because of his refusal to 'conforme him selfe in the function of his ministrie

according to the forme of the booke of common praier'.[33]

The view taken by Widley was also the view of George Hakewill, that in during

the communion service 'we doe...Spiritually and by Faith feed on him in our

hearts, eating and drinking in remembrance that CHRIST dyed and shed his Blood

for us'. This emphasis upon the recipient's act of remembrance as the means

through which the Spirit worked was not held by all members of the clergy.

Furthermore, it only partially fulfilled Calvin's description of the way in which the

sacrament worked:

> ...the only function divinely imparted to them is to
> attest and ratify for us God's good will toward us.
> And they are of <u>no further benefit</u> unless the Holy
> Spirit accompanies them.[34]

Widley and Hakewill thus see remembrance, or ratification of God's covenant,

as the main element of the Eucharist. An alternative view of the sacrament was

that, rather than being predominantly effective through remembrance, the Spirit

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[32]. C.J.Cocksworth <u>Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England</u> (Cambridge, 1993), p.198.

[33]. HRO 21M65/C1/28, fol.26v.

[34]. J.T.McNeill (ed.) <u>Calvin's Institutes of Christian Religion</u> (2 volumes, <u>Library of Christian Classics</u>, volumes 20, 21, 1961), vol.ii, pp.1292-1293. My emphasis.

worked effectively within the elements, a view which was more in keeping with Calvin's statement, and which necessitated some sort of presence within the bread and wine.

The view that there was a presence within the sacraments was the opinion of Edward Reynolds, the future bishop of Norwich, who had been educated at the Free Grammar School in Southampton, although he would appear to go further than Calvin in his acceptance of the idea. Whilst a student at Oxford, he produced his first theological tract, although it was not printed until 1638. In this, he admits that there is a real presence in the bread and wine:

> We take this Cup of salvation, this bread of life,
> wherein we doe not only taste how gracious the Lord
> is, but doe eat and drink the Lord himselfe.[35]

Furthermore:

> A reall Presence of Christ wee acknowledge...the
> maine end of the Sacrament...is to unite the faithfull
> unto Christ, to which union there must of necessity
> be a Presence of Christ by means of the sacrament,
> which is the instrument of that union.[36]

This view that there was a real presence of Christ in the sacrament was, as Diarmaid McCullough has shown, never popular in the period of the English Reformation, and there was always 'a scepticism about the idea of real presence in the eucharistic elements':[37] the writing of Reynolds, however, shows that there was some support for it during the period in question. More akin to Calvin's

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[35]. E.Reynolds Meditations on the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Last Supper (1638), p.76.

[36]. ibid., p.95.

[37]. D.MacCullough The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603 (Basingstoke, 1990), p.67.

teachings was the opinion that the bread and wine acted as conduits through which

the Holy Spirit could embolden the elect Christian - hence his qualification noted

above. If, as the evidence of Reynolds suggests, there was a body of opinion which

held that there was a real presence within the elements, then Calvin's opinion that

the sacraments 'do not bestow any grace of themselves'[38] was not universally held

in the Church of England. To Reynolds the presence which was to be found in the

sacrament was a spiritual one, rather than a carnal one (which would, of course, be

tantamount to the Popish doctrine of transubstantiation), but it was a spiritual

presence which worked with the bread and wine rather than something which used

the elements as a tool through which it could be made effective.

If there was a presence within the elements, which (according to the Book of

Common Prayer) were to be ordinary bread and wine, then there had to be a point

in the service at which a change occurred. It has been seen that George Widley

was of the opinion that the bread and wine were no different from ordinary bread

and wine, and therefore no change occurred during the service.[39] Reynolds,

disagreed:

> These elements though physically the same which
> are used at our owne tables, yet in the vertue of that
> holy Consecration...they are made instruments of
> exhibiting, and the seales of ascertaining Gods
> covenant of grace unto us...and are to be desired
> with so farre distant an affection from the other that
> they are common, as Heaven is to Earth.[40]

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[38]. J.T.McNeill (ed.) Calvin's Institutes..., vol.ii, p.1293.

[39]. above, p.119.

[40]. E.Reynolds Meditations on the Holy Sacrament..., pp.150-151.

As the elements 'exhibited' Christ, Reynolds here appears to be asserting that the bread and wine were more than channels of grace. Reynolds also opens up another area from which the efficacy of the sacraments needs to be considered - the act of consecration. The term consecration had been studiously avoided when the Prayer Book was drafted, to remove the possibility that the laity would believe that the elements were then altered, which could lead them back to transubstantiation and Roman errors. This desire to remove such possibilities from the service was reflected in the wording of the rite, and in 1552 the phrase 'these holy mysteries' was removed 'to elude associating the elements with the Body and Blood'.[41] Reynolds's use of the term consecration shows that, in his opinion, something did happen at this point of the service.

There is also some evidence from the parish level to show that this opinion was held by others. The act of consecration was accompanied in the pre-Reformation and Catholic churches by the ringing of the Sanctus Bell, an aural reminder to the congregation of the importance of the moment. In the vast majority of churches the Sanctus Bell had been taken away, but there a few cases of its retention within the diocese. At Sherfield-on-Loddon a Sanctus Bell was given to the parish in 1574, and 'we can therefore infer that Sherfield people of those days were only half weaned from Roman ways or else were consciously keeping alive the church traditions of their upbringing'.[42] This does appear to be an isolated example of such a tradition being retained, which is not surprising, as the use of Sanctus bells

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[41]. E.C.Ratcliff 'The English Usage of Eucharistic Consecration 1548-1662', Theology, vol.60 (1957), p.235.

[42]. From a draft guide to Sherfield-on-Loddon church. I am grateful to Rev. James Anderson for supplying me with this draft.

was technically illegal. In the 1547 Injunctions it was made clear that the use of bells during service time 'was to be "utterly forborne", "except one bell...to be rung or knolled before the sermon"'.[43] Despite this, the early seventeenth century saw some parishes expend money on new Sanctus Bells, as at Woking in 1631, which may indicate that there was a move towards a more sacramentally based rite in these parishes at the time.[44] Whilst it is possible that there was no actual difference between a normal church bell and the Sanctus bell - the name may have been retained and applied to one of the other bells after the Sanctus bell itself had been removed - the very use of the term indicates a degree of inertia and traditionalism which had not been quelled by the changes of the previous century.[45] Such traditionalism and inertia, allied with the different opinions of clerics discussed earlier,[46] show that different approaches were taken towards the sacrament, which did not necessarily parallel theological divisions; such different approaches may be reflected in local practice. With this in mind, an examination of the frequency with which communion was celebrated will now be undertaken, to see whether or not there was a similar diversity of opinion.

Until recently it had become something of an orthodoxy to assume that despite the Reformation participation in the communion service was infrequent. Officially communion was to be celebrated at least three times a year, but it has been stated

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[43]. E.Duffy The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580 (1992), p.452.

[44]. The change at Woking was not due to a change of incumbent, as the living was held by George Woodward from 1626 to 1637. CUL Add Mss 6738.

[45]. The term could thus be one of the 'passive reminders of that discredited theology'. J.Morrill 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution', in T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing (2001), p.26.

[46]. above, pp.118-123.

that 'the traditional medieval habit of only communicating once a year, usually at Easter, widely persisted'.[47] The implication of this is that frequent communion was a practice which was followed by a small minority. To use Conrad Russell's explanation:

> The stress on the sacraments rather than preaching...[belonged to] a lonely and often submerged group, not of the mainstream of Elizabethan England.[48]

According to this historiographical tradition, the result of this was that the Caroline period saw a marked increase in emphasis upon the sacrament, with 'great weight placed on prayer and sacraments rather than preaching'.[49] As with the formation of the liturgy, a wider context has to be taken when considering whether the frequency of communion can increase our understanding of the early Stuart church.

Luther's ideal at the time of the European Reformation was that communion would be taken weekly, in a formal ceremony which emphasized the mystery of the presence of God. Although more antagonistic to the ceremony of the sacrament, Calvin held a similar belief with regard to the frequency of communion, seeing it as an opportunity for the Communion of Saints to grow as a fellowship. The ideal remained weekly participation, but over time this was watered down, and the Genevan Councils decided that quarterly communion was

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[47]. D.MacCullough The Later Reformation..., p.139.
[48]. C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1990), p.93.
[49]. K.Fincham Prelate as Pastor (Oxford, 1990), p.235.

sufficient.[50] This formula was strictly observed in the Channel Islands, where the discipline ordained that

> The holy supper of our Lord Jesus Christ shalbe celebrated fower times in the yeare at Easter or at the first Lords day of Aprill, the first Lords daye of July, the first Lords daye of October and the first Lords daye of January.[51]

This strict cycle of communion was reinforced by the meetings of the Colloquy of each island, which were to happen 'fower times in the yeare, ten days before every communion'.[52] No doubt this meeting of the Colloquy also served to remind the population that a communion was shortly to take place.

The case in England, however, was different. Officially a similar situation occurred, with communion supposed to be taken three times a year (Canon 21).[53] There was no excuse for the laity not knowing about the celebration, as the minister was to announce the communion a week beforehand, and the parishioners were to 'accept and obey' the ministers exhortation, 'under the penalty and danger of law' (Canon 22).[54] The fact that failure to attend communion would be followed up by the Consistory Court, with the possibility of fines as a result, meant that adherence to the minister's appeal would be the norm (although there are, of course, citations at the Consistory Court throughout the period for

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[50]. H.Höpfl The Christian Polity of John Calvin (Cambridge, 1982), p.62.

[51]. Huntington Library EL 1897.

[52]. ibid.

[53]. G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.291.

[54]. ibid., p.293.

non-attendance). The number of times a communion was held in a parish thus gives some idea as to the frequency of communion at the time.

The amounts which were spent on bread and wine for the communion were recorded in the churchwardens' accounts for each parish.[55] Investigation of the Winchester diocese shows that, despite the impression of a lack of celebrations which has evolved within some historical circles,[56] some parishes held communions as frequently as was required by the Canons, or even slightly more frequently. In Hampshire the parishes of Bramley, Chawton, Headbourne Worthy, Holdenhurst, North Waltham and South Warnborough conform to this pattern, as does the parish of Shorwell on the Isle of Wight.[57] A similar situation can be found in Surrey in the parishes of Buckland, Crondall and Weybridge.[58]

In some parishes, however, there was a distinct lack of communions during the year. These tended to be the rural parishes, such as Herriard and Durley, but the situation in the latter changed, as will be seen shortly.[59] More populous parishes saw much more frequent communions, such as at Lambeth, Newport, Portsea, and St. Lawrence (Southampton), where there were often eight communions a year.[60] There were clearly different attitudes being taken towards frequency of

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[55]. The accounts for the diocese of Winchester, however, are less accurate with regard to money paid out for the bread and wine than they are for other expenses. Sometimes each and every communion is noted; at other times one entry covers the whole year. Whilst this makes quantification difficult, tentative conclusions can be drawn as increases in annual totals is likely to reflect a proportionate rise in the number of communions.

[56]. see above, pp.124-125.

[57]. HRO 63M70/PW1, 1M70/PW1, 21M62/PW2, 9M75/PW1, 41M64/PW1, 70M76/PW1. IWRO SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[58]. SHS 2998/3/2, CRON/6/2, 2384/3/1.

[59]. HRO 44M69/J9/22, 97M62/PW3.

[60]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens Accounts 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610', Parts II and III, Surrey Record Society vol.xlii, xliv (1941, 1943); IWRO NPT/PR/42-85; PCRO CHU2/3/6; SCA PR4/2/1.

communion depending upon the parish; although some more populous parishes held more communions than less populous ones - possibly as a result of logistical problems[61] - no real division can be discerned which could be explained by distinctive theological camps. This pattern matches closely that proposed in a recent article by Arnold Hunt, who argues that historians have erroneously seen a conflict between Laudians and Puritans over the need for frequent communion which simply did not exist.[62] Dr. Hunt's article is a welcome shift in the discussion over the rôle of the sacrament in the early Stuart church: his examination of printed material of the time shows that polemical appeals for more frequent participation crossed any theological divide, but care should be taken lest historians throw the proverbial baby out with the bath water.

Arnold Hunt notes in his article that 'the arrival of Lancelot Andrewes at St Giles, Cripplegate seems to have coincided with a sudden increase in expenditure on bread and wine',[63] but then rejects Kenneth Fincham's idea that this could be seen as part of a move by Andrewes to increase respect for the sacrament. Whatever the explanation, a similar pattern is evident in other parishes during the 1620s and 1630s. The rural parish of Durley (Hampshire) only held a communion at Easter in 1618; there were two celebrations in 1619, and by 1624 there is evidence of five communions.[64] In the Surrey parish of Putney, bi-monthly

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[61]. Jeremy Boulton has concluded that 'rural and urban parishes deliberately staggered communion attendance for administrative reasons'. J.P.Boulton 'The Social and Economic Structure of Southwark in the Early Seventeenth Century, with special reference to the Boroughside district of the parish of St Saviour's, Southwark' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1983), p.341.

[62]. A.Hunt 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', Past and Present, vol.161 (1998), pp.39-83.

[63]. ibid., p.51.

[64]. HRO 97M82/PW3.

communions were held in the 1620s, but these became monthly during the 1630s, and at Crondall, also in Surrey, there were twice as many celebrations in the 1640s as there had been in the 1620s.[65] The increase which can be seen in the years before the Civil War is reflected in some parishes by a decrease during the Interregnum, such as occurred at Portsea (Hampshire), where the norm of eight or nine communions in the 1630s fell to just one or two in the 1650s.[66] Similar results have been found in Kent, where an 'underlying trend shows a steadily increasing expenditure during this period [1600-1640],' a trend that was only halted by the Civil War.[67] A decline ensued, and 'at no time during the Interregnum or for the rest of the century can a monthly communion be found in any parish in Kent'.[68]

It is, of course, possible that such increases occurred as a result of a new incumbent, but the Winchester diocese shows that this was not always the case. At Durley there was only one incumbent, Thomas Frier, between 1598 and 1639, so the increase was not a result of a new cleric. At Crondall a change of incumbent may have influenced the frequency, as Lorkin Linely had replaced Raphael Reinger as parish priest in 1630. Similarly, the arrival of a new incumbent may have been responsible for the decline in celebrations at Portsea, as the incumbency changed in 1601, 1635, 1641 and 1642. The 1635 change did not coincide with any significant alteration, but those of the early 1640s did, with the nine

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[65]. LMA P95/MRY1/413; SHS CRON/6/2.

[66]. PCRO CHU2/3/6.

[67]. V.A.Hitchman 'Aspects of Parochial Religion in Seventeenth Century Kent: The Evidence of the Churchwardens, Accounts' (MA, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), pp.192, 196.

[68]. ibid., p.198.

celebrations held in 1637 falling to approximately half that number in the early 1640s.[69]

Combining both printed material and the evidence from the parishes (as Arnold Hunt has also done), an interesting situation can be seen. Whilst there is some evidence to uphold the historiographical tradition of a split between two factions, it would appear that there was also a strong body of opinion, possibly a majority, which crossed this divide. As such, this is comparable with the situation over the communion table discussed in the last chapter, where a traditional divide can be seen, but this division is compromised by a body of opinion which traverses it.[70] Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to ascertain whether increases in the frequency of communion coincided with increased expenditure on the trappings of the communion table discussed previously.[71]

To focus too heavily on the communion, though, would be an error, and one into which many historians have fallen. Although the frequency of communion appears to have been greater than might be expected, and moves to increase frequency may have been introduced in some parishes, the service was not the mainstay of religious life. For this, one needs to look at the services of morning

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[69]. I have been unable to establish the sequence of incumbents for Putney. A manuscript in Cambridge University library (additional 6738) lists Surrey incumbents since the Reformation, but Putney has been omitted for some reason. Furthermore, the bishop's register for Andrewes's time as bishop is not extant; it would be inappropriate to attempt to ascertain the succession of incumbents during the period without some way of filling this gap. Unfortunately, a fire destroyed the church at Putney in 1973, so the vicar's board, which listed all incumbents, cannot be consulted.

[70]. The body which crossed the divide over the table was, however, smaller in size than that which crossed the divide over frequency of communion.

[71]. above, pp.84-87.

and evening prayer, which occurred every week, and which all parishioners were expected to attend.

The change from Catholicism to Protestantism had not changed the form of morning and evening prayer significantly, as the main doctrines over which there was debate occurred in the communion. There were, however, certain aspects of the service, mainly concerning the style in which it was to be conducted, that did emerge as areas of contention.

One of these areas was the physical reverence which was to be undertaken in the service, a prime example being the Creed. In the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the Creed was only to be said by the minister - the conservative nature of this book hereby places much more emphasis upon the position of the priest than many Protestants would have liked. By the time of the 1552 book, however, a more Reformed approach was taken, and all were to say the Creed, although the manner in which it was said still caused some disquiet. The book stated:

> Then shalbe sayd the Crede, by the Minister and
> the people, standinge.[72]

Similarly, it was stated in the Canons of 1604 that, so that 'decency and order' could be followed, 'all manner of persons...shall stand up at the saying of the belief...' (Canon 18).[73]

The fact that people were to stand up at the saying of the Creed was disliked by some members of the church, who refused to do so. This truculence does not,

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[72]. F.E.Brightman The English Rite, vol.i, p.145.
[73]. G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons, p.287.

however, appear to have been widespread within the Winchester diocese. At Alton in 1619, four parishioners were presented 'for not standing upp at the sayinge of the Creede', a solitary example for such a failing within the diocese.[74] The respect which was accorded to the Creed infused the population, and irreverence towards the basic tenets of faith was marked in the diocese by its absence.[75]

In the service of Evening Prayer there was an additional statement of faith to be pronounced upon feast days;[76] this was the Quicunque Vult, which contains statements which fail to adhere to the strict predestinarian theology which has been regarded as prevalent in the Church of England at the time. Towards the end of the Quicunque Vult, these proclamations occur:

> At...[the second] coming all men shall rise again with their bodies: and shall give account of their own works.
> And they that have done good, shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.
> This is the catholic [universal] faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.[77]

The belief stated here, on the great feast days of the church (which, as feast days, would probably have held more import in the public mind), clearly shows

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[74]. HRO 21M65/C1/33.

[75]. It is possible that other parishes tolerated such actions without recourse to the courts, and in many cases it is probably true to say that 'cases arise only when co-operation and consensus have broken down', J.Maltby Prayer Book and People, p.81. The parishioners at Alton could well have been particularly intransigent in their attitude, and only presented to the court after all other attempts at persuasion had proved unsuccessful. Such stubborn resistance, however, would appear to be rare in the Winchester diocese.

[76]. The feast days on which this was to be observed are listed in the book as Christmas, Epiphany, St. Matthias, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, St. John the Baptist, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Simon and St. Jude, St. Andrew and Trinity Sunday.

[77]. J.E.Booty (ed.) The Book of Common Prayer 1559, p.67.

that man could influence his fate. Whilst the emphasis upon good works had certainly been diminished since the break with Rome, it cannot be said that it was totally removed. Lancelot Andrewes showed that an alternative viewpoint could be taken, declaring that 'we hold good works as necessary to Salvation and that faith, without them, saveth not'.[78] The presence of the Quicunque Vult in the Prayer Book shows that such an opinion could be construed as consistent with the doctrine of the Church of England. As such, it shows that the Church of England was not fully reformed, and thus fuelled the actions of those within the church who wished to achieve a more Godly settlement.

The saying of the Creed was not the only time during the service when it was thought appropriate to stand. Standing was also encouraged during the saying of the Gloria Patri. This doxology appeared on several occasions during the service, and standing when it was said had become a common practice. Unlike standing at the statement of the Creed, however, it was not enjoined in any Canon, nor in the Book of Common Prayer, so it was a matter of indifference, and the objections to it had a more substantial basis. Attempts to enforce it on a more regular basis were made, and show (as in the altar controversy) the conviction of the church authorities that the cathedral churches, and the chapels of the royal household, should serve as examples to parish churches. Hence it was argued that:

> Standing up at the Gloria Patri is no new
> ceremony, or gesture; it hath beene used in
> Colledges, Cathedrall Churches, and Chappells of

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[78]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.15.

> Noble Men, and some Parish Churches for a long
> time. It is a commendable custome to expresse some
> outward reverence in that Doxologie...[79]

A further aspect of worship which was unpopular with the more Puritan members of the population was the need to bow at the name of Jesus. This, promoted by Laud during his tenure of Canterbury, was seen by some as idolatrous, and therefore something to be avoided. It was, despite the objections, an observation which had been laid down in the 1604 Canons:

> ...when in time of divine service the lord Jesus shall
> be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be
> done by all persons, as it hath been accustomed;
> testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures,
> their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due
> acknowledgement that the Lord Jesus Christ is the
> only Saviour of the world.[80]

When the minister of Lambeth, Daniel Featley, appeared before the Committee for plundered Ministers in 1643, one of the charges he faced was that in a sermon he had stated 'that it was blasphemie and ignorance, to speake against the bowing at the Name of Jesus'.[81] Featley denied this; he was merely answering the accusations of a visiting preacher who accused Lambeth of being 'the most superstitious place that he ever came in'.[82] In responding to the accusation, Featley had apologised to the congregation, and it was this apology that had got him into

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[79]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash: Or the vindication of Dr. Featley, a knowne champion of the Protestant religion (1644), pp.4-5.

[80]. G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons, pp.287-289. My emphasis.

[81]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, p.1.

[82]. ibid., p.6.

trouble. He argued the case on three counts: precedence, and two illustrations of

the subtleties of the English language.

In terms of precedent, Featley appealed to the example set in recent Canons -

those brought in under Bancroft, King James and, earlier, Elizabeth. Harking back

to the early church, before Roman errors crept in, Featley used the example of St.

Jerome to show that bowing at the name of Jesus was used as far back as 390 A.D.

Featley's second argument was that the terminology had been used erroneously.

He showed that 'it could be no idolizing...idolum being derived from video, is

properly the object of the eye, not of the eare'.[83] Whilst this was probably too

precise an argument, the further exegesis which Featley provided, based upon the

intricacies of the English language, would probably have found much more

support:

> ...it is one thing to bow to the name of Jesus,
> another to bow in or at the Name of Jesus, as it is
> one thing to kneele at the Communion Table,
> another thing to kneele to the Communion
> Table...To bow to the name of Jesus...is grosse
> superstition: but to bow in or at the Name of Jesus is
> not so.[84]

Whilst it is impossible to ascertain the inner thoughts of the population

concerning this aspect of the service, it is likely that those who honoured this

stipulation were doing it for just these reasons - showing their reverence to the

Lord, through a humble posture: they did not regard it as idolatrous, whatever their

[83]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, p.6.
[84]. ibid., p.7.

opponents might say.[85] It should also be noted that the visiting preacher whose words had started this predicament had referred to Lambeth as 'the most superstitious place that he ever came in', and this displays two things. Firstly, it shows that the congregation at Lambeth had accepted the idea, and most of the congregation adhered to it; secondly, it strongly suggests that bowing at the name of Jesus had been encountered by the preacher at many places, although not to the extent which he saw there. Such bowing, although disliked by some, may have been observed more widely in the church than has previously been accepted - more local investigations of this phenomenon in other parts of the country will be needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

There were, therefore, ceremonial aspects of the regular services which, although disliked by some, were advocated and practised by others; a proportion of the population which it is difficult to enumerate, but which, if the visiting preacher at Lambeth can be believed, was larger than godly polemicists of the time would have us believe.[86] The regular services were not the only ones which held contentious elements: occasional services had their inherent problems as well.

The most important of these was that of baptism. The emergence of the Anabaptists had provoked discussion over the time at which such a rite should take place. Alexander Ross, the vicar of All Saints', Southampton, noted that 'the

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[85]. No sound Christian would have willingly committed idolatry; the argument centred around perceptions about what was, and what was not, idolatrous.

[86]. For further discussion of the way in which Godly propaganda may have coloured historians' perceptions, see J.Maltby Prayer Book and People, pp.5-19.

Anabaptist would...[not] have any Baptized, but such as are of age'.[87] Arguing

against this, Ross refers to Matthew 19:14 - 'Suffer little children, and forbid them

not to come unto me'. The advantages of infant baptism were argued more

forcefully in 1647 by William Harvey, formerly vicar of Odiham in Hampshire. In

his A Treatise concerning the baptizing of infants, Harvey refuted the Anabaptists

with seven arguments, in one noting that 'God commands that the signe of

baptisme (which is water) should be conferred upon all'.[88] In this Harvey also

touches upon the most controversial part of the baptismal rite, the use of the sign

of the cross. Harvey clearly believed that the cross was unnecessary in the

ceremony, as water was the symbol with which the child was to be marked. Water

was, to Harvey, 'a lively representation of Christ's blood, which alone 'cleanseth

us from all sins'[89] - the cross was an unnecessary popish remnant.

The use of the cross had been one of the major areas of concern when James

journeyed south into his new kingdom, and was discussed at the Hampton Court

Conference. The baptismal service was the one area of the liturgy where the use of

the cross had survived the Reformation in England, and this, along with the fact

that there was no scriptural warrant for its use in baptism, was the basis of Puritan

opposition. After the Conference an attempt was made to deal conclusively with

this problem with the 30th Canon of 1604.

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[87]. [A.Ross] Religion's Lottery, or the Churches Amazement (1642). BL Thomason Tracts E.107
(34), f.2r. Lawrence Sasek has queried the veracity of the attribution of this work to Ross, stating
that 'it appears to have been written from a point of view more appropriate to an Englishman than to
Ross', Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources 1589-1646 (1989),
p.329. However, similarities in the approach taken by Ross in his Pansebeia: or, A view of all
religions in the world (1653), especially sections 11 and 12, pp.348-452, should not be overlooked.
[88]. W.Harvey A Treatise concerning the baptizing of infants: wherein is plainly shewn the necessity
and lawfulnesse of it, by the Word of God (1647), p.3.
[89]. ibid., p.7.

This Canon claimed that the use of the cross in baptism, despite the accusations levelled against it as a remnant of Romish superstition, had a long tradition of use. Firstly it was asserted that the earliest Apostles used it as a sign: not only did they use it themselves as a sign of their faith, but they also 'signed therewith their children when they were christened, to dedicate them by that badge of service'. From this time on, the cross was used in baptism by the early church, and the 'continual and general use of the cross is evident by many testimonies of the ancient fathers'.[90] The example of the early church, before Roman errors crept in, was a common tool at that time.

This Canonical advocacy was not sufficient authorisation for some. David Cressy has asserted that 'hundreds of Elizabethan and early Stuart churchmen were presented at visitations for omitting the sign of the cross in baptism', although he does recognise that they continued to be a minority.[91] This minority is, however, so small in the Winchester diocese that it is nearly non-existent. The only case of a divine being presented was that of Richard Dyer, the curate at Basing who, in 1618, was called before the Consisitory Court because 'by report he baptized children without the signe of the crosse'.[92] Given the later adherence of Basing, especially the occupants of Basing House, to the Royalist cause during the Civil War,[93] it may be that his constant refusal had caused disquiet amongst his parishioners, who thus presented him. The fact that his presentation was 'by

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[90]. G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons, p.305.

[91]. D.Cressy Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford, 1997), p.130.

[92]. HRO 21M65/C1/32.

[93]. See G.N.Godwin The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-1645) (Southampton, 1904).

report', however, shows that the situation in the parish was not particularly clear. Whilst the presentation may well have come about as a result of Dyer's liturgical practices, it is also possible that other factors - personal animosity against him or divisions between various parishioners for example - may also have influenced the decision.

In the same year, the incumbent at Twyford had failed to baptize the child of William Newman, but this was because his wife had refused to bring the child forward for baptism, indicating that the family concerned was unhappy with the rite. Three years later it appears that the Newmans' relatives had gone to further extremes to ensure that the service was performed to their liking, as Richard Newman faced the charge that 'his child (being able to be brought to church) was christened at home in the night & as we understand by a papist priest'.[94] A similar case occurred in the Jersey parish of St. Brelade, Elie Maugier and his wife had their child baptized at home in 1637.[95] A final case of failure to have a child baptized in the parish church occurred four years later, when Susan Nampt left Guernsey to have her child christened in Lower Normandy, although this was to protect her family from shame, as the child had been born out of wedlock.[96]

The lack of examples of refusal to accept the rite as laid down by the Church suggests a strong adherence to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer within the diocese. The fact that people were presented for failing to accept the rites of

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[94]. HRO 21M65/C1/32, 21M65/C1/34. The family's argument here is not with the use of the sign of the cross, but a result of displeasure with the Church of England's theological position.

[95].+ JECR, vol.2, fol.46r. These documents are in the possession of the Greffier to the Ecclesiastical Court. I would like to express my thanks to Ken Syvret for allowing me to see a transcription of the documents, and to Helen Evans, who provided the transcription for me.

[96]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), p.119.

the church as laid down in the Prayer Book, however, shows a concern that those who failed to follow the practices of the local community were seen as divisive, and needed to face corrective measures. Such opinions would have made the refusal of Richard Dyer to baptize in a method which went against local custom even more noteworthy.[97]

The only other instance of failure to follow these forms occurred in the parish of St. Margaret's, Winchester, in 1623, when the curate, John Powell, during the prayer that the child may triumph against the devil, the world and the flesh, 'omitted these words viz & the flesh which omission caused great laughter', an accident not of any doctrinal significance.[98]

The child having been baptized, it was the duty of the mother to go through the churching ceremony, in order for her to be welcomed back into the church. Again, this was a service which rankled with many of a more Reformed character, the service being seen 'as a popish superstition (especially the wearing of a white veil)'.[99] Again, the Winchester diocese did not have a significant number of people who failed to go through with the ceremony. Four women were presented for the offence in 1607-1608, and Joanne Grosspond refused 'to heare the preacher according to law at her churching' in 1621.[100] The only other reference to the ceremony in the diocese occurred in 1618, when Samuel Taylor appeared before the authorities for churching a woman - the fault was that he was the parish clerk

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[97]. see above, pp.138-139.

[98]. HRO 21M65/C1/35.

[99]. J.P.Boulton 'The Social and Economic Structure of Southwark...', p.335.

[100]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1, HRO 21M65/C1/34.

and the service had to be performed by a minister.[101] Indeed, evidence from the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, shows that the practice was widespread, with 91.7 per cent of births between 1619 and 1625 being followed by the ceremony, whilst in the Boroughside district of that parish 'childbirth was almost invariably followed by the ritual' in the 1620s - this from an area which had a 'radical religious reputation'.[102]

Overall, therefore, there seems to have been a broad adherence to the rituals contained in the Book of Common Prayer concerning childbirth. A similar situation can be seen when one examines the other services which reflected the alterations of a person's state during the life cycle - marriage and burial.

With regard to marriage, there were two main areas of concern. Firstly there was the problem of cohabitation before marriage. There were very few cases of this noted within the diocese, and the problem is not really a part of this discussion. More relevant, with regard to the rubric of the Prayer Book, was the problem of clandestine marriages.

Again, there are scant examples of this in the diocese. Two cases came to light in 1608 - those of John Cole of Northwood, who crossed from the Isle of Wight to be married at Exbury on the edge of the New Forest, and Richard Lowe, who travelled across the Hampshire-Sussex border from Petersfield to Livingmore for

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[101]. HRO 21M65/C1/32.

[102]. J.P.Boulton 'The Social and Economic Structure of Southwark...', pp.336-337, 333. The evidence for the prevalence of the churching ceremony comes from payments made to the parish clerk, in LMA P92/SAV/406. I have been unable to locate similar records for other parishes within the diocese. Whilst it is possible that this discloses an antipathy towards the ceremony, it is more likely, given the apparent popularity of the rite, that evidence simply no longer survives. For the popularity of churching, see D.Cressy 'Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in Post-Reformation England', Past and Present, vol.141 (1993); Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Early Stuart England (Oxford, 1997), pp.197-229.

his wedding. In both cases the service continued without the necessary banns and licence.[103] Similarly, in 1612, John Knight of Romsey was presented for marrying in the church at Baddesley without banns or licence, and a clandestine marriage was performed on the Isle of Wight in 1623.[104] As with baptism and churching, the scarcity of evidence to the contrary hints that adherence to the rites and forms of the Church was normal during the period.

The final rite of a person's life was the burial service, a service which did not cause much controversy at the time, and the normal ceremony was followed in all but two cases in the Winchester diocese. The vicar of Hurstborne Priors was presented in 1618 because the clerk performed the ceremony, and three years later four parishioners at Liss were 'suspected to have buried Mr Kingswell in the churchyard of Liss at night tyme with out the consent or knowledge of the Minister or Churchwardens'.[105] Again the evidence indicates an adherence to the forms of the Prayer Book, although fewer cases would be expected because there was little argument over the funeral service.

At its inception, the Book of Common Prayer had omitted one occasional service which was later to cause problems to William Laud at his trial. Laud's consecration of the church at St. Katherine Cree in 1630 was denounced by his critics, who accused Laud of acting against the example set by 'our owne

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[103]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

[104]. HRO 21M65/C1/30, 21M65/C1/35.

[105]. HRO 21M65/C1/32, 21M65/C1/34.

protestant Bishops and writers [who] condemne the consecration of Churches Chappels and Church-yards by Bishops...as a mere popish, Iewish, ridiculous, and absurd practise'.[106] Laud's defence was, as in so many other cases, that his actions were based upon the precedent set by Lancelot Andrewes, whom he saw as 'the great light of the Christian world',[107] a model which had been established by Andrewes with the consecration of Jesus Chapel, to the east of Southampton.

Jesus Chapel had been established as a chapel of ease to the parish of St. Mary Extra. It was necessary to have a new chapel built there because the parish extended across the River Itchen, and the geographical constraints which this situation produced meant that there were several occasions, especially during winter, when parishioners on the eastern bank of the river could not attend services. Hence Richard Smith, a gentleman of the area, paid for the erection of a new chapel on Ridgeway Heath.[108] As this chapel was the first public religious building to have been built entirely after the Reformation, it is of particular interest.[109] It was when the building came to be consecrated in 1620 that the failing in the Book of Common Prayer came to light, and Andrewes had to draw up a new service, so that he could 'separate the said Chapel from common and prophane use, and consecrate, and dedicate it to sacred and divine uses only'.[110]

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[106] W.Prynne <u>Canterburies Doome</u> (1646), p.115.

[107] J.Bliss (ed.) <u>The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, DD</u> (7 volumes, Oxford, 1853), vol.iii, p.196.

[108] An area now known as Pear Tree Common.

[109] Other chapels had been extensively repaired or extended, which had resulted in re-dedication, and a few private chapels built, but none had been constructed from nothing.

[110] SCA PR6/4/1.

The defence of consecration which can be found within the service is consistent
with the rhetorical tenor of many 'Laudian' divines. There are direct appeals to the
Patriarchs of the Old Testament:

> So didst thou putt into the heart of the holy
> patriarch Jacob to erect the stone in Bethel to be a
> house to thee...So did Moses make thee the
> Tabernacle...And after...David was so minded to
> build an house for thy name...(though he built it
> not)...yet Solomon his son built and brought [it] to
> perfection...[111]

Likewise, in the years of the early church:

> ...thine Apostles themselves, and the Christians in
> their time, as they had houses to eate and drinke in,
> so had they also [a building] where the whole
> Congregacion of the faithfull came together in one
> place, which they expressly called God's Church.[112]

Whilst this opinion was not the preserve of Laudian divines, the emphasis upon
the use of a separate building, and, particularly, the consecration of it as such,
became associated with them - the godly were more likely to follow the Scriptural
dictum that 'where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in the midst
of them'.[113] To the godly the church as a community was far more important than
the buildings in which the faithful met. At the consecration of Jesus Chapel,
however, Andrewes had shown the alternative view that there was a need to create
particular buildings, which ought to be set aside specifically for worship, a

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[111]. J.Wickham Legg English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.xli, 1911), p.55.
[112]. ibid., p.56.
[113]. Matthew 18:20.

distinction between the sacred and the profane which is reminiscent of the desire seen in the previous chapter to separate the chancel from the nave within the church. This internal separation also appears to have been followed in Jesus Chapel, which was 'divided...within by wooden rails'.[114] This idea of an hierarchy by which a church could be distinguished from other, secular, buildings was enhanced later in the consecration service, where it is shown that man's religious buildings were an attempt, albeit unsatisfactory, to reflect the kingdom of God, and thus provide a 'house' for God on earth:

> We beseech thee that in this materiall temple made
> with hands, we may so please and serve thee in all
> holy exercise of godlinesse and Christian religion,
> that in the end we may come to that thy Temple on
> high, even to the holy places made without hands:
> So as when we shall cease to pray vnto thee here on
> earth, we may with all those that haue in the same
> manner erected like places to thy name...[115]

There is a clear refutation, therefore, of any idea that churches should not be consecrated because such consecration was a 'mere popish, Iewish, ridiculous and absurd practise'.[116] Andrewes, and therefore Laud after him, was basing the act of consecration in a long tradition which had been passed down through time.

This chapter has suggested, more than anything else, that a strong affection had developed towards the Prayer Book within the Winchester diocese. This tends to

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[114] SCA 6/4/1. There appears to be no way of establishing exactly where these rails were placed, but, given Andrewes's enquiries in his visitation articles of 1619 and 1625, some were probably placed between the chancel and the nave. See above, p.64.

[115] J.Wickham Legg English Orders for Consecrating Churches..., pp.57-58.

[116] W.Prynne Canterburies Doome, p.115, and above, pp.142-143.

support the conclusions drawn by Judith Maltby in her examination of popular religious allegiance on the eve of the Civil War, particularly in Cheshire.[117] Maltby shows convincingly that the Prayer Book had developed widespread support, and that parishioners were prepared to act in order to ensure that its rites were followed. As Maltby states, 'members of the laity would use the church courts as a last resort in order to bring their minister into conformity, and to bring about forms of worship which met with their approval'.[118] In the Winchester diocese this can be seen with the presentations of the curate of Basing for failing to baptize in the correct manner;[119] for parochial concern without recourse to the church courts, evidence can be seen in the care taken with regard to the accoutrements of worship and noted in the churchwardens' accounts.[120]

This is not to say that there were no areas of dispute during the period, although the evidence for differences is difficult to quantify. The testimony of Matthew Nicholas concerning the refusal of parishioners of Wherwell to receive communion in the chancel can be cited as an example of a more Puritan outlook in that parish. By contrast, there also appears to have been people within the diocese who wished to worship in a more ceremonial manner. The more extreme Puritans would have seen these as, at best 'failed Protestants'; at worst they might have been seen as 'potential Papists'. Any such attributions should be treated with care, however, as they would have been influenced by the opinions of the observer. A more appropriate designation might be Christopher Haigh's 'parish anglicans' -

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[117]. See the work of Judith Maltby (above, fn.4).

[118]. J.Maltby Prayer Book and People, p.229.

[119]. above, p.138.

[120]. above, pp.84-87.

loyal members of the Church of England who appreciated the ceremonial aspects of worship. As such, a new form of post-Reformation ceremonialism might have been emerging, stripped of any theological connotations. It may be true to say, therefore, that this group, rather than 'church Papists', provided 'a popular, parochial basis for seventeenth century 'Arminianism', the anti-Calvinist reaction within the official church'.[121]

The existence of such a group did not, of course, make 'Laudianism' popular. A similar body - for whom the rubrics of the Prayer Book were to be followed without any embellishment - has been examined by Judith Maltby. As a result of their opinions, this group - 'Prayer Book Protestants' - were to be less enamoured with the ceremonial aspects of worship that were being employed during the period, seeing them as innovations. They were also prepared to take action to defend the Book of Common Prayer against such innovation when it was considered necessary.[122]

Two historians have thus noted two similar, yet differing, groups, although it might well be that the situation was far more complicated. Any conclusions that are drawn have to be somewhat tentative, but it would appear that 'parish anglicans' and 'Prayer Book Protestants' were in general agreement about, first, the validity of the Church of England as the true church and, second, the Prayer Book as the basis for correct liturgical practice. The differences, if and when they

[121]. A.Walsham Church papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England (Bury St. Edmunds, 1993) p.97.

[122]. See the evidence from the petitions that were produced on the eve of the Civil War. J.Maltby Prayer Book and People, pp.238-247.

can be perceived, appear to have centred around whether or not the rubrics should be embellished.

In the Winchester diocese, however, it is impossible to ascertain accurately which historian's opinion is most apt. The lack of any real correlation between various rituals and practices would render any such claims inappropriate.[123]

With the general agreement between these two groups that has just been noted, it would appear that 'parish anglicans' and 'Prayer Book Protestants' were singing from the same song sheet, but with slightly different intonation and expression. The most important area of agreement was that further reformation was not required, and they were prepared to defend their viewpoint. If necessary - as was seen in the case of Nicholas Preston at the beginning of this chapter - they would continue to worship in the manner to which they were accustomed in the face of strong opposition during the Commonwealth.

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[123]. See, for example, the maps produced earlier.

PART TWO: CULTURE

One of the aspects of the more ritualistic and ceremonial form of worship promoted by 'Laudians' which angered those of a more Reformed mind during the early part of the seventeenth century was a perceived move back towards Rome both in liturgy and worship and in the physical structure of the church. In the first part of this thesis the differences which arose from the actual services were examined; it is now time to focus attention upon moves which were taken with regard to the use of the arts within the church. The major bone of contention concerning art in the church was that it would draw a person's thoughts away from God; in doing so, the spectre of idolatry was raised. There has thus arisen a popular impression that the post-Reformation church was a starkly decorated building, with whitewashed walls, bereft of works of any artistic merit, in which the only aural sensation was the voice of the preacher. The work of Patrick Collinson in particular has re-examined this view, arguing that Puritanism itself had developed a distinct culture, something which will be investigated towards the end of this section.[1]

Despite Collinson's work, the stereotypical image of the English church described above retains a strong hold; there are, however, hints that many churches fell short of this ideal. Visual expression was recognised by some as a

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[1] . P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), especially chapters five and six; 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as forms of Popular Religion', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism (Basingstoke, 1996); The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke, 1998).

medium through which the illiterate could be educated, and, in some cases, services may have undergone some cultural elaboration to draw people towards God through the 'beauty of holiness'.[2] This section will examine the use of the arts within the diocese in order to ascertain how accurately the post-Reformation church complied with the stereotype.

In chapter three, the visual arts will be examined in further detail. Symbolism and iconography will be seen as playing an important didactic role within the church, although with varying levels of support. Attempts to encourage and discourage the use of the visual arts within the church will also be discussed.

In chapter four, attention will shift to the aural arts, including the use of music within the church, the rise of psalmody, and the origins of English hymnody. Additional attention will be paid to the aesthetic aspects of sermonising, a factor which has been largely overlooked as attention has focussed upon the doctrinal significance of the spoken word.

Finally in this section, investigation will move from the area of 'high' culture and the arts to that of 'popular' culture, and the use of the term to describe a way of life rather than an aesthetic. Particularly important in this area will be the 'Puritan' lifestyle, centred around Sabbatarianism and sermons.

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[2] . Although the popular idea of a Puritan is of someone who, through emphasis upon the Word of God as only being found within the Scripture, was antagonistic to art, the phrase 'the beauty of holiness' is in itself Scriptural (Psalm 96:9).

CHAPTER THREE

The Visual Arts and the Use of Space

It was noted in the first section of this work that the approach of Robert Horne,

when bishop of this diocese in the sixteenth century, was of a sort that has often

been seen as indicative of the Puritan attitude towards the arts within the church.

He continued the iconoclastic work which he had undertaken when he held the see

of Durham, and it has been said that he also tried to ban the use of organs in the

churches under his control.[1] The re-imposition of the 'beauty of holiness' before

the Civil War has often been seen in the light of ensuing events, including the

destruction of artistic works during the fighting and up to the Restoration. As a

result of this, there has been little examination of opinions in favour of the use of

the arts within the church, and the possible survival of pre-Reformation attitudes

concerning this subject amongst the general population.

Despite the efforts of reformers to remove as many works of art as possible

from churches,[2] it has been argued that '"parish anglicanism", with renewed

attention being given to the physical fabric of the church, was a significant force'

during the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.[3] The fabric of the church

implicated in this statement should not just be seen as the external structure of the

church. That the physical structure of a parish church was a concern is clear from

a look at almost any parish accounts, with the cost of repairs being noted in

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[1] . but see p.203.

[2] . see M.Aston England's Iconoclasts Volume 1: Laws Against Images (Oxford, 1988).

[3] . G.W.Bernard 'The Church of England c.1529-c.1642', History, vol.75 (1990), p.196.

parishes almost every year for some part of the external structure, be it the walls, bell tower, lychgate, porch, or rails around the churchyard.[4] As Julia Merritt has recently shown, in London 'churches were enlarged, walls taken down and repositioned, chancels rebuilt, galleries added, steeples repaired or rebuilt entirely, windows reglazed...and interiors newly pewed and whitewashed'.[5] Whilst this is a timely reappraisal of the amount of care taken over parish churches during this period, it should be noted that much of this work was to do with the upkeep of the building. To emphasise, as here, the upkeep of the structure of the building, whilst ignoring concern over any internal decoration of the church, is to overlook an important part of the early Stuart church.

Most of the internal decoration of a church would had been removed as a result of pressure from the more enthusiastic elements of the population, both clerical and lay, during the early years of the Reformation. Some artistic pieces, however, had survived the initial outburst of iconoclasm, and it appears that parishioners had a certain amount of attachment to them - indeed, it has been noted that 'in many areas of England "the rabble...defended the familiar images" from puritan attack'.[6] In other parts of the country the destruction appears to have been somewhat sporadic: Mark Stoyle has noted that 'in some parts of Devon church furniture was destroyed by the people during 1641-42', whilst other areas 'retained a deep affection for their accustomed church fittings and...therefore refused to

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[4] . Care must be taken when examining accounts to distinguish between these rails, normally encountered in the plural, and communion rails, which were recorded in the singular.

[5] . J.Merritt 'Puritans, Laudians, and the phenomenon of church-building in Jacobean London' Historical Journal, vol.41, no.4 (December, 1998), p.941.

[6] . W.Hunt The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution to an English County (1983), p.291. Whilst Hunt's work focusses upon Essex, here he refers to the situation at Kidderminster.

implement Parliament's orders'.[7] A similar attitude to the orders of Parliament

was earlier hinted at in the approach taken within the Winchester diocese with

regard to the instruction to remove altar rails,[8] and popular fidelity to the

traditional culture of the church might be discernible within the diocese.

The failure to remove works of art from churches within the diocese in the years

since the Reformation is probably best seen at Winchester itself, where Sir

William Waller's troops felt it necessary to destroy much when they entered the

cathedral on 14 December 1642, as reported by the newsletter Mercurius Rusticus.

Although this was a work of propaganda, it is worth quoting at some length - the

language may be hyperbolic in places, but it is undoubtedly based upon fact, and

any exaggeration was designed as an attempt to cultivate support for the Royalist

cause, and thus the defence of the established church:

> ...they violently break open the Cathedral Church...[and] enter the church with Colours flying...their Troops of Horses also accompanied them in their march, and rode up through the body of the Church, and the Quire, until they came to the Altar, there they began their work, they rudely pluck down the Table and break the Rail...they throw down the Organ, and break the stories of the Old and New Testament, curiously cut out in carved work, beautified with colours, and set round about the top of the Stalls of the Quire...[9]

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[7] . M.Stoyle Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War (Exeter, 1994), pp.212-213.

[8] . See above, pp.77-79.

[9] . [B.Ryves] Mercurius Rusticus: or the countries complaint of the Sacriledges, Prophanations and Plunderings Committed by the Schismatiques, on the Cathedral Churches of this Kingdom (edition of 24 February 1643, from later 1685 collection), p.146.

In later years Waller himself was to regret the excesses of his troops. In the years after the Civil War his house at Winchester was destroyed, something which he acknowledged as 'just with God, for the punishment of my giving way to the plunder of the City of Winchester'.[10]

At the beginning of the Reformation, such iconophobia had been encouraged as a means of removing the visible errors of the Roman church from the minds of the general population. In taking such action, the iconoclasts were in agreement with Calvin, who was 'clearly committed to a negative view of medieval Catholicism as a visually defined (and hence false) religious culture'. They went further than Calvin, however, as he had been 'unwilling to endorse iconoclasm...it was his associates and followers who put into iconoclastic practice Calvin's literary invective against idolatry'.[11]

By the turn of the seventeenth century, however, destruction of this kind had become disapproved of in the upper echelons of the Church in England, and some bishops forthrightly challenged such views. Bishop Harsnett, for example, introduced images into the churches of the Norwich diocese, a practice which was brought to the attention of James I, who 'commended the practice, pointedly observing that pictures of apostles adorned his own chapel, and commanded other bishops to follow Harsnett's example'.[12] James clearly saw that imagery could aid worship without becoming the focus for idolatrous adoration - opposition to

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[10]. [A.Matilda] The Poetry of Anna Matilda (1788), p.130.

[11]. P.C.Finney (ed.) Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition (Cambridge, 1999), p.xvi.

[12]. W.Hunt The Puritan Moment, p.180.

iconophobia did not lead to the promotion of idolatry, despite the opinions of the godly.[13]

In the Winchester diocese, one of the most interesting figures to preach on idolatry was Alexander Ross. In a sermon that was preached in 1642, Ross attempted to show the position of the Church of England with regard to idolatry and superstition, and sketched a church which steered a middle course between the superstition of Rome and the extreme Protestant fervour which both James I and Charles I disliked. The work, Gods House, or the House of Prayer, was subtitled in a way which made this clear - in the sermon the church would be 'vindicated from prophanesse and sacriledge'. Ross turned to history to show the danger of sacrilege - the Pharisees, for example, 'made no more reckoning of the Temple, then of a stable, a sheepfold, a pigeon house, a counting roome'.[14] Here Ross was clearly attacking those who believed that, because God was omnipresent, church buildings acted as little more than public rooms in which the faithful met. Laud's consecration of churches, as at St. Katherine Cree, had ensured that this had become a cause of some dispute at the time, and Ross appears to be supporting the view that certain buildings were to be kept aside for worship - the act of separation did not necessarily stand as a marker on the road to idolatry, with the building itself being accorded holy status, as opponents of consecration believed.[15] No doubt Ross had been influenced by the consecration of Jesus Chapel to the east of

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[13]. It is also interesting to note the way in which James infers that the Chapel Royal should be an example to other churches in England. Compare with the altar policy debate, above p.71.

[14]. A.Ross Gods House, or the House of Prayer (1642), p.3.

[15]. The idea of a building as any more holy than others brought in the possibility of pilgrimages, one of the excesses of the Roman church which the Reformation had removed.

Southampton, which had occurred a few years after he moved to the town.[16] In the consecration service, Andrewes had attempted to quell the fears of those who felt that consecration was a dangerous relic of Popery which could lead to a superstitious regard for the building:

> O Lord God...thou fillest heaven and earth with the glorie of thy presence, and canst not be conteyned within any the largest compasse, much less within the narrow walls of this roome. Yet forasmuch as thou hast ben pleased [to] commaund in thy holy law, that we should putt the remembrance of thy name vpon places, and in every such place as thou wilt come vnto vs, and blesse vs.[17]

Andrewes did not, therefore, see the separation of the church building for holy use as in any way leading to the adoration of the building as a shrine. Similarly, in his treatise on the layout of churches, the anonymous author R.T. States that 'we erect not Temples to our Martyrs, as if we thought them gods, but Memorials, as to men whose soules, we are sure, live with God'.[18]

Similarly, in his sermon, Ross also showed that the early church had denounced the idea that there should be no distinction between the church and other buildings:

> ...the antient counsell of Gangra, held in the purer times of the Church about 324. Yeares after Christe, pronounced Anathema against Eustachius and his adherents, who held that churches should be

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[16]. Discussed in the previous chapter. As a fairly eminent divine in the area, it is likely that Ross attended the service.

[17]. J.Wickham Legg English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.xli, 1911), p.61.

[18]. R.T. De Templis, A Treatise on Temples (1638), p.21.

neglected, and publick meetings in them left off, and
that there should be no other Churches, but mens
private houses...[19]

It is the upholders of such ideas whom Ross sees as 'covetous Priests, captious

Scribes, and hypocriticall Pharisees, who indeed are painted sepulchers, whited

walls, whose religion consists in large Phylacteries, broad fringes, long

prayers...'.[20] The extremes to which these people were prepared to go was noted

later in the work, and they were seen as purveyors of irreverence. This is where

Ross's defence of the English Church as a <u>via media</u> reaches its height:

> This is to run from one extreme to a worse, <u>ex
> fume in Flammam</u>. And as you say, out of the frying
> pan into the fire. Religion is indeed crucified, as
> Christ was between two theeves, <u>viz</u> Superstition
> and irreverence, which is a spice of Atheisme: and
> truly of the two extreames, irreverence is the
> worst...[21]

If irreverence was the worse extreme in the spectrum within which the church

operated, then a natural corollary of this was that extra care should be taken to

ensure that it did not happen. Ross went on to appeal to man's secular nature to

emphasise his point, denouncing those who would treat the church with little more

respect than their own houses: 'Can we beautifie our owne houses, seele them with

Cedar, and paint them with Vermillion, and suffer Gods house to lay waste?'.[22] In

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[19]. A.Ross <u>Gods House, or the House of Prayer</u>, p.10.

[20]. <u>ibid.</u>, pp.2-3. This statement is, of course, loaded with irony, one of the preaching tools which
will be examined in the next chapter.

[21]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.9.

[22]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.11.

this he, again, agrees with R.T., who believes that if houses can be beautified, it is man's duty to do the same thing to churches:

> ...surely if Wrastlers and Gladiators have their Amphitheatres, and Palesters, if the Senators have their Courts and Capitoll, if the Philosophers their Lycea, if mortal Princes have their Palaces, nay if every private man, hath his dwelling house dressed and adorned...what reason has any man to thinke, that the Temples of the Eternall God, should be base and sordid.[23]

Ross showed consistency in his approach to the problems of finding a middle course for the church between Rome and extreme Puritanism in a later sermon, in which he confronted the twin problems of superstition and idolatry. On the one hand, Ross denounced idolatry as a 'bold and presumptuous theefe...[which] steales away Gods honour', and should be whipped out of the church.[24] On the other hand, Ross noted the dangers of irreverence, but sounded a note of caution:

> ...Christ must whip him, not the Disciples; the King and Magistrates, not private people and ministers, it's not their calling to be reformers, they may plead, and wish, and pray for reformation, but of themselves reforme, they must not...[25]

It is quite clear from this that Ross thought it was the job of the church authorities to decide what was, and what was not, idolatrous. The duty of the general population, unversed as they were in the detail of worship, was to obey the authorities and accept their decisions. This was an opinion which stood somewhat

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[23]. R.T. De Templis, p.179.

[24]. A.Ross Gods House made a Den of Theeves (1642), BL Thomason Tracts E150 (7), pp.11-12.

[25]. ibid., p.12.

awkwardly with the Protestant belief in the priesthood of all believers, through

which all could comprehend God's will through the correct understanding of the

Bible. The opinion put forward by Ross had become one of the persistent

arguments of the Laudian regime, the increased emphasis on the importance of the

clergy being allied to Laud's vision of order and hierarchy as the basis upon which

the church had to build. Ross further noted that St. Paul, despite speaking out

against Athenian idols, was not prepared to destroy them personally. Evidence

from the early church further supported his case:

> What got Vigilus B[ishop] of Trent for pulling
> down an image, but his owne death being murthered
> in an uprore...[26]

Ross saw many as too zealous in their pursuit of a more reformed church - thus

there were people who wished to destroy any artistic items in churches whether

they were idolatrous or not. He was not alone in voicing this concern. In a sermon

preached at Newport during Walter Curle's primary visitation of the archdeaconry

of Winchester in 1633, William Jones, the vicar of Arreton on the Isle of Wight,

similarly noted that there was a danger in excessive zeal:

> Some strain at a gnat, and swallow a Camell: they
> are very precise in searching out some small faults,
> and yet suffer grand sinnes to reigne without
> controll...[27]

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[26]. A.Ross Gods House made a Den of Theeves, p.12.

[27]. W.Jones The True Inquisition, or The Sad Soules Search (1633), p.15.

Jones proceeded to show that failings which occur through such excessive zeal often appeared in another guise: indeed, many were proclaimed as personal attributes, for 'sinnes come stealing upon us under vertuous names'. Most importantly in this part of the discussion, 'pride in apparell and building will be stiled neatnesse'.[28] As Jones went on to associate covetousness with thrift, riotous behaviour with merriment, revenge with courage, and prodigality with a kind heart, neatness is hereby used as comparable with a desire for simplicity - simplicity which meant that any adornment of buildings was anathema to some. This emphasis upon simplicity and neatness (although precision might be a better term),[29] according to Jones, would lead to pride, a vice about which all had to be wary, and recognised as one of the seven deadly sins. Simplicity in building was thus not necessarily to be extolled, and in many cases merit could be gained from the beautification of buildings.

Beautification of buildings was, therefore, to some, an ideal: adorning God's house reflected the way in which man looked after his own possessions on earth, and was a means through which man could get closer to the beauty of heaven. Those who wished to prohibit the use of the arts within the church were dangerously close to committing sacrilege, a vice which Ross had noted as the first (and presumably most dangerous) of the thieves which had entered the church, having 'most rapatious hands, sparing neither holy places nor holy things, nor holy persons, making no conscience to break 5 commandments at once'.[30]

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[28]. W.Jones The True Inquisition, p.19.

[29]. Especially as it links in with the contemporary idea of 'precisians' in the church.

[30]. A.Ross Gods House made a Den of Theeves, p.10.

Such sacrilegious acts were to come to a fore in the years of the Civil War. It has been seen that Winchester Cathedral itself suffered at the hands of Parliamentarian soldiers, but this was a phenomenon which appeared on a nationwide scale. In 1648 a tract looked back disconsolately upon the destruction of the previous years, and awaited the return of the King, the sun for which the nation waited during a long night:

> How many houses of God have they destroyed in
> the land! Nay; what Church is it that has scap'd
> plundering? Surely they that violate the place of
> Gods dwelling can never truly honour him. And as
> the Temples of God, so the Temples of the Holy
> Ghost...have suffered pillaging...[31]

These acts of sacrilege had not passed unnoticed during the Civil War. In August 1645 a pamphlet had noted the existence of 'a crew of wicked Witches', which had 'with the Devils assistance done many mischiefes in Norfolke, Suffolke, Essex, and other parts of the Kingdome'.[32] And after the end of the Civil War, Mercurius Pragmaticus derided those who 'converted all the Ornaments of the Church into Tinder, to furnish their own Phant'sies with new Lights'.[33] It is prudent to be cautious over the terms used in publications such as these, as they were essentially Royalist propaganda tools. Nevertheless, the fact that they were produced implies that a market had arisen for them, possibly developing as a result of a Laudian-Royalist culture that emerged in the 1630s. Clearly, moves to remove

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[31]. Aurora: Or a dawn to day-light Post tenebras lucem (1645), BL Thomason Tracts E448 (1), p.2.

[32]. Signes and Wonders from Heaven (1645), BL Thomason Tracts E295 (2), p.2. This appears to refer, in particular, to the work of William Dowsing. See also T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2001).

[33]. Mercurius Pragmaticus, 6-13 June 1648, BL Thomason Tracts E447 (5), p.2.

all images from churches were far from universally advocated. It is necessary, therefore, to see whether there are precedents to this culture upon which it could have been based.

In many cases the ornaments and works of art served a didactic purpose as well as an aesthetic one. This was particularly true of wall paintings, and the attitude to them needs to be examined carefully. It has been seen that there were some within the church that wished to see simplicity in churches; this might lead to the removal of wall paintings and the whitewashing of walls, something which has become a stereotype for the post-Reformation English church. Such whitewashing of walls did occur in the period, as in the Surrey parishes of Mortlake in 1605 and Chobham in 1656; similar action was taken on the Isle of Wight at Shorwell in 1624.[34] This is, however, a remarkable scarcity of evidence of any widespread action of this type within the diocese. The most likely explanation for this is that such action had already occurred in the early years of the Reformation, and the evidence for this has not survived. With this in mind it has to be acknowledged that most medieval wall paintings that can now be seen in churches were uncovered during the time of Victorian - or later - restorations.[35] It is also possible that the lack of evidence for the whitewashing of walls is because the parish authorities were content to allow such paintings to gradually fall into disrepair, as

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[34]. SHS 2414/4/1, CHOB/7/1/4; IWRO SHOR/APR/2A/1.

[35]. See M.J.Green Hampshire Churches (Winchester, 1967), passim; J.C.Cox Memorials of Old Surrey (1911), passim. I am grateful to David Park at the Courtauld Institute of Art for allowing me to consult his collection of notes on churches relevant to my area of study.

the cost of whitewashing could in some cases be prohibitive.[36] The whitewashing

at Chobham in 1656, for example, cost almost twice as much as the altar which

was erected there in 1636.[37]

There is also evidence that, in some parishes, conscious decisions were made to

avoid the bareness in a church which would result from complete whitewashing.

At St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1613, a detailed contract was drawn up between

the parish and the plasterer with regard to the alterations which were to take place

in the church.[38] Whilst much of the church was to be whited, it is to be noted that

the walls were not to be made uniformly white, with no trace of decoration. The

walls on the north and south aisles were to be whitewashed, but afterwards the

plasterer and his men were to 'drawe & make colour on the said walles windowes

pillars and roofes or arches...in forme fashion & likenes agreable & answerable to

the colouringe of the...Chauncell which is already done'.[39] Complete simplicity

was not ordered by the wardens of St. Saviour's - whilst images were to be

removed, abstract decoration was permissible, as idolatry would not have arisen

from such ornamentation.

Thus whilst the whitewashing of walls was not a widespread activity in the

diocese, possibly because of the cost of such work, there were also cases of

[36]. In such cases, most paintings would still have been covered during the iconoclasm of the 1540s - a very small number may have survived, and the paintings perceived as being most dangerous would have been removed first. Compare with John Morrill's note about 'passive reminders of...[a] discredited theology'. J.Morrill 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm', in T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing, p.26.

[37]. SHS CHOB/7/1/3-4. The high rates of inflation that had been seen in the early part of the seventeenth century are not relevant here, as prices rises had slowed considerably. See C.G.A.Clay Economic expansion and social change: England 1500-1700 (2 volumes, Cambridge, 1984), vol.i, pp.40-41 for a graph depicting the inflation rate.

[38]. LMA P92/SAV/146.

[39]. ibid.

decoration being added during the early seventeenth century. As well as the cost

which would have been incurred as a result of whitewashing the walls of a church,

the possibility has to taken into account that the lack of evidence for such activity

reflects a sense that art work which survived on church walls had a a didactic

purpose, and did not need to be obliterated.

In the church at Banstead, Surrey, the wall above the east window was painted

in 1631. The painting here was not completely abstract, as appears to have been

the case at Southwark, as it contained depictions of the heavenly virtues of Faith,

Hope and Charity.[40] Imagery was thus allowed so long as it served a didactic

purpose, and was unlikely to promote idolatry.[41]

With this in mind, it is important to note that the Reformation had seen not so

much a disavowal of painting on walls as a shift in emphasis, from the pictorial

depiction of biblical stories (although this did have a place in the church, as will

shortly be shown) to written sentences taken from scripture.

This change to painted text was best seen in the way in which the fundamentals

of faith - the Creed and the Ten Commandments - were to be painted upon the

eastern wall. Peter Heylyn alluded to this in the defence of the altar policy which

he produced during his time in the diocese:

> Anno 1565 it is ordered thus: the parish shall
> provide a decent Table standing in a frame...And
> shall set the ten Commandments upon the East wall,
> over the said Table...therefore [the table should

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[40]. J.Aubrey The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (London 1719, reprinted in 5 volumes, Dorking, 1975), vol.ii, p.102.

[41]. See also the later discussion of George Abbot's tomb at Guildford, pp.174-175.

stand] along the wall, on which the ten Commandments were appointed to be placed...[42]

In Hampshire the best example of this new emphasis upon the use of Scriptural texts upon church walls can be seen at Ellingham. Not only were the Creed and the Decalogue painted, but further texts were added. Two of these come from the Geneva Bible of 1557, and two from the Authorised Version of 1611, indicating that the use of such texts was an ongoing feature of the post-Reformation church. A photograph of the church before restoration in 1884 shows that the latter ones have been repainted in their current position, but those from the Geneva Bible appear to be in their original positions.[43] One of the texts from the Geneva Bible is particularly important. The text is taken from Proverbs 24, verse 21 - 'My Sonne feare God and the Kinge and meddle not with them that are seditious'. The link between church and state, established by the Act of Supremacy of 1534, and reaffirmed after Mary's reign by that of 1559, could hardly have been stated in stronger words.

The Royal Supremacy was further emphasised by the painting of the royal arms on the chancel screen, which 'literally usurped the place of honour hitherto reserved for the crucifix'.[44] As can be seen at Ellingham, these were often supported on either side by Scriptural texts. The texts at Ellingham, though, were

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[42]. P.Heylyn A Coale from the Altar (1636), p.22.

[43]. The use of the Geneva Bible was established by John Wise in 1862. R.H.Little History of the Parish Church of St. Mary & All Saints, Ellingham (Ringwood, c.1985), p.31. I would suggest that the texts from the Authorised version were painted at the same time as the arms of Charles II, 1671, reinforcing the Restoration settlement.

[44]. P.Collinson The Birthpangs of Protestant England (Basingstoke, 1988), p.9.

painted on the east wall of the nave, not the chancel,[45] suggesting that they were

also used here to mark a delineation between the two parts of the church.

Worshippers were thus constantly reminded of the link between church and state,

the monarch's rôle as Supreme Governor, and the hierarchy inherent in the two

spheres of religion and society: clearly the hierarchy of the church as promoted in

this fashion was also supposed to uphold social hierarchy.

Perhaps the best example of this link between church and state being fostered

through art on the chancel screen was the erection of a new screen designed by

Inigo Jones, in the cathedral at Winchester in the 1630s. The erection of this

screen was part of a major alteration of the cathedral in the latter half of the 1630s.

It had been reported in 1635 that the cathedral was 'very much in decay',[46] and

when the king visited in the same year, he expressed his dislike of the existing

screen which traversed the nave just to the west of the chancel.[47] It was agreed that

this was to be taken down, and by 1638 work had begun on building a new screen

to replace it.[48] The screen itself was built in the typically Palladian style of Inigo

Jones. The wall which divided the chancel and the nave was split in the centre by

an archway, upon the top of which were set two reclining angels.[49] Set in the wall

on either side of the central arch were statues of James I and Charles I. Whilst in

the parish churches of the diocese the Royal Supremacy was promoted through the

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[45]. Compare with Heylyn's use of the order to defend the altar policy, A Coale from the Altar, p.22.

[46]. PRO SP Dom 16/293/128.

[47]. J.M.G.Blakiston 'The Inigo Jones Screen: "New Front for the Queer [sic]" ', Winchester Cathedral Record, vol.45 (1976), p.10.

[48]. J.M.G.Blakiston 'The Inigo Jones Screen', pp.11-12.

[49]. As the screen was demolished in the nineteenth century, discussion has to be based upon Jones's plans and a 1714 engraving of the screen. There are discrepancies between the two, which are reproduced in ibid., pp.13, 11 respectively, but basic particulars correspond.

painting of the royal arms, in the cathedral itself it was advanced by images of the monarchs themselves.

Statuary used in this way was designed as a tool through which the Charles could promote his idea of the Church of England. It was part of a cultural representation of a social hierarchy which was representative of, and reflected by, the hierarchy of the church. Statuary could also be used, however, as a medium of religious instruction. When Lieutenant Hammond toured the dioceses of the southern province in 1634, for example, he noticed that the Quire of Winchester Cathedral was filled with 'lively, woody, Representation, Portraits, & Images, from the Creation to the Passion...'.[50] These images had probably survived the Reformation because they had not been seen as particularly dangerous. They survived, therefore, despite the fact that they were not purely ornamental 'passive reminders' of Catholicism.[51] Whilst the images had survived the initial iconoclasm of the early Reformation, by the time of the Civil War attitudes towards them appear to have hardened, and they were destroyed by Parliamentarian troops in 1642..[52] It is clear from the layout of the works, however, that they were designed to educate the congregation. Hammond proceeded in his account to decipher the images, and showed that the sequence of depictions was clearly a visual representation of Biblical stories. On the north side, thirty five images showed the history of the Old Testament from the Creation through to the appearance of an angel to Zechariah (in the penultimate book). The south side depicted, in twenty

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[50]. BL Lansdowne Mss 213, fol.363v.

[51]. J.Morrill 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm', in T.Cooper (ed.) The Journal of William Dowsing, p.26.

[52]. See above, p.153.

six carvings, the New Testament story, from the Annunciation to the Ascension.[53]

Statuary was thus designed not as a focus for adoration, but as a tool which could

be used for the education of the population, through the visual depiction of God's

word.[54]

Such use of didacticism is also true of memento mori, eternal reminders of the

ephemeral nature of life. The importance of these reminders is visible in the

proliferation of statues and memorials erected to the memory of those eminent

members of society who had died recently during the period. These appear in

many churches within the diocese, but two of the most important appear in the two

present cathedrals in Hampshire - the tomb of Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, in

Winchester, and the memorial to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in

Portsmouth.

Weston was an important figure within Hampshire, having been created Lord

Lieutenant of the county and Captain of the Isle of Wight on 8 February 1631.[55] It

was mainly as a result of this that his tomb came to hold such a prominent position

in the mother church of the diocese, being situated at the eastern end of the north

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[53]. BL Lansdowne Mss 213, fols.363v-364v.

[54]. In an investigation of Calvinism and art in Europe as a whole, Philip Benedict has noted that 'the consequence of a Reformed Reformation would have been to shift demand for works of art toward the production of intimate biblical histories and non-religious genres such as landscapes and genre paintings, while diminishing interest in such previous staples of religious art as scenes of the crucifixion or the holy family'. P.Benedict 'Calvinism as a Culture? Preliminary Remarks on Calvinism and the Visual Arts', in P.C.Finney (ed.) Seeing Beyond the Word, pp.40-41. The depiction of biblical stories in Winchester Cathedral conforms to this shift in emphasis, although the depictions of the holy family and the crucifixion make it likely that they had been erected before the Reformation.

[55]. For an account of Weston's life, see M.van Cleave Alexander Charles I's Lord Treasurer : Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, (1577-1635) (1975).

aisle. The tomb itself is, in many ways, typical of several erected during the period, and it served two purposes.

The first significance of the tomb lay in its ability to remind onlookers of the achievements of Weston during his lifetime. His effigy was 'accoutred in armour, as became his rank as knight and baron', and also, no doubt, as a reflection of his rôle as Captain of the Isle of Wight.[56] The military rôle was not overplayed, however, and there were references to Weston's position at court through the way in which his right hand held the staff of office, whilst his left held a roll of royal accounts (he was Lord High Treasurer from 1628).

The second purpose of the tomb was to articulate the move through death and on to eternal life. Weston's effigy rested on a sarcophagus upon which were mounted heads of cherubim. This may well be an alteration to the original design, which included cartouches of arms.[57] The use of cherubim was common in funerary art at the time, and two further cherubs surmounted the armorial design at the top of the monument. The belief that the deceased had proceeded on to God's kingdom was thus made clear.

A significant alteration had occurred in this piece between the design stage and the actual erection of it. The design had included four busts in niches above the effigy, niches which were empty in the realisation. This would have been a departure from the typical monument, in which such figures are seen in a kneeling

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[56]. R.Lightbown 'Isaac Besnier, Sculptor to Charles I, and his work for Court Patrons c.1624-1634', in D.Howarth Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts (Cambridge, 1993), p.143. This is an intrinsic introduction to this work, from which much of the following originates.

[57]. These may have been rejected as the Weston family were new to the area, having their ancestral seat in Essex. See R.Lightbown 'Isaac Besnier, Sculptor to Charles I...', p.144.

position, hands together in prayer (a characteristic example of this can be seen in the church at South Stoneham, now a suburb of Southampton). The emptiness of the niches indicated a move towards a more Baroque style,[58] and would have concurred with the neo-Palladianism of Inigo Jones's chancel screen. More important, though, on a wider scale, were the images which had been left out of this monument. The use of suppliant figures has been seen as commonplace within the medieval church with such imagery continuing after the Reformation, even though 'Protestantism...had emptied the motif of its original doctrinal significance, and left it simply as an expression of piety'.[59] Although the niches in Weston's tomb had been left empty, supplicant figures were still used on funerary monuments, despite the Protestant avowal that prayers for the souls of the dead were worthless, and errors of the Roman church. The use of praying figures continued, however, and the image of a supplicant figure became 'the standard act of piety' in funereal art.[60] Such representations were noted at a later date in the Surrey parishes of Camberwell (1605), Richmond (1617, 1628) and Rotherhithe (1614),[61] hinting that in some parishes traditional cultural expressions remained a strong force within the country long after the Reformation.

Some clarification to the last few sentences is required. In contrast to Lightbown's previously citation, Nigel Llewellyn has recently stated that 'subject effigies did not kneel on medieval monuments', and such a pose only became 'the

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[58]. R.Lightbown 'Isaac Besnier, Sculptor to Charles I...', p.144.

[59]. ibid., p.151.

[60]. N.Llewellyn Funeral Monuments in England (Cambridge, 2000), p.6.

[61]. J.Aubrey The Natural History..., vol.i, pp.168, 61, 62; vol.v, p.11. The figures at Camberwell were, interestingly, 'kneeling at a Table'.

standard pose signifying piety on the post-Reformation tomb'.[62] The apparent

conflict between the opinions of these two historians needs careful exploration.

Whilst it is true that kneeling figures were used on medieval tombs, such figures

were seen as representative of the prayers for the dead offered by the living.[63] In

post-Reformation iconography, whilst the image itself remained a kneeling figure,

the ideal it represented was transformed into the piety of the individual. Thus a

new meaning was read into an image that remained largely unchanged. The

theological implications of the Reformation, with greater emphasis upon personal

salvation through prayer rather than collective petitioning, were thus reflected in

the funerary art of the period.

The monument to the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth used similar

processes to those of Portland's tomb in Winchester Cathedral to show the

achievements of the Duke, and also the need to be ever conscious of the

inevitability of death. Although the Duke was represented in the monument erect

rather than recumbent, much of the message was the same - in his hands he held

the signs of office (since removed by the vagaries of time) and he is surrounded by

emblems of death.

Moving down the social hierarchy, monuments to other eminent members of

society, although less elaborate, are also worthy of investigation. A common

feature of these was the use of a family group. The monument to Theophilus

Brereton, erected at Mitcham (Surrey) after his death in 1638, was described thus:

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[62]. N.Llewellyn Funeral Monuments, pp.105, 349.

[63]. ibid., p.105.

> ...the Figures of a Man, with a skull in his Hand, a
> Woman, with a Book; underneath is a Group of
> smaller Figures, <u>viz</u> five Sons, and five Daughters,
> the eldest of each Sex kneeling before a Desk, with
> Books lying open before them, the rest behind
> them.[64]

A similar family group was depicted outside the north wall of the church at Rotherhithe, where the household portrayed was 'a Man, his Wife, six Sons, and four Daughters, the dead being distinguish'd from the living by the Sculls in their Hands'.[65] In both these cases it is clear that, whilst accepting the inevitability of death, and the separation which it caused, the family group was to remain the basis around which society should build - the deceased, whilst noticeably separate because they held a skull, still remained a important figures in the household.

The examination so far has focussed on the more elaborate funeral monuments. It has to be recognised, however, that these tombs were a minority, as only the wealthy could afford them. The vast majority of people failed to have any memorial erected, but between these two extremes there was a sizeable proportion of the population who were remembered, but in a less flamboyant manner. There is plenty of evidence of these people, who were remembered by the simpler wall plaque.

In some cases the deceased would have left instructions over the plaque, particularly the words which were to be placed on it, but in many cases such decisions would have been made by the next of kin. Unless there were particularly strong religious differences between the deceased and his or her family, the

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[64]. J.Aubrey The Natural History... , vol.ii, p.147.
[65]. ibid., vol.v, p.29.

wording might give some indication of the departed's beliefs, a factor which cannot be overlooked in discussions about funerary monuments.[66]

The vast majority of these plaques have simple references to the life of the departed. Typically these inscriptions follow the lines of:

> Here lyeth the body of...of the parish of...in the
> county of...son/daughter of...of the parish of...in the
> county of...who departed this life on...aged...years.[67]

This form of remembrance does not, initially, indicate much about the religious opinions of the family concerned, but a comparison with pre-Reformation plaques shows a marked change. In nearly all cases, post-Reformation plaques drop the words which had followed the above statement on pre-Reformation ones, which were an appeal for the bystander to pray for the deceased. Gradually a more reformed tenor developed in the wording of these plaques, and a new sentence was appended, to the effect that the body lies 'in the hope of a glorious resurrection'.

The frequent use of similar wording on memorial plaques would seem to indicate that there was widespread agreement over the way in which the deceased should be remembered. An implication of this is that the doctrinal differences which were becoming increasingly apparent during the period may have been less significant to the average parishioner when compared to the more pressing matters

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[66]. A note of caution must be sounded, however, as it is likely that many plaques followed standard procedures. As such, inscriptions on plaques should be compared with the writing of will preambles, which 'by the modern era had become a cultural ritual'. J.D.Alsop 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern Wills as Formulae', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.40, no.1 (January 1989), p.19. Nevertheless, the fact that such formulaic inscriptions had evolved is important, especially if it can be shown that the use of the same formula crossed any doctrinal divide.

[67]. For examples of such plaques in the churches of the diocese, the best study, which is full of examples of this type, is J.Aubrey The Natural History....

of the life-cycle.[68] If this is indeed the case, then the possibility that there was a

significant divide between ostentatious funeral monuments of the 'Laudian' ideal

of the 'beauty of holiness' on the one hand, and the more austere memorials of

'Puritan' iconoclasts on the other has to be examined. To perceive such a divide

would be to simplify the situation: there were many cases in which such a

boundary was transgressed.

A prominent example of this can be seen with the tomb of George Abbot at

Guildford. Abbot had been born in Guildford, and served as Dean of Winchester

from 1600 to 1609. His tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury showed him to be a

staunch Calvinist in terms of theology, but equally firm in his defence of

Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy. He thus fitted into the grouping within the

church of Episcopalian Calvinists,[69] who refused to accept the more extreme

aspects of Calvinism, such as Presbyterian church government.[70] Abbot was

himself cautious about the effects which artistic media could have, putting forward

the idea that Cheapside Cross should be replaced with a 'Pyramid or matter of

mere beauty'.[71] Abbot would almost certainly have baulked at the re-imposition of

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[68]. For the importance of the life-cycle, see D.Cressy Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford, 1997)

[69]. See P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker (1988) for the contextual background to this idea.

[70]. It should be noted, however, that 'the presbyterian form of church government...was the embodiment of what appears to have been Calvin's own view of the structure closest to the New Testament pattern'. J.Pelikan The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine (5 volumes, 1984), vol.iv, p.313.

[71]. G.Abbot Cheap-side Crosse censured and condemned (1643), p.9. No reason is given for the publication of this work at this time - it was ten years after Abbot's death and some forty-two after the debate had originally started. It may be that Abbot was being appealed to because, to those who promoted this publication, he had been in charge of the true church before Laud had tainted it with errors. If this was the case, it would be of note that the Parliamentary Ordinance for the destruction of religious monuments was issued on 28 August 1643.

the 'beauty of holiness' which has been associated with his successor at Canterbury.

Despite this, Abbot's tomb displays the way in which art within the church was used at the time for didactic purposes. The recumbent figure of Abbot was mounted upon a sarcophagus, with six pillars supporting a canopy upon which were placed nine figures. Most of these are typical allegorical figures of the time - Immortality, Faith, Hope, Charity, Mercy and Humility - and as such show that certain ideas were common to funerary sculpture across any contemporary theological divide.[72] It is important, however, to observe that these common ideas and figures were those which would not have aroused consternation, being human virtues, rather than religious imagery.

Funerary art was thus something which expressed common ideas, whether through the visual depiction of the virtues on a tomb or the written acknowledgement of a deceased's good life on a simpler plaque. As such, memorials served a useful purpose as an educational tool through which the laity could be persuaded to live a virtuous life. This was not their only purpose, however, as the placement of memorials within a church was also of great importance.

A significant change which had occurred as a result of the Reformation was that social gradation was increasingly adhered to when burials were performed. Whilst

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[72]. An in-depth investigation of the iconography of the tomb has refuted earlier claims that the figures were based around passages in Spencer's Faerie Queene. J.Burke 'Archbishop Abbot's Tomb at Guildford: A Problem in Early Caroline Iconography', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, vol.12 (1949).

pre-Reformation tombs had tended to be placed in a hierarchy which focussed upon altars and shrines, post-Reformation wills show that the family unit had become increasingly important.[73] Not only had the family become more important with regard to the placement of tombs, but (as a natural corollary) the idea of social hierarchy had been similarly stressed, as the following examination will show.

Although memorials were common within churches of the diocese, few churches have more than a handful of them, so any conclusions which can be drawn are somewhat tenuous, but common threads can be discerned when the churches are examined as a whole. The eastern end of the church appears to have been an area set apart for the most eminent members of society: the clergy, for example the memorial plaque to Michael Renniger[74] at Crawley, and monarchs, as at Winchester Cathedral, where the remains of various Anglo-Saxon kings had been placed in caskets sited to the east of the Quire in the early sixteenth century.[75]

The chancel was the next area in which burial was sought or memorials constructed. Burial within the church was something which many people were attempting to stop, and there was 'a growing desire to separate the living from the dead...by prohibiting burials in churches and by reserving graveyards for internments'.[76] Despite this, there were many who still wished to be buried in church: as late as 1659 the Hampshire parish of Deane recorded that 'Mrs Agnes

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[73]. C.Gittings Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (1984), p.87. See also the comments above on the depiction of family groups in funerary monuments, pp.171-172.

[74]. Archdeacon of Winchester (1575-1609) and one of Elizabeth's chaplains.

[75]. M.Biddle 'Early Renaissance at Winchester', in J.Crook (ed.) Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years (Chichester, 1993), p.275.

[76]. C.Gittings Death, Burial and the Individual, p.13.

Mither the wife of George Mither of Hall was buried in the chancell of Dean the 29th of octo. 1659'.[77] Less problematic than burial in the chancel was the erection of memorials there, and these were much more common. At Bishops Waltham there are two plaques to the deceased on the north wall of the chancel, one to Anna Cruys, who died in 1634, and one to three members of the Goulston family who died in 1645, 1648 and 1650. At Bramdean the plaque - to Maria Travers - appears on the south side of the chancel as does the memorial to Edmund Clarke at South Stoneham, which also, as mentioned before,[78] contains portrayals of his family at prayer as part of it design. Memorials within the chancel were confined to the more noteworthy, or (in most cases) wealthiest members of society. Few memorials within the diocese were placed in the nave - if a family could afford the expense of a memorial, they would try to ensure that it was placed in the chancel because of the higher prestige which would go with such placement. Most, of course, could not even afford a memorial in the nave, and were confined to the churchyard. Even here there were differences, such as the tradition that 'the north side of the churchyard should be reserved for suicides, excommunicates and other undesirables'.[79]

There was, therefore, a hierarchy of death, which closely followed the social mores of the time. The nearer the monument or place of burial was to the eastern end of the church, the higher the deceased had been, in general, in the social hierarchy. The order was slightly adjusted so that clergymen could be afforded the

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[77]. HRO 66M83/PR1.
[78]. above, p.170.
[79]. C.Gittings Death, Burial and the Individual, p.89.

appropriate honour, but the general scheme holds true. The funeral service as a

whole, but particularly the placement of memorials afterwards 'served to maintain

the status quo and to reaffirm the traditional hierarchy of power and prestige',[80]

despite the fact that all would be equal before God. This fact was not lost on the

poorer members of society: a Devon tombstone noted, with exquisite irony

> Here I lie by the chancel door,
> They put me here because I was poor;
> The further in the more you pay,
> But here lie I as snug as they.[81]

At the start of this examination of the placement of tombs and memorials it was

noted that the eminent clergy were remembered at the extreme eastern end of the

church. This strongly hints that there was an understanding that, despite the fact

that God was not confined within the four walls of a church, there were certain

places 'sett apart, and sanctified to thy name, and the memorie of

it...Wherefore...thy servants have separated certain places from all prophane and

comon uses'.[82] The perception that the church building was sacred was perhaps

still strong in the minds of many, and thus there arose a desire to be buried as near

as possible to the focal point of the liturgy. This focus was no longer 'the

confession of the saint but the table of the Eucharist sacrifice'[83] - a significant

change which had been brought about by the Reformation.

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[80]. C.Gittings Death, Burial and the Individual, p.139

[81]. N.Llewllyn The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800 (1991), p.105.

[82]. From the consecration service of Jesus Chapel, St. Mary Extra, Southampton (1620), in J.Wickham Legg English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.xli, 1911), p.55.

[83]. P.Ariès The Hour of our Death (1981), p.72.

Hierarchy was thus tacitly accepted in the provision of memorials within the church. This can be seen as one means by which a 'culture of hierarchy' was displayed. William Sclater, preaching at Winchester in 1652, noted that such hierarchies existed at all levels of God's creation:

> ...among the confirmed Angels, there are Degrees...from those heavens, let us behold the Starry Firmament, and there discover two great Luminaries, as Rulers of times and Seasons...Take a view of the Microcosme, or the little world, man himself...the soule commands the body, and the mind the soule it selfe, the sensual appetite, and all the Inferiour Powers in the same.[84]

Sclater provided examples from all levels of the divine world to show that hierarchy was the mainstay of order - 'for what is Order? But...a meet disposition of Equalls, and Unequalls, giving unto each other their proper and due places, and without such a moderate and meet Imparity, the Community will suffer'.[85] As the church was the main focal point of the community, such a hierarchy was also to be reflected within its walls.

The reflection of hierarchy within the church was also reflected by the seating arrangements.[86] The more estimable members of society were seated towards the front of the church, and there was a general decline in importance as one

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[84]. W.Sclater Civil magistracy by divine authority, Asserted, and laid forth in a sermon, Preached at the assises holden at Winchester, for the county of Southampton, on Thursday the 4th of March 1651/52 (1653), p.10.

[85]. ibid., p.7.

[86]. A useful introduction can be found in M.Aston 'Segregation in Church', in W.J.Sheils & D.Wood (eds.) Women in the Church (Studies in Church History, vol. 27, 1990). A more detailed examination has been undertaken by Kevin Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance of Church Seating Arrangements and Pew Disputes' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1990).

proceeded westwards. This outline did have variations, but remains a valid generalisation. Specific arrangements for each parish were organized by the churchwardens, who considered 'a variety of factors to form a composite picture of each individual and thus to define his correct place in the church's hierarchy of seats'.[87] From this a reflection of the hierarchy of the parish could be ascertained.

Even within parishes, however, certain discrepancies could arise. Most notably these came from the different approaches taken towards men and women. Whilst a woman's place in society usually reflected that of her husband, there were occasions when their places in the hierarchy differed. Men and women were segregated in church, and women 'usually took their places on the north side', although 'in some quarters it began to seem natural for men and women who read the Bible, catechized and prayed together at home, to sit next each other in church'.[88] Despite a woman's position being determined by that of her husband, certain factors - the position of widows and the daughters of leading gentlemen, for example - confused the issue, resulting in inexact replications of the male hierarchy within the female one.[89]

Despite such noteworthy discrepancies, the broad hierarchical distinctions remain true and evidence of two good examples in the Winchester diocese can be seen at Botley (Hampshire), where the designation of seats in 1605 was noted at the back of the parish register, and at Newport, Isle of Wight, where the

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[87]. K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.101.

[88]. M.Aston 'Segregation in Church', pp.267, 289.

[89]. K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.140.

churchwardens' accounts show, in much greater detail, the way in which seats were arranged.[90]

Whilst this reflection of social standing in the seating arrangements of a church was generally accepted, there were occasions when the accepted hierarchy was challenged. Indeed, Richard Neile was later to claim that, during his time at Winchester, 'noe causes pertayninge to the eccesiasticall jurisdiction under him were more frequent then broyles about seates...'.[91] Neile was undoubtedly exaggerating - few examples have survive in court books, although it may well be that many cases were resolved at a local level before the Consistory court was required - a possibility that Dillow sees as 'testimony of the churchwardens' power in the allocation of seats'.[92] Whilst Neile appears to have been exaggerating, there are examples of such disputes in the diocese of Winchester. In 1607, two parishioners at East Meon were presented for refusing to move from the seat of John Tribe, claiming they had a right to the seat.[93] At Bentworth in Hampshire, William Hunt was presented to the Consistory Court in 1619 for 'defayming' a seat in the church over which he was in dispute with Robert Hunt.[94] Two years later further disputes arose at Hurstbourne Tarrant and Hurstbourne Priors. In the latter case the dispute continued into 1622, when a relative of one of the disputants took an axe to the pew in question and carried it away to another part of the

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[90]. see appendices 1 and 2.

[91]. S.R.Gardiner (ed.) Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission (Camden Society, 1886), p.140.

[92]. K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.88.

[93]. HRO21M65/C1/29/1.

[94]. HRO21M65/C1/33.

church.[95] A final example from the Hampshire part of the diocese can be seen in 1623 when a similar argument arose (although apparently without any comparable action) at Fareham between the Woodmans and the Potters.[96]

Evidence for such seating disputes also survives in the Channel Islands. In Guernsey, only two firm cases appear - at St. Martin's in 1632 and 1647 - although two cases in the Royal Court records may well be of a similar nature.[97] In Jersey the Ecclesiastical Court dealt with many more cases - in the parishes of St. Mary's (1626, 1627, 1629), St. John (1628), St. Helier (1630), St. Brelade (1632), Trinity (1632 and 1633) and St. Ouen (twice in 1633).[98] Given the size of the island in comparison to Hampshire - it consisted of only twelve parishes compared with some 227 - an astonishingly high proportion of parishes encountered problems over seating arrangements, although the causes of such disputes were the same, with parishioners intruding into seats appointed to other members of the congregation.

In some parishes the most noteworthy members of society had their own pews erected to separate them from the rest of the congregation, and display their social rank more fully. At Ellingham, in the New Forest, a widow, Anne Reade, and John Carver 'erected & sett up...one fair wainscott seate...in the north side of the church amongst the seates there allowed for women[,] the foremost [of whom sit] next unto the common allye that leades from the South doore to the North doore...' in

[95]. HRO21M65/C1/34.

[96]. HRO21M65/C1/35.

[97]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), pp.142-143.

[98].+ JECR, vol.i, fols.43v, 53v, 81v, 64r, 98v, 124r, 128v; vol.ii, fol.9r; vol.i, fol.134v (both St. Ouen presentations).

1635. The two parishioners for whom this seat was erected constantly refused to pay for the privilege of sitting there, as was noted in the churchwardens' accounts from 1636 to 1642.(1641 excepted).[99] No doubt this annoyed the churchwardens somewhat, but there is no evidence that they took the case any further (such as a presentation at the Consistory Court), so some other solution must have been reached at a more local level.

At another Hampshire parish, Elvetham, certain parishioners appear to have provoked a bigger disagreement, their actions were brought to the attention of the bishop in 1631, when it was noted in his register that 'lockes have been lately sett vpon some pewes in the parish church...without any order from me or my Chancellor'. Not surprisingly, the churchwardens were ordered to remove the locks.[100] Action such as this was seen as excessively divisive, and not conducive to the goodwill of the community: it was one of the reasons that 'Laudians' wished to regulate pew arrangements.

The campaign of the 1630s to regulate pew arrangements can be seen as an attempt to reinstate two ideals - the authority of the episcopate, and greater order and uniformity (based around a strictly delineated hierarchy). As Kevin Dillow has stated, whilst 'the reassertion of central authority over the building of pews had been a common part of ecclesiastical policy...the 1630's [sic] sees this turned into a more forthright attempt to impose a centrally decided standard upon each parish'.[101] This standard was designed to combine the social hierarchy more

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[99]. HRO 113M82/PW1.
[100]. HRO 21M65/A1/30, fol.52v.
[101]. K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.181.

effectively with that of the church - the separation of eminent members of society was to be stopped, and the reorientation of seats of uniform height to face the east would re-emphasize the centrality of the communion table to the onlooking congregation.

There can be no doubt that the main thrust of the campaign to order pews occurred in the 1630s, with a secondary campaign in the 1660s.[102] The career of Richard Neile, however, uncovers some interesting background material that needs to be considered. Kenneth Fincham has noted that Neile was one of several bishops who took visitation articles with them from see to see,[103] but it is clear that he amended them. In his 1633 articles (York), Neile enquired about the uniformity and orientation of the seats, whilst in his 1628 articles (Winchester) he 'had only been concerned with the repair of the seats'. Kevin Dillow has suggested that this 'reflects the effects of the Laudian campaign',[104] but it may be that Neile was also influenced by his predecessor at Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes.

In the 1625 Winchester visitation articles, Andrewes had enquired about the repair of seats, as well as disputes and illegal erections; all were collated into one article. Previous visitation articles, across the country, had focussed upon repair, and Andrewes's questions show a more concerted effort to reform abuses.[105] Neile's more detailed enquiries at York may thus have been influenced by the

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[102] K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.171.
[103] K.Fincham Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church (2 volumes, 1994, 1998), vol.i, p.xix, fn.39.
[104] K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', pp.176-177.
[105] K.Fincham Visitation Articles..., passim.

example of Andrewes, displaying another area in which Andrewes is of prime importance to 'Laudian' bishops.[106]

The hierarchy of space which has been seen in the preceding pages was not only a social phenomenon, but was increasingly seen to serve a liturgical function as well. The efforts of 'Laudians' to return the communion table to the eastern end of the church can be seen in the light of this 'culture of hierarchy'. This is not to say, however, that there was one overriding hierarchical arrangement which served all purposes. At times the liturgical hierarchy did not coincide with the social hierarchy, and this led to its own problems.[107]

To return to the liturgical hierarchy of space, the anonymous author R.T. noted in his treatise on church architecture that people ought to approach the altar gradually, as in doing so they could exhibit greater reverence towards the sacrament:

> The man who enters the west doore, from farre beholding the Altar, where he seriously intends to offer his devotions to his God and Saviour, shall find his devout soule more rapt with divine awe and reverence, more inflamed with pure and holy zeale, in the delay and late approach to it than if at first he had entered upon it.[108]

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[106]. The centrality of Andrewes to opinions about the nature of the Church of England was further emphasized, with regard to seating arrangements, at the Restoration. Of twenty-eight enquiries produced in the 1660s, seventeen followed the formula established by Andrewes at Winchester in 1625. K.Dillow, 'The Social and Ecclesiastical Significance...', p.173.

[107]. For the arguments which arose between the corporation and the cathedral at Winchester, see below, pp.335-339.

[108]. R.T. De Templis, pp.190-191. Punctuation modernised.

The idea that space could be used to inform people about the importance of aspects of religious life was also seen in the provision of fonts. The traditional place in which fonts had been placed was the west end of the church, near to the porch - the physical entrance of the church was seen an a physical analogy for the spiritual entrance into the church, although it was increasingly objected that 'their customary position at the western end of the church separated the service of baptism from the rest of Christian worship'.[109] The Canons of 1604, however, stated clearly that the font was to be 'set in the ancient usual places...',[110] near the western door to signify the entry of the baptized Christian into the church.

Not only was the font used as an educational tool as a result of its placement. As didactic cultural materials were sometimes provided upon the walls of the church through paintings and, increasingly, scriptural passages, so the importance of the font was occasionally enhanced and made clearer by the continued use of images upon it. The survival of such imagery is extremely difficult to quantify. It would appear that, as with wall paintings, most of the contentious imagery had been removed during the campaign against idolatry in the 1540s.[111]

Most commonly the images on fonts took the form of a dove, signifying the descent of the Holy Spirit, an image taken from Christ's own baptism in the Jordan[112] - as this image did not represent the Saints or members of the holy family it was not seen as part of the idolatry of the Roman church. Other images had,

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[109]. D.Cressy Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England (Oxford, 1997), p.142.

[110]. G.Bray The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.375.

[111]. see above, p.162.

[112]. Mark 1:9-11.

however, found their way onto some fonts. At Minstead in the New Forest there are four depictions, one on each side of the square font. Two appear to be completely secular, being a lion with two bodies and a tree between two eagles. The other two images are more educative, depicting the baptism of Christ and the Lamb of God - the fact that the imagery here depicted Christ's baptism and sacrifice meant that it could plainly be seen as a didactic tool. This probably saved it from destruction during earlier iconoclastic episodes. The orientation of the two latter images is also important. The Lamb is facing the east end of the church, where Christ was seen to be represented in the sacrament as the sacrificial Lamb of God, whilst the baptism of Christ faces the west end of the church, again emphasising the hierarchy of space within the church.[113] In most cases the fonts used in churches were medieval constructions, which had survived the iconoclasm of the sixteenth century. At Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey, however, the font had not escaped the notice of the iconoclasts, as it was later noted that the church's font was 'adorn'd with nine Figures, in a Sitting Posture, their Faces much mangled'.[114] Whilst some reformers did have scruples about the beautification of fonts, it was recognised that, as baptism was a valid sacrament, something had to be provided at which the ceremony could take place.

There were, however, others who objected to the font, believing that it had been tainted in the pre-Reformation period. The Admonition to the Parliament of 1572,

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[113]. It is possible that the orientation is the result of a later design, as the font was dug up from the old rectory garden in 1893. The symbolic importance of the orientation, however, suggests that this orientation corresponds with the original.

[114]. J.Aubrey The Natural History... , vol.ii, p.289. It is unclear whether the damage occurred during the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

for example, deemed that the font was a relic of Popery, 'invented by Pope Pius',

and towards the end of the sixteenth century Henry Barrow condemned it as 'an

idolatrous, popish, enchanted hallowed relic'.[115] For those of a more Puritan

demeanour the important part of the baptismal rite was the water, which could be

sprinkled over the child just as effectively from a basin, which would not be

associated with Romish superstition. Replacement of fonts with basins did not

occur very frequently, possibly as a result of the prohibitive cost. One parish in

which the font was replaced was Clapham, in the archdeaconry of Surrey, where it

was removed in 1645-46. Having paid out the sum of four shillings to have the

font removed, however, the churchwardens noted almost immediately afterwards

that they had laid out a further sixteen shillings 'for a new marble font'.[116] Even at

the height of the Civil War, in an area noted for its Puritan outlook, traditional

aspects of worship continued.

If, as has been suggested above, there were areas of the diocese in which there

was an acceptance of the use of the visual arts within the church, then a further use

of them also needs to be investigated - stained glass. At William Laud's trial, an

accusation which was laid against him was that he had, on his promotion from

London to the archiepiscopate, caused 'superstitious Pictures in the

Glasswindowes to be repaired, firbished, beautified, and made more compleat and

accurate with painted Glasse'.[117] This did not occur at Canterbury, but at the

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[115]. Cited in D.Cressy Birth, Marriage and Death, pp.108, 142.
[116]. LMA P95/TRI1/1.
[117]. W.Prynne Canterburies Doome (1646), p.59.

archbishop's palace at Lambeth, falling within the diocese of Winchester. Whilst

in some areas of the country people were prepared to remove stained glass, such as

at Salisbury, where Henry Sherfield destroyed a window when he believed he saw

a woman paying homage to it in 1629,[118] no such action appears to have been

taken at Lambeth until they were 'lately broken and defaced by the Souldiers

placed in Garrison in Lambeth house by reason of the great scandall they gave

unto them'.[119] It would appear that the windows had not caused any 'great

scandall' to the parishioners of Lambeth, of whom it has already been noted that

they were accused of being some of the most superstitious in the country;[120] their

failure to attempt to remove the stained glass could only have served to enhance

such a reputation.

It is, however, open to debate how much the parishioners would have known

about the stained glass in the chapel. The chapel was private, and an exempt

peculiar within the diocese, but it is likely that some parishioners would have been

servants at Lambeth palace. From this, some knowledge about the chapel may

have existed in the town, and it is of note that the windows were not destroyed

during the 1640 demonstration - that fate only befell them in 1642.[121]

The palace was important to propagandists, however, as an example of Laud's

ambitions, and it was for this reason that it was cited by Prynne and others during

Laud's trial. It is thus appropriate to undertake some examination of the glass in

the chapel in the course of this work, as the palace fell within the geographical

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[118] See K.Sharpe The Personal Rule of Charles I (1992), pp.345-348.

[119] W.Prynne Canterburies Doome, pp.59-61.

[120] above, p.134.

[121] see below, p.369-370.

constraints of this study. With this in mind, it should be noted that the scenes

depicted in the glass in question were also designed to serve a didactic purpose, as

wall paintings and scriptural texts had been. Within the chancel, on the south side,

there were representations of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the

Holy Ghost (probably a Pentecostal reference). On the north side the windows

displayed the Annuciation, the Nativity and the raising of Lazarus. Outside the

chancel on the south side, Prynne reported illustrations of Judgement Day, King

Solomon and King David (both passing sentence); he does not report any in the

north wall.[122]

These depictions, Prynne claimed, were taken from various Roman examples,

and were thus tainted with Popery, and hence with idolatry (whether or not they

actually invoked idolatrous actions by anybody). It is important, though, to note

the distinctions between the stories which were depicted. Those which were

depicted within the chancel all related to the life of Christ, or the work of the Holy

Ghost. In contrast, the windows in the main body of the church show the results of

human calculation and divine reckoning. Again, a hierarchy can be seen, with

distinctions between the divine scenes show in the chancel windows and the more

earthly designs seen in the nave. The hierarchy of space is thus used to emphasise

the importance of the chancel as compared with the rest of the church - a further

reminder of the importance of hierarchy to the liturgical designs of 'Laudians'.

Throughout the diocese there is evidence that some stained glass had been

broken, either in the early years of the Reformation, or during the Civil War or

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[122]. W.Prynne Canterburies Doome, pp.60-61.

Interregnum - fragments only remained, for example, at Chipstead and Merstham

when John Aubrey toured Surrey.[123] The fact, however, that these windows were

not completely destroyed would seem to support the opinion of Margaret Aston

that parishioners might not take too kindly either to the expense, or the draughty

results, of knocking superstition out of the painted panes in their church'.[124] These

windows were thus replaced as and when necessary.

There were, of course, some churches in which the removal of stained glass was

undertaken during the Civil War and Interregnum as a direct result of perceived

superstition in the imagery. This occurred at Croydon, where, 'in the Rebellion,

one <u>Bleese</u> was hir'd, for half a Crown <u>per</u> Day, to break the painted

Glass-Windows', and at Walton-on-the-Hill, which had contained 'good painted

Glass-Windows, but [these were] much abus'd by Fanatick Rage'.[125] In the latter

case, however, some images remained - an apostle, St. Margaret and St. Martin -

which might imply that the destruction was halted by parishioners who did not

wish to see their church damaged any more.

Elsewhere in the diocese, pre-Reformation glass remains in just over a dozen

parishes, but there are important distinctions in the images portrayed. At Froyle,

Hampshire, the remaining glass is heraldic[126] - such memorials to eminent

members of society or benefactors of the church were to become increasingly

common in the post-Reformation period. Elsewhere in Hampshire, five churches

[123] J.Aubrey The Natural History... , vol.iv, pp.225, 235.

[124] M.Aston 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996), p.98.

[125] J.Aubrey The Natural History... , vol.ii, pp.30, 287.

[126] J.Osborne Stained Glass in England (Stroud, 1997), p.145.

contain windows depicting saints, whilst there is one depiction with a Biblical origin.[127] In Surrey the proportions are almost exactly reversed - only one image of a saint survives, and there are six Biblical stories depicted.[128] Thus in the extant stained glass there is some support for the idea that the county of Hampshire had a more conservative nature than Surrey, with potentially idolatrous saintly imagery surviving, whereas in Surrey Biblical stories were more likely to remain (which, of course, would have been more useful as a didactic tool). Any such deduction should be treated with extreme caution, however, as the survival rate in the churches is so poor.

It can be seen, therefore, that the visual arts could be used in the early Stuart church. The first important way in which they were used was as memorials to eminent members of society, which also served to promote various hierarchies within the church and society. A second, and probably more important, use for them was as didactic tools, to provide means by which the general population could be taught about the Christian religion. Perhaps the most important result to come out of this examination, however, is that there was a wide variety of practices within the diocese, which may have become increasingly important as disputes over doctrine developed in the years before the Civil War.

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[127]. J.Osborne Stained Glass in England, pp.145-148. Gazetteer entries for East Tytherley, Grateley, Headley, Herriard, Winchester (St. Cross) and Mottisfont.
[128]. ibid., pp.224-226. Gazetteer entries for West Horsley, Ashstead, Compton, Great Bookham, Oxted, Stoke d'Abernon and Worplesdon.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Aural Arts.

It has been seen in the last chapter that there is some evidence that the visual arts were used within some churches within the diocese, hinting that, although certainly controversial, the of the visual arts, particularly as a didactic tool, was not unknown during the post-Reformation period. The aim of this chapter will be to examine whether or not the situation was similar for the aural arts, notably music, but also preaching, often neglected as an art form.

The rôle of music in the church in the period after the Reformation is, traditionally, seen as something which was in decline, and under strong attack.[1] Composed church music was 'anathema to the Puritan mind',[2] but the case has been overstated.

In a work which was long held as intrinsic to the understanding of post-Reformation church music, Peter le Huray stated that, in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, 'at Matins...Venite was to be "said or sung", but beyond this, music was not mentioned',[3] an error which needs refutation. On the days when the Quicunque Vult was to be used, for example, it was ordered that it should be 'sung or sayed'.[4] Furthermore, in the notes concerning the 'decent ministration of thinges', a part of the Prayer Book which only appeared in the 1549 version, it was

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[1] . see, for example, N.Temperley The Music of the English Parish Church (Cambridge, 1979).

[2] . P.A.Scholes The Puritans and Music in England and New England (Oxford, 1934), p.119.

[3] . P. le Huray Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660 (1967), p.19.

[4] . F.E.Brightman The English Rite (1921), p.168.

stated that 'in the saying <u>or singing</u> of Matens and Euensonge, Baptizyng and Burying, the minister...shall vse a Surples'.[5] Indeed, it has recently been stated that the 1549 book had 'more constant <u>explicit</u> reference to singing...than there has ever been in any revision since'.[6] Although the number of references to singing did decline in subsequent editions, there were still many places within the service which could be sung. In the order for Morning Prayer, for example, the <u>Venite</u> was to be 'said or sung';[7] similarly, at a burial service, the corpse was to be met at the church stile where 'the priest...shall say or else the priests and clerks shall sing...'.[8]

The major area in which it was recognised that music could be used in church, however, was in the singing of the psalms of David, and a sixteenth century resident of the diocese of Winchester holds a prominent place in the development of this. The main source used for such psalm singing during the period was the metrical settings of Sternhold and Hopkins, and Thomas Sternhold is believed to have resided in the Hampshire parish of Hursley.

Sternhold's approach to psalmody strictly followed the ideals of Calvin, who had himself added a preface to the French Psalter of 1542 to the effect that the only music permissible during divine service was metrical psalmody based upon King David's book. Sternhold's psalms show that he followed this maxim, and only used 'material in the Book of Psalms and did not engage in the writing of paraphrases of any other portions of the Bible or in the composing of hymns for

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[5] . F.E.Brightman The English Rite, p.926. My emphasis.

[6] . J.P.Burbridge 'The Prayer Book of 1549 and Church Music' Cathedral Music, issue 2/99, October 1999, p.10.

[7] . 1549 and 1552 versions in F.E.Brightman The English Rite pp.134-135, 1559 version in J.Booty (ed.) The Book of Common Prayer 1559 (1976), p.52.

[8] . ibid., p.304.

his own devotions or public worship'.[9] This viewpoint was to become the predominant one in the Church of England, holding that Scripture was to be the basis of everything in the liturgy, and that the psalms of David could not be surpassed by any hymns or paraphrases of any subsequent authors. This was also reflected in the Book of Common Prayer, with specific psalms being set out for each day of the month, so that the whole book of psalms could be heard by the congregation within that time.

The predominance of metrical psalmody was never seriously challenged during the Elizabethan period and psalms became a major way of reiterating the relationship between man and God, whether through praise, thanksgiving or supplication. Whilst the rites of the church and the rest of the Bible 'taught man the Word of God, the Book of Psalms...taught man how to talk to God'.[10]

Sternhold's treatment, despite some changes by Hopkins and the addition of some psalms which Sternhold had not prepared, remained unchallenged into the Stuart period, to the extent that metrical psalmody, 'the hallmark of the Reformation, was to become, and remain for one hundred and fifty years, almost the only kind of song heard in an English parish church'.[11] Much of this came down to the simplicity of metre - often using the 8686 'Common Metre' which was also found in the English ballad of the period - and the fact that many of the tunes were likewise based upon old, well-known ballad tunes. Although the tempo

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[9] . R.B.Weir 'Thomas Sternhold and the beginnings of English metrical psalmody' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1974), p.136.

[10] . R.Zim English Metrical Psalmody: Poetry as Praise and Prayers, 1535-1601 (Cambridge, 1987), p.ix.

[11] . N.Temperley The Music of the English Parish Church, vol.i, p.18.

of these tunes slowed over time (a vivacious ballad tune would hardly have been seen as appropriate in a church), and they thus took on a more solemn demeanour, they had established a base upon which the tradition of English hymnody would build. As such, 'it is important to recognize that the hymn has its roots deep in popular culture'.[12]

In the early seventeenth century, however, the dominance of Sternhold and Hopkins was coming under strain. John Donne criticised it,[13] and in 1623 a serious challenge appeared with the publication of George Wither's Hymnes and Songs of the Church. Wither also had strong associations with the Winchester diocese, having been born just on the Hampshire side of the Hampshire-Surrey border. He married into a Lambeth family, and remained in Surrey until a few years before his death, when he returned to his Hampshire roots.

With Sternhold and Wither both having connections with the diocese, it might be tempting to conclude that the area stood out from others in terms of the development of music within the church during the seventeenth century.[14] Whilst it does appear that a musical tradition was particularly strong in the area, further research will need to be undertaken in other parts of the country to establish whether the situation in Winchester is consistent with the rest of England, or if the diocese stood out as a pioneer of 'avant-garde' conformity.

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[12]. J.R.Watson The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study (Oxford, 1997), p.17. My emphasis.

[13]. ibid., p.3.

[14]. An impression which could be further enhanced with a study of developments in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), a non-conformist who became noted for his hymns, was a native of Southampton.

Wither's <u>Hymnes and Songs of the Church</u> is split into two parts. In the first

part, Wither remained loyal to the opinion that all things used in the worship of

God should have Scriptural authority, and he thus based his hymns and songs in

this section on texts from the Old Testament. The second section was less

Scripturally based, and in it Wither provided 'songs for feast days, saints' days,

and solemnities for public benefits'.[15] A few authors before Wither had moved

away from the book of psalms as the source for their work,[16] but Wither appears to

have moved further than any of his predecessors. In this move away from a strictly

Scriptural basis for his hymns, Wither probably felt that he was answering a need

within the population: strict reliance on the Bible, an essential part of Calvinist

liturgical practice,[17] was already showing signs of stress which would later be

paralleled by the doctrinal disputes of the 1630s.

Wither's action did not go unchallenged, although not because of problems over

doctrine. It was challenged because Wither had attempted to circumvent the

monopoly of the Stationers Company. Their response was to try to have Wither's

book suppressed, ostensibly 'on the grounds that Wither's hymns were unfit "to

keep company with David's psalms"'.[18] Wither's response at the time did not

address this question, indicating that the problem was not so much the content of

the book as the way in which it was published,[19] although he soon published a

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[15]. C.S.Hensley 'George Wither's Service to Britain as prophet, humanist, political and religious
pamphleteer after 1625' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Missouri, 1958), p.34.

[16]. For example Michael Drayton who, in his <u>The Harmonie of the Church</u> (1591), uses the term
psalm generically, never actually quoting from the psalms.

[17]. Compare with the attitude taken by Martin Luther, who wrote his own, non-Scripturally based
hymns.

[18]. J.R.Watson <u>The English Hymn</u>, p.57.

[19]. PRO SP Dom 14/157/59.

defence in which he claimed that the Stationers' opposition arose from the fact

that they perceived his work as Popish.[20] Despite this, Wither's book 'gained the

Royal favour, and he actually obtained a patent for its publication along with every

copy of the metrical Psalms'.[21]

Wither's move away from the exclusive use of Scriptural passages presaged a

more widespread development in the mid- to late-seventeenth century, a move

which has been seen, somewhat simplistically, as indicative of a split between the

'Puritan' and 'Anglican' parties within the church. Hence, it has been argued

> The hymn-writing of the Puritans...is different
> from that of the Anglican hymnody of Cosin and
> Ken, because the latter are closer to the disciplines
> of private prayer and Anglican devotional practice,
> whereas the Puritan hymns are more likely to refer
> to scriptural teaching...[22]

Whilst it is true that a different emphasis can be seen between the psalms of the

early seventeenth century and the hymns produced later in the century, it has to be

acknowledged that there was, in many ways, a broad agreement, with an emphasis

upon the psalms of David. Wither had signalled a move away from strictly

scriptural texts, but it was only the beginning of a move. The debate over music in

the church often came down more to the type of music which was used, and the

way in which the psalms were actually sung.

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[20]. G.Wither The Schollers Purgatory, discovered in the Stationers Common-wealth (1624).

[21]. F.J.Gillman The Evolution of the English Hymn (Woking, 1927), p.160.

[22]. J.R.Watson The English Hymn, p.41.

The type of music which was used had been based upon traditional ballad tunes, which simply had new, non-secular words put to them. On a European scale, an example of such a change can be seen in one French ballad:

> The opening lines will suffice to show the change effected: 'Sur le point d'Avignon, j'ouys chasser la belle' etc. Becomes: 'Sur l'arbre de la Croix d'une voix clere et belle, J'ay bien ouy chanter une chanson nouvelle...'[23]

Similar exploitation occurred in England, and was often a conscious decision, as 'from the 1550s to the 1570s, the writers of metrical psalms...borrowed the tunes of secular songs as their route to people's hearts'.[24] This method relied upon inherited knowledge of the tunes, which had been, generally, unprinted (the phrase 'sung to the tune of...' was commonplace), and it explains the preponderance of 8686 'Common Metre' in psalmody of the time.

In this area, Wither's book, again, had some innovatory elements. Whilst some previous psalm books had included printed music, an important difference occurred with the publication of Wither's book, with the provision of tunes written specifically for the book. An edition of psalms printed in 1561 had been 'the first produced in England with musical notations',[25] and one of the most popular, John Day's <u>Whole Booke of Psalmes</u>, which went through some 500 editions in 125 years after it was first published in 1562, was printed 'with monophonic tunes for

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[23]. H.P.Clive 'The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and its Literary Aspects and Sources' <u>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</u>, vol.xx (Geneva, 1958), p.113.

[24]. T.Watt <u>Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640</u> (Cambridge, 1991), p.40.

[25]. R.B.Weir 'Thomas Sternhold...', p.24.

metrical texts'.[26] Wither's book was important in the development of English church music, because it contained new tunes which had more than one singing part, and which were specifically designed for a religious rôle; most were composed by Orlando Gibbons.[27]

The tunes used to accompany Wither's Hymnes and Songs were also more varied in the choice of metre, which was obviously influenced by the poetry used by Wither. This, along with the fact that the tunes were written specifically for the publication, indicate a move away from using ballad tunes, a step which may have been a result of increasing suspicion over the impact such secular influences could have when used in a religious context.

When attention is turned to the way in which the psalms were sung, important changes can be seen to have taken place as a result of the Reformation, with the congregation becoming more involved in the musical aspects of worship. This did not happen immediately, but took some time to evolve. Richard Weir has stated, with regard to this, that 'there is no evidence of congregational singing as a part of the service during the six years of Edward's rule': it was not until the return of the Marian exiles that 'congregational psalm singing took on the aspect of a mass movement'.[28] Beat Kümin is thus correct when he states that

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[26]. B.Kümin 'Masses, Morris and Metrical Psalms in the English Parish c. 1400-1600', in F.Kisby (ed.) Music and Musicians in Renaissance Urban Communities (Cambridge, 2001), p.79. I am grateful to Beat Kümin and Fiona Kisby for allowing me to see a copy of this chapter prior to publication.

[27]. I have been unable to ascertain whether Gibbons himself had any connection with the Winchester diocese, but he had become a member of the Chapel Royal in 1604. Wither had many connections at court, and around 1620 counted the Princess Elizabeth as his greatest patron (see DNB entry). The collaboration between Gibbons and Wither may well have been the result of contacts at court.

[28]. R.B.Weir 'Thomas Sternhold...', pp.212, 217.

> One of the most distinctive innovations of Elizabethan worship - influenced by practices in Continental and Marian exile Churches - was the fact that parishioners became active performers themselves...[29]

This participation in the music of the church was actively cultivated by some divines within the church, as honouring God in song was seen as something which had always been done. George Hakewill, in a work published when he was archdeacon of Surrey stated his belief that, although David had sung the Psalms alone at times, they were also 'by him appointed to bee sung publikely in the Congregation...for the good of others'.[30]

In parish churches, therefore, psalms were sung by all members of the congregation - after all, 'all could sing, if all were not fit for the sacrament'.[31] Whilst the situation in parish churches thus embraced more fully the belief that all were to be involved in worship - it was a communal act in which everybody could be involved - the situation in cathedrals was somewhat different. In many cathedrals the psalms were sung antiphonally, with alternate verses being sung by either side of the choir. This was an effect which had been developed by composers shortly after the Reformation:

> Genuinely 'antiphonal' singing (i.e. the alternate use of the two sides of the choir, Decani and Cantoris) is precluded by the format of the earliest Anglican sources...[which] do not allow for different

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[29]. B.Kümin 'Masses, Morris and Metrical Psalms...', p.79.

[30]. G.Hakewill King David's Vow for Reformation of Himselfe, his Family, his Kingdom (1621), p.9.

[31]. P Collinson 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in C.Durston & J.Eales The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996), p.56.

material to be sung by the two sides of the choir. Within a decade or so of the 1549 Prayer Book, however, composers had embarked upon the exploitation of spatial effects through the various passages to alternate sides of the choir.[32]

Whilst this refers more to composed anthems and service music than psalms, the technique soon became used in cathedrals for psalm singing, and a variation of it appears to have been adopted in parish churches, with parishioners repeating the priest's intonations. This technique was disliked by Puritans because the Psalms were seen as communal offerings by the congregation, to be sung together.[33] It was defended by the incumbent of Alresford, Peter Heylyn, who believed that it had been used in the early church:

> Ignatius, bishop of Antiochia, one who was conversant with the Apostles, brought in the use of singing alternatum, course by course, according as it still continues in our publike Quires, where one side answers to another: some show whereof is left in Parochiall Churches; in which the Minister and the people answere one another, in their severall turnes.[34]

More controversial than the method of singing psalms was the use of instruments to accompany them, particularly the organ, which, it was argued, should be removed from all churches, as they were seen as instruments of Papist superstition. To modern minds the connection between the organ and superstition

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[32]. J.Morehen 'The "burden of proof": the editor as detective', in J.Morehen (ed.) English Choral Practice, 1400-1650 (Cambridge, 1995), p.208.

[33]. See Hakewill's comment above, p.174.

[34]. P.Heylyn A History of the Sabbath (1636), book 2, p.38.

would appear to be somewhat ridiculous, but it becomes clearer when one of the

original uses of an organ in a church is understood:

> In around the ninth and tenth centuries, the organ
> had been first accorded a place...in a great church
> not as an instrument of music but as a machine
> operated to make probably pretty random but joyful
> noise on feast-days, to be used in much the same
> way as peals and clashes of bells.[35]

It is therefore not surprising, given the approach taken towards monuments by

Robert Horne as bishop of Winchester,[36] that in 1571 he ordered the neglect of the

organ at Winchester College.[37] It has been claimed that he 'banned organs

throughout his diocese', but in fact the order was only applied to Winchester

College.[38] On a national scale, it was recognised that the removal of organs was

unpopular with some of the population. Thus in the 1563 Homilies can be found

the following:

> A woman said to her neighbour: Alas, gossip, what
> shall we do now at church, since all the saints are
> taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont
> to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like
> piping, chanting, and playing upon organs that we
> could have before. But (dearly beloved) we ought
> greatly to rejoice and give thanks, that our churches
> are delivered out of all those things which displeased
> God so sore...[39]

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[35]. R.Bowers 'The Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402-1539',
Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.45, no.2 (April 1994), p.219.

[36]. see above, p.22.

[37]. Mildon, p.314.

[38]. N.Temperley The Music of the English Parish Church, vol.i, p.42; HRO 21M65/A1/26.

[39]. Cited in S.Bicknell The History of the English Organ (Cambridge, 1998), p.44, and N.Temperley
The Music of the English Parish Church, vol.i, p.40.

This homily makes it clear that organs were seen as one of the innovations of Rome: they had to be removed from a church which had expunged Roman errors, but this was not a universal view. Peter Heylyn believed that organs had not been introduced by Rome, but were in use before errors had crept in:

> To that vocall Musicke...it pleased the Church...to adde Instrumentall; the Organ being added to the Voyce, by Pope Vitalian, Anno 653...long before the aberration of the Church from its pristine piety...[40]

It is clear that some organs did survive the Reformation. Within the Winchester diocese there is evidence of an organ surviving at St. Lawrence (Southampton), Wandsworth and Lambeth, although the evidence is, admittedly, sparse.[41] Furthermore, it was assumed that the parishioners at Lambeth had some understanding of how the instrument worked, and the incumbent of the parish exploited this to explain that they needed to be infused with the Holy Spirit:

> The organ pipes must bee filled with wind before the instrument give any sound: our mouths, lips, and tongues are the instruments and organs of God, and before they are filled with the wind in my Text, they cannot sound out...his wondrous workes.[42]

Not only did some organs survive, but in the early seventeenth century there appears to have been a revival in organ building - a move which coincided with

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[40]. P.Heylyn A History of the Sabbath, book 2, p.163.

[41]. SCA PR 4/2/1, S.Bicknell The History of the English Organ, p.54.

[42]. D.Featley Clavis Mystica: A Key Opening Diverse Difficult and Mysterious Texts of Holy Scripture (1636), p.844. Featley was preaching on Acts 2:2, 'And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing wind...'.

'an increased interest in music and a new awareness of its value as a liturgical ornament'.[43] In the Winchester diocese, the Basingstoke churchwardens' accounts referred to a pair of organs in 1622, and a new organ was being built at Romsey in 1634. In the same year, the organ at the cathedral was reported to be 'not exceeding faire, nor rich, but sweet, and tunable, and sweetly played on, by one of the rarest organists that this land affords'.[44]

To view church music in isolation in the way in which it was performed, however, would be to ignore more philosophical arguments over its construction, and its importance to other areas of human life. Most importantly, 'in seventeenth-century England...music was thought of as both an art and a science...moreover, the science of music was normally considered as being one of the mathematical sciences, most frequently associated with astronomy, geometry and arithmetic'.[45] Listening to a piece of music was thus much more than the aural experience associated with it today. Music was believed to be a means through which man could understand God's creation and the way in which the universe was ordered: it was, indeed, 'an aural translation of the music of the spheres'.[46] Music, especially church music, was a means through which man could raise himself from the imperfect world towards heaven. As Charles Butler, the vicar of Wootton St. Lawrence (Hampshire) put it in his 1636 treatise,

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[43]. P. le Huray Music and the Reformation, pp.45-46.

[44]. Mildon, p.314; J.Walker Romsey Abbey through the Centuries (Lymington, 1993), p.97, where the baptism, on January 12, is erroneously dated 1637; BL Lansdowne Mss 213, fols.369v, 364v. The churchwardens' accounts for Basingstoke are no longer extant.

[45]. P.M.Gouk Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England (1999), p.9.

[46]. B.R.Smith The Acoustic World of Early Modern England (1999), p.136.

> ...a solemn Anthem wherein a sweete Melodious Treble, or Countertenor, singeth single, and the full Quire answereth...is that <u>Hyperlydian</u> Musik, which...maketh such a heavenly Harmonie, as is pleasing unto God and Man.[47]

Butler's work, as the work of a clergyman, is important with regard to ideas about the use of music within the church. He noted the way in which harmony in music was based upon 'a delightful congruitie of all the Partes of a Song among themselves, through the Concordance of certain Intervalls, which GOD in Nature...hath made to agree together'.[48] Refining this statement, Butler shows that some intervals are more important than others:

> Of the 12 Intervalls 7 are Consonant, and 5 Dissonant...
> Of Concords some are Primarie, and some Secondarie...[49]

Butler here displays that there is a hierarchy within music, a common premise at the time, as can be seen in Robert Fludd's diagrammatic representations of the human body and its links with both music and the cosmos - there are displayed 'harmonious relationships between different levels of being'.[50] As will be seen in a later chapter, the correspondence between various hierarchies was extremely important at the time, and music would here appear to be the main link between these arrangements.[51]

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[47]. C.Butler <u>The Principles of Musik</u> (1636), p.41. In all citations from Butler's work, I have altered his experimental orthography, but kept as close to seventeenth century spelling as possible.

[48]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.46.

[49]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.48.

[50]. P.M.Gouk <u>Music, Science and Natural Magic</u>, pp.147-148.

[51]. For the links between various hierarchies see below, chapter six.

Having described how important this sense of hierarchy is to music, Butler proceeded to note the different ways in which music could be used: 'though they be many, may bee all reduced unto two...Ecclesiastical...[and] Civil'.[52] Of these two divisions it is clear to Butler which is more important: 'the first use of Musik is in Divine service and worship of God, whereunto the holy Prophet, mooved by the spirit of God, dooeth often invite and exhort Gods people'.[53] Butler went on to show the long association between music and worship, from the Israelites and early Christians through to the present time. Whilst he implicitly acknowledged that music had been abused in the past, he believed that this was 'a poore Reason, that therefore it shoulde not be restored to its ancient right use again'.[54]

Butler defends music in the church for several reasons, particularly noting the long period of time during which it had been used, and the essential truths and reflections of God's order which were revealed in it. In claiming that music had inherently good properties, and should not therefore be completely banned because it had been misused in the past, he fell on similar arguments to those used by 'Laudians' in their defence of the promotion of non-prescribed ceremonies. As with the prominence of Thomas Sternhold and George Wither in the development of English psalmody and hymnody, this may indicate further evidence that the diocese was particularly 'avant-garde' in its approach to worship. Again, further research along these lines in other areas of the country is required to confirm or deny this suspicion.

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[52]. C.Butler The Principles of Musik, p.93.
[53]. ibid., p.98.
[54]. ibid., pp.105-108.

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The attempt to use more stimulating forms of aural communication was not confined to the musical domain. In many ways links were perceived between music and oratory, another art form which depended upon the aural sense. In particular, both art forms could be broken down into various rhetorical components. Francis Bacon noted this with regard to music:

> There bee in <u>Musicke</u> certain <u>Figures</u>, or <u>Tropes;</u>
> almost agreeing with the <u>Figures</u> of <u>Rhetoricke</u>...The
> <u>Reports</u> and <u>Fuges</u>, have an Agreement with the
> <u>Figures</u> in <u>Rhetoricke</u>, of <u>Repetition</u>, and
> <u>Traduction</u>...[55]

Turning to preaching, a similar emphasis on the use of rhetoric has been displayed by Perry Miller in his examination of New England Puritans. Miller noted that 'wherever we turn in Renaissance writings, we find similar conceptions of rhetoric as the divine instrument of civilization, the means of order and the social bond'.[56] The differences between preaching styles developed from diverging opinions on how this rhetorical basis should be used in order to explain the word of God:

> As compared with Arminians, the Puritans seem to
> speak of the sermon in entirely pietistic terms, to
> scorn the help of art and all care for form, to open
> the way to fulmination and rant.[57]

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[55]. F.Bacon <u>Sylva Sylvarum</u> (1626), sig.113, cited in P.M.Gouk <u>Music, Science and Natural Magic</u>, p.164.

[56]. P.Miller <u>The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century</u> (1954), p.306.

[57]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.302.

It is the purpose of the following examination to uncover the accuracy of this statement, particularly whether the divide between Arminian and Puritan is as strictly defined as Miller suggests.

Preaching was, in many ways, the basis of the post-Reformation church, and it opened up new avenues for ministers to explore. A distinction between preaching styles did develop, and it could increasingly be defined as one between those who wished to use plain language to expound Scripture and those who wished to appeal more to the senses and use more flamboyant artistic styles to advance their views.

This difference has, in the past, been seen as concurrent with the division between 'Puritan' and 'Anglican' - or, in Miller's terms, 'Puritan' and 'Arminian'. In this approach, Miller was probably influenced by W. Fraser Mitchell, who, in an examination of preaching during the seventeenth century, continually referred to those who favoured a more elaborate style of sermonising as 'Anglo-Catholic', although this term should not be used as a description until the Oxford Movement of the 1840s.[58] In contrast to these 'Anglo-Catholics', Mitchell saw 'the crying fault of the greater Puritans was...the scrupulous plainness of their addresses, which by their very dogmatism practically forbade the exercise of the intellect, and their careful avoidance of arousing the whole range of emotion which the Anglo-Catholic...preaching had deliberately attempted to evoke'.[59]

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[58]. W.F.Mitchell English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (1932), passim. P.Miller The New England Mind pp.332-333. A more helpful term has recently been coined by Diarmaid MacCulloch, when he refers to the emerging 'Westminster Movement' of the late Elizabethan period, D.MacCullough Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation (1999), pp.208-215.

[59]. W.F.Mitchell English Pulpit Oratory, p.258.

As a result of this equivalence of puritan doctrine with plain preaching, the use of ornate language in a sermon has been not only associated with the 'Anglican' viewpoint, but, more narrowly, within the aesthetic proclivity of the 'Laudians'. It has to be said that this view has been helped by the opinions of contemporaries. Chamberlain, for example, sent a sermon of Laud's to Sir Dudley Carleton 'because it is after the manner of the Bishop of Winchester's preaching'.[60] The bishop of whom Chamberlain writes was Lancelot Andrewes, by whom Laud was so impressed that he, along with John Buckeridge, edited a version of Andrewes's sermons for publication in the Caroline era. James I was reported by a near contemporary to have said of Andrewes's style of preaching that:

> ...he was learned, but he did play with his text, as a monkey does, who takes up a thing and tosses and plays with it, and then he rakes up another, and plays a little with it - 'here's a pretty thing, and there's a pretty thing'.[61]

As has just been said, Mitchell and Miller associated the more ornate preaching style with 'Laudian' churchmen and contrasted it with a plainer style which can be identified with Puritans. In his study of 'metaphysical preaching', however, Horton Davies has shown that the techniques used by those seen as being in the 'Laudian' camp actually transversed any such boundary. Davies defined eleven factors which encapsulated the essentials of a metaphysical sermon, but which could easily be

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[60]. Cited in W.F.Mitchell English Pulpit Oratory..., p.157.
[61]. J.Aubrey (ed. R.Barber) Brief Lives (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.20.

contained in two broader categories - an appeal to examples from history, and an appeal to the senses in the contemporary world.[62] Or, as Mitchell asserted:

> When...we speak of preaching as 'metaphysical' we mean that it is quaint and fantastic, not because it employs unusual or whimsical expressions or images, but that when it does employ such it derives them from a background of remote learning, and adapts them to use by a curious transmutation effected by means of the peculiar temperament or deliberate endeavour of the preacher.[63]

In the ensuing study, attention will first focus upon the metaphysicals, particularly those who had some association with the diocese. The elements of the metaphysical style which will be examined in particular will be their use of devices which would appeal to the senses - the use of historical examples which Davies also attributes to metaphysical sermons are not appropriate to a chapter on the aural arts.[64] As a contrast, the plainer, or 'pietistic' (as opposed to Puritan) style will be examined afterwards, although in less detail, as such a style does not lend itself to such an examination.[65]

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[62]. H.Davies Like Angels from a Cloud: The English Metaphysical Preachers 1588-1645 (San Marino, 1986), pp.2-3. The elements of a metaphysical sermon were patristics, classical citations, classical lore, 'unnatural' natural history, speculation, a relationship between preaching and the Christian calendar, wit, allegory, complex structures, a staccato style, and paradox.

[63]. W.F.Mitchell English Pulpit Oratory..., p.5.

[64]. The focus will thus be on wit, allegory, complex structures, a staccato style, and paradox.

[65]. I have tried to avoid the term 'Puritan' preaching as it displays greater connection between sermon style and religious practice than would appear to have been the case. In accepting, however, that most of the criticism of metaphysical preaching came from Puritans, I note the comment of Perry Miller that 'Puritans seem to speak of the sermon entirely in pietistic terms', and thus use this designation. P.Miller The New England Mind, p.302.

Davies studied some forty-two metaphysical preachers, and it is of note that a

high proportion of them (twelve) had connections with the Winchester diocese,

hinting that the metaphysical style of preaching may have become particularly

widespread in that area.[66] The divines encountered in the course of this study will

reveal, however, that the style was not confined to those of a 'Laudian' persuasion

- preachers such as Lancelot Andrewes and Peter Heylyn will be seen to have

preached in a similar style to, for example, Daniel Featley and Arthur Lake.

This in itself calls the very designations into some doubt. Mitchell's

examination of preaching during the seventeenth century was for a long time the

only work to address the subject, but,

> convinced that Donne 'was a "metaphysical"
> preacher, just as he was a "metaphysical" poet',
> Mitchell...encumbered criticism of Donne's sermons
> in particular with a term that has never proved as
> helpful or productive as it arguably has been to
> criticism of Donne's poetry.[67]

Similarly, when Horton Davies examined a selection of preachers from the early

seventeenth century, whilst he noted

> how unacceptable it was to apply a Tractarian
> label [Anglo-Catholic] to the seventeenth century',
> he nevertheless 'firmly reasserted the fitness of
> 'metaphysical' to describe dozens of preachers...who
> shared little more than their grammar school

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[66]. The preachers concerned were Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne, Brian Duppa, Daniel Featley, John Hacket, Peter Heylyn, Thomas Jackson, Arthur Lake, Thomas Morton, Thomas Playfere, Richard Senhouse, and Matthew Wren.

[67]. L.A.Ferrell & P.McCullough 'Revising the study of the English sermon', in L.A.Ferrell & P.McCullough (eds.) The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750 (Manchester, 2000), p.5.

education, conformity to the Church of England, and
Davies's own estimation of their 'eloquence'.[68]

A 'metaphysical style' has thus, in many ways, been foisted upon certain

preachers of the period in an attempt to identify them as a convenient group. This

has, in consequence, tended to associate them with a particular style of worship

(and, by implication, doctrine). By contrast, a 'plain' style has also been associated

with particular liturgical opinions, in some cases being explicitly termed 'Puritan'.

As has been seen earlier in discussions about liturgical practices within the

diocese, however, such definitions are often too tight and schematic. Whilst this

proviso must be kept in mind, the imposed categories will be kept in the following

discussion, as 'characteristics like the ones he [Davies] singles out describe fairly

accurately the full blown "witty" style' which reached its greatest popularity in the

early seventeenth century, and thus serve as a useful basis upon which to base any

examination'.[69]

The first thing that strikes one upon reading a 'metaphysical' sermon is the

complex structure which underlies it, something which is inseparably linked with

the staccato style which Davies also noted. The subdivision of text, as well as

interpretation, was a widespread exegetical technique in the seventeenth century,

but different approaches are discernible. As Horton Davies noted:

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[68]. L.A.Ferrell & P.McCullough 'Revising the study of the English sermon', p.6.

[69]. B.Crockett 'Thomas Playfere's Poetics of Preaching', in L.A.Ferrell & P.McCullough (eds.) The
English Sermon Revised, p.62.

> [A] striking difference between metaphysical
> preachers and Puritan preachers was the preference
> of the former for sermons with complex divisions in
> the plan...in this they can be compared with the
> simplicity of Puritan exegesis according to the text.[70]

Lancelot Andrewes, of whom it has been said that he 'has long been recognised

as the founder of the metaphysical school of preaching',[71] provides plentiful

examples of metaphysical techniques. In terms of the complex subdivision, the

approach can be seen in the Ash Wednesday sermon of 1619:

> I entend to proceed as the words lye. [I.] 1. To
> turne, first; 2. And to God; 3. To God, with the
> heart; 4. and with the whole heart. II. Then the
> Manner, with these foure: 1. Fasting, 2. Weeping, 3.
> Mourning, 4. and a Rent heart...III. Then last, for the
> time, when: Now to doe it...[72]

When he had expounded at Christmas 1618 upon Luke's description of the

calling of the shepherds, Andrewes had described the way in which they were

informed about the birth as a sermon. This sermon was examined further:

> A Sermon would have an Antheme of course...This
> is set downe in the two later verses: I. The Queer
> that sing it, in the former: 2. the Song it selfe...in the
> later. I. The Queer in it five. 1. Who?...2. In what
> habit?...3. What number?...4. What they did...5. And
> fiftly, When?...

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[70]. H.Davies Like Angels from a Cloud, p.66. The contrast between the two styles will become clearer when the pietistic preaching style is examined, especially the difference in exegesis between the metaphysicals, who split the text according to the words contained in the text, and the pietistics, who tended to split the text according to its meaning. In this, the pietistics were influenced by techniques put forward by Peter Ramus, which separated text into simple either/or splits, whereas metaphysical splitting often used three or more divisions. See P.Miller The New England Mind., with a diagrammatic representation of such divisions on p.126.

[71]. G.M.Story (ed.) Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons (Oxford, 1967), p.v.

[72]. ibid., pp.123-124.

> The <u>Song</u>: That consists of three streines. There
> are in it 1. <u>God</u>, 2. <u>Earth</u>, and 3. <u>Men</u>, these three
> first. And then, three to these: 1. <u>Glorie</u>, 2. <u>Peace</u>, 3.
> <u>Good-will</u>: Each sorted to other: 1. <u>Glorie</u>, to <u>God</u>; 2.
> <u>Peace</u>, to the <u>Earth</u>; 3. To <u>Men</u>, a <u>Good-will</u>.[73]

In a similar style, Arthur Lake often opened his sermons with an immediate

division of the text, for example when he examined the fifth verse of psalm 82.

Lake noted that the verse was divided itself into four points, of which he chose one

to expound upon. He then proceeded to divide this up into three further sections,

the third of which is again subdivided into two smaller points, an extremely

complex set of subdivisions. Of these points, Lake stated he would 'speake briefly

and in their order': subdivision and the staccato style proceeding apace.[74]

Norwich Spackman, the chaplain to James Montague when the latter was

bishop of Bath and Wells, employed this style when he preached before James I in

1614. Developing a passage from the gospel of Matthew, he noted that the text

provided two things - 'a Reprehension...<u>and an</u> Instruction'. The first of these was

further divided into three details - '<u>the</u> manner...the persons...the fault' - and the

latter into two - 'what it is that God willeth' and 'what he reiecteth'.[75]

Perhaps the most extreme example of the complexity which could arise in

metaphysical sermons can be seen in Thomas Playfere's <u>The Meane in Mourning</u>.

Although preached (1595) before Playfere's time in the diocese (he was vicar of

West Cheam from 1605 to 1610), other sermons printed in his collected works

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[73]. G.M.Story (ed.) <u>Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons</u>, p.77.

[74]. A.Lake <u>Ten Sermons Vpon Severall Occasions</u> (1640), pp.109-110.

[75]. [N.Spackman] <u>A Sermon before his Majesty at White-hall the first of May 1614</u> (1614), pp.7-8.

show that such splitting was a feature of his work, although not to this extent.[76]

The division of the text in this sermon saw each word in an eight-word sentence treated in eight different ways:

> In which sentence we may observe, so many wordes, so many parts, Eight wordes, eight parts. The first, <u>Weepe not</u>; the second, <u>But weepe</u>; the third, <u>Weepe not, But weepe</u>; the fourth, <u>For mee</u>; the fifth, <u>For your selves</u>; the sixth, <u>For Mee For your selves</u>; the seventh, <u>Weepe not for mee</u>; the eighth, <u>But weepe for your selves</u>.[77]

Such subdivision was not restricted to the text of the sermon. In his Easter sermon of 1620, on the arrival of Mary Magdalene at the empty tomb (John 20:11-17), Andrewes divided not only the meaning of the text - 'the summe of it is, 1. The seeking <u>Christ</u> dead; 2. The finding <u>Him</u> alive' - but also the participants in the action:

> There are three parties that make up the whole Text: and if I should divide it, I would make those three Parties the three parts; 1. <u>Mary Magdalene</u>, 2. The <u>Angels</u>, 3. and <u>Christ</u> our Saviour.[78]

In this case, having brought to the congregation's attention the division between the three parties, Andrewes went on to examine the rôle played by each. The angels, the supporting cast to the central characters, were soon dismissed, so that the important part of the story could be explained: Mary's recognition that this was the risen Christ. This did not occur as a result of visual recognition, however, but

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[76]. For example, 'Good Ground' and 'Glorie Waighes Downe the Crosse'.

[77]. T.Playfere <u>The Whole Sermons of That Eloquent Divine of Famous Memory; Thomas Playfere</u> (1623), pp.3-4.

[78]. G.M.Story (ed.) <u>Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons</u>, p.195.

only when Jesus spoke to Mary - when He would be made 'knowen to her after his rising, Hee did choose to be made knowen by the eare rather than by the eye...[Christ] opens her eares first, and her eyes after'.[79] From this, Andrewes could make an analogy with the appearance of Christ to the Apostles, and then appeal to the congregation to partake of the sacrament:

> Twise this day came <u>Christe</u>...To <u>Marie</u> <u>Magdalene</u>, here: and to them at <u>Emmaus</u>...<u>He was</u> <u>knowen to them in the breaking of the bread</u>. Her eyes were opened by speaking a word: Their eyes opened by the breaking of bread. There is one and the other way, and so now you have both. And now you have them, I pray you make use of them.[80]

Although the text had been divided in a complex manner, Andrewes managed to conclude the sermon with an appeal for the congregation to draw together in the communion, the ultimate Christian statement of unity, both between each other, and between the church and Christ.

One of the most famous examples of Andrewes's division of a text, however, comes not from the division of the verse to show a particular theological point, but in the division of one word. The chosen word is Immanuel, which Andrewes showed 'is compounded, and to be taken in pieces'.[81] In a detailed, if not tortuous, examination, Andrewes goes on to show the importance of each syllable (<u>Imm</u> equating to <u>cum</u>, or with; <u>Anu</u>, us; <u>El</u>, God). For salvation, all three need to be present, and when they are all present, nothing more is needed:

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[79]. G.M.Story (ed.) <u>Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons</u>, p.215.

[80]. <u>ibid.</u>, p.216.

[81]. L.Andrewes <u>Seventeen Sermons on the Nativity</u> (1887), p.140.

> For if this Child be 'Immanuel, God with us', then
> without this Child, this Immanuel, we be without
> God...and if without Him in this [world], without
> Him in the next; and if without Him there - if it be
> not Immanu-el, it will be Immanu-hell...[but] if we
> have Him, and God by Him, we need no more;
> Immanu-el and Immanu-all.[82]

Daniel Featley used this method when preaching about God's care for his

chosen race, as seen in Psalm 121, verse 3. He explained that the Jewish word for

God could be seen to encapsulate His eternal nature:

> Every syllable in it is a mystery; Je hath a relation
> to the time future, ho to the present, vah to that
> which is past...and some Christian interpreters
> conceive, that S. John alludes thereunto in the
> description of God...Hee which was, and is, and is to
> come.[83]

From this example of an intricate examination of a single word, we can proceed

to the use of wit in metaphysical preaching. In this context, wit refers to wordplay

and the incongruity of aurally related words.

Staying with Daniel Featley we can see from a sermon preached at Lambeth in

1619 that the order of words could be altered to attract the listener's attention.

Talking about the final reckoning, Featley noted Saint Augustine's opinion that, at

the time of preaching, God's mind was 'occulte justa, and juste occulte; secretly

just, and justly secret...but at the day of Judgment they shall be manifestly just, and

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[82]. L.Andrewes <u>Seventeen Sermons on the Nativity</u>, p.142.

[83]. D.Featley <u>Clavis Mystica</u>, p.816. The closing reference is to Revelation 1:8.

justly manifest'.[84] This swopping of word order was also used by Arthur Lake,

who, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, showed that

> in the revealed will of God there are two things. _Verbum rei_, the word; and _rei verbi_, the mystery...the Scripture teacheth there is one God in three persons; the words are plaine and easie, every man heares, and understands them; but the mystery contained in these words doth passe the reach of a man.[85]

Later in the sermon, Lake displayed another part of wordplay, the use of aurally

similar words which had distinctly different meanings. There are, he said, two

ways of keeping ourselves in the love of God: 'first, by not _committing_ what we

should not do; secondly, nor _omitting_ what we should doe'.[86] Edward Evans, who

was to become the incumbent of Leckford, Hampshire, used wordplay such as this

to warn of the dangers of flirting with the Devil:

> Such _Wooing_ will proue to bee our _Woeing_, not by taking away of any _O_, but by adding a thousand Woes vnto vs all. Such _Sowing to the Flesh_, and _Sow-wallowing in the Mire_, will proue to be our _Reaping of Corruption_...Such _Courting_, our _Carting into Hell_.[87]

In his 1618 Christmas sermon, Lancelot Andrewes turned to Latin in order to

exploit this technique in showing that when Christ was born, a sign was needed by

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[84]. D.Featley _Clavis Mystica_, p.47.

[85]. A.Lake _Ten Sermons_, pp.32-33.

[86]. ibid., pp.41-42. My emphasis.

[87]. E.Evans _Verba Dierum. Or, The Dayes Report of Gods Glory_ (Oxford, 1615), p.65.

the shepherds in order that they could find him (and thus all men need signs to

help them find Christ):

> For how shall they find him without a Signe? So
> come we from Christus natus, to Christus signatus.
> Natus, borne, to be found; Signatus, signed or
> marked, that he may be found.[88]

The example of the shepherds had also been used by Andrewes in his 1610

Christmas sermon. In this, he juxtaposed the position of the shepherds with one of

the images of Christ, to show the paradox of the Nativity:

> It well agreed, to tell Shepheards of the yeaning of
> a strange Lambe; such a Lambe, as should take away
> the sinnes of the world...or (if ye will) to tell
> shepheards of the birth of a Shepheard.[89]

The inherent paradox at Christ's birth was also exploited by John Shaw, the

vicar of Woking (Surrey). In a sermon extolling the virtues of the Virgin Mary,

Shaw illustrated the contradictions inherent in the story:

> The singular blessednesse and rare prerogative,
> that Marie at once is a maide and a mother, beareth a
> sonne, and is still a Virgine; is both a daughter of
> god, and a mother of the Sonne of God; is a wonder
> of wonders, a strange miracle, glorious and
> comfortable.[90]

The use of paradox such as this was, possibly the most widely used facet of

metaphysical preaching. It was a technique which was particularly easy to apply,

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[88]. G.M.Story (ed.) Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons, p.76.

[89]. ibid., pp.23-24.

[90]. J.Shaw The Blessedness of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ (1618), p.4.

given the texts which were to be examined and the built-in contradictions. Nativity

sermons, for example, could exploit the fact that God, who had created man, had

become man. Not only had God condescended to appear in human form, but his

birth was in the lowliest place possible - born 'in a stable, laid there in a

manger...in as poor and pitifull a plight as ever was any: More likely to be

Abhorred than adored...'.[91] Easter sermons could examine how Christ, by dying,

had destroyed death itself, and given Christians the hope of sharing in His

kingdom:

> ...if Christ be risen from it, there is a rising; if a
> rising of one, then may there be of another; if He be
> risen in our nature, then is our nature risen...He is
> but risen in part, and He may rise all, we must rise
> from death also.[92]

Daniel Featley linked the two paradoxes of Christ's birth and death succinctly,

exploiting similar sounding words to emphasise his point - 'as that was his

proceeding out of the Virgins wombe; so this was out of a Virgin tombe'.[93]

Another way in which the words of a sermon were exploited in order to bring out

unexpected conclusions was through analogy. Hence we can find Daniel Featley,

in a sermon preached at Lambeth in 1617, cite five different ways in which man

can be compared to a reed:

> 1. A reed hollow within, and man by nature empty
> and void of all inward grace. 2. A reed apt to make a

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[91]. G.M.Story (ed.) Lancelot Andrewes: Sermons, p.114.

[92]. Sermon preached on Easter Day, 1606, in M.Dorman The Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes.
Volume Two: Paschal and Pentecostal (Bishop Auckland, 1993), p.7.

[93]. D.Featley Clavis Mystica, p.172.

> pipe to sound, or cane to write his makers praises. 3.
> A reed dry or unfruitfull, though planted and grown
> by the river side; and man dry and unfruitfull in
> good works, though continually watered with Gods
> blessings. 4. A reed ever wagging of it selfe, or
> shaken, and man so unstable...5. A reed so weake,
> that it yeeldeth to the least puff of wind...a man so
> feeble, that he is moved with the least blow of
> temptation...[94]

It can thus be seen that the metaphysical style of preaching was one which thrived upon the ways in which the words themselves, rather than the text in general, could be examined, exploited and explained. In contrast, the plainer style preferred by other preachers failed to use the words in this way, preferring a more lengthy, prose style. The nature of non-metaphysical, or pietistic sermons means that it is even more difficult to quote from them succinctly than from metaphysical ones. Some examples of the style ought to be produced, though, to show the different approaches which were taken by preachers at the time.

First of all, there was the repetition of particular words to emphasise a point. This was a similar technique to that which was the last examined in the metaphysical school, although where metaphysicals used such repetition to show the different meanings one word could have, the pietistic preachers simply used the word repeatedly to maximise its impact. In 1645, Richard Byfield, the rector of Long Ditton (Surrey), preached before the House of Commons, and called for further reformation. Such reformation was to be undertaken to make England more like God's favoured Israel. In order to establish the basis for this call, Byfield

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[94]. D.Featley Clavis Mystica, p.4.

had listed the reasons that had made Zion the aspiration for all subsequent

societies:

> How fitly is the Church called Zion, the church of
> the Iews called Zion, the Church in every age called
> Zion, and every particular Church, severall dwelling
> places in Zion; every Society, City,
> Common-wealth, Nation and kingdom, that hath that
> which made Zion Zion, is fitly called Zion; where
> ever is the nature: Who shall deny to that people the
> name of Zion?[95]

Edmund Staunton, the vicar of Kingston-upon-Thames, used a similar technique

to show how Rome's errors were analogous to those of Egypt. Again, repetition

was the key to getting his message through:

> One of the plagues of Egypt was darknesse; and
> surely the Kingdom of the beast is a Kingdome of
> darknesse... Egypts darknesse was externall, Romes
> inward, and spirituall; Egypts was involuntary, and
> lamented darknesse, Romes voluntary and affected;
> Egypts penall, Romes criminall; Egypts but about
> three dayes darknesse, Romes a lasting, if not an
> everlasting darknesse.[96]

In this extract, Staunton also displays another facet of pietistic sermons, the use

of dichotomy. In this, the pietistics showed the influence exerted upon them by

Peter Ramus, who used dichotomy to classify his arguments.[97] The use of

dichotomy came more to the fore in pietistic sermons when the way in which they

subdivided their texts is examined.

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[95]. R.Byfield Zion's Answer to the Nation's Ambassadors (1645), pp.20-21.

[96]. E.Staunton Rupes Israelis: The Rock of Israel. A Little Part of its Glory (1644), p.4.

[97]. P.Miller The New England Mind, p.125.

It has been seen before that the metaphysical preachers subdivided their texts in extremely complex ways.[98] Whilst the metaphysicals divided and subdivided their text, often into many separate sections, pietistic preachers generally stuck to one division, which was based upon a dichotomy.[99]

Furthermore, whilst metaphysicals were prepared to separate the actual words of the text from one another, pietistic preachers tended to split the exegesis. This method can be seen in the sermons of Thomas Anyan. Only two sermons of his survive - of which one was preached just before he was inducted to the parish of Ashstead, Surrey, and the other a few years after he had taken this position. In both, the actual text was seldom used, and Anyan focussed upon the implications of the words to his congregation. Hence in the first sermon, Anyan stated that

> ...as there are onely two places and ends of our journey...heaven and hell, so likewise there are only two sorts and kindes of people which must travaile in the same, the reprobate and regenerate.[100]

In the second sermon, Anyan turned his attention to the errors of Rome, particularly the emphasis which Catholics placed upon good works, displaying the contradictory attitudes:

> They make them Merita, we Debita, they the Cause of our salvation, and a Priori, we the Consequent, and a Posteriori...[101]

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[98]. above, pp.213-218.

[99]. This is not to say that they never divided a text further, but it is noteworthy that, when they did, a further halving usually occurred.

[100]. T.Anyan A Sermon Preached at St. Maries Church in Oxford, the 12 of July 1612 (1612), pp.1-2.

[101]. T.Anyan A Sermon Preached at St. Marie Spittle April 10 1615 (Oxford, 1615), p.34.

As can be seen, this style was useful when a preacher wished to move away from his chosen text - thus it was particularly useful at funerals, when a preacher would have to move from the text to a description of the virtues of the deceased. When Thomas Gataker preached at the funeral of Rebecca Crisp in 1620, he chose as his text Philippians 1:23,[102] and he used this method. In interpreting the text, he divided it into two meanings:

> The one concerning the lawfulnes or warrantablenesse
> The other concerning the equitie or reasonablenesse of this desire.[103]

At another funeral sermon, Stephen Geree extolled the virtues of women. Preaching on Proverbs 31:29-30, he noted that 'in the body of this Chap[ter] we find two main things considerable, the 1. Concerning Man, the 2. Concerning Woman'.[104]

Finally, in a sermon dedicated to the widow of Thomas Bilson, James Rowlandson, the incumbent of East Tisted (Hampshire), stated that his text offered 'two things to our meditation: First, Gods mercy in correcting this people...then, their obstinacie in not repenting'.[105]

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[102] 'For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better'.

[103] T.Gataker Pauls Desire of Dissolution, and Deaths Advantage (1620), p.3.

[104] S.Geree The Ornament of Women, or a Description of the True Excellency of Women (1639), p.3.

[105] J.Rowlandson Gods Blessing a Blasting and His Mercy a Mildew. Two Sermons Suitable for this Time of Dearth (1623), p.7.

The advantage of keeping the divisions in a sermon limited was that the preacher could develop a more coherent argument - fewer divisions led to a more logical progression from point to point. This in turn led to pietistic sermons having a less staccato style. This can be seen in a sermon preached before James I, shortly after he had succeeded to the throne. In it, Thomas Blague described the paths along which a man would travel to sin, noting that any journey along those routes began at the heart:

> Our Saviour sayeth that from the heart come the things that defyle a man...the first step to murder, is anger. Where lurketh anger? In the heart. Christ sayeth, that to looke, and to lust after a woman, is adultery. Wherein resteth lust? In the heart. If the Fountaine be thus corrupted, can the river be wholesome?[106]

The journey towards sin was also described in this manner by Francis Taylor in 1633. Whilst noting the danger of idolatry, Taylor explained how, by falling into such sin, Solomon had 'wroughte himself misery so long as he lived'. Such misery was the result of a logical progression of calamities:

> First, Hadod the Edomite disturbes the peacable government of Salomon. Next, Rezon the son of Eliada of Damascus. Lastly Iereboam the sonne of Nebat lifts vp his hand against him. Asa King of Iudah to prevent the plots of Baasha, King of Israel commits sacriledge, robs God and the Kingdome to have Gold and Siluer to send to Benhadad the King of Syria to releiue him: hee trusts not in God, but

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[106]. T.Blague A Sermon Preached at the Charterhouse, before the Kings Majesty, on Tuesday the Tenth of May 1603 (1603), pp.6-7.

trusts in <u>Benhadad,</u> god layes a plague vpon him,
that <u>Benhadad</u> cannot heale...[107]

Such use of logical progression was also especially useful at funerals, showing

how a man had been born to die - and, hopefully, had died in order to be born

again. Thus when Edward Hinton preached at the passing of Sir John Hamnet in

1643, he explained to the congregation that

> ...death consists not in the last breath or sicknesse,
> no, 'tis now upon you, even upon the best and
> healthiest constitution, every breath you fetch, every
> step you make, and every journey you take, 'tis
> towards the grave, thither were you tending, when
> you first set out, even at the first minute of your
> birth; all of you beginning then to die, when you first
> began to be.[108]

It has been seen that there were two contrasting sermon styles in the early years

of the seventeenth century. As with previous topics, however, to establish a strict

division between the two would simplify the matter. Indeed, several divines used

techniques from both sides of any such stylistic divide. Two of these will be

examined here - George Hakewill and Robert Dingley.

As has already been noted, George Hakewill was the Archdeacon of Surrey

between 1616 and 1660.[109] Hakewill was wary of the effect that the visual arts

could have - the eye was the 'immediat instrument, not only of wantonnes, but of

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[107]. F.Taylor <u>Selfe-Satisfaction Occasionally Taught the Citizens in the Lecture at St. Magnes neere London-bridge</u> (1633), sig. C4v.

[108]. E.Hinton <u>The Vanity of Self-boasters</u> (1643), p.8.

[109]. above, p.35.

gluttony, covetousnes, theft, idolatry ielousie, pride, contempt, curiosity, envy

[and] witchcraft'[110] - but was more prepared to use the aural arts.

His sermons display both pietistic and metaphysical characteristics. When he

subdivided a text, for example, it was in the simple manner followed by the

pietistic preachers. Thus he began a sermon on Judges 5:31, and noted that

> The words of my Text...containe in them...an
> Imprecation against Gods enemies...[and a] Petition
> for the flourishing of his friends.[111]

Similarly, in an examination of Psalm 101, each verse was treated separately,

and itself examined through simple divisions - whilst the overall subdivision of the

psalm was a complex, metaphysical structure, each verse was treated in a pietistic

manner.[112] Furthermore, when he examined the text, Hakewill focussed upon

splitting the meaning of the text, rather than the words themselves, a more pietistic

approach. Overall, the psalm is a vow for reformation, which can be taken in two

different ways. It is 'either generall, [as] in the first verse; or particular...[as] from

the second verse to the fift'.[113]

Whilst Hakewill used pietistic techniques to subdivide his sermons, he was not

averse to using characteristics of metaphysical sermons. Hence he can be seen to

have played on similar words to appeal to the congregation. In the discussion of

Psalm 101, he stated that he found 'a difference...in holy Scripture betwixt Oculus

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[110]. G.Hakewill The Vanitie of the Eie (Oxford, 1608), p.10.

[111]. G.Hakewill A Sermon Preached at Barnstaple vpon the Occasion of the Late Happy Successe of Gods Church in Forraine Parts (1632), p.4.

[112]. G.Hakewill King David's Vow for Refomation of Himselfe, his family, his Kingdom (1621).

[113]. ibid., p.6.

elevatus, and elatus oculis: the one implies a looke lifted up to God; the other, lifted up above our brethren'.[114] Similarly in the sermon on Judges 5:31, he moved from one section of his sermon to the next by using metaphysical wordplay:

> And so I passe from the malediction to the benediction...from the imprecation against Gods enemies, to the deprecation for his friends.[115]

Robert Dingley is a further example of a preacher who used both metaphysical and pietistic traits. Dingley was in some ways a curious character. Anthony à Wood said that, during his time at Oxford, Dingley was ' a great observer of Church ceremonies, and a remarkable bower at the altar whenever he came in to the College Chapel'.[116] It would appear that the increased ceremonialism of the 1630s, however, altered his opinions, and he became 'an enemy to all those things which before he had a zeal for'; in 1648 he was presented to the parish of Brighstone on the Isle of Wight, where 'he was much frequented by the godly party...and hated by the Royalists'.[117] Whilst none of Dingley's sermons survive in their original form, some were expanded and published as treatises, and these provide hints of his preaching style.

In his subdivision of biblical passages, Dingley shows both pietistic and metaphysical methods. When trying to prove that worldly cares are based upon vanity, he declared that this could be shown in many ways, but he would examine three ways of exploring these areas:

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114. G.Hakewill King David's Vow, p.197.
115. G.Hakewill A Sermon Preached at Barnstaple, p.27.
116. Cited in Mildon, p.219.
117. ibid., p.219.

> 1. Goe to the particulars, they will prove it. 2. Nothing but God can satisfie the heart, creatures cannot. 3. All earthly things do fade and vanish from us...[118]

At other times Dingley splits the actual text in order to enhance the exegetical divisions, thus combining the two methods. In <u>Gods Sweetenesse made out in Christ</u> Dingley explored verse eight of Psalm 34 - 'O taste and see that the Lord is good' - using numerous divisions and subdivisions. In order to understand the full complexity of the divisions an extensive quote is required:

> [In this text] you have two generall parts, an exhortation and an encouragement.
> 1. The exhortation in these words:
> <u>O taste and see</u>
> 2. The encouragement in these words following:
> <u>That the Lord is good.</u>
> In the first, the exhortation, you have
> 1. The manner, with an interjection, expressing the passion of the minde that utters it, <u>Oh</u>...
> 2. The matter, or the exhortation it selfe, <u>Taste and see</u>, where
> > 1. You have two duties urged...
> > > 1. Tasting...
> > > 2. Seeing...
> > 2. You have a golden link that fastens them together, <u>taste</u> and <u>see</u>...
> In the second, which is the encouragement, you have three things
> > 1. The proper foundation of goodnesse, <u>the Lord</u>...
> > 2. A lively description of God, <u>the Lord is good</u>...
> > 3. The application of all that to us...[119]

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[118] R.Dingley <u>Divine Optiks. Or, A Treatise of the Eye</u> (1654), p.8.

[119] R.Dingley <u>Gods Sweetenesse Made Out in Christ; Or, Divine Relishes of Matchlesse Goodnesse</u> (1649), p.26.

Furthermore, Dingley is not averse to using wordplay in the manner of the metaphysicals. In <u>Messiah's Splendor,</u> the second of two sermons which were expanded and published together, he investigated the relationship between Adam and Christ, and toyed with the words:

> The first <u>Adam</u> had a <u>posse non peccare,</u> and <u>posse non mori;</u> the second <u>Adam</u> had a <u>non posse peccare,</u> and a <u>non posse mori.</u> The first <u>Adam</u>...had, before the fall, a possibility of standing; the second <u>Adam</u>...had an impossibilty of falling.[120]

It can thus be seen that there were divines who crossed the division between metaphysical and pietistic preaching. This was despite the fact that one of them appears to have been wary of the metaphysical style, noting that 'others may fill their heads with metaphysicall notions in divinitie...but a little sanctified knowledge will goe a great way'.[121] Whilst it is true that there two broad schools of thought can be discerned about the most effective way a sermon could be used, a definitive divide should not be drawn between the two, as there was also a large degree of fluidity between them. It would be even more erroneous to assimilate a particular preaching style to a particular theological standpoint. In the Winchester diocese, it has been seen that some 'proto-Laudian' preachers, such as Lancelot Andrewes, did use a style which has been designated metaphysical. However, staunch Calvinists such as Daniel Featley also used the style. Further evidence that any division between two styles of preaching should not be drawn too strictly is

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[120] R.Dingley <u>A Glimpse of Christ, Discovering the Sweet-Incomes of Christ to a Spirituall Heart</u> (1651), p.227.

[121] R.Dingley <u>The Spirituall Taste Described; And a Glimpse of Christ Discovered</u> (1649), p.114.

shown in the cases of George Hakewill and Robert Dingley, who both used techniques attributed to a metaphysical school, whilst simultaneously exploiting the plainer style which has been seen as a direct opposite to such a school.

Having examined the different approaches taken towards the preaching of the word, it is now time to examine whether the emphasis placed upon the exposition of the word was something which can be seen as part of a particularly Puritan culture. Whether or not the emphasis was, indeed, indicative of a particular school of thought, a further examination needs to be undertaken of something which is often seen as a contradiction in terms - the 'culture of Puritanism'.

CHAPTER FIVE

The 'Culture' of Puritanism

In many ways the phrase 'culture of Puritanism' would appear to be an oxymoron. A picture has been passed down through the centuries of austere churches, bereft of any decoration, in which the congregation was subjected to long and (to modern ears) dreary sermons, and a refusal to accept that any merit could be achieved from appealing to the senses. Much of this picture was developed from caricatures of the time - Puritan activity during the sixteenth century had been caricatured to the extent that, by the early seventeenth century, the established view of a Puritan was 'a kill-joy, a contentious busy-body, rebuking others for alleged failures of morality and piety, while unaware of the mote in his or her own eye'.[1] Much of this had arisen as a result of works produced to counter the impact of Martin Marprelate. The Marprelate Tracts, in which the church establishment was 'mercilessly pilloried', made the church 'a theatre, the bishops richly comedic figures in the tradition of the old moralities'. The response was swift, and came 'not in print, but from the popular stage'.[2] Mocking such as this continued into the seventeenth century, a prime example being Zeal-of-the-land Busy in Ben Jonson's <u>Bartholomew Fair,</u> whose professed aim was 'to prophesy the destruction of Fairs and May-games, Wakes and

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[1] . J.Spurr <u>English Puritanism 1603-1689</u> (Basingstoke, 1998), p.22.

[2] . P.Collinson <u>The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625</u> (Oxford, 1982); 'Ecclesiastical Vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism', in J.Guy (ed.) <u>The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade</u> (Cambridge, 1995).

Whitsun-ales'.[3] Perhaps the most well known figure, however, is the servant

Malvolio in Twelfth Night, of whom it was stated 'a puritan he is, or anything

constant but a time-pleaser; an affectioned ass, that cons state without book, and

utters it by great swarths: the best persuaded of himself; so crammed, as he thinks,

with excellences, that...all that look upon him love him'.[4] A more satirical

denunciation of a Puritan occurs later in the play:

> Viola Save thee, friend, and thy music. Dost thou
> live by the tabor?
> Clown No, sir. I live by the church.
> Viola Art thou a churchman?
> Clown No such matter, sir: I do live by the
> church; for I do live at my house, and my house doth
> stand by the church.[5]

The emphasis upon living 'by the church' is unlikely to have been lost upon

contemporary audiences. Similarly, with relation to the diocese of Winchester,

George Wither chastised the Puritan mind in 1613:

> our busy-headed sect,
> The hollow crew, the counterfeit elect:
> Our Dogmatists, and ever-wrangling spirits,
> That do as well contemn good works, as merits...
>
> ...whose Religion doth depend,
> On this, that they know how to discommend
> A Maygame, or a Summerpole defy,
> Or shake the head or else turn up the eye...
>
> Though in a zealous habit they do wander,
> Yet they are God's foes and the Church's slander.[6]

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[3] . E.Partridge (ed.) Jonson: Bartholomew Fair (1964), act IV, scene vi, 82-84, p.135.

[4] . W.Shakespeare Twelfth Night, act II, scene iii.

[5] . ibid., act III, scene i.

[6] . G.Wither 'Abuses Stript and Whipt', in L.Sasek (ed.) Images of English Puritanism: A Collection

A similar sentiment was displayed by one of Hampshire's knights after the Civil War. Sir William Kingsmill, of whom it has been said that 'there is no doubt of his Anglicanism', owned land in the north east of the county 'at the centre of a triangle whose points were significant battle areas in 1644: Newbury...Andover...and Basing House'.[7] In his poem 'Vpon the treaty for peace at Uxebridge' of 1644, he condemned those who had usurped the established order, 'pretending gohstly [sic] zeale, proues froth/ Imposter, cloakt with faith, and troth'.[8] Later Kingsmill was more explicit in his denunciation of Puritans:

> Yet aske your grauest Priest deuine
> Hee'l tell you Sir Gods sence is mine,
> Which staggers euen the best of life
> To see false Saints still stirr the strife;
> And Barnes and Tubbs those Priests controule
> That lately damn'd or sav'd each soule;
> Such iudge our world, and God that made
> Both that and them, with eyes inuade.[9]

Satirical representation of a Puritan had thus continued throughout the period, and no doubt there were elements of truth in such caricatures, but, as has been seen in previous chapters, it cannot be applied universally. In subsequent years, the

of Contemporary Sources 1589-1646 (1989), p.274.

[7] . J.D.Eames 'The Poems of Sir William Kingsmill: A Critical Edition' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 1981), vol.i, pp.47, 56-57.

[8] . ibid., vol.ii, p.24.

[9] . ibid., vol.ii, p.36. Eames believes the reference to Barnes and Tubbs can be equated with the Ambrose Barnes (1627-1710) and Henry Tubbe (1618-1655), an exegesis which he admits proves problematic - Barnes was 'an ardent Puritan', but Tubbe had 'royalist sympathies...[and took] employment with the Marquess and Marchioness of Hertford not later than 27 April 1648'. Eames thus sees Kingsmill as being under a misapprehension with regard to Tubbe, ibid., vol.ii, p.329, footnote 27. I would suggest that Kingsmill's use of barns refers to conventicles (there could hardly have been a less appropriate place for worship in the view of a staunch Anglican such as Kingsmill), and Kingsmill uses 'tubb' to refer to the pulpit in a derogatory fashion - the word could be 'applied contemptuously or jocularly to a pulpit, especially of a nonconformist preacher', OED.

emphasis which the godly placed on the word, their overpowering iconophobia and their uncompromising anti-Catholic convictions have combined to develop these caricatures, and the seventeenth century Puritan is stereotypically seen as an uncultured prude. In order to understand the reasons why this perception has become so prevalent it is necessary to examine more fully the environment in which a mindset developed that could be ridiculed in such a way.

In order to do this, the following chapter will shift attention away from the arts towards a more general definition of culture as 'a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms...in which they are expressed or embodied'.[10] This definition, whilst encompassing the stricter terminology with regard to the arts as covered in the previous chapters ('the symbolic forms...in which they are expressed or embodied'), allows a more general examination to be undertaken, of a general 'culture of Puritanism' which was more associated with a way of life, making Puritanism 'a potent, catching culture, or counter-culture, no less than it was a potent doctrine, an ideology, and a discipline'.[11]

There is evidence that Puritanism did have considerable popular appeal. The high moral stance associated with Puritanism has been shown by Patrick Collinson to have had 'widespread support', and methods of enforcement 'amounted to a kind of popular culture'.[12] This was particularly true in cases of adultery and

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[10]. P.Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (New York, 1978), p.xi.

[11]. P.Collinson 'Puritanism as Popular Religious Culture', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996), p.56.

[12]. ibid., p.43.

fornication, with the miscreant being ritually humiliated with a mock parade to the church, a spectacle filled with symbols of inversion and disorder.[13]

In addition to such links between popular culture and the Puritan ethic, there was emerging a distinctly Protestant culture as a result of the split with Rome, and especially with the establishment of the Royal Supremacy. A new festive calendar replaced the ritual year of the pre-Reformation era. Saints days, anathema to the Protestant mind, were replaced in a new Protestant calendar, with the Accession Day of Elizabeth I becoming one of the most important events of the year, celebrated with the ringing of bells in parish churches across the land.[14] It was, furthermore, 'no accident that the first of the many Fast Sermons delivered before the Long Parliament was preached on 17 November'.[15]

The development of a Protestant culture within England at the time inevitably led to conflicts about how 'Puritan' the celebrations were to be. As there were elements in the population who believed that the Reformation in the church had not gone far enough, so there were parties who believed that the 'Cultural Revolution' was incomplete.[16]

In many ways, the 'culture of Puritanism' should be seen as an extreme example of Protestant culture. Many aspects of Puritan culture reflected Protestantism, but

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[13]. See M.Ingram 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', Past and Present, vol.105 (1984), and D.Underdown Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1985)

[14]. For the emergence of a new, Protestant calendar, see D.Cressy Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England (1989), R.Hutton The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1994).

[15]. P.Collinson 'Puritanism as Popular Religious Culture', p.46.

[16]. In this context, I take the term 'Cultural Revolution' from P.Collinson The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Changes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke, 1988), chapter four.

in a stricter fashion. The Protestant emphasis upon preaching the Word, for example, was taken a stage further by Puritans who undertook the practice of sermon gadding. Similarly, shared opinions concerning the validity of the Sabbath were followed to varying degrees, although strict delineations between cultures based upon attitudes to the Sabbath are difficult to ascertain.[17]

The lack of such strict delineations makes it extremely difficult to ascertain whether or not there was an irreducible core of Puritan culture. Possibly the closest anybody has come to a definition was that of the Puritan John Geree, who in 1646 stated that the Puritan 'honoured God above all...making the Word of God the rule of his worship'.[18] Thus the Puritan centred his life around sermons, prayer, the Bible, and strict adherence to the Sabbath. As will be seen, however, it was rare for all these aspects of Puritan culture to be followed as a whole.

This chapter will examine the evidence for a culture of Puritanism within the Winchester diocese. In doing so it is hoped that some light will be shed upon the question posed by Peter Lake: 'was Puritanism merely the zealous face of orthodox reformed Protestantism...or was it...a socially divisive, semi-separatist movement, the bearer of an inherently anti-hierarchical and divisive predestinarian ideology...that threatened "order" as it was conventionally defined in both church

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[17]. See K.L.Parker The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge, 1988)

[18]. J.Geree The Character of an Old English puritane or Non-Conformist (1646), cited in C.Durston & J.Eales 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, p.14.

and state?'.[19] With this in mind, attention will now turn to disputes over the 'culture of Puritanism' in the diocese.[20]

The first aspect of Puritan culture to be examined will be the phenomenon of sermon gadding, by which parishioners travelled across parish boundaries in order to hear sermons, believing that those preached in their own parish were insufficient, either in quality or quantity. To understand such action being taken, however, it is first necessary to investigate the reasons why it was thought necessary.

The Reformation, and its concomitant need for the Word of God to be expounded, had meant that the provision of sermons was seen as one of the essential duties of a minister - indeed, it has been argued that 'any attempt to decipher and characterise puritanism as a culture must begin...with the sermon and its various concomitants'.[21] Whilst the actual techniques used in sermons were studied in the previous chapter, it is necessary to acknowledge that the first problem was the lack of preaching ministers, a common complaint of Puritan literature. The Millenary Petition, for example, appeals that 'none hereafter be admitted into the Ministry, but able and sufficient men, and those to Preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day'.[22] For the Puritan the sermon was

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[19]. P.Lake 'The Godly and their Enemies in the 1630s', in .Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, p.178.

[20]. This examination will also allude to the national situation as a background to the local picture.

[21]. P.Collinson 'Puritanism as Popular Religious Culture', p.47.

[22]. 'Millenary Petition', in L.Sasek (ed.) Images of English Puritanism, p.339. It is of note that this section, 'concerning church-ministers', fails to mention the necessity of ministers to administer the communion.

the essence of spiritual nutrition. Whilst it was accepted that the sacrament had a rôle to play, the Word was more important, as it was the means through which men could develop their faith. George Langford, preaching at Mortlake in 1623, explained why Scripture, above anything else, was to be the basis upon which a Christian's faith should be founded, as when Christ admonished the Jews, he stated that the Scriptures 'witnesse of mee by Prophets, they witnesse of me by Sacraments, they witnesse of mee by Ceremonies, therefore Search them'.[23] It was, therefore, the Scriptures from which all the other ceremonies and sacraments of the church had developed. Moreover, the failure to allow the general population to hear the Scriptures had been one of the greatest errors of the Roman church, as the Papists 'would have their Laity sleepe in the land of oblivion...Wo be to these drowsie sluggards...They have taken away the key of knowledge'.[24]

It was thus essential for the authorities to develop a preaching ministry within the church at this time. This was acknowledged by these authorities, as was plainly shown when the new chapel of ease was established to the east of Southampton in 1620.[25] It was clearly stated that the benefactor of the church, Captain Smith, and his descendants were granted

> ...free and full power in the Lord to appoint from time to time a fit minister or priest to serve in the said Chapel and perform the Duties of a Divine there...[26]

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[23]. G.Langford Search the Scriptures, or an Enquirie after Veritie (1623), p.39.
[24]. ibid., p.29.
[25]. see also above, p.142-143.
[26]. SCA PR6/4/1.

This power to appoint preachers to the chapel was not an unlimited one, however, as it was to come under the supervisory eye of the bishop and his diocesan authorities. Thus when the descendants of Richard Smith were given this authority, the proviso was laid down that the 'Minister or Priest must be approved of and licensed by us and our Successors from time to time'.[27]

The wording of this caution shows that the main concern over preaching at the time was that false doctrine could be propounded, especially if the preacher was unlicensed. Further evidence of this came a few years later, in the sermon by George Langford which has already been cited:

> There is a great difference betwixt Divine and humane Writtings: Of the first the more we drinke, the more we may; the deeper the sweeter. But of the second, to sip it is sufficient.[28]

This warning from Langford is aimed mainly at frivolous and profane writings which may distract the congregation from a righteous and sober life. Earlier in the sermon, though, Langford served a warning to the problems which might arise from unlicensed preachers expounding unsound doctrine:

> ...shall no bounds be set to popular, rude, and carnall men?...prophanation of the Scriptures...is a Principall cause to increase heresie...[29]

Control of preachers through the licensing system was widely accepted as a means through which the dangers of false doctrine could be averted during the

[27]. SCA PR6/4/1.
[28]. G.Langford Search the Scriptures, p.39.
[29]. ibid., p.28.

Jacobean period. More to the point were disagreements over what constituted false doctrine, and concern over the effects of preachers expounding upon matters which were considered 'too deepe for ye capacitie of ye people'.[30] Licensing of preachers was thus deemed necessary.

Unlicensed preachers did, however, slip through the net. In 1607 the incumbent of St. Maurice, Winchester was presented at the Consistory Court for being unlicensed, and two years later the preacher at Brown Candover suffered the same fate.[31] In 1619 the pluralist minister of Benstead and Kingsley was shown to be 'noe allowed preacher', and a similar situation was found in the parishes of Prior's Deane (1622), Upton Grey and Waltham (both 1623).[32]

Even if the minister was licensed there was no guarantee that he would provide sermons as required. At Sopley in 1607, for example, 'ther hath byn but one sermon since the last Visitacion', and in the same year it was noted that at Privett 'there is not yearlie iiij sermons'; lack of sermons was a complaint of three further parishes - Weston Patrick, Odiham, and Tangley - in that year. The case of Tangley is particularly interesting, as 'it is not knowen whether he [the curate] be licensed or not'. The rector of the parish claimed that 'there are sermons at faccomb church the mother church', hinting that even some in positions of some authority in the church were prepared to accept, if not actively promote, the idea

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[30]. James's instructions to preachers of 1622, from the copy held at Winchester Cathedral. WCL T4/3/7/3.

[31]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

[32]. HRO 21M65/C1/33, HRO 21M65/C1/34, HRO 21M65/C1/35. The last named parish is somewhat confusing, as there is a North Waltham and a Bishops Waltham in the diocese. From the adjacent entries in the Court book, and other Consistory Court records, it is likely to be the latter.

of sermon gadding.[33] Two further parishes were presented for lacking sermons in 1611 (Benstead and Whitsbury), and in 1622 the minister at Hartley Wespall was presented 'for not preaching according to the law'.[34]

The licensing system was, therefore, firmly established, and fairly *rigorously* enforced before the Caroline period, despite the impressions which many critics of the Caroline episcopacy made to the contrary. A prime example of this was seen in the articles brought against Matthew Wren in 1641, which stated that he had used his power 'to restrain Powerful preaching, forbidding all Sermons on Sundays in the afternoon, or in the weeke-dayes, without his Lycense'.[35] Such licensing had been present in the Church of England ever since the break with Rome. As George Bernard has said, 'when Charles I and Laud issued further prohibitions [on contentious preaching] in 1626 and 1628, they were continuing a well established and very understandable rulers' attitude to the disruptive social and political consequences of religious controversy'.[36] As the above examples show, the policing of preachers was already happening in the Winchester diocese. There would appear to have been a much harder line taken after Walter Curle became bishop in 1632 - the only documentation extant for his tenure is his Triennial visitation of 1633, but this recorded some 106 ministers as being unlicensed.[37]

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[33]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

[34]. HRO 21M65/C1/30, HRO 21M65/C1/34.

[35]. BL Thomason Tracts E165 (3), The Articles or Charge exhibited in Parliament against Matthew Wren, now Bishop of Ely (1641), p.2.

[36]. G.W.Bernard 'The Church of England c1529-c1642', History, vol.75, 1990, p.190.

[37]. HRO 21M65/B1/32. Whilst this does imply that Curle was taking a harder line than his predecessors, it does not reveal the reasons for it. It is likely that he was being particularly harsh as a result of 'Laudian' tendencies, but it is possible that it was a result of it being his first visitation of his new diocese.

Despite the attempts by the ecclesiastical authorities to ensure that sufficient sermons of adequate quality were provided, there were elements of the population who did not believe that the preacher within their parish was good enough and/or failed to preach regularly enough. As a result of this, the phenomenon known as sermon gadding arose, and became an increasing problem during the early years of the seventeenth century. Attendance at such sermons became, as Patrick Collinson has noted, a cultural expression in itself, and included many aspects to the day - 'attendance at the sermon, the going to and coming away from it, a deliberate, formalised act, social rather than solitary, and anti-social too in the hostile perception of the onlookers who were not themselves willing sermon-goers'.[38]

Sermon gadding has been seen as a particularly Puritan event - the Puritan minister of Martyr Worthy (Hampshire), John Sprint, wrote in 1607 that it was lawful for someone 'to travell on the Sabbath to heare the preaching of Gods word'. It was, in fact, 'a sabbaoth dayes iourney to worship God and to heare a Sermon'.[39] Such journeys fostered the 'social cohesion of local puritan networks' and provided them with 'opportunities for the defiant flaunting of their lifestyles before their ungodly neighbours'.[40] In a conservative diocese such as Winchester it

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[38]. P.Collinson 'Puritanism as Popular Religious Culture', p.48.

[39]. J.Sprint Propositions, tending to proove the necessarie use of the Christian Sabbaoth, or Lords Day: and that it is commaunded unto us in Gods Word (1607), pp.53, 57. Sprint was, at the time, the incumbent of Martyr Worthy, Hampshire. His father had been a prebendary at Winchester Cathedral until he resigned in 1583.

[40]. C.Durston & J.Eales 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos', in C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, p.20.

might be expected, therefore, that examples of such activity would be uncommon, and this was indeed the case.

In the archdeaconry of Surrey sermon gadding appears to have been almost non-existent, probably as a consequence of the high-quality ministers who were provided within the county, ably supported by town lecturers. As Richard Christophers has noted, 'in all but the poorest [Surrey] parishes preaching had become normal, and in Kingston, Lambeth and Southwark town vestries appointed lecturers'.[41]

In Hampshire the position was a bit more confused. At Portsmouth, for example, some parishioners would attend their own church for the teaching which would be provided by the sermon, but were unprepared to accept the full service of the Book of Common Prayer - probably the surest evidence of a Puritanism that could be found. In 1625 they were presented to the town's corporation because they came 'leyt[,] too hear the sermons[,] and will not come to heer devyne service redd'.[42] Whilst this is not, technically, a case of sermon gadding, it is indicative of the thought that influenced such action.

Two years previous, the parish of Upton Grey furnished a better example of sermon gadding. The parish clerk, a Mr. Reed, took over the rôle of preacher because the incumbent, Thomas Fuller, was a drunkard. Reed was subsequently censured by the Consistory Court, as he was also unlicensed as a preacher, hinting that he was of a Puritan bent. This suspicion is further supported by those people

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[41]. R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational Background of the Surrey Clergy, 1520-1620' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1975), p.87.
[42]. Mildon, p.130, citing Portsmouth Corporation Records.

who listened to his sermons. These included a William Hawkins, who was prepared to travel the six miles from Alton to hear Reed's sermons. Hawkins was in many ways the archetypal Puritan, as he was also presented for failing to bow at the name of Jesus, and for failing to show due reverence in church.[43]

From this, and the emphasis upon sermon gadding in literature concerned with Puritanism,[44] it might be believed that concern over the quantity of preaching was something which only stimulated Puritans, and that church authorities were more concerned with the quality of preaching. It has already been seen, however, that lack of preaching was something which led to censure in the ecclesiastical courts, and there is also evidence that people other than Puritans showed a similar concern.

In the Hampshire parish of Kings Worthy, William Stacy pronounced that 'a Coult should preach...as well as Mr. Puleston [his rector]'.[45] Stacy's wife had been presented for the offence of failing to partake of the communion unless wafer bread was used - something seen as a sign of closet Popery - a connection which has been seen as giving Stacy some Catholic credentials.[46] The religious viewpoint of his spouse should not, however, be seen as indicative of Stacy's own convictions,[47] and he still showed concern about the preaching available at his church. It is noteworthy however that, unlike the more Puritan members of society,

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[43]. HRO 21M65/C1/35, Mildon, p.130.

[44]. For example C.Durston & J.Eales (eds.) The Culture of English Puritanism, p.20, J Spurr English Puritanism, p.37.

[45]. HRO 21M65/C1/35.

[46]. Mildon, p.126.

[47]. A prime parallel to this would be the convictions of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. Although Charles was perceived by some as inclining towards Popery, the accusations do not appear to have been based on any firm evidence. C.Hibbard Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, 1983).

Stacy was prepared to accept the failings at his parish church and did not participate in sermon gadding, whatever his reservations may have been.

In the New Forest another example of sermon gadding can be seen at Lyndhurst, where Thomas Lake had been the incumbent since 1611. Soon after Lake's arrival one of his parishioners, Joseph Brown, was presented at the Consistory Court for attending the churches at Ringwood and Eling rather than that of his own parish. W. H. Mildon has seen this case as support for the view that Puritanism was particularly strong in Hampshire,[48] but subsequent events cloud the situation. In 1619, the authorities themselves became concerned about the quality of Lake's preaching, and ordered him to read from the Book of Homilies rather than preach himself.[49] From this, and Lake's refusal to catechise according to the Book of Common Prayer, Lake would himself appear to have been a more Puritan character - the action of Joseph Brown's complaint suggests that there was an element of popular dislike of such non-conformity, and he felt that he had to go elsewhere to attend a service celebrated according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer: sermon gadding was not necessarily confined to Puritans.

Having examined the approach which was taken towards preaching, it is now necessary to consider another aspect of religious life which caused some debate at the time, the attitude taken towards prayer. Recently it has been argued that the major split in the early Stuart church was that between a 'preaching ministry' and

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[48]. Mildon, p.126.
[49]. HRO 21M65/C1/33.

a 'praying ministry' - developing an idea which had been suggested to James on his accession by Archbishop Bancroft.[50]

The pivotal difference between the word proclaimed in preaching and the word encountered during prayer was the involvement of the individual. Hence Peter Lake has spoken of an 'avant-garde conformist' tradition, which recognised the fact that 'preaching...[reduces] all the participants, save the preacher, to passivity'.[51] For those who took such a position, a personal relationship with God was more important than the impersonal instruction which came from a preacher, important though this may be. Thus, in a sermon printed in 1642, Alexander Ross, the minister at All Saints', Southampton, and vicar of Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, explains that 'preaching shewes us the way to Heaven, but it is prayer that openeth the gate for us to enter'.[52] The authority for this view was, in Ross's opinion, clear:

> Christ preached many excellent sermons, which
> made no change in him, but when he prayed upon
> mount Thabor his face did shine as the Sun, and his
> garment was as white as the light.[53]

Ross, however, did not believe that this should encourage people to compose their own prayers to the detriment of those already laid down in the Prayer Book. Indeed, one defining mark of a Puritan was that 'they spurned many of the set

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[50]. L.A.Ferrell Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625 (Stanford, 1998), p.142.

[51]. P.Lake 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-garde Conformity at the Court of James I', in L.Levy Peck (ed.) The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (Cambridge, 1991), p.125.

[52]. A.Ross Gods House Made a Den of Theeves (1642), BL Thomason Tracts E150 (7), p.6.

[53]. ibid., p.7.

forms of prayers in the book, preferring instead to compose their own improvised, extempore prayers'.[54] Ross's defence of authorised prayers was that they had always been present in the church; the false prayers which had been added by the Roman church should not be used as an excuse for the suppression of all appointed prayers. Hence:

> ...it's no new thing to establish by authoritie sett
> formes of prayers in the church, for avoyding
> confusion, babbling, tautologies, impertinences,
> tediousnesse, and absurdities to which extempore,
> and unpremeditate prayers are subject...[55]

Prayer was thus to be regulated in a similar way to the control of preaching. Later Ross went on to state how the prayers of the church had been set down by various councils, showing that the forms of prayer used by the Church of England were directly descended from the early church:

> It is ordered in the 3. Councell of Carthage, that no
> man shall use such prayers as are not approved by
> the choysest of the Clergie...and in the Milevetan
> Councell...it is expressly commanded that no other
> publicke prayers shall be used in the Church, but
> such as are approved of by the Councell...Lest by
> ignorance or in advertencie some wordes may be
> uttered against the true faith.[56]

Ross's sermon set out to uncover the ills of the church, which he saw as thieves which threatened the peace of the church.[57] Both unlicensed preaching and

[54]. C.Durston & J.Eales 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos', p.17.

[55]. A.Ross Gods House Made a Den of Theeves, p.9.

[56]. ibid., p.9.

[57]. His chosen text was Matthew 21:13, 'It is written, my house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves'.

extempore prayer, commonly linked with Puritanism, were attacked by Ross as

signs of the sixth thief, the libertine, who is seen as

> ...a lawlesse theefe, and yet he would be thought a
> good member of the Church, hee under pretence of
> an unbounded libertie, will be subject to no order
> nor discipline, but what pleaseth his own phansie...[58]

The thief of libertinism was seen to rob 'good works of their dignitie, thinking

to be saved by faith alone'.[59] This statement is a harsh critique of the Calvinist

doctrine of salvation through faith alone, good works having no influence, and

shows that different doctrinal approaches were being taken. Whilst the sermon

was printed in 1642, it should be noted that Ross had moved to Southampton from

his native Scotland circa 1616, and had been forced to claim in 1641 that 'till now

I never knew that I delivered erroneous doctrine',[60] indicating that he did not see

his opinions concerning the effectiveness of good works as contrary to the official

doctrine of the Church of England.

Preaching and prayer were thus two areas in which a Puritan approach is often

seen in contradistinction to the rubrics of the Prayer Book. Puritans, dismayed at

the lack of preaching ministers in the church, were far more prepared to accept

non-licensed ministers than the authorities were. Furthermore, if a preacher was

not deemed to be of the requisite quality, Puritans were prepared to travel to

neighbouring parishes to hear more edifying sermons. The evidence from the

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[58]. A.Ross Gods House Made a Den of Theeves, p.13.

[59]. ibid., p.13.

[60]. A.Ross Gods House, Or the House of Prayer (1641), sig.A2v.

diocese of Winchester shows, however, that the division was not as clear cut as may at first appear.

A final aspect of the culture of Puritanism which has to be examined is the treatment of the Sabbath as a separate, holy day, as ordained by God in the fourth commandment. The Sabbath was, of course, the day of the week which had man had been ordered to keep separate in order to worship God, and observation of the day would have included all aspects of a Puritan life. The way in which the Sabbath was kept will thus constitute the main section in this examination.

On a national scale, Patrick Collinson has noted that complaints about the profanation of the Sabbath had been fairly commonplace amongst writers from the more extreme wing of the church. In 1560, for example, Bishop James Pilkington complained

> ...come into a church on the sabbath day, and ye
> shall see but few, though there be a sermon; but the
> alehouse is ever full.[61]

This concern was reflected within the Winchester diocese at the turn of the century by a minister at Portsmouth, George Widley, who similarly complained

> ...who is it that hath not rather goe to Church, than
> goe to worke? But who is it (I speake of the
> multitude) that had not rather goe to play, than goe
> to church?[62]

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[61]. J.Schofield (ed.) The Works of James Pilkington (1842), p.6, cited in P.Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford, 1982), p.203.

[62]. G.Widley The Doctrine of the Sabbath, handled in foure severall books or treatises (1604), p.99.

Both Pilkington and Widley display concern about a general disregard for the Sabbath, a concern which has been seen as particularly puritan: W. H. Mildon stated that 'Sabbatarianism was a characteristic product of Puritanism'.[63] This statement is a broad generalisation, which fails to take into account that concern for the Sabbath was something which, occurring in many areas, crossed the once traditional divide between Puritan and Anglican.

The need to show respect for the Sabbath was, of course, based upon the fourth commandment - 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy',[64] although some who followed the observation of it more strictly noted that this in itself was based upon God's day of rest after the creation of the world.[65] Debate centred around whether the commandment was wholly moral, ordained by God, or partly ceremonial, with mankind being given the right to alter aspects of it as necessary. This was the view taken by Peter Heylyn, who wrote that the designation of Sunday as the day of rest, and the restrictions placed upon men during that day, was not brought in until Constantine passed edicts about it in 321 A.D.[66] In contrast, George Hakewill emphasised the fact that 'the Apostles received the celebrity of this day from the Lord himself...and recommended it to the Church in their Constitutions', and that Saint Augustine said that 'the Lords day...was declared by the Resurrection of the Lord...[and] from him it began to be made

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[63]. Mildon, p.100.

[64]. Exodus 20:18.

[65]. Thus Patrick Collinson has stated that one of the more important elements of Sabbatarianism is that 'the Sabbath derives from the creation and so antedates both man's fall and the Mosaic law, although its use was defined in the decalogue'. P.Collinson Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism (1983), p.429.

[66]. P.Heylyn The History of the Sabbath (1636), book 2, p.64-68.

Festivall'.[67] In a similar way, John Sprint had previously stated that the observation

of the Sabbath was 'of the lawe of Nature'; an argument of this manner

diminished the ceremonial side of the day.[68]

Thomas Aquinas had previously noted that 'the commandment to keep holy the

Sabbath is partly moral, partly ceremonial'.[69] This was an opinion that agreed

more with Heylyn than Hakewill or Sprint, and would appear to be more in tune

with reformed thought. In his major study of attitudes taken towards the Sabbath,

Kenneth Parker has shown that this was the case:

> The Protestant view was that the fourth precept
> was part moral and part ceremonial. The ceremonial
> side was the rest on the seventh day of the week, the
> strictness of the rest...the moral side...was the public
> worship of God, which included preaching,
> receiving the sacraments, prayer, works of mercy,
> and giving rest to servants and cattle.[70]

The problem around which the debate centred grew from the inherent

distinction in this - the relevant importance of the ceremonial and the moral

dictated the strictness with which the Sabbath was to be observed. Strict

Sabbatarianism meant that no activities, save the worship of God or works of

mercy, were acceptable throughout the day. In reality, the church authorities

allowed a degree of leniency over the Sabbath, and most bishops 'tolerated the use

of afternoon recreations and other activities', or 'allowed for the use of lawful

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[67]. G.Hakewill A Short, but Cleare, Discourse, of the Institution, Dignity, and end of the Lords Day (1641), pp.17, 18. My emphasis.

[68]. J.Sprint Propositions..., p.11.

[69]. K.L.Parker The English Sabbath, p.19. He cites Aquinas Summa Theologica (Blackfriars edition, 1972), p.305.

[70]. ibid., pp.97-98.

recreations after evening prayer'.[71] The secular authorities, however, appear to have been more stringent in their approach to Sabbath breaking, and it has been claimed that in Hampshire 'the civil authorities were...more puritan than the ecclesiastical'.[72] The corporations of market towns, for example, constantly passed resolutions restricting trade on that day. The corporation of Lymington, exasperated with continuing disrespect for the Sabbath, decreed that any burgess found profaning the Lord's day was to be admonished for the first two offences - if a burgess was found to have ignored the regulations a third time he would 'forfeit and lose his said Burgesship and all the priviledges and shall from thenceforth be deem'd no Burgess or pay 10s. to the...Mayor'.[73]

On the Isle of Wight the Court Leet of Newport repeatedly passed acts against trading on Sunday - residents who broke this decree were fined 2s 6d each time they offended.[74] Occasionally their attitude changed, however. Whilst in most years the prohibition on trading covered the whole day, in 1626 it would appear that some trading was allowed:

> ...it is further ordeyned that all the butchers within
> this towne shall shutt vpp theire shoppe doores on
> the Sabath day at the ringing of the second peale to
> praier in the fornoone and shall not oppen theire
> shoppe dores to sell ageine vntill it be after evening
> praier of the same daie...[75]

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[71]. K.L.Parker The English Sabbath, pp.112, 120.

[72]. Mildon, p.141.

[73]. ibid., p.139.

[74]. IWRO NBC/45/41, 2 volumes.

[75]. IWRO NBC/45/41, vol.i, p.269.

A more tolerant attitude was being taken at this time. Importantly, however, the restrictions remained in place until after evening prayer had been said - the priority remained attendance at services on a Sunday. When the corporation repeated the order in 1628, however, this directive was crossed out and a memoranda added that 'the butchers are not to sell any flesh on the sabaoth day'.[76]

A similar wariness about the total suppression of work on the Sabbath can be seen in Guernsey, where millers were allowed to work on Sundays until 1616, when one of the elders of St. Saviour's complained about the situation. Even after this complaint was received, the Royal Court did not completely ban milling, stating that it 'should be suspended during Sunday preaching'. Similarly, when two millers in the parish of St. Andrew were called before the Consistory in 1624, it was agreed that they would only begin their milling after the toll of the church bell.[77]

In Jersey the civil authorities were harsher in their approach. Whilst concern in 1596 had focussed upon innkeepers who sold beer on the Sabbath, the following year saw severer actions being taken. It was ordered that

> ...all people capable of instruction [are] to attend
> public sermon and prayers: and other exercises of
> piety, and [to spend] the rest of the day reading the
> Holy Scriptures, visiting the sick, giving thanks to
> God for his kindness, and other works of Christian
> charity.[78]

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[76]. IWRO NBC/45/41, vol.ii, p.581.

[77]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), pp.127-128.

[78].+ J.A.Messervy (ed.) 'Actes des États de L'Île de Jersey 1597-1605', Societé Jersiaise, vol.xiii (1898), p.4.

The secular authorities thus differed in their approaches towards the Sabbath. Nevertheless, they took a tough line on their interpretation of Sabbath breaking, not least because it often centred around unlawful games and/or drinking. This is an important point. The problems that arose through excessive drinking and unlawful games were a threat to the stability of the local community. Thus Mildon's claim that 'civil authorities were...more puritan than the ecclesiastical' is a simplification of the situation.[79] Whilst the actions taken by the civil authorities were clearly based upon the enforcement of Sabbath observation, the prime concern was with social order, which was not the sole preserve of Puritans. Puritan concerns focussed more intently on Scriptural basis for observation - although failure to follow this resulted in a threat to society, such a threat was not as important to Puritans than the breaking of the laws of God as laid down in the Bible.

The church authorities were also concerned about the profanation of the Sabbath. The Consistory Court records for the diocese show that the diocesan authorities did try to follow up any abuse which was brought to their attention, but the details show a different approach to that of strict Sabbatarians. The ecclesiastical authorities were far more concerned that people should attend church on a Sunday - whether they spent the rest of the day in religious observance or recreation was not as important. It was important, however, that work was avoided - the idea that one day should be set aside had, after all, developed from the Creation story, in which it was stated that God rested from his work. Hence, as

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[79]. above, p.254.

will be seen, people were presented for working on the Sabbath whether or not it occurred during service time. When the question of recreation was approached, however, the authorities do not appear to have felt it necessary to stop all such activities, allowing lawful activities to continue so long as they occurred after services - this also conformed to the ideas expressed by James I when he first issued the Book of Sports.[80]

In the court book for 1607-1608, for example, there are eight presentations for various forms of work upon the Sabbath day. Of these, only two specify that the offences took place during the time of divine service. By contrast, of the four presentations for tippling or alehouse attendance, three state that the offence occurred at that time.[81] Subsequent Court Record books tell a similar story. In 1611-1612 there were eleven presentments for working on the Sabbath, of which three were specified as being during service time; of three cases of various recreations (tippling, bowling, or other pastimes), all had occurred during service time.[82] The book for 1618-1619 only notes three presentations for working on Sunday, two in service time; again, all three presentments for recreations specify that the offence occurred during, or before, the service.[83] In 1619 six examples of recreations can be found: in three cases no time is specified - the only times (apart from the case noted in 1607-1608 above) that this happened. Only one of the four

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[80]. see below, p.258. It is worth remembering here Kenneth Parker's opinion that observation of the Sabbath was, for Protestants, part moral and part ceremonial. The moral part - attending divine service - had to be followed much more strictly than the ceremonial - abstinence from normal duties, which did not necessarily preclude recreational pursuits. Above, p.253.

[81]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1.

[82]. HRO 21M65/C1/30.

[83]. HRO 21M65/C1/32.

cases of working on the Sabbath was expressly noted as occurring during the service.[84]

The church's investigations into Sabbath breaking either paid off, or there was very lax reporting of the problem, by the beginning of the 1620s, as the 1621-1622 Court Book only cites one case of the offence, when some parishioners at Catherington were presented for reaping corn on the Sabbath day - again, no time was specified.[85] The last surviving set of presentments (1623-1625) show the problem deteriorating again, with twelve examples of working on Sunday (three specified as during divine service). Again, in all the cases of recreations, it was specifically noted that the offence occurred during service time.[86]

Such evidence implies that recreation (including frequenting the alehouse, so long as excess was avoided) was permissible so long as it did not happen when the offices were being taken, or communion celebrated. This conclusion is important when the Book of Sports is considered. The book had first been issued in 1618, as James believed that people were being misled into thinking that 'no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion'.[87] The evidence from the Winchester diocese implies that James's opinion that some recreations could be allowed after services had taken place was already followed in some areas.

The Book of Sports was reissued in 1633, and this republication has long been a cause célèbre in the debate over Sabbath observance. The controversy erupted with particular force in Somerset, but (although ostensibly a religious conflict), it

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[84]. HRO 21M65/C1/33.

[85]. HRO 21M65/C1/34.

[86]. HRO 21M65/C1/35.

[87]. S.R.Gardiner Constitutional Documents of the Puritan revolution 1625-1660 (1889), p.101

has been shown that underlying factions within the county were much more important in the development of the dispute.[88]

In the Winchester diocese there was some opposition to the book, with several ministers being suspended for failing to read it. The bishop at the time, Walter Curle, requested certificates of compliance from the clergy early in 1634; by June he had ordered that at least fourteen ministers be suspended.[89] After this initial crackdown, however, opposition to the book appears to have been focussed in a few areas, notably Guildford and Dorking, as no further censures were required.[90] Initial hostility to the Book was dealt with promptly and served as a warning to others - Puritan ministers who had reservations about the Book probably felt that it was more important for them to serve their parish than to abandon it as a result of suspension.

A further example of a more lenient approach to the Sabbath can be taken from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Spanish ambassador removed himself and his entourage from Oxford to Southampton to escape an outbreak of the plague in 1603. Lewis Lewkenor noted that

> On Sunday in the afternoone, having provided
> good musicke, I invited him over to my
> lodging...where we were ladies and Gentlemen the
> best sort of this Town to accompany him...they spent
> the most parte of the afternoone in dauncing...[91]

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[88]. See T.G.Barnes 'County Politics and a Puritan Cause Célèbre: Somerset Churchales 1633' (Transactions of the Royal Historical Society), series v, vol.9 (1959).

[89]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641 (Oxford, 1992), p.190, K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642 (Basingstoke, 1993), p.85.

[90]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity..., p.190; PRO SP Dom 16/293/128.

[91]. PRO SP Dom 14/3/76.

Such an attitude has traditionally been seen as anathema to those of a more

godly nature, such as the minister at Portsmouth, George Widley, and at first sight

this would appear to be the case. In his book on the Sabbath, his opinion of such

recreation appears to be clear - 'there is one [abuse] above the rest...me thinkes I

have named her already (it is wanton dancing)...'.[92] However, Widley accepted the

counter-argument that David had danced before the Lord;[93] importantly he

indicated that there was a difference between dancing in the Old Testament and

contemporary dance - 'wee daunce promiscuously men and women together, nay

good and bad together (if peradventure there be any good amongst them)'.[94] The

problem was that such activity could lead to other immoral acts, rather than

dancing being an evil in itself. Thus Widley was prepared to accept that some

forms of recreation were permissible on the Sabbath:

> ...it will be demaunded of me, whether I doe vtterly
> disallow all recreations vpon the Sabbath. No so...for
> it may somtimes come to passe, that recreation may
> be more necessarie for a man than his meate...and
> sometimes the setting of a man's mind free...may be
> a furtherance vnto vs in the performance of the
> duties of godlinesse...[95]

In this, Widley, somewhat surprisingly, is in agreement with a later writer, who

had a considerably different theological standpoint. Peter Heylyn, one of Laud's

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[92]. G.Widley The Doctrine of the Sabbath, pp.102-103.

[93]. He cited II Samuel 2:14 - 'And David danced before the Lord with all his might'.

[94]. G.Widley The Doctrine of the Sabbath, p.104.

[95]. ibid., p.101.

staunchest supporters, consistently denied that all pleasures were to be avoided on the Sabbath:

> Though the Commandment did prohibite all manner of works; yet it permitted, questionlesse, some manner of pleasures. The Sabbaths rest had otherwise beene more toylesome, then the week-dayes labour; and none had gained more by it, then the Oxe and Asse.[96]

A similar approach was thus shared by the Puritan Widley[97] and the staunch advocate of Laud, Heylyn. The difference lay in the understanding of the origins of the commandment. Whilst Heylyn was more convinced by arguments based upon a ceremonial foundation, Widley emphasised the moral origins of the commandment. This is indicative of broader agreement within the Church of England as a whole - whilst there was considerable polemical debate about the origins of the Sabbath and the strictness with which it should be observed, 'a distinction must be made between the didactic writings of Church leaders and their diocesan discipline'.[98]

A case can be made for an extreme Puritan attitude towards the Sabbath if examination of publications of the time is examined in isolation. This was that the day should be wholly devoted to God's service - attendance at church for morning and evening prayer, combined with religious works in the afternoon. Such an attitude has already been seen in Jersey, with the acts of the États in 1597. This

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[96]. P.Heylyn The History of the Sabbath, book 1, p.113.

[97]. He was suspended from the ministry in 1607 for failing to adhere to the rites of the Book of Common Prayer.

[98]. K.L.Parker The English Sabbath, p.112.

was also consistent with the published opinions of the Puritan John Sprint, who

stated that the duties of pious Christians were

> 1. To hearken to Gods word preached publicly...
> 2. To receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper...
> 3. To pray to God and prayse him...
> 4. To sing the Psalmes and spirituall songs indited
> by the holy-Ghost.[99]

In this list of pious duties, Sprint omitted one important activity which was to be

undertaken, the catechising of infants. It was stated in the Canons of 1604 that one

duty of a minister was that he should, 'upon every Sunday, before evening

prayer...for half an hour or more, examine and instruct the youth and ignorant

persons of his parish in the ten commandments, the articles of belief, and in the

Lord's prayer; and...diligently hear, instruct and teach them the catechism set forth

in the book of common prayer'.[100] This requirement was followed by all but a

handful of ministers in the Winchester diocese, the exceptions being at Tangley in

1607, and St. Lawrence (Southampton) and Lyndhurst (both in 1619).[101] In some

cases the parents refused to have their children catechized, but again this was by

far the exception to the rule - John Moore at Christchurch in 1607 and Richard

Searle, Jasper Upton and John Adderton, all of Alton, in 1619.[102]

The lack of catechizing became a cause for concern during the early

seventeenth century as a result of the emphasis which the godly placed upon the

sermon. During this period, 'the idolising of the sermon in the early stages of the

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[99]. J.Sprint Propositions..., pp.47-49.

[100]. G.Bray The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.349.

[101]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1, 21M65/C1/33.

[102]. HRO 21M65/C1/29/1, 21M65/C1/33.

Reformation...was giving way to an appreciation of the need for a broader approach in which the sermon still had a crucial role in calling the faithful to salvation, but the preacher also had to devote a good deal of time and effort to more humdrum duties beforehand'.[103] Many ministers created their own catechisms, as they felt the official model printed in the Book of Common Prayer was insufficient, whilst the longer catechism produced by Alexander Nowell in 1570 was too detailed.[104] The Prayer Book catechism, for example, recounted the Ten Commandments, but did not go into further detail, as a basic statement of the Law was believed to be sufficient catechizing. The catechism produced by the incumbent of Charlwood (Surrey), John Bristow, in 1627, however, examined the Commandments much more closely, and reveals a Puritan bias. For example:

> Q. What be some of the sinnes forbidden in the second Commandment?
> A. First, to make images of God; secondly, images of creatures religiously used; thirdly, humane inventions and traditions made part of Gods worship; fourthly, neglect of Gods outward worship; fiftly, adoring and calling vpon creatures; sixtly, vnlawfull society with idolators.[105]

Despite such occasional forays into greater detail within these catechisms, it is noteworthy that most were concerned principally with the fundamentals, and did not inquire into doctrinal particulars. Hence there was a 'general dearth of

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[103]. I.M.Green ' "For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding": The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.37, no.3 (July, 1986), p.417.

[104]. ibid., p.407.

[105]. J.Bristow An Exposition of the Creede, the Lords Prayer, the tenne Commandments, and the Sacraments. Catechetically composed by John Bristow (1627), pp.17-18. Bristow was the rector of Charlwood in Surrey between 1615 and 1637.

predestinarian teaching in the great majority of these forms, and this at a time when we are assured that Calvinism was the dominant doctrine'.[106] We can, however, find more Puritan approaches in some publications. John Sprint, who followed his father into holy orders,[107] produced a catechism which had a distinctly puritan tenor in 1613. When the catechumen was asked to say which people were members of the church, the correct answer in this case was 'God's elect only'. Furthermore, the marks of the church were 'chiefly the word and praier, and then also the Sacraments'.[108]

Whilst printed catechisms such as this were aimed more at those who were of an age to understand finer points of religion, some ministers felt that there was a need to provide catechisms for children; catechisms which were briefer, and only covered the very basic essentials. Hence the Guernseyman Pierre le Roy noted down a catechism which appears to have been designed specifically for children, as shown by the section on the Decalogue, in which only three commandments are examined - the first, fourth and fifth.[109] The first, to worship no other God, could not be omitted; the selection of the fifth, honour thy father and mother, might imply that the catechism was designed for a child, although, as will be seen in the next section, this commandment was used as a means by which the whole population could be instructed to obey their social superiors. The fourth, to remember the Sabbath, emphasised the importance placed upon the Sabbath. The

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[106]. I.M.Green The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530-1740 (Oxford, 1996), p.384.

[107]. see above, fn.38.

[108]. J.Sprint The Summe of the Christian religion, containing the chiefe points of the persuasion and practise of a Christian, which are needfull to his salvation (1613), pp.15, 17.

[109]. IAS AQ83/25.

catechumen was to note that sanctifying the Sabbath meant 'ceasing from worldly cares in order to attend to the service of God'.[110] As such, the commandment was declared to be part of the moral law, diminishing the ceremonial aspect of the commandment to insignificance.

It has been seen in this chapter that there were areas which have been seen as part of a Puritan culture - sermon gadding, extempore prayer, and a concern over the profanation of the Sabbath which increasingly emphasised doctrinal arguments over the practicalities of enforcement.[111] It has also been seen that not all aspects of Puritan culture can be seen to have been followed in particular areas - there was not necessarily a firm correlation between, for example, sermon gadding and increased concern over profanation of the Sabbath. In all cases, however, it has also been seen that, whilst Puritans may have been particularly interested in these aspects of a godly life, they were not alone. In this manner, it is probably true that - of the options presented by Peter Lake - Puritanism was, in its own estimation, 'merely the zealous face of orthodox reformed Protestantism'. Such an answer requires further qualification however: if this was the case, why did such a 'culture of Puritanism' provoke such hostility? The answer would appear to be something that it is essential to recognise in order to understand the problems of the period - perception. Whilst Puritan culture can validly be seen as a more zealous form of Protestant culture, the perception of it by a significant number of important people

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[110].+ IAS AQ83/25, fol.41v.

[111]. K.L.Parker The English Sabbath, p.180.

(notably Charles I and the 'Laudian' bishops) was that it was a 'socially divisive, semi-separatist movement...that threatened "order"'.[112]

It has been seen in earlier chapters that the Church of England would appear to have been much more varied in its approach to worship than might be expected, but that, whilst there were differences, there were also surprising similarities which crossed these divisions. Similarly, whilst a 'culture of Puritanism' can be perceived, it would be wrong to associate it too strictly with one body of people.

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[112]. P.Lake 'The Godly and their Enemies in the 1630s', p 178. See above, p.238.

PART THREE: CONFORMITY

Much recent historiography has emphasised the way in which the term Puritan was altered for polemical purposes by advocates of Laud's reforms, and the way in which this redefinition has coloured the views of subsequent historians, particularly those who saw the post-Reformation Church of England as an authentic via media between Rome and Geneva.[1] From this has arisen the designation 'moderate puritan', describing someone who, although holding severe reservations about the liturgical aspects of the English church, was prepared to accept government of the church by bishops, although they seldom believed that Episcopacy had been ordained by God as the only correct government for the church. They were also prepared to accept other matters of indifference, such as the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism which had been retained in the Church of England since the Reformation, although there can be little doubt that they wished to see such ceremonies removed. Whilst this has been a welcome development, it runs the risk of overlooking the fact that, to many, liturgical practice and church government were linked; the term moderate puritan would, in fact, have been 'oxymoronic nonsense in the seventeenth century'.[2] Some sort of leadership was required when issues of ceremony were to be discussed, and this in itself implied a hierarchy of church government. Shortly after being elevated from

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[1] . See, for example, P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker and N.Tyacke 'Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', Journal of British Studies, vol.35 (April, 1996), pp.139-167.

[2] . L.A.Ferrell Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers and the Rhetoric of Conformity 1603-1625 (Stanford, 1998), p.14.

the position of Dean of Winchester to the bishopric of Chester, Thomas Morton

asked

> Seeing you are more in loue with the Lawes of a
> Parochiall assembly, than of a Nationall Synod, I
> would know...by whose Suffrages and voyces you
> would haue <u>Ceremonies</u> approued or
> condemned...What is this else but to preferre sheepe
> before their Pastor?[3]

This link between liturgical practice and the hierarchy of the church was more

noticeable in the writings of Presbyterian divines, and a particularly succinct

description of the link can be seen in a comment written down by Elie Brevint, the

minister of Sark in the Channel Islands. In his note book he expanded upon the

famous maxim of James I:

> No ceremonies, no Bishop; no Bishop, no King.[4]

Attention in this section will thus focus upon the imposition of conformity

within the church, and the ways in which it was promoted during the early

seventeenth century. Chapter six will concentrate upon published appeals for

conformity to the hierarchy of the church, an examination which will, of necessity,

have to look further than the main boundaries of this thesis (both temporal and

geographic), examining in particular the work of four divines, all of whom were

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[3] . T.Morton <u>A Defence of the Innocencie of the Three Ceremonies of the Church of England</u> (1618), pp.158-159.

[4] . Greffe, Lee Collection 23, fol.24. It is difficult to date the notes of Brevint, as actual dates are very rarely used. However, a subsequent note (fol.25) is dated December 1617. As Brevint became minister of Sark in 1612, it is likely that the note was written sometime between these two dates when, as will be seen, the manner of church government in the Channel Islands was the subject of some debate.

associated with the diocese: John Bridges,[5] Adrian Saravia,[6] Thomas Bilson,[7] and Richard Field.[8]

Chapter seven will examine how the theories about conformity to the church were put into practice, particularly with reference to attempts to diminish differences between churches within the diocese. With this in mind it will be essential to understand the development of the church in the Channel Islands since the Reformation, along with what measures were taken to bring the islands into a 'uniformity'[9] or 'congruity'[10] with the rest of the Church of England - an important theme in the current debate over the problems the early Stuarts faced in ruling multiple kingdoms.[11] An investigation will also be undertaken of attempts to bring about a greater conformity to the Church of England in the mainland part of the diocese, which in some cases brought about clashes with the civil authorities.

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[5] . Canon of Winchester Cathedral 1565-1611, who also held the living of Broughton (Hampshire) 1598-1618.

[6] . A Dutch émigré who worked within the diocese at various times.

[7] . Warden of Winchester College, Prebend of Winchester Cathedral 1576-96, Bishop of Winchester 1597-1616.

[8] . Rector of Burghclere, Hampshire between 1595 and 1616.

[9] . Peter Heylyn claimed that uniformity within the church was the aim of James, and later Laud. A full relation of two journeys, the one into the mainland of France, the other into some of the adjacent ilands (1656), p.379, Cyprianus Anglicus (1668), p.357.

[10] . The term 'congruity' with regard to the various churches under James's headship is preferred by John Morrill 'A British patriarchy? Ecclesiastical Imperialism under the early Stuarts' in A.Fletcher & P.Roberts (eds.) Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain (Cambridge, 1994).

[11] . See C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1990).

CHAPTER SIX

The Defence of Conformity

The last chapter undertook an investigation into the ways in which a 'culture of Puritanism' can be discerned in the early seventeenth century. The very fact that such a culture has been the subject of recent investigation implies that it was something distinct, which stood apart from some other tradition, which could possibly be termed a 'culture of conformity'.[1] This chapter will investigate the ways in which such a culture of conformity was defended by clerics, particularly those that worked within the Winchester diocese, in order to set up the basis from which an examination of attempts to enforce conformity within the diocese can be undertaken in the following chapter. The nature of the debate, however, means that the topics which were addressed by these clerics had a much more national character.

Many of the deductions of previous chapters have been drawn as a result of focussing attention away from the doctrinal disputes of the time, and realigning research towards the ways in which worship was conducted. It is becoming clear that much of the debate at the time was actually based upon this, which indicates that two contrasting ideas of churchmanship were crucial in the period.

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[1] . Such a culture, based around conformity to the structures and rituals of the Church of England, and thus against Puritan culture in the religious arena, should not be confused with another anti-Puritan tradition, based around secular rites and festivities. This, which could be seen as a culture of Royalist, rather than religious, conformity, has been explored in some depth by David Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford, 1985), and Ronald Hutton, The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1994). It is, of course, possible that in some places the two conformities may well have combined.

Puritanism, for example, was based much more strongly around the invisible

church, whose members claimed to have an intense personal relationship with

God. This was manifested by Puritan emphasis upon actions such as extempore

prayer, powerful preaching, and sermon gadding. Contrasted with this

'evangelical' tradition was an 'institutional' one, exhibited in the emphasis upon

the rites of the church, the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and forms

inherited from the ancient church which had been cleansed of Roman errors, but

which were considered advantageous (or, increasingly, essential) to the church.

This contrast between evangelical and institutional cultures has been studied

recently in an important monograph by Darren Oldridge. In Religion and Society

in Early Stuart England, Oldridge examines the idea that

> ...the emphasis which individuals placed upon the
> visible or invisible church was a more accurate
> guide to their political affiliation than their opinions
> on the doctrine of predestination...the religious
> tensions of the 1630s are best understood as part
> of...[a] long-running conflict between two models of
> the church, rather than the sudden emergence of a
> dominant 'Arminian' faction.[2]

One of the facets of the visible nature of the church, which was intrinsic to the

'institutional' tradition, was its hierarchy. The history of this hierarchy, its relation

to the state and works produced in defence of it has been examined in some detail

by Peter Lake. In his seminal work,[3] Lake has demonstrated that the idea of a via

media between Rome and Geneva was largely brought about as a result of Richard

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[2] . D.Oldridge Religion and Society in Early Stuart England (Aldershot. 1998), pp.6, 8.

[3] . P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker (1988)

Hooker's Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity. Lake's work, however, was designed to show the way in which Hooker's work was the culmination of defences of the established church; defences against further innovations that had been proposed since the Reformation. His examination, of necessity, concluded with Hooker, and he stated that 'presbyterianism was a dead letter almost before Hooker handed his copy to the printer'.[4] Whilst this statement is true when the national picture is examined, on the local scale the diocese of Winchester contained a pocket of Presbyterianism that survived for several years after Hooker's books were published. In addition to this, one of the staunchest defenders of Episcopal government wrote at a later date than that covered by Lake. With this in mind it is appropriate to revisit the ground trodden by Lake in order to place further examinations into better context.

When the Church of England split with the Papacy, those in power discarded the features of the Roman church which they felt were erroneous; the idea of the Apostolic succession and the Episcopal structure of the church was retained. Whilst other parts of Europe developed a much stricter interpretation of the composition of the church with a Presbyterian structure (largely based upon the example set by Geneva), the Church of England held on to the ideal of government of the church by bishops, priests and deacons. Intertwined with this ideal was the reality of an hierarchical social structure, the two being connected in and through the body of the monarch. Recent investigation of the English Reformation has

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[4] . P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans?, p.239.

focussed on the, admittedly important, doctrinal issues; an examination of the links between the social/secular and the spiritual/religious would appear to be somewhat overdue.

The hierarchical structure of society had developed over time, and defences of it were often based on the fifth commandment - 'honour thy father and mother'.[5] From this a divine model could be seen, around which familial units and a structured society had been built. The hierarchy inherent within the family unit was thus based on God's example, with children being subservient to parents. This was reflective of the social hierarchy, as indicated by Thomas Bilson when preaching at James's coronation: 'what kinde of honour is due to princes, is shortly delivered in that commandment, honor thy father'.[6] In addition to this, there was a gender-based division, with the father having control over the mother. This had derived from the Creation, at which time God had given man superiority over woman. To some, this was 'the first political regiment...[Adam's] patriarchal authority represented a paradigm for all subsequent forms of political organization and power'.[7]

Thus the hierarchical structure of human society had been established by God at the Creation of the world. Examination of the hierarchical structure of early modern society uncovers a further structural basis within the family unit which was seen as being indicative of God's ordained order: the human body. The

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[5] . Exodus 20:12.

[6] . T.Bilson A Sermon Preached at Westminster before the King and Queenes Majesties, at their Coronations on St. James his day (1604), sig.Bii r.

[7] . P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans?, p.135. At this point Lake is focusing upon the opinions of Adrian Saravia, which will be examined further later in this chapter.

structure of the human body was reflected in the body politic, and thus 'harmony in society was achieved in the same way as in a man's body, by all the different parts working together for a common purpose'.[8] Not only did all the parts of the body have to work together, but there was an inherent hierarchy within it. As John Donne was to write in his <u>Devotions upon Emergent Occasions</u>:

> ...the <u>Heart</u> hath the <u>birth-right</u> and <u>Primogeniture</u>...the other parts, as <u>younger brethren</u>, and servants in this family have dependence upon it...the <u>Heart</u> alone is in the <u>Principalitie</u>, as in the throne, as <u>King</u>, the rest as <u>Subjects</u>.[9]

The hierarchy of the family and the social structure was thus reflected in the body (or the microcosm); it was also reflected in the order of the universe (the macrocosm). Man was seen as being part of the 'Great Chain of Being',[10] as, through the ordination of God, he had been given 'dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth'.[11] That such order was divinely ordained could also be seen in the way in which God had made animals structure their 'societies' in similar ways. Hence Charles Butler, the vicar of Wootton St. Lawrence in north east Hampshire, noted of bees that they 'abhorre as well polyarchie, as anarchie, God hauing shewed in them vnto men an expresse

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[8] . W.H.Greenleaf <u>Order, Empiricism and Politics: Two Traditions of English Political Thought 1500-1700</u> (Oxford, 1964), p.71. See also R.Eccleshall <u>Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy in Early Modern England</u> (Oxford, 1978).

[9] . J.Donne 'Devotion 4', in A.Raspa (ed.) <u>John Donne: Devotions upon Emergent Occasions</u> (Oxford, 1987), p.87.

[10] . The phrase is taken from A.J.Lovejoy <u>The Great Chain of Being</u> (Harvard, 1936), and encapsulates the views of the time.

[11] . Genesis 1:26.

patterne of a perfect monarchie, the most natural and absolute form of gouernment'.[12] If the humble bee had been given a particular order to follow, it was only right that mankind should follow a similar course!

Whilst man had been placed over other species upon earth, he had also been placed in the position of intermediary between earth and heaven, the next link in the 'Great Chain' being the angels. Richard Field, rector of Burghclere (Hampshire), noted this when he stated that God had divided living things into three ranks - those who were insensitive to their surroundings, those who could sense their environment but could not understand it, and those who could both perceive and understand their lives. The latter category had been further divided into two sorts - 'Angells, dwelling in heavenly palaces: and Men...dwelling in houses of clay'.[13] Towards the end of the period under examination, William Sclater, preaching an assize sermon in defence of the social hierarchy, noted that even the angels were subject to order, and this order was reflected throughout God's creation:

> ...among the confirmed Angels, there are Degrees...from those heavens, let us behold the Starry Firmament, and there discover two great Luminaries, as Rulers of Times and Seasons...Take a view of the Microcosme, or the little world, man himself...the soule commands the body, and the mind the soul it selfe, the sensual appetite, and all the Inferiour Powers in the same.[14]

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[12]. C.Butler The Feminine Monarchie: Or, a Treatise Concerning Bees, and the due ordering of them (Oxford, 1609), sig.A3r. Whilst this work is ostensibly concerned with bee-keeping, it had important messages within it concerning the church, particularly the way in which it concluded with a defence of tithes.

[13]. R.Field Of the Church, Five Books (second edition, 1628), p.409.

[14]. W.Sclater Civil Magistracy by Divine Authority, Asserted, and laid forthe in a sermon, Preached

Sclater was preaching nothing new in his perception of an angelic hierarchy.

Thomas Bilson had previously written in a similar vein in a defence of Episcopal

government:

> What think you of the word <u>Archangel</u>; doth it not
> impart order and dignitie amongst the Angels...[15]

An ordered system could thus be seen in the heavens. This in turn was reflected,

again, in the body politic:

> The gouernement of one Monarch doth seeme to
> resemble most lively the image of Gods power &
> maiestie...the rule of Monarches, in their severall
> kingdomes vpon earth, doth call to our
> considerations the gouernment and high maiestie of
> the omnipotent God.[16]

Hierarchy was thus something which pervaded thought in the early modern

period. It was seen as the basis upon which society had been constructed, from the

human body through the family unit and the body politic and on up to the

organisation of the universe. In all of these the basic idea from which such an

ordered society had grown was the word of God. This - allied to the fact that

society itself was based around the church, which was 'school, library, public

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at the assises holden at Winchester, for the County of Southampton, on Thursday the 4th of March 1651/52 (1653), p.10.

[15]. T.Bilson The Perpetual Government of Christes Church (1593), p.411.

[16]. S.Harward The Danger of Discontent, intreated in a sermon preached at Crowhurst in Surrey the ninth of July 1598 (1599), sig.Bii r.

noticeboard, MP's surgery, village hall, and mortuary'[17] - meant that the concept of hierarchy was intrinsic to the church as well.

The idea of a structured hierarchy within the church was based, as were the ideas of social hierarchy, upon the Bible. Christ himself had intimated that the church should be considered his bride,[18] thus forging a link between patriarchal society and the Bible; this idea was more forcefully pursued in the Epistles of St. Paul. In his second letter to the church at Corinth, for example, Paul states that 'I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ'.[19] Finally, in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the new Jerusalem is presented as 'the bride, the Lamb's wife'.[20]

After the Ascension, the idea of hierarchy within the church as Christ left it is further demonstrated with the infusion of the Holy Ghost into the Apostles.[21] The Apostles were thus chosen, above Christ's other followers, to spread the Word throughout the world. A further hierarchy had already been placed within the Apostles with Peter being chosen as the 'rock' upon which the church would be built, although this was to cause later controversy with the supremacy claimed by the Pope.[22]

The Epistles of St. Paul further supported the view that an hierarchical church structure had been ordained by God, and that the basis of such an order could be seen in the human body. Thus, in the first letter to the Corinthians:

[17]. D.Howarth Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance 1485-1649 (1997), p.50.
[18]. In the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, Matthew 25:1-13.
[19]. II Corinthians 11:2.
[20]. Revelation 21:9. The lamb is, of course, Christ.
[21]. Acts 2:1-4.
[22]. Matthew 16:18.

> For as the body is one, and hath many members,
> and all the members of that one body, being many,
> are one body...
> But now hath God set the members every one of
> them in the body, as it hath pleased him.[23]

Furthermore, Paul went on to explain the divisions which had been established,

with a tempered admonition that people should not perform tasks which had not

been assigned to them:

> Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in
> particular. And God hath set some in the church,
> first apostles, secondarily prophets, after that
> miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments,
> diversities of tongues. Are all apostles? Are all
> prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of
> miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak
> with tongues? Do all interpret?[24]

The development of the church up to the Reformation had been in accordance

with this hierarchy. Peter was installed as the first bishop of Rome; others were

sent out by Paul to preach in other churches. These missionaries, being sent by

Paul, and acting under the jurisdiction of Peter, were the means by which a link

could be made from the disciples to the later church. Thus Paul, in his letter to

Titus gave him the 'authoritie or iurisdiction to be their ordinarie, or the ordainer

of them...without anye mention at all, of any others'[25] The Apostolic succession

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[23]. I Corinthians 12:12, 18.

[24]. I Corinthians 12:27-30.

[25]. J.Bridges A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters (1587), p.65.

was thus established as the basis from which church government could be revealed.

To the defenders of Episcopacy, therefore, a hierarchical form of church government was something which had been ordained from above, and was thus in accordance with the ordered nature of God's Word. As has been stated earlier,[26] four divines who worked within the diocese produced notable works in defence of Episcopacy. Whilst it could be expected that a diocese of the size of Winchester would contain several writers of a similar bent, these four appear to have been particularly important.

John Bridges was an important clergyman within the diocese, having been appointed a prebendary of the cathedral in 1565. He became important on a national scale as a result of his published defence of Episcopacy, a publication that resulted in the riposte of the Marprelate Tracts.[27] As a prebendary of the cathedral, Bridges would probably have exerted some influence within the diocese.

Influence was certainly exerted by the second defender of Episcopacy that worked in the diocese. Adrian Saravia actually worked in the Channel Islands, and his experience of a Presbyterian form of church government must have been noted at a higher level. His opinions were definitely put forward in the Channel Islands, as he wrote to them criticizing them for the survival of Presbyterianism within an Episcopal structure.[28] Whether or not he had any real influence elsewhere in the

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[26]. above, p.269.

[27]. J.Bridges Defence...

[28]. See below, p.287.

diocese is more debatable, although he also worked in Southampton, keeping on good terms with the refugee church there.[29]

The writer who would have had most influence within the diocese was Thomas Bilson, as he was bishop of the See from 1597 to 1616. As well as writing in defence of Episcopacy, Bilson attended the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, speaking against Puritanism. Along with the fourth writer from the diocese, Richard Field, Bilson was seen by Anthony à Wood as 'a principal maintainer of the Church of England,[30] showing that his position had been noticed by contemporaries. It is with this in mind that we must now turn to the treatises written by these four divines in defence of Episcopacy during the period 1585-1616.

The primary book on the subject of church government came from the pen of John Bridges in 1587, whilst he was a prebendary at Winchester, and was to become the immediate cause of the Marprelate Tracts. The title made the ambition of the author clear - <u>A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiasticall Matters</u> - and Bridges soon stated where his own convictions lay. Whilst he admitted that Scripture had not ordained church government by bishops, it was clear from the Bible that an hierarchical arrangement had been established - Episcopal government had developed from this, and thus had been, to all intents and purposes, ordained by God. He therefore attacked those who believed that, because there was no place in Scripture where

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[29]. For Southampton, see later, pp.341-350.

[30]. see <u>DNB</u> entry for Bilson.

the form of church government had been laid down, Episcopacy worked against God's will. On the contrary, the fact that no form of church government had been firmly established in the Bible meant that his opponents were in error for arguing against Episcopacy:

> [the Church] (they say)...ought to be directed in all thinges, according to the order prescribed by the householder himselfe...But if he have not prescribed all thinges appertayning to the externall gouernment of his Church or house: then are those thinges which are not prescribed by the householder himselfe, not to be so vrged...[31]

Those who inveighed against episcopacy because it was not specifically enjoined in the Bible were urging against things which had not been prescribed; as no order had actually been prescribed, such condemnation was unjustified. Whilst they could indicate places in Scripture where a particular form of church government was followed, it was impossible for them to actually prove that such a structure was ordained by God.[32]

Bridges later proceeded to explain the need for an hierarchical structure of church government, with one head controlling many subordinates, in terminology which is reminiscent of that used with regard to social order:

> In every house there may not be many Soueraignes, and chiefe Rulers, but one principall ouer all the other...the Church being compared...to the house of God...[one must] gouerne all his fellowe seruaunts and all the children, within the Region, Diocese or city limited vnto him; and keep

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[31]. J.Bridges Defence..., pp.54-55.
[32]. ibid., p.163.

them all in an orderly <u>subiection</u>, euen as a <u>Father</u>
doeth his children; or else the <u>Ecclesiasticall pollicy</u>
is disturbed.[33]

Hence the monarch was not only the head of the body politic, but also of the

church. Instruction, and the appointment of ministers within the church, was to

come from above. Within each diocese, furthermore, the bishop was to have

supreme jurisdiction. As has been seen, Bridges did not claim that the church's

structure had been specifically laid down in the Bible - it may not have been the

'perpetual and immutable ordinance of God', but it could be seen to have had

'scriptural warrant and recommendation'.[34] Because of the analogies which could

be drawn with the body politic and the social order, however, it was the most

effective form of government. Not only was this true at the time during which

Bridges was writing, but he showed that it had also been the model which had

been followed in the earliest years of the church, and was thus 'a godly and

necessarie <u>order for the Churches gouernment, and Apostolicall</u>'.[35]

As has been stated, Bridges was one of several clergymen from the diocese of

Winchester who wrote in the defence of the hierarchical structure of church

government. Thomas Bilson, who was to become bishop of the See, wrote in 1593

that to have a Presbyterian system of locally chosen ministers 'were to make as

many parliaments as there be parishes in this Realme'.[36] To Bilson, the need for

[33]. J.Bridges <u>Defence...</u>, p.276.

[34]. A.Milton <u>Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640</u> (Cambridge, 1995), p.458. See also M.R.Sommerville 'Richard Hooker and his Contemporaries on Episcopacy: an Elizabethan Consensus', <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, vol.35, no.2 (April 1984), pp.177-187.

[35]. J.Bridges <u>Defence...</u>, p.413.

[36]. T.Bilson <u>The Perpetual Government of Christes Church</u>, p.24. At the time of writing, Bilson was

hierarchy within the church was seen immediately after Christ's death, 'when

Iudas by transgression fell from his Apostleship [and] an other was taken out of

the 70 to supplie his roome; which [was] needed not, if the 70 had had equal place

and calling with the Apostles'.[37] This view of the Apostolic succession was

supported further by Bilson when he noted that:

> The Apostles were Stewards of the word and
> Sacraments, and had the keyes of Gods kingdome,
> not only to disperse them faithfully whiles they
> lived, but in the like sort to leave them to the church
> of Christ...To divide the word and administer the
> Sacraments is the generall and perpetuall charge of
> all those that feede the flocke of Christ, and are set
> over his household to give them meate in season.[38]

The patriarchal family unit again pervades the defence of order in the church.

The apostles, and their descendants, were placed above the general population, so

that they could provide the necessary succour which the laity could not. This was,

in a similar way to the rôle of a father in the family, not to be abused, for 'Christ

would not have his Apostles to be feared as masters, but to be honoured as

fathers'.[39] This idea that bishops should act as fathers to their congregations was

also offered by Richard Field when he wrote that 'we make not the power of

Bishops to be Princely...but Fatherly'.[40]

Bilson and Field went further than Bridges did in the way that they appealed to

divine authority. Whilst Bridges focussed his attention on evidence which could be

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warden of Winchester College.

[37]. T.Bilson The Perpetual Government..., p.44.

[38]. ibid., p.108.

[39]. ibid., p.56.

[40]. R.Field Of the Church, p.499.

obtained from the New Testament, and thus on the example of the Apostles, Bilson and Field both looked back to the Old Testament to discover the reasons why the Apostles had followed such an hierarchical system - this emphasized an hierarchical nature of the church which had been established by God before the Apostles had set up an Episcopal structure. During the Jew's wanderings in the Wilderness, for example, the Levites had been chosen 'to retain the priesthood and haue the ouersight of all holy things, and execution of all sacred service'.[41] More importantly,

> ...the services about the Sanctuarie and Sacrifices (which none might doe but Levites) were of divers sortes, and therefore...were there diuers degrees established amongst them...[42]

After the wanderings in the desert, it was noted that the church of the Israelites divided its priesthood into two divisions - 'an high Prieste: and...others of an inferiour condition'. The latter were organized further by King David 'into foure rankes...some hee appointed to bee ministers of the Priests and Temple...some Singers: some Porters: and others Scribes and Iudges'.[43]

Bilson and Field thus saw the separation of the priesthood from the laity, and the divisions within it, as being established earlier than Bridges did. It was this ancient hierarchy, approved by Old Testament Patriarchs, which became the basis of the distinctions between the Apostles that were set down by Christ and provided the foundation of the Episcopate. It was noted that 'out of the twelve tribes God

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[41]. T.Bilson The Perpetual Government..., p.8.
[42]. ibid., p.13.
[43]. R.Field Of the Church, pp.412, 414.

chose one to retain the priesthood',[44] but this did not derogate the fact that the whole nation of Israel was His elect. Similarly, whilst it was true that none of the Apostles had greater power than the others, Peter had been

> ...set in order and honour before the rest [who were] put in the same commission with him...Peter receiued not a different or larger commission from Christ...but onely a kinde of honourable precedence, preeminence, and priority...[45]

In noting this differentiation between the Apostles, Richard Field defended the hierarchy of the Church of England, and the differentiation between ordinary clergy and their superiors. At the same time, by refusing to allow Peter greater authority than the other Apostles, he also attacked the pretended supremacy of the Pope.

This idea that the division of the ministry was the design of God, and not man's interpretation, was not entirely new. Adrian Saravia, a Dutch émigré who worked within the Winchester diocese, has been credited as the first to defend Episcopacy upon the basis of such Divine Law.[46] Saravia appears to have first come to Guernsey in early 1559, before joining the Dutch church in London on 22 June 1561. In 1562 Saravia returned to Holland, but by 1566 he was to be found working in the Winchester diocese, having returned to Guernsey as headmaster of Elizabeth College in 1563.

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[44]. T.Bilson The Perpetual Government..., p.8.

[45]. R.Field Of the Church, p.487. Whilst Field here promoted the idea that differences between the Apostles had been instituted by Christ, he had previously noted that such differentiation had also been used buy the Israelites in the Old Testament, pp.412-414.

[46]. W.Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c.1532-1613): Dutch Calvinist, first Reformed defender of the English Episcopal Order on the Basis of the Ius Divinum (Leiden, 1980).

In an important recent work, Darryl Ogier has examined the course of the Reformation in Guernsey, and shown that Protestantism took far longer to establish itself there than had previously been thought.[47] Whilst Nijenhuis, in his biography of Saravia, sees Guernsey as quickly acquiring a 'Calvinist character' as a result of the presence of French refugees,[48] Ogier indicates that Saravia found a different situation, with only a few supporters of the new order. Hence Saravia noted that the services conducted by himself and Nicholas Baudouin in the island were attended by only three or four islanders, and 'outside the town, ministers were jeered and sometimes had dirt thrown at them'.[49] Despite local hostility, the island did move to a form of church government which followed the Presbyterian order established in Geneva. Saravia himself later recalled that 'this exceptional arrangement of a local Presbyterian church order united to a national Episcopal church had only been possible thanks to the obliging consent of the Bishop of Winchester and under his authority'.[50] This remained the situation throughout the rest of the sixteenth century. Attempts to change the government of the church in the Channel Islands were made in the seventeenth century,[51] but here it is necessary to examine whether Saravia's opinions were affected by his experience in Guernsey.

It would appear that they were. After his time in Guernsey, Saravia moved to Southampton in 1560, becoming headmaster at the Free Grammar School. He

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[47]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996).
[48]. W.Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia, p.21.
[49]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey, p.78.
[50]. W.Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia, p.22.
[51]. see below, pp.306-319.

resigned from this post in 1578, entering the church; by the end of 1601 he had become a member of the chapter at Westminster Abbey, becoming conversant with a group which has recently been termed the 'Westminster Movement'.[52] His time within the Church of England, and thus his experience of its governmental structure, led him to write to Guernsey's ministers in 1610, complaining that their structure of church government was not consistent with the Church of England. Indeed, in following the example set by the churches in France, the Channel Islanders were acting illegally, becoming 'excommunicants and schismatics'.[53] The important thing to Saravia was that the Church of England was ruled through the Episcopate, and, in failing to conform to the Church's hierarchy, the Islands were taking a dangerous stance. As Nijenuis has said, Saravia's complaint was 'in no way intended as a fundamental denial of the ministerial office in a Calvinist church but was rather a combating of what he regarded as disorderly behaviour and the refusal of ecclesiastical authority in the Church of England itself'.[54]

Guernsey's ministers ought to have had some idea that Saravia had become a staunch defender of episcopacy. In 1591 he produced his most noteworthy work, Of the Diverse degrees of the Ministers of the Gospel, important because it marked Saravia out as 'the first to base episcopal government on the "ius divinum"'[55] - the very source of church government which it has been seen that Field later defended, and which established a difference between ministers. There

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[52]. D.MacCulloch Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation (1999), pp.210-213.

[53]. [A.Saravia] Clavi Trabales (1661), p.142.

[54]. W.Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia, p.115.

[55]. ibid., p.119.

were, however, differences in opinion as to what the term iure divino actually

meant - some writers saw it as the immutable ordinance of God, whilst others

believed that it referred to matters which could be decided by interpreting God's

word as laid down in Scripture. It was possible that the latter could be altered if

necessary, but this could only be done in extreme circumstances.[56]

Further debate concerned the actual provenance of the hierarchy of the church.

It has been seen that distinctions were drawn between the Apostles by Christ, but

once these distinctions had been established, the Apostles themselves further

developed the hierarchy as they planted churches throughout the world. The

distinction between the ordinance of Christ and the system adopted by the

Apostles, however, does not appear to have caused very much debate at the time,

and 'divines often took 'iure apostolico' to mean 'iure divino' and vice versa'.[57]

Thus distinctions which had been set up by the Apostles could be used as if they

had been dominical instructions. Thus Saravia defended the precedence of Titus

and Timothy, who had been sent out by Paul, rather than Christ, to preach the

gospel - 'Titus and Timothie had a superior intendencie ouer manie Churches, as

also ouer them, which were alreadie [pastors thereof], or were to be preferred

thereunto'.[58] Similarly, Field was to note that

> When the Apostles first founded Churches...they
> so sorted and diuided out particular Churches, that a
> Cittie, and the places neere adioyning made but one
> church...[but] because Churches of so large extent
> required many Ministers of the Word...the

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[56]. See A.Milton Catholic and Reformed, pp.458-461.

[57]. ibid., p.459.

[58]. A.Saravia Of the Diverse degrees (1591), pp.29-30.

> Apostles...[placed] in them many Presbyters...yet
> they appointed one onely to be chiefe Pastour...[59]

As a result of this, it was clear that 'there alwayes hath been, and must be in each Church, a preeminence of one aboue the rest of the Presbyters'.[60] This preeminence also hinted that a similar hierarchy might be apparent in the way church buildings themselves were arranged, with the church of the city at which the main pastor had his residence being an example to the others. Hence Bilson could state that

> The Churches in villages and countrey townes,
> had neither Bishop nor Presbyterie; but were subject
> to the Bishop of that Citie within whose precincts
> the villages were.[61]

The idea that cathedrals could be seen as an example to other churches within the diocese had been shown by Bridges when he discussed the provision of sermons. He noted that people 'come to the Cathedrall church not so much to heare the Seruice, as the Sermon. For they hear the Seruice before in their Parish Churches'.[62] Bridges had earlier made the importance of the main church within a diocese more explicit, when he explained that when the Church Fathers had met to discuss ecclesiastical matters such assemblies occurred in the major churches, a practice which had begun 'among the Apostles and Disciples themselves, at the first Metropoliticall or Mother Church of Ierusalem'.[63]

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[59]. R.Field Of the Church, p.498.

[60]. ibid., p.499.

[61]. T.Bilson The Perpetual Government..., p.183.

[62]. J.Bridges Defence..., p.645.

[63]. ibid., p.292.

This view of cathedrals acting as a guide for other churches within the diocese was to cause problems for William Laud later in the century, as it had become increasingly associated with his perceived attempts to enforce one form of worship upon the church as a whole. Hence, in his account of Laud's trial, Prynne stated that 'one principall cause of [Laud's innovations]...was to make the <u>Mother churches</u> (as he styles them) patterns of imitation for all Daughter <u>Churches and Chappells</u> within the whole diocese...'.[64] The association of the idea with the policies of Laud had been enhanced by Heylyn's statement in 1637 that 'all <u>Parochiall</u> churches ought to be guided by the pattern of the <u>Mother</u> church, upon which they doe depend'.[65] If Laud's promotion of this ideal was seen as innovatory, as Prynne has been seen to claim, it is clear that, although the added emphasis may have been novel, Laud was building on ideas which had been hinted at by earlier divines, although they never made the respect due to the 'mother' church as categorical.

There is evidence, moreover, that the idea of a cathedral church acting as a mother church to the parish churches of the diocese was part of a long tradition. In some dioceses a custom had developed whereby bequests in wills would include a donation to the cathedral church as well as the parish church. Such donations appear to have been very popular during the medieval period, reaching a peak after 1518.[66] During the period of the Reformation, however, 'in the dioceses where

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[64]. W.Prynne <u>Canterburies Doome</u> (1646), p.86.

[65]. P.Heylyn <u>Antidotum Lincolniense: or an answere to a book entitled, the Holy Table, name, & Thing</u> (1637), p.65.

[66]. R.Houlbrooke <u>Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1752</u> (Oxford, 1998), pp.113, 116.

small offerings to the cathedral church had been customary, they fell away sharply'.[67] Such a decline may have been for one or more reasons - social, economic or religious - but Prynne appears to have associated the practice with the errors of the Catholic church. The last such bequest in the Winchester diocese was in 1624.[68]

Further evidence from the Winchester diocese shows that there were other examples from earlier in the century of a church acting as a mother church. Of crucial importance to this were the constraints which were placed upon the parishioners of the new chapel of ease at St. Mary Extra, Southampton in 1620.

The minister who was appointed to the chapel was permitted the power to perform 'all divine Acts of Religion in it, namely Public Prayers, Reading the holy Liturgy of the Church, Preaching and explaining the Word of God, administering the holy Sacraments...the solemnization of Matrimony, Churching of Women, and burying the dead'. The importance of the church's hierarchy was not forgotten, however, and it was ordered that the parishioners 'shall every Year...repair to the said Mother Church [St. Mary's] on Easter Sunday or Witsunday...and shall on those days hear the Prayers and receive the Sacrament at the said Mother Church'. This was something which was to be done 'as a mark of their subjection to the said Mother Church'.[69] Easter Sunday was, and still is, the one day of the year when members of the Church of England were obliged to partake of the sacrament (in addition to attending the service), and thus the hierarchy of the church was

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[67]. R.Houlbrooke Death, Religion and the Family, p.118.

[68]. D.Caldicott A Long Sutton Miscellany (1979), p.58.

[69]. SCA PR4/2/1.

allied to an hierarchy of the liturgical years. The 'Mother' church was to be the centre for worship, particularly on the most important festival days, even if the chapel of ease could be used as an alternative at less important times.

The importance of the mother church was further emphasized by the corrective measures which would be taken in the event that they failed in the upkeep of the newly consecrated chapel:

> But if it shall happen that for want of sufficient Repairs, the want of Service Books, or any other thing or things necessary for the performance of Divine Service...then all the Inhabitants...shall be obliged for ever to repair to the Mother Church and to hear Divine Service there...[70]

The idea that there were mother churches which should act as examples to other churches was not an opinion which was exclusive to the upper echelons of the church, and it had filtered down to the parish level. In 1607, for example, the rector of Tangley was presented to the Consistory Court for failing to preach monthly sermons. His defence was that 'there are sermons at faccomb church the mother church', showing that, amongst some of the clergy at least, a structured hierarchy of 'mother' and 'daughter' churches within the diocese was accepted.

Having examined the ways in which an hierarchical structure within the church was promoted as an ideal, it is now necessary to consider the ways in which such a structure was defended against any threats which might have arisen. The greatest threat to the established order was the problem of disobedience, which was

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[70]. SCA PR4/2/1.

another area in which the concerns about hierarchy in the church coincided with concerns about hierarchy in the state.

In 1638 the priest and curate of Reigate in Surrey, William Hardwick, preached a sermon in which he appealed for greater obedience on the part of the clergy to God's word. As God's servants, the clergy had duties to perform, and of those, 'two things there are, which we principally commend to our servants; Obedience and Reverence'.[71] Whilst this plea was aimed at the clergy, Hardwick continued to apply the same ideas to the laity:

> ...you must show your obedience by submitting your
> selves to the will of God...it rests in you to obey the
> forme of Doctrine which yee are taught.[72]

In this Hardwick was appealing for adherence to the orders of the church as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer. However, the links between church, state, and society were once again shown to be based upon the same ideals, and thus faced the same threats:

> Whether they be sinnes of blood, or sinnes of
> uncleannesse, or sinnes of discontent, sinnes of
> muttering and murmuring against the God of
> Heaven, and his Vice-Gerent here on earth.[73]

Hardwick went on to explain that these sins could only be overcome through repentance; the road to repentance, however, was best followed through the advice of the clergy, as the means by which this route could be followed would be given

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[71]. W.Hardwick Conformity with Piety, Requisite in Gods Service (1638), p.9.

[72]. ibid., pp.9-10.

[73]. ibid., p.10.

by God 'to us of the Clergy by Prayer and Study; and to you of the Laity...by our ministry'.[74] The clergy was shown to be an intermediary for the people between them and God, and thus the church's hierarchical basis was further supported.

Hardwick's defence of the church order in this sermon showed that he was concerned that it was under threat, and he was not alone in these thoughts. A few years later, a tract attributed to Alexander Ross stated that there were sixteen threats to the established church.[75] Each of these threats was refuted with reference to Scripture, except three, and these omissions are important.

The first group for whom Ross required no Scriptural condemnation was the rattle-head, and his description shows quite clearly why - they were 'a company of shallow pated, haire-brained, shittle-witted Coxcombers, that neither regard Law nor Religion. They regard nothing but to make mischief'.[76] Scripture was clearly not necessary to condemn such people.

The second group against whom Ross used no Scriptural defence was the Canonists, who 'desire the government of Bishops still to abide, because they stand upon Canon law...[and] they stand for all Canonical Ceremonies', which appears to be an attack upon extra ceremonies which had been introduced in the 1630s. In his earlier condemnation of Arminians, Ross failed to mention the doctrinal moves towards Rome associated with Arminianism, focussing instead

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[74]. W.Hardwick Conformity with Piety, p.22.

[75]. [A.Ross] Religions Lottery, or the churches amazement (1642). The sixteen threats examined were the views of Atheists, Papists, Arians, Arminians, Familists, Anabaptists, Novelists, Timeservers, Canonists, Lutherans, Separatists, Brownists, Puritans, Rattle-heads and Round-heads. Lawrence Sasek has queried the veracity of the attribution to Ross, but see above, p.137, fn.88.

[76]. ibid., sig..4v.

upon ceremonial practices.[77] It is debatable, however, whether Ross saw Laud as being part of either of these groups, or as someone who was defending the Church of England against them. His riposte to the Canonists hinted at the latter, as he desired 'that all Canons betwixt this and Canterbury, may be sent to the Tower, where they shall meet with a little Canoner that will make them fly with a powder'.[78] The 'little Canoner' that could be found at the Tower would seem to be William Laud.[79]

More important, however, was the final group that Ross did not attack with Scriptural reference. This was the Puritan, whom he saw as 'the most commendable of all the rest, for he would have a Religion for which he has a president, to wit, the Kirke of Scotland'.[80] Ross knew the situation in the Scottish Kirk from his early years, having moved from Aberdeen to Southampton around 1616, but it should be noted that his decree that the Puritan is the most commendable of the rest does not amount to advocacy. Ross also appears to equate Puritanism with the Presbyterian structure in Scotland which had been undergoing reform during the reign of James. His statement might thus have reflected a particularly Scottish view of the situation.

That Ross could take up a Scottish view is important. Presbyterianism was the main alternative to Episcopacy, and was built upon the basis that there was parity between ministers. Despite this, one minister was usually chosen to act as an

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[77]. [A.Ross] Religions Lottery, sig..2v.

[78]. ibid., sig..3v.

[79]. Ross has been cited as the only author to dedicate a publication to Laud during the latter's Presidentship of St. John's College, Oxford, which indicates that there may have been some common ground between the two, C.Carlton Archbishop William Laud (1987), p.20.

[80]. [A.Ross] Religions Lottery, sig..3r.

overseer of the others, an election which often proceeded on a rotational basis. There were, however, different types of Presbyterianism, and the most important for this discussion were the Scottish and English systems. Both systems were based on the parish as the unit on which the church should be based, but 'right from the beginning English Presbyterianism exhibited features which distinguished it from the system established north of the border'.[81] It was thus based much more firmly upon a congregation's independence from outside interference. Thus in England 'the presbytery' or prime unit of church government was not, as in Scotland, a meeting of delegates from different congregations; it was the governing body of a particular church'.[82] The Scottish system thus had in itself its own inherent hierarchy (albeit based on a 'bottom-up' structure), whilst that of England was far more egalitarian.

Despite the egalitarian nature of the Presbyterian system, its defenders managed to justify it in terms of traditional hierarchical structures. The main advocates of Presbyterianism in England, Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers, and John Field, were active during the 1570s and 1580s, and they hoped that regular meetings between Presbyterian churches would become customary: most of the ministers concerned, however, 'looked no further than their parish boundaries and could muster no support for the "classical" or hierarchical presbyterial system'.[83]

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[81]. C.G.Bolam, J.Goring, H.L.Short & R.Thomas The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism (1968), p.20.
[82]. ibid., p.20.
[83]. ibid., p.32.

As was said at the beginning of this chapter, recent work, especially that of Peter Lake,[84] has shown that Presbyterianism was in many ways a spent force in England after the 1570s and 1580s. Without doubt this had been Presbyterianism's heyday, from the publication of the Admonition to the Parliament and the establishment of a presbytery at Wandsworth (Surrey) in 1572.[85] After a brief period during which the movement appeared to be gaining some momentum, Presbyterianism effectively collapsed after the death of one of its major protagonists, John Field, in 1588. It is likely that there was no deep-held attachment to Presbyterianism in England, as can be seen by the 'completeness and rapidity with which it disappeared after 1592',[86] although its reemergence in the 1640s indicates that it may have gone underground rather than disappeared completely. As will be seen in the next chapter, the Channel Islands was one area within the Church of England where the Presbyterian system continued during this period, and Thomas Cartwright himself spent six years in Guernsey as the chaplain at Castle Cornet. The fact that the authorities were aware of the situation, and that moves were made throughout the early seventeenth century to bring the islands to a greater conformity with the rest of the Church of England will be the main focus of the first part of the next chapter.

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[84]. See P.Lake Anglicans and Puritans?, Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church.

[85]. There is however, 'insufficient evidence to say whether the Wandsworth meeting was a "presbytery" in the Scottish sense or a "parochial consistory" after the English manner'. C.G.Bolam et al The English Presbyterians, p.31, fn.6.

[86]. R.G.Usher 'The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (series 3, vol.viii, 1905), p.xxvi.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Imposition of Conformity

William Laud was for a long time accused by opponents and historians of attempting to enforce his own particular ideals upon the Church of England. This drive to uniformity in matters of doctrine and worship has been seen as a major factor in the origins of the Civil War, especially in recent years as the problems which developed have been seen increasingly in terms of the difficulties that the early Stuarts faced in trying to co-ordinate policies in the three kingdoms.[1] Within the Church of England, however, there was an anomaly in the Channel Islands, and the approach taken towards an irregularity such as this could shed light upon the policies that might have been enforced upon Scotland and Ireland had James's vision of further union between the countries come to fruition. As most of this chapter will examine attempts to bring about greater conformity within the diocese, including this anomaly, some examination of the situation in the three kingdoms as a whole needs to be undertaken, before returning to the case of the Channel Islands in more detail.

The union of the crown of Scotland and England in 1603 led to James's well known plans to unify the realms. It has been indicated that James inherited 'the Imperiall Crowne of England',[2] and Imperial ideas were, indeed, highly important to the union project which James set in motion - he himself proclaimed that he

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[1] . See, especially, C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1990).

[2] . P.G.Burgess The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought 1603-1642 (Pennsylvania, 1993), p.126.

wished to have his kingdoms united 'under one Imperiall Crowne'.[3] The plans for such a union, as is well known, failed to be enacted, largely because the kingdoms were separate nations, even if they did have one common head. There was too much history of conflict between Scotland and England, for example, for an effective transformation to take place, despite the hopes that John Gordon voiced in the early years of James's reign:

> The people...of the Ilands of greate Brittaine...have beene long banded one agaynst the other, in a Sea of discordes, discentions, and cruell warres...But now...they are become of one heart, of one affection...[4]

It soon became clear that this view of the prospects for union between the kingdoms was over-optimistic. There still remained hopes, however, that such a union could occur. John Gordon went on in his work to show that the union of the kingdoms was something which would reflect the divine majesty:

> Christian divinity teacheth vs that in God, there be three persons vnited in one deytie essence and power...I beseech God...so to worke in the hartes of your subiects, and in the three realmes vnited vnder the power and commaund of your royall Maiesty, that being bound together, they may represent the three persons of the Trinitye in one deity.[5]

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[3] . P.G.Burgess The Politics of the Ancient Constitution, p.127.

[4] . J.Gordon England and Scotlands Happinesse: In being reduced to vnitie of Religion, vnder out invincible Monarke, King Iames (1604), p.3. John Gordon was a Scot who moved south upon James's accession, becoming the minister at Stoke Charity, Hampshire, in 1608.

[5] . ibid., p.4.

Once again the connections between the links of the Great Chain of Being are seen. Such similarities were commonplace in the debates about union, to the extent that 'in...the debates on Anglo-Scottish union...we find natural and civil law principles unusually dominant'.[6] The principles of natural law had been derived from God's creation of the world, and thus pervaded society at the time: hence the similarities discussed in the last chapter between the various types of hierarchy, with the political world being seen as a reflection of order in the universe, which had been established by God.

It soon became clear that completion of the union project was not achievable, and thus James focussed his aims upon the aspect of the project which he felt would be most easily achieved - the question of religion. As the church had, since the Reformation, been allied with the state, 'the idea of two "state churches" in one state seemed as unnatural as the prospect of two bodies with one head or two wives with one husband'.[7] Whilst there was a common ameliorating bond between the kingdoms, in the fact that they had thrown off the shackles of Roman Catholicism and replaced it with a church dominated by Calvinist theology,[8] there were vast differences between the churches in the ways the liturgy was performed, and disagreements over the level of reform which had been done, or still needed to be done.

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[6] . P.G.Burgess The Politics of the Ancient Constitution, p.127.

[7] . B.P.Levack The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union 1603-1707 (Oxford, 1987), p.106.

[8] . The common bond of a Protestant state church was, apart from the union of the crowns, possibly the most important area of agreement in the three kingdoms.

In Scotland the Kirk had undergone a thorough Reformation, abolishing Episcopacy, and setting up a Presbyterian form of church government. Successive moves by early Stuart monarchs to lessen the impact of Presbyterianism, and the later introduction of a Scottish Prayer Book which was (at best) insensitive to the religious life of Scotland, have been seen as an attempt to coerce Scotland to accept the ideals of the English church, something which was increasingly done against the will of the population.

By contrast, the church in Ireland, although officially reformed at almost exactly the same time as those of its neighbours, still held dear many Catholic practices which were anathema to English churchmen. The 1560 Irish Act of Uniformity permitted, for example, 'the continued use of Latin liturgies, many Catholic practices (reservation of the host, requiem eucharists) and rubrics which in effect underwrote the paraphernalia of medieval Catholicism'.[9] This, however, only enabled the population to harbour its own traditional beliefs, and left the island open to forces of international Catholicism (the western approaches of Wales and Ireland were always considered a potential source of, in particular, Spanish invasion).

It has been seen that, as is well known, James was keen to unite his kingdoms; the area in which most progress was made concerning this was religion. James had been moving the Scottish church towards the Episcopal system used in England

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[9] . J.Morrill 'A British patriarchy? Ecclesiastical imperialism under the early Stuarts' in A.Fletcher & P.Roberts (eds.) Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain (Cambridge, 1994), pp.212-213.

since the 1580s,[10] and 'James's resolve to control the Kirk was stiffening' after his accession to the English throne in 1603.[11] By 1610 English influence had increased, to the extent that three new Scottish bishops came south to London to be consecrated by 'the typically Jacobean trio of George Abbot, Lancelot Andrewes, and James Montague', although Montague could not attend and was replaced by William Barlow (Rochester) and John Thornborough (Worcester).[12]

In addition to the increased use of the Episcopal system in the Scottish Kirk, certain ritual aspects of worship were to be introduced. The Five Articles of Perth (1618) were designed to lessen the differences between the two churches with regard to the reception of the sacrament, and kneeling was to be required in both churches. James, however, was cautious in his approach. He realised that stringent enforcement of the Articles would have resulted in problems in Scotland, and therefore, once accepted, the articles were not strictly executed. The aim was to ensure that whilst a Scotsman might personally fail to accept the Articles, 'he could no longer condemn the English for doing so without condemning himself as a perjuror'.[13] More importantly, for those who promoted the Articles, they 'did not purport to deal with intrinsically necessary things, but rather to regulate things indifferent under the necessity of obedience to superiors',[14] a philosophy which

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[10]. Bishops were nominated directly by the crown from 1584, but they remained answerable to the General Assembly. See A.R.MacDonald The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy (Aldershot, 1998), p.31.

[11]. ibid., p.118.

[12]. C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War, p.49. The alterations which occurred as a result of Montague's absence are noted in J.Morrill 'A British patriarchy?', p.217, fn.34.

[13]. C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War, p.49.

[14]. J.D.Ford 'The Lawful Bonds of Scottish Society: The Five Articles of Perth, the Negative Confession and the National Covenant', Historical Journal, vol.37, no.1 (1994), p.51.

would, because of a shift in emphasis towards harsher adherence to the rubrics of the Prayer Book, prove problematic during Charles's reign. The way in which the Articles were handled by James shows that there is an element of truth in the claim that he 'was not concerned with belief, only with obedience'.[15]

Charles was less tactful in his approach. His attempts to force a new Prayer Book on Scotland resulted in the infamous riot at St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, and the subsequent drafting of the Scottish National Covenant. It has been stated that this document 'claimed that Presbyterianism was the only legitimate government for the kirk',[16] but this exaggerates what was actually said. The Covenant does imply that the Kirk is seen as the best example of a church - 'this is the only true Christian faith and religion...which now is...defended by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland'[17] - but the closest it comes to such a narrow definition of a true church is when it states that 'many acts of Parliament...do abrogate, annul, and rescind all laws...made in prejudice of the true religion, and professors thereof, or of the true Kirk discipline'.[18]

This traditional view that the early Stuart monarchs wished to enforce a strict uniformity upon the churches within the three kingdoms has recently undergone closer examination, and a more complex situation has emerged. John Morrill has argued that James (in particular) and Charles aimed not so much at 'uniformity' as

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[15]. A.R.MacDonald The Jacobean Kirk, p.115.

[16]. K.Sharpe The Personal Rule of Charles I (1992), p.791.

[17]. S.R.Gardiner Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660 (1889), p.124.

[18]. ibid., p.127.

'congruity', and has introduced several important qualifications into the interpretation of their ecclesiastical policy.

Firstly, Morrill showed that many of the reforms which were enacted were actually based upon precedents already present in the respective churches. To continue the focus upon the Scottish situation, Morrill has found that, in the late 1610s, 'the revised liturgies drawn up...were all based on existing Scottish forms, not English ones'.[19] Even when Charles attempted to provide a new Prayer Book in Scotland in 1637, 'he did not impose the English Prayer Book, but one which both respected many Scottish customs and imposed ceremonies which were not permitted in the English Prayer Book'.[20]

Turning his attention to the Irish church, Morrill has also indicated that, by the 1620s, it recruited many of its clergy from England, but this did not mean that the English church authorities were intent on anglicanizing it. Indeed, he states that 'English bishops were only involved in Irish affairs when their assistance was desired by the authorities in Ireland'.[21] Although Laud took a greater interest in the Irish church than any of his predecessors, Morrill also shows that he treated it as a separate entity. Hence the Canons drawn up for Ireland in 1634 'included a requirement for east-end railed altars and allowance of aural confession that went beyond the English canons'.[22] Laud's approach to the imposition of greater conformity between the churches of the British Isles would appear to have been

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[19]. J.Morrill 'A British patriarchy?', p.220.
[20]. ibid., p.236.
[21]. ibid., p.222.
[22]. ibid., p.231.

influenced by political concerns as well as religious ones. Thus it has been noted

that he

> does not seem straightforwardly to have been
> simply in favour of replacing the Irish Articles with
> the Thirty-nine Articles, and this can be taken as
> evidence for his awareness of the 'British'
> dimension to the problem...[23]

The central thrust of Jacobean and Caroline religious policy with regard to the

three kingdoms does appear to have had some elements of a drive towards greater

conformity between the three churches,[24] but both monarchs proceeded with a

degree of caution (Charles's degree of caution was less than that of James, but

more than he has usually been credited with). In their approach to religion in the

three kingdoms, the early Stuarts showed a respect for the established church

culture in their dominions.[25] They thus presage the 'Laudian' opinion that the true,

invisible church could be represented on earth in various different visible forms.

Whilst James's early foreign policy had even accepted the possibility that some

agreement could be met with the Catholic powers - indeed, moves were made to

set up ecumenical councils to discuss differences in religion[26] - his later foreign

policy was more narrow, being based upon a pan-Protestant union against the

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[23]. A.L.Capern 'The Caroline Church: James Ussher and the Irish Dimension' Historical Journal, vol.39, no.1 (1996), p.73.

[24]. In a more developed examination of the Scottish church, Alan MacDonald has resolved, since Morrill's essay, that 'the inescapable conclusion seems to be that he [James] wanted religion to be united throughout his dominions'. The Jacobean Kirk, p.184.

[25]. This is not to deny that the ideal was a uniform church within the realms, but to accept that they recognised that this ideal could not be enforced against the wishes of the population.

[26]. See W.B.Patterson King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom (Cambridge, 1997), especially chapter two; R.Lockyer James VI & I (1998), where it is stated that one of the reasons that a Spanish match had been sought for his sons was because it would have given him 'privileged access to the Catholic powers', p.141.

Papacy. This policy, which strove to accentuate the fundamental links between the various forms of Protestantism whilst diminishing the importance of the matters which separated them, was reflected by a similar one within his realms.[27] Hence James was prepared to accept that the churches of the three kingdoms had different styles of worship, whilst he simultaneously enacted policies which would gradually bring a greater conformity between them. Differences between the three churches were acceptable because they were established in three different polities. It was, however, less acceptable within a single state church, and this was the situation that had arisen in the Channel Islands. It was an issue which the authorities attempted to remedy.

The situation in the Channel Islands had come about as a result of the loss of Lower Normandy to France in 1450. Whilst the Islands retained affiliation to the English crown, they stayed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Coutances. In 1496 Henry VII obtained a Papal Bull transferring jurisdiction over the Islands to the diocese of Salisbury, and in 1499 control was officially passed to the bishop of Winchester.[28]

With regard to the Reformation, the traditional view of the Channel Islands is that 'the changes made by authority were received with...general acquiescence',[29]

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[27]. It has been argued that a main innovation of Laudians was to accept that the scourge of Reformed thought - the Roman church - might not be a false church. The particular novelty was that 'union could in theory be sought with the Church of Rome just as legitimately as it might be with other Protestant Churches', A.Milton Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge, 1995), p.530.

[28]. It was not, however, until 1569 that an Order in Council severed the final links with Coutances. See A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government 1485-1642: A Study in Administrative history (Cambridge, 1949), p.52.

[29]. ibid., p.36.

but recently this has been challenged. Darryl Ogier has stated that 'the early Reformation had very limited effect in Guernsey...there was no tradition of anti-clericalism, no iconoclasm, and the visible manifestations of Catholicism remained in place'.[30] Over in Jersey, meanwhile, even after the accession of Elizabeth, 'some parishes...retained for several years their Catholic priests', and when other parishes received Calvinist ministers 'in certain cases those ministers met with open opposition from some of their parishioners'.[31]

Despite this lack of enthusiasm for the Reformation in its early years, the Channel Islands became, largely as a result of the Islands' proximity to the continent, a sanctuary for Huguenot refugees, and this meant that a much more reformed church became established in the Channel Islands. In Jersey in 1562 Amyas Poulet appointed the Huguenot minister Guillaume Morise to the Town church, and he became 'the first to organise a real Reformed Church in Jersey and to administer the lord's Supper in the Temple of St. Helier according to the purity of the Gospel'.[32] In Guernsey the mass continued until Parliamentary Commissioners visited the island in 1563, but by 1565 Protestant worship had been established, although this happened 'in spite of the popular will and against the wishes of several of those occupying traditional positions of leadership'.[33]

Once Protestantism had gained a foothold in the Islands, however, the influx of Huguenot refugees became of paramount importance. A strictly Calvinistic form

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[30]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), p.41.

[31].+ H.M.E.Evans 'Les Débuts de la Réforme protestante dans l'Île de Jersey: Une étude de la vie religieuse à Jersey de 1500 à 1565' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Caen, 1997), p.73.

[32]. M.Syvret & J.Stevens Balleine's History of Jersey (Chichester, 1998), p.80, citing Chroniques de Jersey (Mourant, 1858), XXXVII.

[33]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey, pp.80-81.

of worship and church government was established, which, following the example

of Geneva, was based upon locally elected Consistories and Colloquies.

The situation was accepted by the crown to a certain extent. An Order of

Council of August 1565 stated that

> The Geneva order of preaching and
> administration may be used in the two town
> churches of St. Helier and St. Peter Port, 'provided
> always that the Residue of the Parishes...shall
> diligently put apart all Superstitions used in the said
> Diocese [Coutances], and so continue there the order
> of Service ordained and set forth in this Realm [i.e.
> The Book of Common Prayer]'.[34]

Despite the restrictions placed upon the Islands in this order, it soon became

apparent that the order and form established in the book of Common Prayer was

not being followed, and that which was officially confined to the town churches

was being used throughout the Islands. This was something which the authorities

did know about, although it would appear that their pronouncements had little

effect. Robert Horne's 1566 Injunctions for the Islands repeat the previous year's

Order in Council that the two town churches could use the Genevan form, but that

'in all other parishes there be such divine service as is appointed in the realme of

England...the boke of comon praier set forth by authority of acte of parliament in

the first yeare of the reigne of our sovereign lady the Quenes maiesty'.[35] In 1581

Bishop John Watson likewise noted that 'the customary liturgy used in the islands

of Guernsey, Alderney and Sark...clearly offend against the Laws and Statutes of

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[34]. A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, p.54, citing P.Falle An account of the Isle of Jersey (Jersey, 1837).
[35]. HRO 21M65/A1/26, fol.67r.

this realm of England'.[36] In 1582, moreover, the inhabitants of Guernsey complained to the Privy Council that the Bishop of Winchester's commissary, Louis de Vic, that he had accused a minister of preaching a 'factious and seditious sermon'.[37] De Vic maintained his accusation that, amongst other failings, the ministers in Guernsey preached 'against the Supreme Royall prerogative of the Queenes Majestie...against th'authoritie of Bishopps', and 'they loue allwayes to speake euill in their Sermons and slaunder those that be not in all points addicted to their disordered phancies'.[38] Notes taken from Lancelot Andrewes's register, which itself is no longer extant, show that it was also known, at that time, that 'the Ministers of [Guernsey] have vtterly refused to be vnder the gouernment of the Lord Bishop or his Commissary...but haue intruded themselues into the office & authority of the Bishop', as well as preaching 'many things against the book of common prayer in England', substantiating de Vic's complaints.[39]

This was the situation in the Islands when James succeeded to the English throne in 1603. Aware of the problems which might arise from a new monarch wishing to impose his own views, the Islanders immediately petitioned James that they be allowed to continue with their form of worship. James agreed to this, possibly because, as Heylyn was to claim later, he believed 'that Princes at their first entrance to a crown ought not to innovate the government presently established'.[40] This opinion was supported by James's statement in Star Chamber

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[36].* HRO 21M65/A1/27, fol.5r.

[37]. A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, p.83.

[38]. PRO SP Dom 15/27/112.

[39]. HRO 21M65/J1/1, bundle 1, item C.

[40]. P.Heylyn A full relation of two journeys, the one into the mainland of France, the other into some of the adjacent islands (1656), p.380.

on 20 June 1616 that 'when I came into England...I resolued...to keepe silence seuen yeeres, and learne my selfe the Lawes of the Kingdome, before I would take vpon me to teach them to others'.[41]

James appears to have acted in such a manner with regard to the churches of the Channel Islands, though waiting rather less than seven years. In 1603 Sir John Peyton was appointed Governor of Jersey, and his appointment, as a strong anti-puritan, soon led to problems. When the parishioners of St. Lawrence elected Daniel Brevint as their rector in the following year, they disregarded the Governor's right of presentation. Peyton appealed to the Privy Council, but nothing was done. In 1605, he appealed again, requesting that the Council abolish 'Presbyterianism and popular jurisdiction in the Church'.[42] The Council would not have been able to overrule James's previous decision that the Islands be allowed to retain their church system, but they may have made presentations to him. If any such presentations occurred, they would seem to have had some impact, as 'it appears that from 1607 at the latest it was the English intention to reduce Jersey, and probably Guernsey as well, to the English ecclesiastical system'.[43]

By 1613 this was certainly the case. On 2 November the Privy Council informed both islands about James's desire 'to reduce them to some such conformity as might answeare the uniformety of government in other partes of his dominions', because James had already 'setled the Churches within his dominyons in a uniformytie of goverment'. This achievement had been particularly noticeable in

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[41]. J.P.Sommerville (ed.) King James VI and I: Political Writings (Cambridge, 1994), pp.206-207.

[42]. M.Syvret & J.Stevens Balleine's History of Jersey, p.93.

[43]. D.M.Ogier Reformation and Society in Guernsey, p.92.

Scotland, which had been reduced 'to the auncient and approved custome used in the Church since the tyme of the Appostles'.[44] It is possible, however, that Jerseymen, if not their neighbours in Guernsey, were considering a move towards a system of church government more akin to that of England at this time anyway.

In 1611 James Hussey, a Commissioner in Jersey, wrote to Lord Treasurer Salisbury and claimed that

> ...whereas the ministers of Jersey were not long since even ready to conform themselves to that manner of divine service and church discipline; which is established here in England...now they have submitted themselves therin to their brethren of Guernzey, whoe being more opposite in their opinions to the state of our church are not like to become so conformable.[45]

In this letter, Hussey makes reference to contact made between the two islands in 1609. In response to a letter from Jersey, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury wrote on 25 March that 'it seemeth by your letter that the ecclesiastical Discipline which hath been aunciently used in these islands is in your opinion soe weeke and defective...[that] you Desire that some of you may have leave to come over and be suitors vnto his Majestie for a course of action to be taken'.[46]

It appears that, as well as approaching Salisbury for an audience with the King concerning the situation, Jersey's churchmen also attempted to convince the

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[44]. Acts of the Privy Council of England vol.xxxiii, pp.251-255.

[45]. PRO SP Dom 15/40/14. As well as my own research in this area, I am grateful to Helen Evans, who has provided a copy of her essay, 'The Bringing of Jersey into the Church of England', which won the Archbishop Cranmer Prize of the History faculty in Cambridge (1999), and which is to be adapted as a chapter in her forthcoming Ph.D.

[46]. Greffe, Greffe Collection no.4, doc.2.

ministers in Guernsey about the need for reform. The ministers of Guernsey, however, were much less amenable to change than their Jersey counterparts, and claimed that 'by admitting this booke we shall differ therby from all ye reformed churches...'.[47] This was, in their opinion, particularly dangerous in a port such as St. Peter Port, where trading meant that the population was open to the errors of visiting merchants 'both freindes and enemies to our religion whoe wilbe scandalized diverslye when they see us differ, not only from that which they have seene vs vse 50 yeeres; but also from all other reformed Churches in divers materiall poynts'.[48]

The main source of contention between the two islands at this point was the idea, apparently proposed by Jersey, that a 'superintendant' be appointed for the islands. The document in which this proposal was discussed has been surprisingly overlooked by historians of the Channel Islands. Neither Eagleston nor Ogier mention it in their work, despite its importance as evidence that changes to the Presbyterian system of church government may have been welcomed by some Islanders. This possibility should be kept in mind in the following pages, as it places the Channel Islands in a different context, with some more prepared to accept Episcopal authority than others. To the ministers of Guernsey the idea that a superintendent was an unnecessary threat to the Islands' ecclesiastical government. These ministers could see 'no duty so proper to the office of a superintendent but [the] same may be performed by a Minister chosen purposely

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[47]. Greffe, Royal Court Library Collection no.1, fol.2r.
[48]. ibid. fol.2r.

by the Synode, or Colloque...'.[49] The post of 'superintendent' did have precedents

within a non-Episcopalian system - it had been in place in Scotland in the 1560s,

although Scottish Presbyterianism was a different creature to that of England[50] -

but it was, in the minds of the Guernsey ministers, too similar to that of a cathedral

Dean, and 'the abuses and corruptions of the Deans are here so well knowne that

our people abhorre to come vnder the like estate'.[51] The moves by the ministers on

Jersey to introduce a superintendent into the islands were thus rejected by their

confrères on Guernsey.

This does not mean that moves to bring the churches in the Channel Islands to

greater conformity with the Church of England were forgotten. In 1613 a letter

sent from the Privy Council to both islands shows that meetings had been held to

discuss the situation:

> ...whereas his Majestie was pleased to command us
> to give our letter in November last for the callinge
> together of ye Ministers of ye Isle with such other
> persons to whom it shoulde appertaine...That upon
> hearinge and consideration thereof heere, some
> course might bee ordered, as should seeme
> expedient and answerable to the uniformitie of
> ecclesiasticall Governement in other parts of his
> Majesties Dominions...[52]

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[49]. Greffe, Royal Court Library Collection no.1, fol.2r.

[50]. C.G.Bolam, J.Goring, H.L.Short, R.Thomas The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism (1968), especially the first two chapters. In Scotland, however, 'the superintendent appears to have been a form of bishop, but one who would preach and have a more active rôle than the old-style bishop', D.G.Mullan Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea 1560-1638 (Edinburgh, 1986), p.17.

[51]. Greffe, Royal Court Library Collection no.1, fol.2r.

[52]. Greffe, Greffe Collection no.4, doc.2. The letter is signed by, amongst others, George Abbot, the sitting Archbishop of Canterbury.

The church authorities were also taking steps to ensure that the Book of Common Prayer was to be gradually re-established in the Islands. In the same letter they ordered that, in Jersey, 'Mr [Elie] Messervy bee admitted into the Benefice bestowed upon him by the Governor, there peaceably and quietly to exercise the forme used in the Church of England as from time to time shalbee prescribed unto him'.[53]

The case of Messervy is crucial to understanding moves to bring the Channel Islands under the same ecclesiastical government as England. It was noted earlier that Jersey's new Governor, Sir John Peyton, had appealed to the Privy Council to abolish Presbyterianism in the island. When this, and a subsequent appeal, came to nought, he took more drastic action, and in 1613 invoked his right to appoint the minister for the vacant incumbency at St. Peter's. Peyton's dealings at this time were very astute. If the ministers accepted his appointment they would have recognised the validity of a minister appointed through a breach of their ecclesiastical discipline;[54] had they refused to accept Messervy it would mean that they had defied the Kings' appointed Governor.

The Jersey Colloquy attempted to extricate itself from a difficult situation. On 24 September 1613 they appointed David Bandinell to examine the difficulties contained in the Messervy case. On 20 July 1614 Messervy was accepted into the church at St. Peter's, but it was on the understanding that he would not undertake 'any innovation in the Church' there.[55]

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[53]. Greffe, Greffe Collection no.4, doc.2.
[54].+ The Colloquy noted on 25 June 1613 that 'the subscription made for the said Messervy...did not accord with the order & ecclesiastical discipline' of the island. CUL Dd 11.43 fol.175r.
[55].+ CUL Dd 11.43 fol.179v.

The case of Messervy had brought the position of the Channel Islands sharply to the attention of the Privy Council, and from this point on active measures were taken which would gradually lead to the re-establishment of Episcopacy in the Channel Islands. Heylyn was later to claim, possibly (considering his later polemical defence of the policies of William Laud) with a degree of exaggeration, that James

> ...had alwaies fostered in himself a pious purpose...of reducing all his Realms and Dominions into one uniform order and course of discipline, which thing he avoweth, in his Letters Patents unto those of Jarzey.[56]

Measures were being put in place to alter the ecclesiastical government of Jersey. An interim jurisdiction of 1617 effectively overrode the concessions given to the island at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and stated that any future ministers in the island had to be admitted by 'some Bishop of the Church of England'.[57] The cautious nature by which James proceeded can be seen, however, in the fact that 'the ministers alreadye admitted by the order of the said discipline shall retain their places as nowe they doe soe as they bee wilinge to conforme themselves to the publicke service of god, and administracion of the sacraments nowe by us directed to bee observed'.[58]

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[56]. P.Heylyn A full relation..., p.379.
[57]. H.M.E.Evans 'The Bringing of Jersey into the Church of England', p.8, quoting from the interim jurisdiction, the manuscript of which belongs to Advocate Richard Falle of Jersey.
[58]. ibid., p.8.

On 14 June 1618 James sent an order to the États of Jersey to appoint three grave and learned ministers to choose a Dean for the island.[59] There would appear to have been some prevarication by the ministers of Jersey, including an appeal with their brethren in Guernsey to the Privy Council which was overruled.[60] At about the same time, however, it was claimed by Sir Edward Conway and Sir William Byrd that such an appointment would 'stand well with the desire of the Ministers [and] the liking of the people', which indicates that the policies adopted by Sir John Peyton, culminating with the appointment of Elie Messervy to St. Peter's in 1614 had managed to split the community.[61] In 1619 it was agreed that a new Dean should be appointed to Jersey, although he did not take office until the following year. The new Dean, David Bandinell, along with the ministers of the island, drew up new Canons, which were rejected in part by three of the Justices of Jersey. After consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, these were amended, apparently to the satisfaction of all concerned. The new Canons came into force in 1623, officially as a result of James's 'princely care of ye quiet & peaceable Government of all our Dominions, especially affecting ye peace of ye Churches establishment of true Religion & Ecclesiasticall discipline in one vniforme order and course throughout all our Realmes & Dominions'.[62] These Canons effectively signalled 'the end of Presbyterianism in Jersey, except for a temporary revival

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[59].+ F.de Schickler Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre (3 volumes, Paris, 1892) vol.ii, p.481.
[60]. ibid.
[61]. PRO SP Dom 15/41/107.
[62]. PRO SP Dom 15/43/15. My emphasis.

under the Commonwealth',[63] although concessions were allowed to the island,

such as an allowance 'to dispense with the genuflection at the communion, the

sign of the cross in baptism and the surplice for ministers'.[64]

Success in the introduction of Episcopal government in Jersey was not matched

in Guernsey, mainly because of differences between the islands. In Jersey the

Governor had, by attempting to impose a minister who had been trained in

England, been able to bring to the King's attention the inherent contradictions and

problems of Presbyterian government within an Episcopal diocese. No such policy

had been in place in Guernsey, and therefore such weaknesses were overlooked. In

addition to this, the Governor of Guernsey, Lord Carew, was generally absentee,

and the Lieutenant Governor and Bailiff, Amias de Carteret, had strong

Presbyterian sympathies.

From this it can be seen that Guernsey had stood firm over the form of

ecclesiastical government, and had, indeed, rejected proposed changes to it some

years before the Messervy crisis appeared. Whilst Jersey accepted the imposition

of a Dean, albeit under a degree of duress, Guernsey held out in its resistance to

the post, although Peter Heylyn later claimed that Laud intended to bring the

island into uniformity with the Church of England, 'but was prevented by the

outbreak of the troubles in Scotland'.[65]

It would appear that the king was more intent on this than the Archbishop. A

letter written on 5 November 1636 to the Earl of Danby, who had been Governor

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[63]. A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, p.140.
[64].+ F.de Schickler Les Églises du Refuge, vol.ii, p.482.
[65]. P.Heylyn Cyprianus Anglicus (1688), p.357.

of Guernsey since 1621, noted that 'His Majesty hath lately receiued an Information that the Island of Jersey in king James his time...was setled for church businesses in some reasonable conformitie with the Church of England'.[66] As this letter was written by Laud's secretary, William Dell, it has been seen as indicative of Laud's attempts to bring the Islands to conformity.[67] However, it would appear that the driving force behind the enquiry may have been Charles, as Dell noted that 'his Majestie commaunded me presently to write to your Lordship and to pray that you would take this Business into your present consideration that both Islands may conforme to the Church of England' - caution should be urged here, however, as such an appeal to the King's authority would have been expected.[68]

Danby quickly rejected the idea. In his opinion the fact that relations between Guernsey and the French were so good was partly a result of the continued use of the Presbyterian system in Guernsey. This had enabled links to be developed between the island and the Huguenots, even as far as intermarriage, which helped the prosperity of the island by increasing trade between the two areas. Furthermore, whenever the Huguenots were suffering persecution in France, Guernsey provided a safe haven for them.[69]

It was also an inopportune time for such action. The imposition of a Dean in Jersey was seen by some as the cause of 'divers factions and divisions among

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[66]. PRO SP Dom 16/536/67.

[67]. A.J.Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, pp.141-142.

[68]. PRO SP Dom 16/536/67. Conrad Russell gives a more balanced account of the position than Eagleston did, seeing it as an alliance between Charles and Laud, although he may be underestimating the influence of Charles. C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War p.113. Unfortunately, in his re-evaluation of the relationship between Laud and Charles, Julian Davies touches on this question fleetingly. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford, 1992), p.80.

[69]. PRO SP Dom 16/536/67.

them, to the [island's] great disturbance',[70] and Danby felt that the problems in

Jersey 'will make those of Guernzey the more averse'.[71] This is not to say that all

Channel Islanders disagreed with the idea of greater conformity between the two

islands and England. A year after Dell had written to Danby, de Gruchy wrote to

the Archbishop from Jersey to state his belief that 'it is very reasonable [that]

Guernzey should be reduced vnder ye same conformitye of Church government &

forme of Divine service...such diversity in Islands so nigh adjacent being

prejuditiable & scandalous'.[72] Despite such support, the plan to force Guernsey

into accepting church government according to the form which was followed in

England and on Jersey was shelved. It is likely that historians have been correct in

assuming that this was as a result of the increasing problems which Charles faced

in his northern kingdom.[73]

Whoever was the driving force behind the moves to make Guernsey conform to

the form of church government used in the rest of England, some moves to impose

greater conformity were certainly of more interest to Laud than Charles.[74] In the

Winchester diocese, this was particularly noticeable with the approach taken to the

Walloon church in Southampton. The church had been established on 21

December 1567, when a group of refugees, mainly from the southern Netherlands,

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[70]. PRO SP Dom 16/529/132. Many of the divisions had already been present, however, and had been exploited by Sir John Peyton when he took action to destroy the Presbyterian system in Jersey.
[71]. PRO SP Dom 16/536/67.
[72]. PRO SP Dom 16/537/53.
[73]. P.Heylyn Cyprianus Anglicus , p.357, C.Russell The Causes of the English Civil War, p.113.
[74]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity..., p.79.

met to celebrate the Lord's Supper.[75] Most of the Walloon refugees had fled their native land as a result of religious persecution in the early 1560s, although it would appear that some emigrated for commercial reasons. Throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century the church continued to grow, and an influx of French refugees occurred after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. Southampton was not the only port to experience such immigration during this period, and churches for exiled Protestants were set up in fourteen other towns between 1550 and 1576.[76]

During his time as bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne had actively promoted the refugee church in Southampton, and he possibly saw it as 'providing a model for the reform of what remained a largely conservative county', following the precedent set by the London refugee church under John à Lasco.[77] The model was not, however, one which accorded with the hierarchy of the Church of England.

When the refugee church had been established, it was, indeed, envisaged that it would 'agree in doctryne and rites withe the frenshe churche in London',[78] but other examples influenced the community. As has been noted, at the time when the church was set up, most of the members were originally from the southern Netherlands, and they almost certainly brought aspects of the Walloon Reformed church with them, which would have mitigated the influence of the French church

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[75]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton 1567-c.1620 (1997), p.2. This is an indispensable publication for investigation of the church in question, and much of the following work is indebted to it.

[76]. The dates when these churches were established, and the relative size of each refugee community are listed in A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.161.

[77]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.97.

[78]. PRO SP Dom 12/43/29.

in London. Furthermore, the trading links which Southampton had with the Channel Islands may also have influenced the way in which the church was established, and it is known that the Guernsey minister Nicholas Baudouin preached in Southampton in 1567. Differences in the disciplines adopted by the French churches in England were officially ended in 1582, but, not surprisingly, some variations remained.[79]

The greater conformity between the French churches throughout the realm which had been instigated in 1582 did not, of course, mean that they conformed with the Church of England, and they realised that this could be exploited. At the accession of James I they took the same action as the Channel Islands, appealing to him that they should be allowed to keep their privileges: James's cautious approach in the Channel Islands was repeated.[80]

On a more local scale, the refugee church in Southampton saw an important change in 1604, although this was nothing to do with the change of monarch. Whilst the community had originally been based around Walloon refugees, from 1572 onwards the French influence had increased markedly.[81] This growth eventually led to the appointment of a French minister to the church in 1604, with Timothée Blier, an elder of the French church in London, replacing Philippe de la Motte. The appointment was not without controversy, however, as Blier had not completed his studies. Furthermore, when he was presented to the church, the correct procedures were not followed, and the church officials omitted the laying

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[79]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.102.

[80]. ibid., p.157.

[81]. As was stated previously, this was originally the result of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

of hands upon the incoming minister. Despite this, the other stranger churches allowed Blier to remain in his post, although it was ostensibly on a temporary basis. Blier left the church and took up the incumbency of Titchfield in 1617.[82]

Little is known about the years after Blier's move to Titchfield. He was replaced by Elie d'Arande, whose tenure would appear to have aroused some opposition, as in his will he wrote of 'Offences which many and dyvers personnes have committed against me...particularly in this French church of Sowthampton'.[83] One of the most important occurrences during his time at the church was a further influx of French refugees as a result of the disastrous expedition to the Île de Rhé in 1628. Despite this, by the time of d'Arande's death in 1633 the church was in dire straits, and there were doubts about whether a new minister would be put in place. This was, of course, the perfect opportunity for William Laud to attempt to force the church into greater conformity with the Church of England, acting on his proposals to the Privy Council in March 1632 that all '"strangers" born in England should resort to their local parish church, while all native refugees might retain their own churches only so long as they used the Book of Common Prayer translated into their own tongue'.[84]

The first intimation that Laud intended to put these proposals into action came when he called a meeting of the stranger churches in 1634 - of all the stranger churches, only that of Southampton was excused.[85] The other churches appealed

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[82]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, pp.122-123.

[83]. Cited in ibid., p.125.

[84]. J.Davies The Caroline Captivity..., p.80. These proposals had been presented to the Council in March 1632.

[85].+ F.de Schickler Les Églises du Refuge, vol.ii, p.43.

against the directives which Laud produced at this meeting, which followed exactly the proposals that the Archbishop had put to the Privy Council two years before.[86] As the church at Southampton had been excused, it would appear that Laud felt that there would be less of a problem in gaining their conformity, especially as, at the time, they were without a minister.

A year later, the stranger churches within the diocese of Canterbury met with Laud's Vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent, and he informed the Archbishop that

> they all say that they will obey your Graces
> Commandes as much as possibly they can, that is,
> they will repayre often to the English Churches, to
> heare both divine Service and Sermons, & perswade
> their severall Congregations soe to doe: & say that
> they hope to indure them to receave the blessed
> Eucharist, some tymes every yeare, in the English
> Churches alsoe...[87]

Whether the churches meant this or not is debatable, as Brent also noted that the ministers of the churches refused to put their declaration in writing. Whilst they said that they did this because they 'did not know what they should be able to perswade their severall Congregations vnto',[88] there remains a strong possibility that, in actual fact, they did not wish to provide Laud with evidence should they choose not to enforce his order on their flock. Laud does not appear to have believed that further action was required against the Walloon/French church in Southampton, as can be seen in his memorandum to Brent regarding the 1635 visitation. In this Laud instructed Brent that 'the same course [was] to be taken

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[86]. PRO SP Dom 16/279/5.

[87]. PRO SP Dom 16/284/60.

[88]. ibid.

with ye French and Dutch Congregations in ye Diocese of Norwich, as at Canterbury' - there was no mention of other refugee churches.[89] Nevertheless, when Brent visited Southampton he interrogated Daniel Sauvage, who had been appointed minister to the church, and discovered that the French liturgy was still being used. Mindful of the instructions which he had been given with regard to other stranger churches, Brent ordered that all those who had been born in England were to stop attending the church, and allowed the refugees liberty to practise their own religion only until the Archbishop sent further orders.[90] Only six of the fifteen heads of families that attended the church were foreigners, which no doubt was the basis for Brent's note that 'there are many that doe straggle to other parishe Churches from their own'.[91] This does not necessarily mean, however, that there was a dislike of the services of the Book of Common Prayer.[92] In 1593, for example, Michael Collens had been examined by the Corporation because he attended the church, but he stated that his conscience prevented him from participating in the communion. Similarly, in 1606 a widow was reported to be 'chiefly of the French church', but there is no evidence that she received communion there either.[93]

After Laud's downfall, Sauvage returned and served the church in some capacity until 1655, but in the 1630s the community had succumbed to the drive for conformity. This was partly as a result of financial pressures - in the early

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[89]. PRO SP Dom 16/285/48.

[90]. PRO SP Dom 16/291/66.

[91]. PRO SP Dom 16/293/128.

[92]. This has become the standard interpretation of Brent's comment, for example Mildon, p.56.

[93]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.106.

seventeenth century it was constantly appealing to other stranger churches for aid[94] - but mainly because the refugee community in Southampton had declined in numbers as its members became assimilated into English society. This had doubtlessly aided Laud in his promotion of conformity from the stranger churches to the rites and order of the Church of England. It is important to note, therefore, that the stranger church in Southampton was 'the only foreign church which submitted to Laud's attack upon their privileges'.[95]

The examples of the Channel Islands and the stranger church in Southampton were of course extreme, if noteworthy, attempts to promote further uniformity within the church. In the diocese as a whole the authorities tried to enforce conformity through more established methods, notably church courts and the bishops' visitations. The responses to these attempts have been seen throughout this work, for example the attempts to enforce the use of the surplice.[96] Some examination needs to be undertaken, however, of the questions which were asked by the authorities in order to ascertain whether the bishops' approaches to conformity and uniformity in worship were reflected in these articles.[97]

Visitation articles survive for the incumbencies of the three most important bishops of Winchester during the period under discussion - Lancelot Andrewes

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[94]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, pp.112-113.
[95]. ibid., p.165.
[96]. see above, pp. 100-101.
[97]. The best introduction to visitation articles of the time is K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles of the Early Stuart Church (2 volumes, 1994, 1998). See also M.Ingram Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England 1570-1640 (Cambridge, 1987) and, for an earlier period, R.Houlbrooke Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation 1520-1570 (Oxford, 1979).

(articles of 1619 and 1625), Richard Neile (1628) and Walter Curle (1633 and 1636). Investigation of these produces some interesting contrasts and comparisons. All the articles, for example, start with an examination of the buildings associated with a parish church. Within this section, however, shifts in emphasis occurred during the period. Andrewes' articles of 1619 begin with a general overview of the state of the church building itself, whilst in those of 1625 he extended this to inquire about seating disputes and the erection of new pews. His concern that a distinction should be apparent between the body of the church and the chancel was also made clearer, as examination of the provision of a chancel screen or partition is elevated from the last question in this section in 1619 to the first in 1625. The 1625 articles also saw questions about the provision of church furniture (pulpits, fonts et cetera) and other necessaries (the Bible and Book of Common Prayer for example) appear before those that concerned the churchyard and other buildings associated with the church.[98]

In 1628 Neile's first section reverted to the formula used by Andrewes in 1619, although he does appear to have been more concerned that didactic tools should be used in the church, inquiring 'whether are the ten Commandements set vp in your Church or Chappell, and other chosen sentences of holy Scripture vpon the wals in conuenient places, and the table of the degrees prohibited in marriage...'.[99] The most significant change, however, occurred in Curle's visitation articles of 1633 - the first question does not concern the general repair of the church (relegated to

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[98]. K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles vol.i, pp.178-179; J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, pp.127-129.

[99]. Appendix to the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Ritual, p.503

question six), but 'whether have you...the Booke of Constitutions or Canons Ecclesiasticall...?', which would appear to show a far greater emphasis upon the importance of the imposition of conformity than had been seen before.[100] The imposition of conformity was clearly becoming more important to the bishops of the period, something which is further shown by the general layout of the visitation articles. Whilst Andrewes had been content to inquire about the activities and failings of the parishioners <u>before</u> he checked that swornmen and court officials were performing their duties correctly, both Neile and Curle examined the conduct of parishioners <u>after</u> scrutinizing the activities of the courts. Furthermore, Andrewes's inquiries about conduct may have left officials a degree of freedom - it was not until Neile and Curle that the bishops showed a concern about whether ecclesiastical officers had 'winked at' parishioners' offences.[101]

It was not only in the general layout of the visitation articles that a change in emphasis can be perceived - the tone of particular questions also changed. Questions concerning the use of the Book of Common Prayer saw increased emphasis that all rites within the book should be observed. Andrewes's concern in 1619 was that service should be performed 'without diminishing...or adding any thing in the matter or forme thereof'; in 1625 he was concerned that everything was done 'in such manner and form as in the said book [is] enjoined, without omission or addition'.[102] Neile's terminology was similar,[103] but Curle's language

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[100]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.533.

[101]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, pp.127-129; Appendix to the Second Report... pp.504, 535.

[102]. K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles vol.i, p.179; J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol. xi, p.130.

[103]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.503.

was more resolute - the minister was to use 'the prescript forme of diuine service'.[104]

Of greater interest to this study, however, was the way in which non-essential aspects of worship were enforced through visitation. The way in which baptism was performed by the minister, for example, was investigated during each visitation. In all articles, basic essentials of the rite were checked - whether the minister baptized children of parents who lived outside the parish or refused baptism in a private house if the child was believed to be close to death. During the period under examination, however, controversial aspects of the rite were investigated more thoroughly. In his 1625 articles, Lancelot Andrewes asked 'whether doth he use the sign of the Cross in Baptism, or baptize any child in a basin or other vessel, and not in the usual Font?', a practice which was anathema to many of the godly.[105] As was seen earlier, however, the practice of baptism without the use of the cross was almost unheard of in the diocese - only one curate was presented, 'by report', for the offence, and as this presentation occurred in 1618 it may be that Andrewes's query in 1625 had come about as a result of this example being brought to his attention.[106] By the time of Neile's 1628 visitation the use of the font was promoted above 'any Basons, or other prophane vessells' - curiously, however, Neile fails to mention the use of the sign of the cross.[107] In

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[104]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.533.

[105]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.131.

[106]. see above, pp.138-140.

[107]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.503.

1633 Curle restored the cross to the prominence it was afforded by Andrewes in 1625, as well as continuing to inquire about the use of a font.[108]

The use of the sign of the cross in baptism caused concern to the Puritans because it was seen as a relic of Popery and superstition. Similar concern about the misuse of potentially superstitious practices could be seen with the Puritan attitude to worshippers' posture: particular worries concerned kneeling in order to receive communion, bowing at the name of Jesus, and standing for the Creed.[109] Attempts to enforce all these actions can be found in the bishops' visitation articles, with all the bishops trying to ensure that ministers did not offer communion to those who refused to kneel.[110] Bowing at the name of Jesus, however, appears to have been a particular concern of Lancelot Andrewes - he was the only bishop who specified this action, in his 1625 articles, asking whether 'all due and lowly reverence' was used 'when the blessed name of our Lord Jesus Christ is mentioned'.[111]

The issue of standing for various parts of the service was similarly enforced to varying degrees, with Andrewes's articles of 1625 again standing out as exceptional. In 1619 Lancelot Andrewes had been concerned about those 'which have not stood up at the saying of the beliefe'; in 1625 he extended his inquiry to cover standing at the Gospel as well.[112] Three years later, Neile returned to the example set in 1619, inquiring only about standing at the Creed, and in 1633

[108]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.534.

[109]. see above, pp.134, 131 for bowing at the name of Jesus and standing for the Creed.

[110]. K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles vol.i, pp.179-180, J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.131, Appendix to the Second Report..., pp.503, 534.

[111]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.135.

[112]. K.Fincham (ed.) Visitation Articles, vol.i, p.182, J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.135.

Walter Curle relied upon the 18th canon to ensure that parishioners stood for the belief (standing for other parts of the service, however, was not mentioned in this canon).[113]

From the foregoing examination of visitation articles, it can be seen that, whilst there were large areas of agreement, each bishop pursued their own particular line when inquiring about practices within the diocese. Somewhat surprisingly, given the importance that has been attached to him as Laud's mentor, Neile's articles appear to be in many ways the least likely to provoke controversy of those produced for Winchester during this period. Curle elaborated upon some details within his predecessor's articles but, importantly, far greater emphasis was placed upon the regulations of the Church of England as set down in the Canons, the provision of a copy of which, it should be remembered, was the first matter examined by Curle. Of the visitation articles of the period, those of Andrewes in 1625 appear to have been the most 'innovatory', investigating practices that were not addressed by others.

Andrewes's articles appear to have been the most far-reaching in their scope; some investigation must also be undertaken of the impact of Laud as Archbishop of Canterbury upon the diocese. Comparison must therefore be made between his metropolitical visitation articles of 1635 and those of Walter Curle, who held the bishopric at that time.

Not surprisingly, Laud's articles show a far greater concern than many others of the time that the externals of worship ought to be upheld. In a similar fashion to

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[113]. Appendix to the Second Report..., pp.505, 536. For the canon in question, see G.Bray (ed.) The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.287.

Curle, Laud did not open his articles with questions concerning the general repair of the church buildings, but focussed upon items necessary to perform divine service - the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, font and table - along with aids to worship and the Christian life (the painting of the Decalogue and other scriptural texts). Interestingly, however, Laud said little about the position of the communion table, except it should be 'placed in such convenient sort within the chancel or church, as that the minister may be best heard...'.[114] As was seen in an earlier section,[115] several communion rails were erected in the Winchester diocese at this time: the timing suggests that these may have been more spontaneous than historians have believed, although there may have been pressure placed upon parishes without there being any written record.

In some ways, Laud's articles went further than those of Curle. Laud, for example, asked 'whether hath your minister married any without a ring...?', a question which had been asked by Andrewes in 1625 and Neile in 1628, but which Curle had omitted in 1633.[116] The greatest similarity between the articles of Curle and Laud, however, and something that separated them from those of Andrewes and Neile before them, was the emphasis upon the regulations of the Church. Curle's articles, it should be recalled, opened with a question checking 'whether have you in your seuerall Churches or Chappels, the Booke of Constitutions or

[114]. This adds weight to Julian Davies's argument that 'Laudianism' was pursued to varying degrees by various 'Laudian' bishops, and that many were far more stringent in the imposition of 'Laudianism' than Laud himself. See J.Davies The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism (Oxford, 1992), chapter six.
[115]. see above, chapter one.
[116]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud (Oxford, 1853), vol.v, p.424; J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of Lancelot Andrewes, vol.xi, p.132; Appendix to the Second Report..., pp.504, 534.

Canons Ecclesiasticall...?'.[117] Laud's articles were littered with references to the

Canons or Charles's Instructions. For example:

> ...are his Majesty's instructions in all things duly observed?
>
> ...[are] the seats well maintained, according to the 85th Canon...?
>
> ...doth he...wear a surplice according to the said canons?
>
> ...whether he hath admitted to the holy communion,
> any notorious offender or schismatic, contrary to the
> 26th and 27th constitutions...?[118]

The effectiveness of Laud's articles within the diocese can be seen from the

report his Vicar General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, penned after his 1635 tour of the

southern province. Much of his report is concerned with the dilapidated state of

the church buildings, which was (as has been seen) of interest to all the bishops of

the See. Brent did, however, focus on particular aspects of worship and conduct

that appear to have been neglected at this time. It was noted, for example, that in

the cathedral itself many either wore hats or walked around the church during

services.[119] Brent showed some concern about the level of Puritanism within the

diocese, noting that he found no Puritans in Southampton,[120] whilst one man in

Guildford was suspected of being a 'Conventicler' and Kingston-upon-Thames

was noted as 'very faccous'.[121] The rise in recusancy within the diocese caused

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[117]. Appendix to the Second Report..., p.533.

[118]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud (Oxford, 1853), vol.v, pp. 421, 422, 423, 424.

[119]. PRO SPDom 16/293/128, fol.14v.

[120]. For a more detailed examination of the situation in Southampton during the first part of the seventeenth century, see below pp.341-350.

[121]. PRO SPDom 16/293/128, fols.14r-16v.

greater anxiety, it being noted that 'in these parts popery doth increase more than puritanisme', a statement that is supported by Walter Curle's annual accounts to the Archbishop between 1634 and 1639.[122]

Perhaps the most important failing that was noted by Brent concerned the use of reverent posture during services. He noted that 'some doe not bowe when they come into the Quire, nor at the blessed name of Jesus'. This shortcoming was ordered to be corrected, something to which Brent claimed the clergy 'willingly submitted'.[123] The Dean of Winchester, John Young, also noted that this change had been made, writing in his diary that the Vicar General 'proposed the reforming of some things...[including] that all sould stand at all the 3 Creeds; all sould bow at the coming in of [i.e. to] the Quier'.[124] Thus may not have been purely the result of orders from the Archbishop, however, as Dean Young had previously 'asked the Vicar Generals opinione about standing at the Creeds seing the bouke of comon prayer dide only mention it at the Apostles Creed...he advised to stand at all the Creeds, Apostles, Nicene, [and] Athanasian'. Guidance was being sought as to how worship ought to be conducted - clearly different approaches were being taken, as Young stated that he had asked the question he wished 'ane uniformitie'.[125]

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[122]. PRO SPDom 16/293/128, fol.13v. For Curle's accounts to Laud, see J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud (Oxford, 1853), vol.v, pp. 327, 335, 338-339, 348, 356, 363. One other area of concern is noted regularly by Curle, the absence of catechizing in some parishes.

[123]. PRO SPDom 16/293/128, fol.13v.

[124]. F.G.Goodman (ed.) The Diary of John Young STP, Dean of Winchester 1616 to the Commonwealth (1928), p.109.

[125]. ibid., p.108.

It can be seen from this survey that visitation articles, whether they were from the bishop of the diocese or from Laud himself, were used in order to check that parishes conducted their affairs in an appropriate manner. Whilst there were large areas of agreement between the various bishops of the diocese, each produced visitation articles which focussed on particular concerns. It is fair to say, however, that over time - and particularly during Curle's tenure - an increasing amount of attention was devoted to minutiae: greater emphasis was laid upon the Canons of the church and rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer as opposed to practices that were Scripturally warranted. In focussing upon these details too much, however, historians might well have overlooked the broader picture, the main concern of which was to preserve order and hierarchy in the church.

The emphasis placed upon the imposition of order and hierarchy has been seen in three particular areas. In the Channel Islands, the Presbyterian form of church government was seen by Adrian Saravia as disorderly, and it represented 'the refusal of ecclesiastical authority in the Church of England itself'.[126] A similar affront to Episcopal authority had been presented by the stranger churches, such as that at Southampton, which 'although theoretically under the superintendence of an English bishop, looked to the Walloon synods in the Netherlands'.[127] Elsewhere in the diocese the instructions of the bishop were to be scrutinized through the use of visitation, a tool which was clearly based around the hierarchy of the church and an implicit need to uphold the order that Episcopacy was seen to encapsulate.

[126] W.Nijenhuis Adrian Saravia, p.115.
[127] A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.151.

Disputes about order and hierarchy within the church were not, however, confined to ecclesiastical matters. Whilst common links were found between social and ecclesiastical hierarchies - particularly seen in the seating arrangements of parish churches[128] - there were occasions when clashes occurred between the two orders. The mid-1630s saw a series of such clashes across the country in cathedral towns.[129]

The initial cause of the disputes was the assessment of Ship Money, and whether the town corporation could levy the assessment within the confines of the cathedral close. Of all the corporations that applied to take such action, 'only Salisbury received permission from the privy council to rate the residents of the close'.[130]

A petition concerning the rate was sent from Winchester to the King in 1637, complaining that

> The mayor of the city of Winchester incroaching
> upon the libertie of the said Church hath rated your
> petitioners inhabiting within the said Close and two
> of their Singingmen & servants dwelling in the said
> close & libertie at his pleasure, and did committ one
> of them until he was enforced to pay such rate as he
> the said mayor had imposed upon him for his house
> in the Close, and threateneth to doe the like unto the
> other.

There followed an appeal that the king would allow the petitioners to 'enioy their ancient priviledges & immunities from any such new jurisdiction of the

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[128]. see above, pp.179-181.

[129]. C.F.Patterson 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England' History, vol.85, no.280 (October, 2000), pp.546-571.

[130]. ibid., p.563.

neighbouring citty'.[131] Perhaps, however, the indignation that the dispute raised was caused by the fact that the corporation had charged the inhabitants of the Close twice, as can be seen in the petition which the Dean and Chapter sent to the Mayor:

> the petitioners...were lately assessed for the businesse of Shipping by the high Sheriff of South[amp]ton and paid the rate chardged upon them accordingly; yet nevertheless you the Mayor of that Citty have againe rated and charged the petitioners, & two of the singingmen...[we find it] very unreasonable that the petitioners should be double charged...[132]

Whilst the dispute here appears to be purely a matter of economics, it soon became a cause of contention between the social and religious hierarchies. In terms of conformity, the quarrel became an issue based around the rites and ceremonies of the church. On special civic and festive occasions, the town corporation was to attend services in the cathedral as a body, at which times 'an appointed...mace-bearer carried the ensign before the mayor as he walked through the town'.[133] The mace was representative of the Mayor's jurisdiction, and the carrying of it in the cathedral was seen as an encroachment upon the authority of the Dean and Chapter. When the Dean of Winchester, John Young, decided that the mayor 'should not beare up his maces in the Quire' of the cathedral, Charles was informed that the result had been that 'the mayor of Winchester and

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[131]. WCL Chapter Book 1622-1645, fol.50v.

[132]. ibid., fol.51r.

[133]. C.F.Patterson 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown', p.552.

others...have ever since forborne to come to our Cathedrall Church there'.[134] The

attitude taken by the corporation could be seen as a local parallel to the situation

in the Channel Islands or the stranger churches, with the mayor and his officers

failing to observe the forms of the church. Charles's decision is thus important, as

he ordered that

> ...for the preservation of the solemnity of divine
> service in so ancient and eminent a Church...you [the
> Mayor] and your company [are] to frequent that holy
> place duely from time to time upon Sundaies and
> holydayes with all due reverence...and whilst you are
> there you carry your selves as it becometh you in all
> obedience and conformity to the Canons of the
> Church...[135]

Furthermore, the members of the corporation were ordered not to carry their

signs of office anywhere within either the cathedral or its liberties unless given

express permission by the Dean and Chapter - a more far-reaching order than

Charles gave at the same time to other corporations.[136] This was not the end of the

dispute, however, as on the following Trinity Sunday, the Mayor ignored the order

of the King, and proceeded to have his maces carried before him in the cathedral

and its precincts. In addition, the corporation members failed to carry themselves

in due conformity to the Canons of the church, which resulted in Charles issuing

his previous order again.

In the course of these jurisdictional disputes, Charles has recently been seen as

typically non-conciliatory. Having heard counsel from the various antagonists,

[134]. WCL Chapter Book 1622-1645, fol.51v.
[135]. ibid. My emphasis.
[136]. C.F.Patterson 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown', p.564.

Charles proceeded to state what his decision was, 'but "unlike Jacobean hearings, where all sides emerged with some consolation, Caroline disputes were to be resolved, not fudged, and in each case there were winners and losers"'.[137] Whilst this was true of the initial decision, it is important to note that Charles became more conciliatory as the dispute continued. Having ordered on the 11 June 1637 that the corporation could not carry there maces in the cathedral <u>or</u> its precincts, a week later he decided that

> ...his Majesties pleasure now is...that the now mayor and the mayor of the said Citty for the time being shall bee restrayned onely from carrying up his maces in the Quire or any other part of the said cathedrall Church, but shall have leave to beare these ensignes of Authority in any other part of the precincts and Libertyes thereof.[138]

Not only was the mayor allowed to carry the symbols in areas from which they had initially been excluded - at the same time a new charter was granted to the corporation, the passage of which 'the king [had] stopped...until the privileges of the cathedral had been guaranteed'.[139] This was a case in which Charles did not just produce winners and losers - the Dean and Chapter regained its authority within the church, and the corporation was given concessions over the precincts, as well as obtaining a new charter.

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[137] C.F.Patterson 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown', p.567, citing K.Fincham & P.Lake 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of James I and Charles I', in K.Fincham (ed.) The Early Stuart Church (Basingstoke, 1993), p.43.
[138] WCL Chapter Book 1622-1645, fol.54r.
[139] C.F.Patterson 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown', p.567.

The important thing to note from the dispute between the cathedral authorities and the corporation was that, whilst it showed that there were different hierarchical structures, proper boundaries had to be set. It was vital to Charles's design for religion in his realms that there was a conformity within the church itself - hence the references in his decisions over this matter to 'obedience' and 'conformity'. Furthermore, when Charles reached his compromise decision over the carrying of maces at Winchester, he stated that 'this [is] to be continued vntill his Majestie shall establish herein a vniforme Order to be obserued in all Cathedralls'.[140]

This drive for conformity was seen in a larger context with the approach that William Laud took towards the stranger churches, and it was something which had been pursued, although with less vigour, under James with the action he took in the Channel Islands. In matters of conformity, therefore, as was seen in earlier sections of this work regarding the use of the arts in churches and the way in which worship was conducted, precursors for the actions taken by Laud and Charles are visible. The real innovation of the period was to select a particular style of worship, based around practices which may have been dispersed throughout the realm - there is some evidence that they were present in the Winchester diocese - and mould them into a coherent style. This style was then to be promoted through increased conformity within the church to produce a form that could be seen as characteristic of the Church of England. If the practices which were to be used were dispersed across a diocese then an investigation needs

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[140]. WCL Chapter Book 1622-1645, fol.54r.

to be undertaken into the way in which a selection of parishes conducted worship.

Such an investigation will provide the focus for the final section of this work.

EPILOGUE

Case Studies

The opening section of this work took a broad overview of the history of the diocese of Winchester as a whole, before areas of contention were examined in closer detail. It would be appropriate, therefore, to move towards the conclusion of this work with a detailed examination of a few specific examples within the diocese. In much of this examination, attention will focus mainly upon drawing together various threads which have been discussed in earlier chapters, to provide a snapshot of the situation in these parishes during the period. The availability of source material naturally reduces the places that can be examined in such a manner, and documentation for rural parishes is particularly scarce in the diocese. There are, however, a number of towns within the diocese which allow more detailed consideration to take place. Three have been chosen for closer study, one from each of the main areas of the diocese - Southampton (Hampshire), Newport (Isle of Wight), and Lambeth (Surrey).[1]

1. Southampton.

Southampton was a town which had an illustrious history. During the Middle Ages, the only port in England which could surpass it in volume of trade was

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[1] . The lack of evidence from rural areas is unfortunate. Whilst a detailed analysis of those parishes has proved impossible, references in earlier parts of this work have shown some aspects of the situation. A detailed examination which focusses upon towns should not detract from earlier discussion.

London, but 'with a decline in the export of wool for weaving abroad and the collapse of its trading links with Gascony, Italy, and Spain, it had lost its earlier prosperity' by the end of the sixteenth century.[2] The decline was never complete, however, and the town continued as 'a market town, a local industrial centre and minor port'. However, 'the international trade that for centuries had sustained it, had fallen to the merest trickle' during the sixteenth century.[3] The town was located in a highly significant strategic position, and had been regularly under threat from French attack - so much so that in <u>circa</u> 1549-1550 the church at St. Mary's had been destroyed, 'probably to remove a landmark spire which the French cruisers of the time could have used'.[4] The church began to be rebuilt from 1579, and it is a prominent feature of Speed's 1596 map.[5]

The town had six parishes, although from 1614 the parishes of St. Lawrence and St. John's were held jointly. St. Lawrence will be the main focus of this examination, as it is the only parish for which the churchwardens' accounts survive. Although it was one of the smallest parishes in the town, it was also one of the wealthiest during the late medieval period, 'consisting of the private dwellings of well-to-do townspeople containing servants, hostelry accommodation and the shops and workshops of merchants and artisans'.[6] The actual size of the parish would appear to have remained surprisingly constant - the muster lists for

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[2]. N.Nicholson (ed.) J.Speed: The Counties of Britain (1995), p.88.

[3]. C.Platt Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community AD 1000-1600 (1873), p.221.

[4]. J.S.Davies A History of Southampton (Southampton, 1883), p.338.

[5]. N.Nicholson (ed.) J.Speed: The Counties of Britain, p.91. Southampton, as a result of limitations of space, actually appears on the Isle of Wight map.

[6]. T.B.James & N.A.Price 'Measurement of the Change in Population Through Time: Capture-Recapture Analysis of Population for St. Lawrence Parish, Southampton, 1454 to 1610', Journal of European Economic History, vol.5, no.3 (1976), p.721.

1596 note a population of 370 in the parish (Southampton as a whole 4,200); as late as 1851 the population of St. Lawrence was similar (364), whilst the town as a whole had grown to accommodate some 34,000 inhabitants.[7] Given this stability, which hints at very little migration, it might be expected that there would have been a similar consistency within the population with regard to religious practice.

It would appear that the Reformation in this parish was, indeed, a long, drawn out affair. It was not until 1567 that the church purchased the Paraphrases of Erasmus; even then, certain traditions which were frowned upon by more extreme Protestants were upheld, as four song books were also purchased for the choir.[8] The parish certainly appears to have had no qualms about using accompanied music during services, as the organ was mended in 1575 and 1592-94.[9] In 1615 new pipes for the organ, weighing some 35 pounds, were bought, although these would appear to have been replaced in 1618.[10]

Organs in churches were seen by some as a distraction from the Word of God, but there were far more important problems which had to be addressed in order for the errors of Rome to be removed. Again, St. Lawrence appears to have been somewhat lax in its approach to this. The Rood loft (referred to in the accounts as 'ye partycion of ye queir') was not taken down until 1570, and the first evidence of the church walls being whited does not occur until 1572. There was, however,

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[7] . T.B.James & N.A.Price 'Measurement of the Change in Population...', p.721.

[8] . SCA PR4/2/1. For an earlier discussion of the church's history, see J.S.Davies A History of Southampton, pp.373-381. It should be noted, however, that many dates used by Davies are erroneous.

[9] . Locks were also placed on the organ in 1592-94, so there is a possibility that a threat to the instrument was recognised.

[10] . SCA PR4/2/1.

quite widespread action at this time, whitewashing occurring on 11 October, 17 October and 4 December. On 12 December the transformation of the walls was completed when the painter was paid for the 'rest of [the] wrytting on the church walles'.[11] The walls were again whited in 1605, and the Decalogue and other Scriptural extracts painted on the walls in the following year.[12]

The absence of decoration in the church which had resulted from the action taken in the late sixteenth century did not last, and in 1605 the windows were painted. This may have been a solitary example of stained glass being used in the church, however, as other entries refer to the mending of glass, without any mention of it being coloured in any way.

Nevertheless, there were certain aspects of traditional ritual which survived within this parish (and, indeed, in Southampton as a whole) for some time after the Reformation. The incumbent was one of three holding benefices in Southampton who were presented to the Court Leet in 1576 for continued use of wafer bread at the communion.[13] Whilst one of the three parishes, All Saints', was presented again in 1582, St. Lawrence, along with St. Michael's, appears to have accepted further censure by the Court.[14]

One of the most hated objects of Catholic idolatry had been the cross, and the adoration which could go with it. As the central image of the Christian faith, the Cross had become a natural focus for worship, and Thomas Aquinas believed that

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[11]. SCA PR4/2/1.

[12]. ibid. This action probably occurred as a result of the accession of James to the throne, as a new coat of arms would have been required.

[13]. F.J.C.Hearnshaw & D.M.Hearnshaw (eds.) 'Court Leet Records', Southampton Record Series, vol.i (1905), p.139.

[14]. ibid., vol.ii (1906), p.204.

it was to be given the highest form of worship.[15] Concern about the possibility of idolatry meant that the Elizabethan authorities 'expected free-standing crosses in churchyards, however ancient, to come down', and it would appear that many were removed in the 1560s and early 1570s.[16] However, some crosses remained - it has been seen earlier, for example, that George Abbot had been in favour of Cheapside Cross being removed shortly before he became Archbishop - and the famous cross at Banbury was not removed until 1600, although this action in itself provoked some opposition.[17] The opposition which the destruction at Banbury aroused, however, hints that there were differing views over the cross, and the evidence from St. Lawrence supports this possibility. The cross at the west end of the church was removed in 1570, coinciding with the peak of iconoclasm directed at crosses, but in subsequent years several crosses were bought for use within the church - two in 1589, four more in 1607-1608, and a further two in 1623-1624.[18] What would appear to have been happening in the parish at this time was a realisation that a distinction could be drawn between secular and religious space - an idea which, with certain developments and emphases, was to become important in the later altar controversy.[19]

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[15]. M.Aston 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660', in C.Durston & J.Eales The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700 (Basingstoke, 1996), p.95.

[16]. P.Collinson The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke, 1988), p.51, M.Aston 'Puritans and Iconoclasm', p.97.

[17]. above, p.174, M.Aston 'Puritans and Iconoclasm', pp.103-104.

[18]. SCA PR4/2/1. The accounts do not give any indication of what these crosses were to be used for. The purchases in 1623-1624, however, coincided with a new communion table being bought; it is not inconceivable that the two were linked.

[19]. see above, chapter one.

When the railing of the communion table became an area of such dispute in the 1630s, the parish did show concern that the customs of the Church of England were being ignored. St. Lawrence did not erect its rail until 1637, one of the last parishes in the diocese to do so, and the rail was removed in 1641, making it the earliest removal recorded in accounts for the diocese. Whilst this does show a dislike for Laud's altar policy, a clarification needs to be made. The railing of the table has often been associated with stricter enforcement of kneeling whilst receiving the sacrament, but it is clear that parishioners at St. Lawrence knelt when communicating before a rail was erected, as in the 1633 accounts the churchwardens noted the purchase of '21 yards of mats to kneele one'.[20] Whilst railing the table did raise concerns about a return to the errors of Rome, according the sacrament some outward reverence through an act of humility did not, for these parishioners at least, carry the same weight.

Concern for the sacrament did not, however, mean that preaching was ignored. The town as a whole appointed a lecturer by 1608, as the Assembly Book noted in 1611 that Thomas Hitchcock had been preaching there for nearly four years,[21] and 'throughout the time of James I, Charles I, and Cromwell, regular...lectures were held in the important parishes of St. Laurence, Holyrood, and St. Michael's'.[22] The lectureship did not, however, display the continuity which this might suggest. Hitchcock did not hold a benefice within the town, although there is no evidence that he was unlicensed. After his death, however, the lectureship was held by

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[20]. SCA PR4/2/1.

[21]. J.W.Horrocks (ed.) The Assembly Books of Southampton (Southampton Record Society, 4 volumes, 1917-1925), vol.i, p.72, fn.3.

[22]. F.J.C.Hearnshaw & F.Clarke A Short History of Southampton (Oxford, 1910), p.223.

incumbents of the town parishes - in 1613 the job passed to James Rowlandson and Stephen Brown, whilst in July 1615, 'the Corporation decided that "Mr. Rawlinson, Mr. Plummer, Mr. Vernon and Mr. Pyne, Preachers of this Towne, shall keepe the weekelie Lecture in this town in Holliroodes church uppon the Thursdaies"'.[23] This action by the Corporation hints that there was increasing concern that clashes between them and the diocesan authorities were more likely if non-beneficed clergy preached in one of the town's churches.

This co-operation between churches in the town had also occurred at other times. Some of these came about as a result of logistical constraints, such as the fact that all churches within the town had to use the same cemetery.[24] Other than this, there were further occasions when the churches can be seen to be working together, as in the case of Richard Etuer, a member of the refugee church who also served as a churchwarden at St. Lawrence in 1570 and 1572. Interestingly, it was at these times that moves to make the church more Protestant occurred, with the removal of the Rood Screen and churchyard cross in 1570, and the repainting of the church walls with Scriptural texts during Etuer's later spell as churchwarden. The changes which occurred during Etuer's spells as churchwarden of St. Lawrence do not, however, appear to have indicated a move towards Puritanism in the town as a whole, which continued to hold conservative opinions.

There is little evidence about events in Southampton after the regulation of the lectureship in 1615 until the outbreak of the Civil War. Events during the Civil

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[23]. J.W.Horrocks (ed.) The Assembly Books of Southampton, vol.iv, p.17.

[24]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton 1567-c.1620 (1997), p.126.

War, however, seem to indicate that religious conservatism remained a strong force in the town, despite the rapturous welcome which William Prynne and Henry Burton received on their return to England from imprisonment in Jersey and Guernsey in 1642, which has to be seen as a reaction to the perceived excesses of William Laud and a defence of the established church, rather than support for Puritanism.[25]

Further support for this opinion can be seen in the attitude taken by the authorities at the outbreak of war. Initially the town tried to avoid stating any particular allegiance. However, with Portsmouth under siege, the Isle of Wight declaring for Parliament, and the Parliamentarian navy assembling in the Solent, it soon became apparent that the easiest option was to declare against the King. Mildon was thus correct when he stated that 'politically Southampton...accepted Parliament but the Corporation was not yet as keen on accepting the Puritan Reformation'.[26] It was this which enabled several divines to shelter from Parliament in Southampton later in the conflict, such as George Gillingham, the rector of Chalton in eastern Hampshire, who fled to the town in 1646.

Other divines remained in their Southampton posts throughout the conflict. John Bernard held Holy Rood, from which post he was prepared, in 1653, to attack the lectures preached in the town by, amongst others, Nathaniel Robinson, who Parliament had forced onto the parish of St. Lawrence in 1647.[27] It was noted by Major-General Goffe that Bernard and Walter Rought, the vicar of St. Mary's who

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[25]. F.J.C.Hearnshaw & F.Clarke A Short History of Southampton, p.88.

[26]. Mildon, p.158.

[27]. ibid., p.201.

had also kept his living, were helped by the 'wicked spirit of the Southampton magistrates',[28] indicating that the Corporation had continued to hold back from supporting the Puritan ministry in the town.

There was not, of course, unanimity within Southampton. The lack of support for the Puritan régime can be contrasted with the attacks which Alexander Ross faced in the early 1640s. It has been seen before that Ross was prepared to defend the church as it stood at the time - he had moved to Southampton from Aberdeen around 1616, and does not appear to have caused any controversy until he preached a sermon on 24 February 1642. Ross went on to publish the sermon, stating that he did so because of complaints against it:

> One call it a pernicious Sermon, another sayes it
> was fit to be preached at Rome, a third, that it is
> false doctrine.[29]

The sermon itself has been examined earlier,[30] but the reaction to it was unexpected. Not only did Ross have to endure the complaints that he listed in the preface, but less than a month later a merchant of Southampton, John Elliott, was accused of stating that Ross was an extortioner and a usurer. Soon afterwards Ross left Southampton for the parish of Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, which he had held jointly with the living of All Saints', Southampton. It would appear that he

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[28]. Goffe to Thurloe, cited in Mildon, p.202.

[29]. A.Ross Gods House, or the House of Prayer, Vindicated from Prophanenesse and Sacriledge (1642), sig.A2r.

[30]. above, pp.155-157.

seldom returned to the mainland until he was forced out of his Island benefice sometime around 1644.[31]

We thus see in Southampton a town which, by the outbreak of the Civil War, was deeply divided. On the one hand there was a Corporation which was inherently conservative, and which in later years aided ministers as they argued against lecturers imposed by Parliament. On the other there was a body of people who saw the sermons of Alexander Ross, a staunch defender of the established church, as erroneous. No doubt some of this division had developed from the fact that, whilst there had been a 'background of gradual religious change' in the town,[32] there had also been the presence of a stranger church, which was based upon much more fully Reformed doctrine. The coexistence of two such differing religious styles within the one town was always likely to lead to some degree of tension if anybody attempted to promote a particular form of worship at the expense of another. In many ways the situation in Southampton serves as a microcosm for the Church of England at the time.

2. Newport

The town of Newport on the Isle of Wight, situated in the middle of the island, was expanding during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It dominated

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[31]. C.F.Russell A History of King Edward VI School Southampton (Cambridge, 1940), p.158. The actual date of Ross's removal is unclear. Wilfred Way claimed that it was in 1650, W.J.Way The History of Newport (Isle of Wight) Parish Church (1975), pp.28-29, but a petition to Parliament from the Corporation of Newport in 1644 stated that 'since Mr Rosse the late vicar of Carisbrooke hath been in trouble...wee are destitute of any food for our soules', IWRO NBC45/16a, p.475.

[32]. A.Spicer The French-speaking Reformed Community, p.100.

its hinterland, and the population 'virtually trebled in size, from 1175 in 1559 to 3000 in 1641'.[33] Much of its expansion, and a degree of prosperity which came with it, was the result of its trading links with Southampton and elsewhere - its geographical position in the island made it 'the obvious entrepot, [being] the only market centre serving the whole Island'.[34] The importance of trade to the town was noted by the mayor and burgesses in 1641, when they stated that the River Medina was

> one of the Cheife Rodes for shipping in the south part of this Realme, whereunto shipping from most parts of Christendome doe resort whereby many strangers have come to Newport to provide themselves with necessaryes, & soe have bought and sold with the Inhabitants...[35]

However, the town was coming under increasing economic threat from the settlement of Cowes, at the mouth of the river, which had at the start of the century consisted of 'fouer or five houses', and which had no trading, 'but a taverne & a victualling house or twoe'.[36] By 1641 Cowes had grown to a sizeable community, consisting of

> about 150 houses many of them fayre[,] Innes & Tavernes, Bakehouses, Brewhouses, Mercers shoppes & many other shoppes...whereby the resort of strangers to Newport, is soe forestalled by the east

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[33]. J.D.Jones 'The Isle of Wight 1558-1642' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton, 1978), p.118, citing statistics from SP Dom 12/7/61 and IWRO NBC45/16a, p.406.

[34]. ibid., p.221.

[35]. IWRO NBC45/16a, pp.407-408.

[36]. ibid., p.408.

and west Cowes, that seldome any come to
Newport...[37]

As a result of this, the mayor and burgesses petitioned that Cowes should not be
made into a corporation, and that the privileges accorded to Newport as the main
town of the Island be preserved. The concern shown by the town authorities that
Newport be accorded its due respect is also significant when the church is
considered.

The church at Newport was a chapel of ease to Carisbrooke, the town having no
parochial status. Whilst this may have been acceptable at the time of the
Reformation, the growth of the town during the sixteenth century meant that there
was a widespread feeling that the town had outgrown its standing. A petition was
thus send to Parliament in 1641 in the hope that parochial status would be
granted.[38] The 1640s was, indeed, an intriguing time for the parish, but before
examining the parish at that time, some examination must be taken of the years
since the Reformation.

In contrast to St. Lawrence, Southampton, it appears that the parish authorities
at Newport enacted reforms in their church much more swiftly. The organ was
removed in 1569, for example, and the added emphasis which was placed upon the
spoken word was supported by the mending of the pulpit in the same year.[39] The
minister was provided with a separate seat in the following year, and to this was

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[37]. IWRO NBC45/16a, p.408.

[38]. ibid., p.409.

[39]. IWRO NPT/PR/17.

added a reading desk in 1571.[40] Other action taken during the same period to eliminate the possibility of idolatry included the removal of the Rood screen in 1570.[41]

Once these alterations had taken place the church at Newport remained remarkably unchanged during the remainder of the sixteenth century. The most significant entry in the accounts occurs in 1570, when a decision over seating arrangements, originally taken in 1565, was confirmed. In this it was decided that 'churchwardens from thenceforth [were] to make no more new seates nor alter anie other seate without the consent of Mr Bailiff nor shall place anie comoners wiffe in anie of the Burgesses wives seate...without consente of master Bailiffe.'[42] It is clear form this that an hierarchical seating arrangement was followed in the church at this time; moreover, the secular authorities had a say in the details of the arrangement. As will be seen, secular influence was to become increasingly important in Newport. The order concerning seating was noted again in 1598 and 1599.[43]

The church building itself was overhauled in 1609, when a new gallery was erected. This new gallery was not plain, as the stereotypical image of a post-Reformation church might suggest, and the painter was paid some 31 shillings 'for coloring the newe gallery'.[44] The mayor's seat was also ornamented

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[40]. IWRO NPT/PR/18, IWRO NPT/PR/19.

[41]. IWRO NPT/PR/18.

[42]. ibid.

[43]. IWRO NPT/PR/28, IWRO NPT/PR/29.

[44]. This does not, of course, show what form the 'coloring' took. It may be that all the wood of the gallery was painted in the same colour, but, as was seen earlier in the case of St. Saviour's, Southwark, it was not unknown for some abstract designs to be used. Above, p.163.

(in the original document 'decked') in some manner.[45] Even with the extra seating

provided by the new gallery, there was the possibility that arguments could arise

over the seating arrangements. The authorities thus re-issued the previous orders

concerning the seats, and further ordered that parishioners were to pay yearly rents

for their places, 'according to the goodness of the seates'.[46] In 1616 further seating

allocation took place, the Corporation obtaining from the Archbishop of

Canterbury an allowance to reserve ten pews in the chancel of the church for the

Mayor and Burgesses.[47] There is no evidence that this caused any friction between

the civic authorities and the parish, suggesting cordial relations between the two.

Perhaps the most noteworthy addition to the church in the early seventeenth

century, however, was the pulpit, which was donated by Stephen Marsh, an

important island tradesman, in 1631. It was highly decorated:

> On the sounding board is ornamental cresting and
> figures representing Peace and Justice, supported by
> angels with trumpets, and around it is the inscription
> 'Cry aloud and spare not; lift up thy voice like a
> trumpet'. On the body of the pulpit are the three
> theological virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity), the
> four cardinal virtues (Justice, Prudence, Temperance
> and Fortitude), and the seven liberal sciences.[48]

It is interesting to note the stance taken with regard to the furnishings of the

pulpit. In addition to the ornamentation already noted, there was also originally the

figure of a dove, which represented the Holy Spirit. This was removed in 1643,

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[45]. IWRO NPT/PR/39.
[46]. IWRO NPT/PR/45.
[47]. W.J.Way The History of Newport...Parish Church, p.5.
[48]. ibid., pp.24-25.

along with another on the font and a cross on the outside of the church, in order to

comply with the instructions 'for the demolishing of Monuments of Superstition or

Idolatry' which had been sent out by Parliament.[49] The ornamentation which had

been placed on the pulpit in the first place, however, shows that there was an

admittance that some ornamentation in a church was acceptable, so long as it did

not have any strictly theological basis - hence the pulpit could contain images of

the virtues, even after the theological representation of the dove was taken away.[50]

The position of the communion table at Newport is of particular interest. Whilst

the table itself was not railed until 1636,[51] the table itself would appear to have

already been placed against the east wall, as in 1632 John Ledger was paid 'for the

waynscot a joyn[ing] the Communion table'.[52] Under what appears to have been a

more Puritan régime,[53] the rails were taken away, and the table moved from this

position, in 1643.[54]

As has been seen before,[55] an examination of the Court Leet books for Newport

uncovers some unexpected details with regard to Sabbath observance. In 1617

strict observation is ordered, in that 'noe inhabitant of this Towne shall uppon the

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[49]. IWRO NBC/45/16a p.448.

[50]. This can be compared to the iconography on the tomb of George Abbot at Guildford. Above, p.175.

[51]. The reference in the accounts is somewhat curious, as money is paid 'for three posts which stand at the east end of the church'. IWRO NPT/PR/67.

[52]. IWRO NPT/PR/62. The OED definitions of wainscot imply oak panelling, indicating a position next to the wall. The seating arrangements for the church, which are noted yearly in the churchwardens' accounts, fail to mention seats to the east of the quire or chancel, whereas they do for the north and south sides, supporting the view that the table was set against the east wall.

[53]. as hinted at in the previous paragraph.

[54]. IWRO NPT/PR/74. It should be noted that the image of a dove on the pulpit was removed at the same time, indicating some concerted action to remove things which were the focus of contemporary debate.

[55]. above, pp.254-255.

sabbath daye open his upper windowe of his shopp dore to the streate warde to

buye or sell', and in 1619, 'no butchers inhabiting within this towne shall kill or

sell any flesh at all on the Saboth daye.'[56] By 1623 a more lenient line was being

taken:

> ...it is further ordeyned that all the butchers within
> this towne shall shutt vpp theire shoppe doores on
> the Saboth day at the ringing of the second peale to
> praier in the forenoone and shall not oppen theire
> shoppe dores to sell againe vntill it be after evening
> praier of the same daie...[57]

Even in what has been seen as one of the more Puritan areas of the diocese,[58]

concessions were being made with regard to profanation of the Sabbath. Whilst

divine service was held as sacrosanct, other periods of the day were not seen as so

important, although townsmen were still not allowed to 'keep entertayne or be

present at any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure or

pastime, maske, wake, other noise called pastimes, church ale, dancing games or

sports whatsoever'.[59]

Important distinctions can be seen, therefore, in the approach that was taken

towards Sabbath observance. In the first place, the authorities were prepared to

admit that there was a difference between avoiding profanation of the Sabbath

during the time of divine service and complete Sabbath observation. Secondly

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[56]. IWRO NBC/45/41, vol.i, pp.19, 42.

[57]. ibid., p.269.

[58]. Mildon referred to Newport as 'predominantly Puritan throughout the period', and evidence from earlier in this work appears to imply a more Reformed ethos in the Isle of Wight. See Mildon, p.281 and above, chapter 1.

[59]. ibid., p.211 (1624 orders).

there was, at times, an acceptance that there was a difference between working on the Sabbath and merriment - the latter was clearly more dangerous as it involved submission to certain carnal pleasures, which could easily lead on to more heinous offences.

Despite the suppression which the town authorities attempted to enforce with regard to Sunday entertainment, there were two occasions during the year when the Corporation did allow feasting. Firstly there was a tradition whereby the vicar of the mother church of Carisbrooke celebrated communion on Easter Sunday, and all the corporation members attended in state. This ritual was similar to that which caused problems between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities in Winchester,[60] but the friction which arose at the cathedral city seems to have been avoided at Newport, possibly because Carisbrooke was a civic church, and thus the links between the town authorities and those of the church were closer. Such links were probably strengthened by the fact that, after the service, the vicar of the Island town dined with the Mayor, before providing 'gammons of bacon at his own charge' for supper with the Burgesses in the evening at a local hostelry. Cordial relations between church and town were thus upheld. The tradition at Newport 'possibly...ceased...during the Civil War'.[61]

The second occasion when the Corporation was prepared to allow a degree of conviviality on a Sunday was at Whitsun. It was a tradition at Newport that a fair was held on Whitsunday, but this was discontinued in 1643, officially 'because of

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[60]. above, pp.335-339.

[61]. W.J.Way The History of Newport...Parish Church, p.27.

the troubles & dangers of the time'. A similar proclamation was issued in 1644,[62] and there is no evidence for the fair restarting in subsequent years.[63]

As has been said, the 1640s were an intriguing time for Newport, and the church encountered problems which were to remain with it until the Restoration. It has already been seen that the church was officially a chapel of ease to Carisbrooke, and that the town authorities petitioned Parliament in 1641 in the hope that parish status would be granted. Some progress was made, and a bill to make Newport a parish was read in the House of Lords three times in early 1641. It was passed on 20 March, but the sheer volume of Parliamentary business at the time, however, meant that no more official progress was made.[64] In 1644 the town authorities took matters into their own hands, appointed a Mr. Hallett to the cure, and requested that Parliament confirm their action.[65] The town was not united in its attitude, though, and the resulting controversies displayed the inherent weaknesses of English Presbyterianism, in which 'the individual congregation...was the governing body of a particular church'.[66] As the appointments at Newport were made as a result of election by members of the Corporation the new 'parish' falls into this category.

Problems arose when the town tried to appoint a minister for the church. The Mayor and Corporation sent a petition to Parliament in favour of Hallett on 26 October 1644, which claimed to have the agreement of all the chief inhabitants of

[62]. IWRO NBC45/16a, p.447.

[63]. ibid., p.483.

[64]. Mildon, p.283. Journal of the House of Lords, vol.iv, pp.178, 15, 191.

[65]. IWRO NBC45/16a, pp.474-475.

[66]. C.G.Bolam, J.Goring, H.L.Short & R.Thomas The English Presbyterians from Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism (1968), p.20.

the town. It was followed, however, by a similar document sent by John Chatfield, Lovell Scott and 55 others in favour of Hugh Thompson. The Mayor and Corporation eventually won the argument, and Hallett was installed, although, by 8 May 1646 he had been 'removed from us and we are nowe like unto sheepe without a shepheard'.[67] At the beginning of December 1646 the town was provided with a new minister, Emmanuel Bourne, but Bourne was to be the first of a string of incumbents whose stay in Newport was brief.

Bourne stayed only for a few months; in August 1647 a Mr. Cornish was appointed, but departed in the spring of the following year. In May 1648 a replacement was appointed in Jeremy French, and he was followed in May 1649 by Edward Benthall. Benthall himself appears to have left by the end of 1650, and he was replaced in late 1651 by John Martin, although he had not officially been accepted by the Corporation.[68]

The Corporation clearly did not think that Martin was a good enough preacher for the town, and they continued to look elsewhere. In April 1652 Robert Nicholson preached at the church twice, but the Corporation decided that 'it is not thought fit that Mr. Robert Nicholson...shalbe admitted for this Towne'.[69] Martin, nevertheless, continued to preach in the church, and lectured, along with other ministers, during the week.[70] By autumn of 1653 Martin was claiming that he was the de facto minister of the town, a claim which only served to increase efforts to find a replacement. The Corporation requested the Governor of the Island, Colonel

[67]. IWRO NPT45/16a, p.508.
[68]. Mildon, pp.288-292.
[69]. IWRO NPT45/16a, p.597.
[70]. ibid., p.611.

Sydenham, to search out a replacement, and in January 1654 he recommended

Robert Tutchin of Dorchester, who was installed in March 1654.[71] Tutchin was to

remain as the minister at Newport until the Restoration, although he did threaten

to leave in 1659 unless he was given suitable remuneration.[72]

The problems that the town faced in its attempts to appoint a sufficient minister

showed the inherent weakness of allowing the election of ministers to be decided

at the local level, and thus confirmed weaknesses in the Presbyterian system that

had been foreseen by defenders of Episcopacy.[73] Whilst an external appointment

may have papered over any cracks in the local community, the election of

ministers at the local level had been shown to exacerbate such rivalries.

3. Lambeth

The borough of Lambeth, sited on the southern bank of the Thames, holds an

important place in any ecclesiastical history of England, as it contains the main

palace for the Archbishop of Canterbury. Whilst the influence which this would

have had upon the Church of England as a whole is important, the impact of the

Archbishop on the surrounding area should not be overstated, as Lambeth Palace

was a peculiar within the diocese of Winchester. The parish church would have

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[71]. Mildon, pp.294-295. Dorchester was a renowned centre of Puritanism in the first half of the
seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the most in-depth study of the town in this period does not
mention Tutchin. D.Underdown Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth
Century (1993).

[72]. Mildon, p.297.

[73]. For example, Thomas Bilson's statement that 'the people have no power to choose an Apostle',
T.Bilson The Perpetual Government of Christes Church (1593), p.334.

been of more importance to the local population, although the advowson for the church had been held by the Archbishop since 1197.[74]

All the ministers of Lambeth from the accession of James to the outbreak of Civil War left printed work. Thomas Blague had been rector of Lambeth for twenty six years under Elizabeth; the sermon he preached before the king on 10 May 1603 is the only one of his that was published.[75] After his death in 1611, he was replaced by Francis Taylor, who was also rector of the neighbouring parish of Clapham from 1615. In 1618 he surrendered the Lambeth living, concentrating on his work in Clapham, and all his published material was produced after this time.[76] Taylor was replaced in 1619 by one of the most interesting characters to work in the diocese during the early Stuart period, Daniel Featley.[77] Featley was a voluminous writer, not only publishing many of his sermons, some of which have already been noted,[78] but also producing many polemical works in defence of the established church. Although he was a staunch Calvinist, he was prepared to accept some of the more controversial policies of William Laud, and produced a defence of his actions after he was brought before the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1643.[79] Despite the actions which had been taken against him, Featley served in the Assembly of Divines, in which he defended Episcopacy, before

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[74]. VCH Surrey (4 volumes, 1900) vol.iv, p.63.

[75]. T.Blague A Sermon Preached at the Charterhouse, before the Kings Majestie, on Tuesday the Tenth of May 1603 (1603).

[76]. Andrew Ducarel stated erroneously in 1785 that Taylor died in 1618. A.C.Ducarel The History and Antiquities of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth from its foundation to the present time (1785), p.35.

[77]. I hope to examine the life and work of Daniel Featley in more detail in the future.

[78]. see chapter four.

[79]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, or the Vindication of Dr Featley (1644).

withdrawing from the Assembly on the command of the King.[80] He was deprived

of the living in 1643, being replaced by John White, the Puritan who had fled from

Dorchester when the town was attacked by Royalists.[81]

Lambeth would appear to be another parish, like St. Lawrence in Southampton,

which was somewhat cautious in its approach to the Elizabethan settlement. It was

not until 1570, for example, that the churchwardens took 'the safe and practical

step of selling their vestments and copes', raising £7 19s 2d in the process.[82] The

partition between the nave and chancel in the church was only removed in 1581,

but some sort of division was kept to distinguish the two areas, as in 1615 Richard

Evans was paid £1 11s 'for worke done about the Screnes betwixt the churche and

the Chauncell'.[83] Whatever form the screens took, they appear to have irritated the

authorities later on, because they were removed in 1643 - at the same time as the

chancel was levelled.[84]

The 1580s, however, had seen a gradual progress away from traditional forms of

worship. 1582 saw the church provided with a new communion table, and

kneeling to receive the sacrament was adhered to in this parish, as six years later

the churchwardens paid out twelve pence 'for a new matt to kneele upon at ye

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[80]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, p.2.

[81]. D.Underdown Fire From Heaven, which examines White's time in Dorchester in some detail. His flight to London is observed on p.203, although it is also later noted that he returned to the town, p.210.

[82]. R.A.Christophers 'Social and Educational Background of the Surrey Clergy, 1520-1620' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1975), p.321.

[83]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610 Part II', Surrey Record Society, vol.xliii (1941), pp.146, 283.

[84]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610 Part III', Surrey Record Society, vol.xliv (1943), p.185.

Communion'.[85] Similar purchases were also made in 1593, 1594, 1598, 1611, 1613 and 1615, whilst two hassocks were bought in 1640.[86] The parishioners had no qualms about receiving the bread and wine in a posture which indicated humility.

There is some evidence, however, that old practices had been retained far longer in Lambeth than elsewhere. It was one of very few parishes which kept a Sanctus Bell, which had been used before the Reformation to draw the congregation's attention to the elevation of the host at the act of consecration - whether it was still used for this purpose cannot be ascertained, but its retention is of interest.[87] This bell was repaired several times throughout the period, and was even recast in the late 1630s.[88] Further evidence that traditional customs were upheld in the parish can be seen by the money which was laid out for holly and ivy in order to decorate the church at Christmas - an expense which was noted in virtually every year from 1596 until the outbreak of the Civil War.[89] The tradition of decorating churches with greenery at Christmas had been commonplace in the medieval church, but the Reformation had seen the practice almost die out, as it was 'of demonstrable pagan origin...[and] would not recommend itself to Protestant reformers',[90] although this statement needs clarification. It is true to say that decoration of

[85]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part II', pp.150, 175, 188.

[86]. ibid., pp.188, 194, 209, 256, 267, 278; Part III, p.157.

[87]. For the use of the Sanctus bell, see above, pp.123-124.

[88]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part II', pp.188, 219, 239, 265; Part III, pp.4, 59, 65, 89, 133, 145, 154.

[89]. ibid., passim. The last entry occurs in 1641. On two occasions the outlay is for rosemary and bay rather than holly and ivy (1636 and 1641). There are only a handful of years for which no such expense is noted.

[90]. R.Hutton The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain (Oxford, 1996), p.35.

churches in this manner was uncommon early in the century and became more

popular as the seventeenth century progressed, since 'these phenomena were no

longer regarded as so dangerous by many Protestants'.[91] It is not true to say,

however, that 'the sole exceptions [to the lack of greenery] were the two parish

churches flanking the royal winter palace of Whitehall':[92] the case of Lambeth

shows that it had survived in some areas throughout the period of the Reformation.

The fact that many village parishes did not note the purchase of holly and ivy in

their accounts is 'almost certainly due to the fact that they were to be found in the

parish'.[93] It is not impossible, therefore, that the practice continued in some rural

parishes undetected throughout the period, as had certainly happened at Lambeth.

The disturbances which occurred in London in 1647 were the archetypal peaceful

protest, with churches being adorned with rosemary and bay - clearly the

ornamentation of churches at this time had gained support.[94]

The continued use of traditional customs did not mean that the parishioners of

Lambeth failed to accept the Reformation. The preaching of the Word became

accepted as the main way that the population could be taught about the Christian

faith, and the pulpits which were provided often reflected the importance attached

to this. It was seen earlier in this chapter that the church at Newport built an

elaborate new pulpit in 1631, and the churchwardens at Lambeth ensured that

theirs was kept in good condition. Thus it can be seen that in 1598 a new sounding

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[91]. R.Hutton The Stations of the Sun, p.36.

[92]. ibid. p.35.

[93]. ibid., p.34.

[94]. S.R.Gardiner History of the Great Civil War, (1893, reprinted Moreton-in-Marsh, 1987, four volumes), vol.iv, p.46.

board was provided - the accounts refer to money expended on 'makynge of the
heade over the pulpet' - as well as the erection of ironwork around it.[95] A year
later, a reading desk was added to the structure and the cloths which were used
around the pulpit were mended.[96] These cloths continued to be repaired throughout
the early Stuart period, and the steps to the pulpit were rebuilt in 1611.[97]

The pulpit cloths were not the only materials which were repaired throughout
the period. In each year, as was common in churches throughout the diocese, the
churchwardens noted the money paid to parishioners for washing the church linen
- items such as communion table cloths and napkins - but it is also clear that the
incumbent at Lambeth also used the surplice, despite it being portrayed by some as
a relic of Popery. There was a move away from undue vestments, however, as in
1603 a Mrs. Holland was paid three shillings 'for mending the surples in
converting twoe into one'.[98] The operation might not have been a success,
however, as in the following year a new surplice was bought - an item which cost
the church some 35 shillings.[99] That the surplice was used by the incumbent of the
parish can be seen by the fact that repairs were continually required. Such repairs
were carried out on seven occasions until 1622, when a new surplice of holland
cloth was made, and the old one sold.[100] A further surplice was bought in 1635 - as
there is no note made of the old one being sold it is possible that the enhanced

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[95]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part II', p.211.

[96]. ibid., p.214.

[97]. ibid., pp.228, 245, 278; Part III, pp. 8, 11, 85; Part II, p.256.

[98]. ibid., p.227.

[99]. ibid., p.234.

[100]. ibid., pp.238, 243, 249, 276; Part III, pp.9, 17, 24, 26, 28.

ritualism of the Laudian period was taking effect, with more vestments being used.[101] There is, indeed, some evidence to support this view, as in 1633 a hood was bought for the minister's use, and this hood was repaired in 1635.[102] Whilst this was in accordance with the 58th Canon of 1604 - 'Ministers reading divine service and administering the sacraments [are] to wear surplices, and graduates therewithal hoods'[103] - it would appear that the hood had not been used in previous years, and thus greater enforcement of the Canons was occurring at this time.[104]

Possibly the greatest controversy of the time, however, was the debate about the placement of the communion table, and Lambeth provides some of the most extensive documentary evidence about the subject. In front of the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1643, the incumbent of the parish, Daniel Featley, claimed that the table had stood at the eastern end of the church for some time, and it had not, therefore, been subject to the changes promoted by William Laud. Featley admitted that the table had been 'brought...downe to the middle of the Chancell, and compassed about with a most decent and usefull frame' about twenty years before he was called before the Committee, but stated categorically that it had been moved back 'with publike consent...to the place where it first stood time out of mind'.[105] This assertion is supported by the churchwardens accounts, which show that a frame was made 'about the Communion Table' in 1620, although

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[101]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.102.

[102]. ibid., pp.91, 107.

[103]. G.Bray The Anglican Canons 1529-1947 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), p.347.

[104]. The incumbent at the time was Daniel Featley, who had graduated BA from Oxford in 1601, and MA in 1605. See DNB entry.

[105]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, pp.8-9.

there is no statement here that the table was actually moved.[106] Whilst Featley's

defence implied that the table was swiftly returned to the eastern end of the

church, it was not, in fact, until 1636 that this change took place, which would

have added to the idea that Featley was following the instructions of Laud.[107]

Certain sections of the population clearly did believe that the table had been

moved and the rails erected as a result of Laudian reforms, because some troops

from the earl of Essex's army stormed the building after the Battle of Brentford in

November 1642, removed some of the rails, and burnt them in the street.[108] Not all

the rails can have been removed, however, as in 1643 John Pickerskill was paid to

remove the remaining rails.[109] In the same year a further attack on perceived

idolatry at the church resulted in the removal of the cross on the steeple.[110]

There had been further changes with regard to the communion table in the late

1630s which would have aroused indignation amongst some of the congregation.

In 1638 some one hundred and twenty parishioners had given a 'voluntary

Contribution...towards Furnishing the Communion Table with a decent guilt Cup

and twoe silver flagons'.[111] This in itself might not have been too controversial, as

such utensils were required for the celebration of communion. A more contentious

event happened later in the year, however, when the plate was consecrated by the

Archbishop, a ceremony which would have incensed the more godly

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[106] C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.18.

[107] C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.109.

[108] Mercurius Rusticus, pp.192-193.

[109] C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III' p.171.

[110] ibid., p.178.

[111] ibid., p.135.

parishioners.[112] More plate was consecrated in 1640, this time by the Bishop of Winchester, Walter Curle.[113] Umbrage was certainly caused by these consecrations, as in 1643 - the year when so many 'idolatrous' items were removed from Lambeth church - the parish plate was sold, as a result of which the parish received some £34 8s 9d.[114]

A final item associated with Popery which was probably removed in 1643 was the font. Having had matting put around it in 1626, and hassocks provided for it in the following year, it had patently been removed by 1644, as the churchwardens had to pay 'for a bason to baptize in'.[115] As has been seen above,[116] baptism was not the only rite associated with childbirth, and Lambeth is one of the few parishes for which evidence can be found for the continuance of the churching ceremony, as in 1607 a new seat was set up ' in the South quier, for the ease of women that come to be Churched'.[117] This action is indicative of a move to refocus the ceremony of churching towards the eastern end of the church, rather than in the main body of the church.[118]

The alterations which occurred in the church at Lambeth provoked some dispute. Most of the attacks on 'idolatrous' items were carried out in 1643, and

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[112]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.137. Laud was accused at his trial of bringing in 'all manner of Popish Consecrations into his Chappell, never heard off, nor used in his Predecessors dayes; as Consecrations of all sorts of Altar-furniture, Vestments, Flagons, Chalices...'. W.Prynne Canterburies Doome (1646), p.65.

[113]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.152.

[114]. ibid., p.170. The order from Parliament had included instructions that 'superstitious and idolatrous monuments' should be removed, so the removal of plate at the same time may be coincidence, although this seems unlikely.

[115]. ibid., pp.20, 53, 189.

[116]. pp.140-141.

[117]. C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part II', p.241.

[118]. D.Cressy 'Purification, Thanksgiving and the Churching of Women in Post-Reformation England' , Past & Present, vol.141 (November 1993), p.136.

had been prescribed by Parliament. It is not surprising, however, given the fact that the Archbishop's palace could be found in the town, that unrest can be seen before orders had been sent out from London.

Initially the disquiet focussed upon the Archbishop's palace. Laud noted on 6 May 1640 that a paper had been posted on the Old Exchange behind St. Paul's Cathedral, which encouraged apprentices to attack the palace two days later. On the night of the demonstration - originally planned for the morning - Laud noted that some 500 demonstrators had assembled.[119] Having been warned in advance, Laud himself had 'placed his house in a state of defence, and had crossed the river to Whitehall for safety'. In the morning of the following day, the Privy Council ordered that the trained bands of Middlesex and Surrey be called in, so that order might be upheld.[120] A couple of months later, news had reached some parts of the country that the raising of the trained bands was a direct result of the policies of Laud, and that the apprentices had rioted because he had turned papist.[121]

The demonstrations at Lambeth seem to have quietened for a couple of years, but in 1642 soldiers 'brake open the chapel door, and offered violence to the organ; but before much hurt was done, the captains heard of it, and stayed them'.[122] This was, however, part of more widespread violence in the town at the time, which no doubt occurred as a result of the closeness of Lambeth Palace to the town, a proximity that may have been influential with regard to the problems

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[119]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D (7 volumes, 1853), vol.iii, p.234.

[120]. S.R.Gardiner History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603-1642 (10 volumes, 1884), vol.ix, p.133.

[121]. PRO SP Dom 16/461/4611.

[122]. J.Bliss (ed.) The Works of...William Laud, vol.iii, p.247.

faced by Featley. It was also reported that on 12 November 1642 some soldiers from the Earl of Essex's army entered the church, removing the rails and burning them in the street.[123] At the same time, windows were smashed and the font removed - which presented the authorities with the opportunity to replace it with a basin.[124] Attacks on the church continued, and on 19 February 1643, 'in the midst of service, five soldiers rushed into Lambeth Church intending to murder Featley'.[125] The antagonism which had been aroused towards the incumbent was reflected through the action of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, which called Featley before them in 1643, and he was removed from his living on 23 March.

That Featley should have aroused such antagonism is curious, although the possibility that the closeness of the parish to the Archbishop's palace associated the two in the minds of anti-Laudians must be fairly high.[126] The immediate cause of his attendance before the Committee was his refusal to continue working in the Assembly of Divines, apparently as a result of an order from Charles I.[127] This had been brought to the attention of the Committee for Examinations as a result of the interception of a letter from Featley to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. This letter was, according to Featley, 'opened, and falsly transcrib'd', in such a way that Featley's stance would be misconstrued.[128]

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[123]. see DNB entry for Featley.

[124]. Mercurius Rusticus, pp.192-193, C.Drew 'Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts...Part III', p.189.

[125]. DNB entry.

[126]. Especially as the patronage for the living was held by the Archbishop. See above, p.361.

[127]. DNB entry.

[128]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, sig. A2v-A3r.

Featley claimed that his moderate stance was in all cases misrepresented. He was, for example, accused of suffering 'new Ceremonies, as standing up at gloria patri' and promoting 'bowing at the Name of Iesus', when in fact (as Featley stated), 'standing up at gloria patri is no new Ceremony' and 'the Canon prescribeth' bowing.[129] Similarly Featley was accused of moving the communion table to the east and railing it: he claimed that it had stood in the same position when he arrived at the parish, and that the rail was erected for decent celebration of the communion and the prevention of irreverent use.[130] Most importantly, Featley's sermonizing in favour of the rites of the Book of Common Prayer was portrayed as the promotion of 'new popish ceremonies'.[131]

It would appear, therefore, that (at least by his own account) Featley faced such problems through the misrepresentation of his stance. The imposition of 'new' ceremonies had to be seen as the result of the influence of Laud, and what better scapegoat could there be than the minister of the parish adjacent to his palace, for which Laud held the advowson? It was, of course, of no concern that the facts might not support the accusations being laid - perception was all important at this crucial time. Featly, it would seem, was an early victim of 'spin'.

In investigating these three towns in some detail a wide variety of practices has been uncovered. Southampton was always somewhat conservative in its attitude, and, despite the presence of a more fully reformed stranger church within its walls,

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[129]. D.Featley The Gentle Lash, pp.4,6,7.
[130]. ibid., pp.8-9.
[131]. ibid., p.10.

generally remained that way, although at the outbreak of the Civil War the town's allegiance was split. In spite of its official adherence to Parliament, it acted as a haven for sequestered clergy, showing at least some sympathy for those suffering under Parliamentary rule. In contrast, the town of Newport had developed a more Puritan ethos, and during the Interregnum exercised a level of local independence over the ministers which were chosen to serve the parish. The practices of the church in the period before the Civil War, however, show that Puritanism was not wholly antagonistic to using visual representations in the church, such as the dove which was carved on the 1631 pulpit. In many ways Lambeth stands in the middle of the two contrasting liturgical cultures. Served by staunch Calvinists, the church retained certain aspects of pre-Reformation ceremonial, such as the Sanctus bell, and also kept certain non-Christian practices, seen by the continued decoration of the church at Christmas. As such, it shows that failing to adhere to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer was not only 'winked at' when such deviation was of a Puritan nature, such as refusal of the surplice, but also when it consisted of things which might have been seen as having Papist undertones.[132]

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[132]. For 'winking' at non-conformity of Puritans, see D.Cressy 'The Erosion of Community in Charles I's England', Huntington Library Quarterly, vol.61, no.2 (1999); for the possibility of the survival of 'Papist' ceremonies and ritual, see C.Haigh 'The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', History, vol.85, no.280 (October 2000).

CONCLUSION

One of the main aims of this investigation was to move attention away from the
doctrinal aspects of early seventeenth century religious debate, refocussing
attention upon the ceremonial aspects of worship, as 'ceremony, discipline and
ecclesiology were far more important in igniting and stoking the conflict'.[1] Whilst
there were certainly some doctrinal elements involved in the disputes of the time,
debates about these were largely confined to the upper echelons of the church - at
the local level argument concerned the way in which worship was conducted, and
the way in which a particular style was promoted. In many ways this was most
clearly seen in the altar controversy which has remained an area of debate amongst
historians in subsequent centuries. It is true that a general split between two groups
within the church can be discerned - the defences of the altar policy written by
Peter Heylyn typify one side; the anti-Laudian tirades of William Prynne the other.
This is, however, as was seen in this examination of the Winchester diocese, a
simplistic generalisation. Prynne's attack about the innovatory nature of altar rails,
in particular, needs closer examination, as does the opposition aroused by the
imposition of them. One of the most important examples of dispute in the diocese
with regard to the placement of the table was the case at Lambeth, where the table
had been moved into the chancel in the mid-1620s, but was quickly moved back to

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[1] . A.Walsham 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and "Parish
Anglicans" in Early Stuart England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, volume 49, number 4
(October 1998), p.623.

the east end of the church, where it had stood 'time out if mind' - a phrase which is crucial to the understanding of the rising tension.[2]

A similar situation could be seen with regard to other aspects of ritual. The surplice, for example, was used in some places, and omitted in others. There seems to be no common link between non-compliance with this part of worship and opposition to the altar policy, as might be expected - arguments against the perceived move back to Rome which polemicists linked with the removal of the altar to the east end of the church did not necessarily coincide with failure to wear the surplice, which was seen by some as a Popish remnant. Different parishes would appear to have developed their own distinct traditions within the rubrics of the Prayer Book, and slight deviations from official practices were tolerated, so long as they did not upset the peace of the church in general.

A similar situation was seen when the rôle of the arts within the church was examined. Some parishes chose to keep their organs in working order, for example, whilst there is a complete absence in the records in other parishes for such expenses, indicating that either they had not had an instrument in the first place, or, if they had, it had either been removed or left to fall into decay. Similarly, it has been seen that the visual arts were, in some parishes, seen as having a part to play in the edification of the laity, so long as the subjects used could not be associated with idolatry. Puritanism cannot be strictly equated with opposition to the use of cultural media within the church.

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[2] . D.Featley The Gentle Lash, Or the Vindication of Dr Featley (1644), pp.8-9.

This was possibly best seen with regard to preaching styles. The 'metaphysical' preaching style has been contrasted with the plainer, 'pietistic' style, with the latter being seen as a particularly 'Puritan' style.[3] However, as was seen in chapter four, there were godly ministers who adopted elements of the 'metaphysical' style, and some that crossed the division which has been erected between the two styles of preaching, a divide which would appear to have arisen as a result of later examination of the texts rather than as a result of contemporary conclusions.

That such a division might be the artificial construct of later writers also brings some doubt into recent attempts to define a specifically Puritan culture. Some of the central elements of such a Puritan culture have been seen to be common to a much wider group of people. Although it is probably true to say that a Puritan culture did exist, it cannot be strictly defined, and aspects of it, although not every part of it, transcended any neat boundaries that historians might wish to construct.

The first two sections of this work focussed on two of the central planks of the 'Laudian' platform - increased ceremonial and a greater emphasis upon the 'beauty of holiness'. The final section proceeded to examine a third, which, to continue the analogy, was the central pillar upon which these planks were placed - an increasing emphasis upon conformity to the rites of the Church of England.[4] Again it was seen that Laudian innovations were not particularly novel - there had, for example, been moves to bring the churches in the Channel Islands to a greater

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[3]. 'Just as they felt obliged to discard the surplice and forgo "the ceremonies", the Puritans felt it necessary to abandon extraneous ornament in their sermons'. W.F.Mitchell English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A Study of its Literary Aspects (1932), p.116.

[4]. Or, more accurately, to the rites of the Church of England as perceived and interpreted by 'Laudian' divines.

conformity with the Church of England. What was new, however, was the vigour with which the drive for conformity was pursued. It is here that the crucial aspect of Laudianism, the part of it which aroused the greatest opposition, becomes apparent. This was the way in which local customs were overridden in order to produce a from of worship which could be seen as distinctly 'Anglican'. Hence the moves for greater consistency in the positioning of the communion table, hence the requirements that preachers should always wear the surplice, hence the development of the idea that cathedrals should serve as examples to other churches within the diocese: and hence, when these ideas worked against the traditions of a particular parish, the opposition which was aroused.

APPENDIX ONE

Seating arrangements in Botley, 1605.

(Hampshire Record Office 40M75/PR1)

This account of the seating arrangements in the parish of Botley, Hampshire, was originally written in the parish register in 1605. This register is no longer extant, but a later incumbent copied the extract. The indented words were interlined, indicating that a dispute arose over the seating arrangements after this document had been drawn up. It is interesting that although a distinction was drawn between the sexes, the separation between them did not follow the standard pattern, as women appear to have been placed at the front of the church with men seated further back.[1]

Church seates. North side

1. The seat next the Chancell upon the North side belongeth properly to Mrs Serle for the farme.

2. The seat next to that to Mrs Serle for her maydens.

This seat Thomas Parker's wife claimes

3. The next seat to that belongeth to El[ie?] Harman for his copyhold at Mattoxford, to Thomas Abram, to John Moulton for the Brick-house upon the Hill & to the house of the widdow Bonner where dwelleth Richard Outon.

4. The next seat to this belongeth to Good wife Moulton for the house upon the Hill called the Brick house & to El[ie] Harman for his Burgage he bought of Thomas Cosens of Shamblehurst.

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[1]. Compare with the arrangements examined by Susan Amussen in East Anglia. S.D.Amussen 'Governors and Governed: Class and Gender Relations in English Villages' (unpublished PhD thesis, Brown University, 1982).

5. The seat next belongs to John Cosens of Upland for his wife, Good wife Moulton for the house next to the Smythes, Philip Foster's house & to the house of Richard Cosens in Botley Street.

6. A mans seat the next to that newly erected by Anthony Lamb Blacksmyth for himself & for George Naile his fellow churchwarden in whose time the seats in the church were newly repaired & to Richard Cosens in the street & to John Cosens at Dousles.

7. A womans seat next to that at the Door belonges to El[ie] Harmon for Mattoxford & to William [damaged].

8. A mans seat next the wall upon the North side belongeth to John Gamp for Webbs house to John Hebberd for Rowles croft & to John watering for his house in the streete.

<div align="center">The South side.</div>

1. A womans seat [which] belongeth to John Moulton for the house at townesend & to John Moulton for the hoouse where Robert Baker now dwelleth at the townes end.

> A mans seat the 3rd in the North side of the church from the screen backward belongs to Thomas Munday & his family by the order of the Minister & churchwardens.

2. A womans seat the next to that belongeth to Nicholas Wise, to Heath-house, to the Catherine Wheele & to Edward Markes for his wife in consideration that the sayd Edward Markes did give ij£ towards the new building of the sayd seat.

> The second seat the 3rd in the North side of the church from the screen backward belongs to Thomas Munday for his wife.

3. A womans seat next to that belongs to William Smyth of Mattoxford, to Old Glaspoolc to John Watering. John Cosens.

4. A womans seat next to that belongs to Steeplecourt to John Moulton for the Kitchin-house & to Anthony Lamb for the Smyth's Forge.

5. A womans seat next to that belongs to good wife Bonner for Mattoxford farm to Thomas Abram & to Snakemore.

6. A womans seat next to that belongs to the Swan house, to George Sparkman, to Hendy his house to Outon in the street [and also] belongs to goodwife Bonner.

7. A womans seat next to that belongs to Broad-gates to Mr Serle his house upon the Hill in the street, to Old Emry his house by Glaspoole to Rebecca Douse & to old Mrs Serle.

Next the Wall in the Gallery. First Thomas Wassell next to him sits Philip Foster, next to him sits John Wise in the new dwelling house of Thomas wassell & in the new dwelling house of Philip Foster.

8. A mans seat next to that belongs to William Smyth of Mattoxford farm. John Cosens of Upland to Nicholas Wise, to John Wise.

9. A mans seat next to that belongs to Mattoxford farm to El[ie] Harmon for the Swan house & to El[ie] Harmon for the Burgage he bought of old Cosens & to Mr Serle for the house upon the Hill & to John Tanner for his wives Land.

10. A mans seat next to that belongs to Heath-house Bridgfoot house Catherine Wheele & to Broadgates.

11. A womans seat next to that under the Pulpit belongs to the Ministers wife & to the Bridgfoot: The parson at his charges did newly erect it: at that time dwelling at the Bridgfoot house.

APPENDIX TWO

Seating arrangements at Newport, Isle of Wight, 1603.

(Isle of Wight Record Office NPT/PR/33)

The seating arrangements for the parish of Newport are appended to the churchwardens' accounts each year, and also state the amount which was charged by the church authorities for the seats - rather than add this to each entry, details have been added in square brackets at the beginning of each subsection and whenever a change occurs. There was a stricter separation between the sexes in Newport than was seen at Botley - apart from a couple of youths who were placed in the women's seats, men and women were kept separate. Throughout the period there was very little change in the arrangements of the seats, suggesting a very stable social hierarchy in the town. The following arrangement is taken from the 1603 accounts, a date which has been selected as it marked the start of the Stuart régime.

The south syde by the walle beginninge at the east end and so downward to the church dore:

[8d] Robert Baileys wife, William Siggens wife, George Frebornes wife, Davyd Martyn wife, George Blundell wife, Thomas Paydge wife, William Woodforde wife, John Gigges wife, John Leache wife, Robert Gaysford wife, Thomas Erlisman wife, John Coters wife, Walter Glewen wife, Robert Baker [wife], John Ridge wife, John Ruffyn wife, John Howe wife, Thomas Brase iunior wife, Thomas Brase senior wife, Thomas Siggens wife, Richard Joliffe wife, John Serle wife, Nicholas Serle wife, [4d] Edward Carter wife, John Popes wife, Iullian Tasker [wife], Henry Scoper wife, Robert Sawghiers wife, Simons Warehames

wife, William Marsh wife, Hammond Greene wife, Robert Marrys wife, William Popes wife, Henry Hersons wife, John Stallards wife, Marke Roper wife, Widdowe Rowe, Thomas Goodnet wife, Thomas Lystney wife, John Mandy wife, John Ryder wife, William Pollard wife, William Lyles wife, William Marvell wife.

The south side by the wall beneath the dore:

[4d] Robert Newlands wife, William Westmore wife, Lucas widdowe, John Knott wife, Elizabeth Chastell, Christopher Uppton wife, John Basfell wife, John Freeborne wife, Thomas Curle wife, wyddow Wardnelt, Peter Addams wife, Richard Lewes wife, John Albert wife, Nicholas Bauden wife, William Talbott wife, [8d] Alse [Elsie?] Barlye, Robert Stokes wife, widdowe Weston, Master Gibbes, Marshall Coole wife, John Pope wife, John Gilbert wife, Walter Margerye wife, John Gustarde wife, John Demaryes wife, Walter Barnard wife, John Vanners wife, John Pyppens wife, Edward Holman wife, Robert Clarke wife, Rafe Flower wife, Robert Hetchen wife, John Penes wife, Blase Martyn wife, John Angell wife, Mark Ockland wife, Oliver Fisher wife, John Moger wife, Robert Sparke wife, Merrys Smith wife, William Rosseter wife, Richard Wilson wife, Davyd Kinges wife, John Botler wife, George Symons wife.

The middle roe on the south side above the dore:

[2s] Barnabas Colemet wife, [16d] Master Ball, [8d] Hendricke Dabendens wife, Nicholas Hellyer wife, Thomas Chappells wife, Steven Copper wife, John Priscotte wife, [12d] Richard Eden wife, [8d] John Collins wife, Stephen Marshe wife, Richard James wife, Richard Helisman wife, George Fasion wife, Philip Carter wife, John Serle of Cossam wife, Daniel Serle wife, William Brand wife, James Turges wife, William Smith wife, Richard Fuller wife, [4d] John Rathborne wife, widdowe Rackland, John Arthur wife.

The myddle roe in the south side beneath the allye:

[4d] James Fuller wife, John Bande wife, widdowe Stronge, John Paroles wife, Richard Rydge wife, John Bulles wife, John Martyll wife, John Newman wife, Richard Bartons wife, William Ruffins wife, Henry Jones wife, Symond Cookes wife, Henry Ruffyns wife, Thomas Durmans wife, John Chestles wife, Richard Templer wife, widdowe Lacey, Robert Newland wife, William Coles wife, William fludd wife, John Favors wife, Thomas Farnehams wife, Robert Matthew wife, William Gerdyns wife, widdowe Hills, wyddowe Safford, Tobias Vallenson wife, Walter Rose wife, widdowe Harrison, William Bannister wife, John Harding wife, John Cappes wife, Thomas Colet wife, George Hoopers wife, Henry

Marshall wife, William Cave wife, John Brookes wife, Robert Ellis wife, Thomas Cane wife, Richard Morgans wife, James stye wife, John Clarkes wife, Bartholomew Keytes wife, William House wife, Thomas Dowres wife, William Lees wife, Anthony Frynde wife, Edward Maiors wife, Walter Wilkinson wife, Richard Bollen wife, William Smyth wife.

The northsyde of the walle above the dore:

[4d] Roger Jones wife, Thomas Silchester wife, Richard Lane wife, Thomas Potter wife, William Baines wife, William Ayliss wife, John Goter wife, William Stallard wife, Robert Fuller wife, Philip Rothwell wife, John Badricke wife, Richard Bernard wife, Marshall Challerton wife, Richard Paynes wife, wyddow Pope, Jasper Banister wife, James Martyn wife, John Upson wife, Mrs Cooke, Balthazar Hemens wife.

The north syde of the wall beneath the dore:

[4d] Richard Parre wife,, John Hembele wife, Peter Reeve wife, Thomas Arber wife, Hembele Addams wife, Edward Trottles wife, Thomas Carters wife, Ewen Wymington wife, Richard Audley wife, James Whatmore wife, Rochard Grange wife, wyddowe Feelde, wyddow Heath, William Pope wife, Thomas Hoores wife.

The myddle roe of the north syde above the dore:

[8d] Nicholas Barnard wife, William Dove wife, wyddowe Collins, Ben Orwell wife, Francis Waterton wife, [4d] Edward Clarkes wife, [8d] David Bevyns wife, Thomas Andrews wife, William Tomkyns wife, William Reeves wife, Peter Woodford wife, John Edes wife, Robert Haskins wife, [4d] widdow Jollyfe, [8d] John Adlingtons wife, James Turges wife, Nyott Hickes wife, William Stronges wife, John Alexander wife, Richard Wheeler wife, Henry Clarke wife, Valentine Nicholas wife.

The myddle roe on the northe syde beneath the dore:

[4d] John Lees wife, John Morryns wife, John Cookes wife, [2d] widdow Barte, [4d] John Hayles wife, John Whites wife, William Hayles wife, [2d] widdow Bowell, [4d] John Graunts wife, John Dores wife, Andrew Levandloe wife, thomas Turgis wife, Richard Jackson wife, John Morgans wife, John Lawrence wife, Richard Bollens wife, John Gilberd wife, Francis Martyll wife, Nicholas Shruler wife, Josias Boxsell wife, Henry Norrys wife, William Mayes wife, William Donnants wife, William Joliffe wife, Robert Martyll wife, Matthew Wades wife,

[2d] Mother Phelps, [4d] Thomas Cowde wife, Richard Bragge wife, John Aldens wife, [2d] widdow Frampton, [4d] John Vanse wife, John Plates wife, [2d] wyddowe Preston, John Pococke wife, Richard Elmes wife, Paynters wife, Thomas Lambert wife, Henry Barton wife, Richard Arbors wife, [2d] widdow Redstone, [4d] Robert Balles wife, David Carters wife, Henry Reche wife, John Garland wife, Thomas Draper wife, James Overyes wife, Aquilla Stacey wife, William Curtys wife, William Ockland wife, Henry Sawghers wife, Robert Pedders wife.

The north forme by the church dore:

[2d] James Overye, Nicholas Parre, John Cembele, Edward Trottle, George Crimmond, John Lanne.

Mens seates upon the forme in the south alley:

[2d] John Leeche, John Porke, Henry Barton, John Garland, Robert Newland, William Pope, John Pyppen, John Gastard, William Smith, Nicholas Templer, John Wyatt, Richard Morgan, Thomas Arbor, Thomas Dower.

Mens seates uppon the northe forme in ye myddle alley:

John Marryn, John Graunte, Walter Rose, William Paynter, John Perser, William Gardyn, George Smyth, Thomas Draper, Robert Sparke, Augustine Hollys, Thomas Rowe, Thomas Lambert, John Pope, Robert Pranne, Richard Ridge.

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