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The end of the Marian Restoration and the Early Elizabethan
Reformation in Canterbury. C.1557-1565

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Abstract

The Reformation was perhaps one of the most important socio-religious changes to occur in history. The effect it had on European culture, society and faith cannot be understated and yet, owing to the scope of Reformation sources and the relatively young trend of revisionism concerning the received truths about the period, comparatively little work has been conducted which centres around Canterbury alone, though many works incorporate references to the city into larger volumes. This thesis will explore the issues around the Reformation in Canterbury, the structure of the church and the conformability of its clergy. Furthermore, the works of key Protestant authors that comprise a group known as the ‘Marian exiles’ will be examined to give an impression of the attitude towards Catholicism, and therefore the Reformation at large, on the part of the more puritanical Protestants. Along with an analysis of Queen Elizabeth’s historic compromise, the Elizabethan Settlement that attempted to wed a Catholic hierarchical structure with a Protestant liturgical service, this thesis will also touch on the life of the first post-restoration holder of the archbishopric of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. Finally, this thesis will attempt to assess the impact of the Reformation upon Canterbury’s laity, both in terms of how the poorer strata of society accepted it, and the upper echelons of Canterbury society were divided. It is hoped that the analysis of this ‘local Reformation’ will contribute to the existing wealth of material about the movement as a whole.

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Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction 8

Chapter One: The Structure of the Church 17

Chapter Two: The Staffing of the Church 36

Chapter Three: Catholic Lay Resistance in Canterbury 62

Conclusion 84

Bibliography 88

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Introduction

This thesis aims to examine the impact of the Reformation in Canterbury between 1558-1565, a period which saw the end of the restoration attempt of Mary I while enabling the thesis to focus mainly on the early reign of Elizabeth I. The first research question, therefore, concerns the structure of the church in the city of Canterbury at the accession of Elizabeth and will set out how many parishes lie within the city precincts. This will be discussed in *Chapter One: The Structure of the Church*. The second question will then seek to demonstrate how the staffing of those posts changed at the accession of Elizabeth, whether a Protestant clergy was intended to replace Catholic clergy, what the turnover was, and whether positions became vacant through deaths, resignations or ejections. Underpinning chapter two will be the backgrounds of critical Catholic and Protestant Canterbury clerics, both in England and in exile, in addition to how Protestant and Catholic clergy viewed the churches they opposed. This question will be addressed in *Chapter Two: The Staffing of the Church*. Lastly, the third research question will explore evidence of Catholic 'resilience' amongst the laity, informing *Chapter Three: Catholic Lay Resilience*. By the mid-sixteenth century, England was in the midst of a political and religious crisis, with changes occurring at a local and national level of which no-one; layman, priest, or monarch could be entirely independent. England had been in a state of near-continuous religious change since Henry VIII's initial break with Rome in 1534, with the Act of Supremacy.

The nation emerged in 1559 from the last serious attempt to restore Catholicism under Elizabeth's half-sister Mary. Therefore, Elizabeth would have to contend with a realm that was unsure whether the latest trend in religious policy – a new, more compromising Reformation – had longevity. Each side of the Reformation debate, Protestantism and Catholicism, had powerful advocates and a considerable following. Into this confusion came the Act of Settlement, also known as the Elizabethan Settlement, which attempted to meld the hierarchy of the Catholic Church with the liturgy of the Protestant one. Depending on the city in question, the Act would have a different reception. Canterbury, as one of only two English cities with an archbishop, not a bishop as its figurehead, enjoyed a unique prominence in the English church. Its Cathedral was at the heart of a metropolitan seat, and contained numerous powerful clergy, from the influential archdeacon, who could conduct visitations to parish churches within his archdeaconry, to the twelve prebendary canons who administrated Cathedral life, and the twelve minor canons who served the community. The Cathedral's importance in sixteenth-

century Canterbury earns it prominence in this thesis, while the dearth of direct research into the impact of the Reformation in early Elizabethan Canterbury specifically, provides the rationale for this thesis.

Despite being at the ecclesiastical epicentre of England, an analysis of the city's religious history has often been overshadowed by the overarching, national interpretations of the Reformation, with ideas about the English Reformation having coalesced around the assumption that the nation was ripe for religious change, until 20th-century revisionism. More recently some historians have challenged and deconstructed these historical narratives, or instead supported them with evidence instead of mere assumption. Eamon Duffy, in his 1992 book entitled *The Stripping of the Altars*, examined responses to the Reformation from those alive during it, the clergy, laity and members of the civil authority. He used contemporary case studies from Kent to construct the argument that lay attachment to Catholicism persisted, and that its excision from English life invoked grief.¹ To counter-balance Duffy, we can examine another book on the Reformation, written by Diarmaid MacCulloch. His 2016 work, entitled *All Things Made New*, analyses the subtler points of the Elizabethan Settlement, which amounted to an almost exact compromise between the two opposing factions; a Catholic hierarchical structure would lead church services in Protestant theological teaching (or so it was hoped). MacCulloch uses this historical compromise to claim that Anglicanism, as it would be recognised today, was not genuinely existent until the Restoration era of Charles II in 1660 - a century after Elizabeth's Settlement.²

The debate between Duffy and MacCulloch provides a basis for widening the material into more specialised works on Canterbury and Kent. As stated earlier, the Cathedral is too prominent to overlook, and fortunately, one historian has conducted an in-depth analysis of the ancient building during the Elizabethan period including its structure, worship, ornaments and traditions. Patrick Collinson, who contributed a chapter to *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, focused on the changes to Cathedral practices during the Reformation, citing how each Tudor administration had its purposes for the 'English metropolis', and illustrating how much this affected its standing in comparison with the other great churches in Europe.³ Collinson has also authored numerous works, among them *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, the first chapter

¹ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, (Yale, 2005), p. 565

² D. MacCulloch, *All Things Made New*, (Oxford, 2016), pp. 355-359

³ P. Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral', in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsey and Margaret Sparks, (eds.) *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 200-203

of which contains his claim that the English thought themselves a divinely ordained people, frequently using the phrase 'God is English'. Collinson's interesting claim in *Birthpangs* that the early Reformation in Canterbury can be "associated with the efforts of society to break into town government, the middle age of the Reformation often witnessed the tightening grip of oligarchies which used religion", finds a supporter in Graham Durkin. Durkin's PhD thesis, *The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury*, focusses on the late sixteenth century, exploring the arrival of Huguenot 'strangers' in the city and the link between religious migration and Canterbury's rejuvenated local economy.⁴ Like Collinson, he claims that the huge transferal of property from the church to local authorities affected by the Reformation advanced the social standing of much of Canterbury's Burghmote, the official body which was comprised of aldermen and mayors. Each position on the Burghmote was often interchangeable, with members sitting for many years.⁵

Finally, Collinson's observations in *The Reformation* include the thought-provoking point that somewhat underpins this thesis; "No revolution however drastic has ever involved a total repudiation of what came before it. What do revolutionaries have to work with but the ideas and aspirations that they have inherited?"⁶ This is a logical stage at which to outline the debate over methodology that has raged between historians for decades. Christopher Haigh notes in *The English Reformation Revised* that the Reformation as a concept is cumulative, dependent on the sum of its parts and much more nuanced than one defined event. He also argued that the recent historical theories concerning the Reformation could be grouped into two matrices. The first matrix is concerned with the motive behind Protestant progress. It has been asserted that political coercion fuelled the rapid Protestant advance, but this idea is countered by the theory that "the new religion spread horizontally by conversions amongst the people."⁷ The second of Haigh's matrices calls into question the pace of religious change, which he asserts is a debate between those like Peter Clark, who argue that Protestantism made real progress early on in Kent, growing to become dominant by the end of Edward VI's reign, and those like Duffy. The latter camp has claimed that little progress had been made even in the south of England in Kent, and that "the main task of Protestantising the people had to be

⁴ P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 20-54

⁵ G. Durkin, 'The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury', (PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 2001), p. 220-223

⁶ P. Collinson, *The Reformation*, (Cambridge, 2013), p. 23

⁷ C. Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 42-44

undertaken in the reign of Elizabeth.”⁸ Canterbury is such a fascinating anomaly because no other city can lay claim to such a uniquely privileged place in the church. York had an archbishop, but not one that headed the church. Oxford had a thriving school of reformist thought, yet lacked the hierarchical structure and ecclesiastical weight of the church in Canterbury. Haigh continues to distinguish between different approaches, namely the top-down, bottom-up dichotomy that has become the standard for many historical debates.

He notes how “Political historians”, such as G. R. Elton believe reform came down upon the population from above. This argument was supported by Peter Clark's study of Kent, in which he claimed a mixture of Cromwell's close attention to the county and Cranmer's successful cementing of Protestant control over church administration worked together to achieve "a Protestant breakthrough in the mid-1540s." A border with London helped facilitate this to the west because the nobility of Kent had closer connections to the royal court, and the maritime ports to the south, which gave continental Protestantism a backdoor into England.⁹ Lastly, Haigh outlines the case for a Reformation from below, citing A. G. Dickens, who stresses the notion that the root of the Reformation was religious, not political.¹⁰ Dickens was something of a forefather of 20th century debate over the Reformation.¹¹ He claimed that Wycliffe, Tyndale and the Lollards had prepared the stage for the triumph of popular Protestantism, having a higher Catholic clergy too embroiled in national politics, and minor clergy too uneducated to "combat evangelical Protestantism by providing an alternative."¹² This argument is one that finds some sympathy within this thesis, although it will argue more for the grudging conformity of Kentish clergy than their ‘evangelical zeal’.

Michael Zell's chapter on the establishment of a Protestant church in the book *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1560*, provides an insight into how Kentish clergymen may have approached the Reformation, and whether they would sacrifice everything for theological integrity, or choose tacit conformity to protect their livings between the 1530s and 1560s. Zell

⁸ Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, pp. 42-44

⁹ P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640*, (London, 1980) p. 185

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 42

¹¹ A. Pettegree, ‘A. G. Dickens and his critics: a new narrative of the English Reformation’, *Historical Research*, 77, (2004), p. 195

¹² *Ibid.* p. 42

offers a similar commentary about the laity, citing wills from Protestant parishioners and comparing the wording to those of their Catholic forbears.¹³ Going hand-in-hand with this is Peter Clark in *English Provincial Society*, where he provides an extensive range of opinions on the Marian Restoration, charting a course from the rebellion of Wyatt through to Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first archbishop of Canterbury, his church reforms, and the trials he faced implementing his policy.¹⁴ Of course, church policy in the mid-sixteenth century was fraught with compromise, and Peter Marshall in *Heretics and Believers* argued from the outset that the imposition of the Protestant church upon England was a pyrrhic victory for the state, inspiring the everyday Christian to approach religion more critically than ever.¹⁵ Many of these opposing views are correlated and analysed by Duffy in his more recent book *Reformation Divided*.¹⁶

Alec Ryrie's book, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, constructs an impression of the everyday life of the Protestant and covers everything from worship and ideas to daily practice and routine. This claim is hugely relevant to the Reformation in Canterbury. For example, one cannot help but think of Nicholas Harpsfield and John Bale, two men who shall be explored in Chapter Two, when reading Ryrie's claim that "damnation, the devil and the torments of hell were the absolute mainstays of preaching for conversion in the early modern period, for Protestants and Catholics alike. There were theological and pastoral reasons for this. But the first reason was that it worked."¹⁷ So, there are many historians with much to say on the Reformation that is relevant to Canterbury. Similarly, D. S. Bailey's outline of the life and works of Thomas Becon provide fertile ground for examining the convictions of early Elizabethan Protestants.¹⁸

These debates also appear in the secondary sources used in this study which focus on the history of Canterbury. Prominent amongst those researchers who have traced events in Canterbury is William Urry, a former head of the Canterbury Cathedral archives at whose book, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, charts the epochal playwright's early life, and the

¹³ M. Zell, 'The Establishment of a Protestant Church', in M. Zell (ed), *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1560*, (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 240-244

¹⁴ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, pp. 178-185

¹⁵ P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers*, (Yale, 2017), pp. 201-206

¹⁶ E. Duffy, *Reformation Divided*, (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 400-412

¹⁷ A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, (Oxford, 2013), p. 293

¹⁸ D. S. Bailey, *Thomas Becon and the English Reformation*, (California, 1952), pp. 2-78

Canterbury in which he grew up and lived.¹⁹ Although Marlowe was born at the end of our period, 1564, Urry's work is nonetheless helpful as an in-depth perspective of the character and composition of the city throughout the 1560s, 70s, and 80s. John Daeley in his 1967 PhD thesis, *The Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker*, demonstrates the tactics used by Elizabeth's first archbishop of Canterbury to help mould Canterbury into a Protestant city in both church hierarchy and lay character.²⁰ He also describes the begrudging conformity of Canterbury's clergy to the Elizabethan Settlement, helping to bridge the gap between Duffy and MacCulloch by highlighting what Michael Zell called the "real life vicars of Bray". These clergymen were too wearied by years of infighting to risk losing their benefices by offering much in the way of resisting the settlement which, as previously mentioned, they had serious reason to doubt would last anyway. Similarly, Jean Potter's MPhil from 1973 on the *Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury* examines the church courts' role in Canterbury society, which appears to have been on the wane even by our period.²¹

There are also some primary sources compiled during the period which did have a tight focus on Canterbury, although this is more limited concerning religious matters, perhaps due to the government's emphasis on the nationwide Reformation. William Blore's notes on the transcripts of Canterbury's court depositions shed some light onto the local power holders in Canterbury and their roles. Among his work, contained in the Canterbury Cathedral archives which he once headed, are detailed notes concerning the slander cases against prominent Catholics in Canterbury and the effect such libels had on neutralising those with hostility to the Reformation.

Furthermore, the deposition court rolls indicate that some well-known local figures suffered slander. Often, ludicrous crimes were attributed to people who were considered a threat to the Protestant cause, resulting in the loss of power and influence.²² Similar to this, the printed compilations of the *Acts of the Privy Council* are useful in assessing how the

¹⁹ W. Urry, *Christopher Marlowe and Canterbury*, (London, 1988), pp. 175-184

²⁰ J. Daeley, *The Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-1575*, (Doctoral Thesis, University of London, 1967), pp. 168

²¹ J. Potter, 'Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury', (MPhil Thesis, University of Kent, 1972), pp. 120

²² CCA, Court Depositions, MS.Y.2.24 fo.69V

administrations of Mary and Elizabeth responded to religious threats.²³ Many concerted local and national campaigns can be uncovered and compared between the acts of Canterbury's courts and the Privy Council respectively. Sources such as these reveal the goals of the authorities during this time. Visitation records, for example, are records of what the church authorities wanted to find out about the state of the Church. Archdeacon Harpsfield's visitation of 1557 listed the churches in the city of Canterbury and sought to record the names of churchwardens and parishioners, the number of communicants, and the number of parish clergy.²⁴ Matthew Parker's visitation of 1560 similarly posed several questions to the Cathedral which, when examined, appear to reflect his wish for hierarchical conformity. For example, he asks whether the Cathedral prebends preached an appropriate number of sermons.²⁵ Similar evidence appeared in John Strype's *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, in which Strype recalls the official events of Parker's life, with helpful annotations in the margins of each page, enabling one to find references to such events as the Canterbury Visitation of 1560.²⁶ The work of Baskerville on John Bale's letter about Catholic insurgency, sent to the earl of Bedford in 1561, also helps shed light on the turbulent period through the words of a contemporary figure.²⁷

There are also many online resources that have provided insight into this study, such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which offers in-depth yet concise biographical accounts of people such as Nicholas Harpsfield, the Catholic archdeacon of Canterbury under Mary, and James Cancellor, the close associate and former pupil of John Twyne, the headmaster of Canterbury's Grammar School. Furthermore, the dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Nicholas Wotton. The dean is a remarkable figure, achieving a full twenty-six years at the helm of Canterbury Cathedral at the time of his death in 1567. The entries are highly reliable, being the work of specialist historians of the period such as Zell, Freeman and Pettegree.²⁸ The

²³ The Privy Council, *Acts of the Privy Council, 1558-1570*, Volume 7, (1974)

²⁴ L.E. Whatmore (ed.), 'Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557, Part I', *Catholic Records Society*, 45, (1950), p. 1-10

²⁵ M. Thompson, 'Diocesis Cantuariensis A.D. 1559-1575', *Oxford University Press*, Vol II, (1928), pp. 1-9

²⁶ J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, (Oxford, 1711), pp. 1-200

²⁷ E. J. Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account' *Historical Research*, (1992) Vol. 65, pp. 340-348

²⁸ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/search/people/index.jsp> (Accessed: 5th May 2017)

Church of England Clergy Database similarly contains records of contemporary sixteenth-century priests and lists their resident parish and positions within the church.²⁹

There are a couple of critical claims that have stood out during this research. The first is that after Mary's death in 1558 Catholicism survived in a much-diminished form amongst the clergy. The second is that the survival of Catholicism amongst the laity was a real, persistent threat to the Elizabethan administration, as the court depositions will later show. The third is that libel was a tactic to humiliate and discredit, rather than utterly destroy Catholic dissenters within Canterbury. The Elizabethans had quite clearly learned the lessons from Mary's reign, in which their public dispatching transformed the Protestant dissenters into martyrs. These claims assist this thesis in its aim of contributing to existing research in an interdisciplinary manner, drawing together history, theology and tradition, in addition to adding its findings to the wider debate around the Reformation. By devoting some much-needed attention to Canterbury, it is hoped that this thesis can provide perspective to pre-existing claims such as those delineated above, and others.

Additionally, the late-1550s would witness an influx of returning Marian exiles, bringing with them their polemical skills and literary ability, and resolved – albeit begrudgingly in many cases – to support Elizabeth's third-way Reformation to prevent a Catholic resurgence. Catholic recusancy was after all commonplace in far-flung areas of England such as Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the influence from London was not as strong as in Canterbury. The polemical works printed on behalf of these exiles were, as shall be explored in Chapter Three, hugely influential on the religious composition of Canterbury.

In the first chapter, the structure of the church will be the theme that takes centre-stage, not least because it deals with that very clergy. Understanding the structure of the church in Canterbury before and during the Elizabethan era allows a real impression of Canterbury's place on the broader Reformation to be gained. Church life was an integral part of English life during the sixteenth century, and there are many examples of religiously motivated uprisings against church policy in London. Meanwhile, from 1559, Matthew Parker would implement changes to church policy which changed the nature of parish life. Before all of this, the churches themselves in the City of Canterbury are catalogued, and their leadership noted. The same is true for the Cathedral circa-1559, the year it was decided that the Catholic archdeacon

²⁹ <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk> (Accessed: 5th May 2017)

Nicholas Harpsfield, a man too stubborn in his zeal, had to go, and the Protestant polemicist John Bale became the fourth prebend. The hierarchy may have been mostly static concerning the offices and the power they wielded, but the composition of those offices would change hugely during Elizabeth's accession year, and after that.

The first chapter will outline the city parishes of Canterbury, the priests who led them, and their place on the broader church. This includes the cathedral, which as the archbishop's seat of power was hugely crucial in affecting the religious makeup of the city. Ergo, the life of Matthew Parker will be touched upon, as the archbishop's policies dictated to Canterbury the direction in which it was headed, by including clerical reforms and new ecclesiastical initiatives intended to cement a top-down Reformation.

Chapter One: The Structure of the Church, and Conformity of the Clergy

This chapter will explore the structure of the church: its hierarchy, leadership and clergy, as well as how conformable the clergy was to the Elizabethan Settlement. The parameters of the City of Canterbury must be defined, to provide a clear, concise view of how the Reformation impacted specific areas. This chapter will examine those areas that lay within the city walls, Westgate, and the former Northgate, as well as some parishes in the suburbs, such as St. Dunstan's Church, all of which provide evidence of the effect of the Reformation on parish clergy. It will also take into account testimonies from parishes near to Canterbury, such as Upper Hardres, to provide further background to what was a Kentish Reformation. The visitation record of 1557 assists with this, as it refers to the churches that lay within the city precincts. Naturally, visitations were the process through which the level of adherence to a set of government-approved religious practices was documented, and they were conducted under both Mary and Elizabeth, and the returns of 1557 help assess the likely structure of the church upon the accession of the latter. In 1557, a visitation recorded under the heading "Visitacio Venerabilis Viri Magistri Nicholai Harpissfield legum doctoris Archidiaconi Cant", names the churches within the city walls. These churches, which formed the 'Decanatus Cantuarie', or Canterbury Deaconry, tell an interesting story of who held religious power in Canterbury by February 1559, the point at which the Marian restoration truly ended. First, the parishes themselves. The key parishes were; St. Martin, St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalen, St. George, St. Mary Bredin, St. Andrew, St. Margaret, St. Mildred, St. Mary Bredman, All Saints, St. Peter, Holy Cross Westgate, St. Dunstan, St. Alphege.³⁰

Records of the clergy are sparse, but several of them: William Dobinson of St. Mary Bredin, ordained in 1540, John Clerke of St Paul, ordained in 1540, and William Blossome also of St Paul, appointed in 1543, were all Henrician, ordained significantly after the beginning of the English Reformation in 1532. These men were probably instituted with the permission of Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury. Contrast this with their other colleagues in the City; John Aldey of St. Alphege, was ordained in 1557, Rowland Jackson of St. Mary Northgate, in 1557, Thomas Fisher of St. Mary Magdalen, in 1555 (and collated minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral in 1556), Christopher Badcock of Holy Cross Canterbury, in 1555, John Baseden of St. George, in 1555, and Ralph Prescote of

³⁰ Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557*, p. 9

St. Mildred, in 1555. These men were all solidly ordained within the time of Mary.³¹ This is a pivotal point to remember, especially against the backdrop of a claim that challenges the accepted account of the decline of Catholicism in England, e.g. Duffy's claim of an Elizabethan society in which there was, if not Catholic resistance, then certainly resilience.³² Evidence for this is present in the cohort of Marian priests still active in the parishes and Cathedrals of England after five years of restoration during 1553-1558, although in a much-diminished form, having first been culled by the reforms of Matthew Parker, then opting, en masse, for a conformist mentality. What sets Canterbury apart, is its unique place in the broader church as the ecclesiastical 'first city' of English Christendom.

The hierarchy within the cathedral was always going to be of importance to any monarch with a religious reform agenda. The Cathedral Chapter, which was responsible for the maintenance and leadership of the ancient church, had several strata of authority. A single dean at the top proceeded one archdeacon, twelve prebendary canons and twelve minor canons. First and foremost, the Cathedral was the seat of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of All England.³³ Upon the accession of Elizabeth in November 1558, this office stood *sede vacante*, with the passing of Cardinal Pole, the last Catholic archbishop, who had held the office from 1556-1558. Thus, Elizabeth had a clear opportunity to inject new Protestant men into the seats of church power. Throughout the Reformation, it quickly became apparent that the allegiance of the archbishop benefitted those who sought to push his desired reforms. During the tenure of the Protestant archbishop Thomas Cranmer from 1533-1555 for example, reform flourished across the church in England, while upon the accession of Cardinal Pole to the See of Canterbury, the Counter-Reformation took precedence.

Indeed, Pole had received "extensive legatine powers" from the pope, enjoying the prestige of a reforming Cardinal, and retaining the trust of Mary I, of whom he was a distant relative.³⁴ The city Elizabeth inherited in 1558 was consequently one which had faced half a decade of pressure to realign itself with the Roman church, and longer still had been

³¹ <http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/DisplayAppointment.jsp?CDBAppRedID=86479> (Accessed: 28th March 2017)

³² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 128

³³ Collinson, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 166

³⁴ R. H. Pogson, 'Reginald Pole and the Priorities of Government in Mary Tudor's Church', *The Historical Journal*, 18:1, (1975), pp. 3–20

sympathetic to this ideal. Society had, upon the accession of Mary in 1553, every reason to hope (or fear) a successful repudiation of Protestant theology, practices and belief.³⁵ During the queen's half-decade reign, over 300 Protestants were burned at the stake for refusing to return to Catholicism, including the former archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.³⁶ Cranmer, of course, is a special case, having the misfortune of living to witness the harmless girl whose father he had helped divorce from her mother gradually grow into a powerful – and somewhat vengeful – queen. Mary's leniency did not extend to Cranmer, despite a recantation that later earned him mockery in Harpsfield's book, *pointedly titled Cranmer's Recantations*. The queen's family history aside, it did not help Cranmer's case that while archbishop, he had overseen the slow, painful deconstruction of English Catholicism in an ecclesiastical sense, leaving behind a church heavily slanted towards Protestantism yet rife with internal debate over its future. The holder of the archbishopric was after all, responsible for church policy and mission, and exercised huge influence over church appointments.

Beneath the archbishop's metropolitan authority, which stretched across the entire province of Canterbury - the south of England - came the dean, who was in many ways the vicar of the Cathedral, and its chief authority. Notably, only one dean is present throughout the initial Reformation period, and his role in Canterbury - or lack thereof - will be addressed in Chapter Two. Nicholas Wotton, the first post-Reformation holder of the office, from 1541-1567, served under each Tudor monarch, surviving the first Reformation under Henry VIII (1532-47), the puritanical reforms of Edward VI (1547-53), the short-lived Catholic restoration of Mary I (1553-58), and the final settlement of Elizabeth I, eventually passing away in the eighth year of her reign, 1567. Meanwhile, the archdeacon below Wotton enjoyed the privileges of being the second highest figure in the Cathedral Chapter, yet also oversaw the archdeaconry, encompassing the city of Canterbury, as well as Thanet, Reculver, West Bridge, and East Bridge. The archdeacon of Canterbury, therefore, wielded greater power than many of his contemporaries who served in lesser Cathedrals and could become a far more prevalent force in the city of Canterbury than the dean, the authority of whom was contained much more around the Cathedral. This legal mandate made the archdeacon a powerful local force, frequently visiting and inspecting the parishes in his jurisdiction. As the chief of the deacons

³⁵ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 218

³⁶ J. Madison Davis, *The Shakespeare Name and Place Dictionary*, (Oxford, 2012), p. 307

attached to a cathedral church, archdeacons would progressively adopt the tasks of the incumbent, yet oft-encumbered bishops.³⁷

Examples of these unique powers were the right to hear causes belonging to their courts, correct delinquents, prove wills, and conduct visitations of churches and the clergy. But the archdeacon's power over parish clergy warrants further explanation. He could initiate proceedings against the clergy he deemed to be disobedient, dispose of benefices, introduce new rectors and vicars, proceed against excommunicants, and examine ordinands.³⁸ It will be noted in Chapter Two how Nicholas Harpsfield used this office of archdeacon with a ruthless pragmatism to persecute those who resisted the restoration of Catholicism. But for now, having established that the office of archdeacon was influential, it is interesting that Harpsfield for one combined this office with that of the fourth prebendary. The prebendary canons, the strata of Cathedral power proceeding from the archdeacon (in descending order), were a group of twelve men, responsible for the organisation and upkeep of the Cathedral. Each one was an ordained cleric, and they would also be involved in ministry to the local populace. Therefore, the prebends were of great importance and helped ensure the implementation of the religious policy of each successive monarch.

Yet by late-1558, nine of the canons: George Lilly, along with William Darell (one of five canons to vote for Parker's appointment as archbishop), Nicholas Harpsfield, his ally and assistant during the heresy trials, Robert Collins, Ralph Jackson, John Warren, Hugh Turnbull, Thomas Wood, and Richard Fawcet, had all been collated in 1554 – the second year of Mary's reign. The other three, Arthur Seyntleger, Hugh Glasyer, and John Mylles, had all been appointed by Henry VIII in 1541.³⁹ The timing of these other appointments provokes interest, as the sheer number of prebends appointed by Mary suggests an attempt to ensure supporters of her Catholic restoration manned the Cathedral. Injecting allies into the office was a shrewd political measure, and may have been vindicated, were it not for the fact that her prebends proved mostly ineffective at resisting the Elizabethan Settlement when the time came. During her first year on the throne, Elizabeth would lose no less than seven of these Canterbury prebends for various reasons, at best a botched attempt to destabilise the impending Protestantisation of the city.

³⁷ Potter, 'Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury', p. 11

³⁸ Ibid, p. 12

³⁹ Joyce. M. Horn, Canons of Canterbury: Introduction, in *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 3, Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses*, (London, 1974), p. 17

Harpsfield's eventual fall from grace will be analysed in Chapter Two. Warren was to die by October 13th, 1558, Glasyer in December 1558, Lilly on July 23rd, 1559 and Jackson by November 1559. Turnball would survive well into Elizabeth's reign, dying in 1566, as would Mylles, who died in 1565, and Seyntleger, who resigned on March 29th, 1568, after almost two decades in the service of the church, while Darell was deprived of his office as late as 1580. However, Wood's deprivation came by January 10th, 1560, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, as did Collins' a month after, on February 13th, 1560, while Fawcet was also deprived of office, likely for a similar reason, by 9th July 1560. So, in reality, there was only a slight show of resistance from the prebends. Only three of the twelve were to resign their commissions in protest at the direction in which Elizabeth was taking the church, although a further three who might have considered doing the same had passed away. It was a state of affairs unlike that which had greeted Cranmer two decades previously when, crucially, the Protestant church was only emerging.⁴⁰ The Prebendaries Plot of 1543 was a destabilising attempt to remove the archbishop from office, a co-ordinated attack on Cranmer in which canons levied the charge of outright heresy, underlining how important their office was.⁴¹ So the office of prebend conferred great influence upon the holder, which could be wielded to destabilise the religious authorities, whether by the plot as in 1543, or a comparatively minor spate of resignations, as in 1558. Their laxity could also invoke the ire of the archbishop, as seen in Whatmore's evidence from Parker's early returns in which the new archbishop found "no sermon made by the Prebendaries this quarter of a year."⁴²

Given the initial difficulty the Elizabethans encountered in finding the four necessary bishops to conduct Parker's enthronement (all of them having resigned their Sees rather than consent to a new break with Rome), these returns would not have been completed until well into 1560, and therefore probably reference the first quarter of that year. The new intake of prebends, made necessary by the departure of Marian clerics before Elizabeth's accession, had made the office unstable, and one can only assume they did not expect ramifications. Parker also found that there were fewer "peticanons" than desired, referring to the lower strata of Cathedral officialdom, the minor canons and that prebends were attending Divine Service much less regularly than expected of them. The twelve minor canons were responsible for the daily running of the Cathedral. Although they took part in services, they did not appear to have

⁴⁰ Joyce. M. Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, p. 17

⁴¹ E. H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 197

⁴² M. Thompson, 'Diocesis Cantuariensis A.D. 1559-1575', *Oxford University Press*, 2, (1928), p. 5

been officially part of the Chapter and had often served as curates in local churches before their appointment. The challenges posed to Parker by a reluctant (though not rebellious) prebendary and the lack of suitable men to take up roles as minor canons, make it all the more interesting that Pole's visitation returns mention no such problems, despite, or perhaps due to, the presence of an extremely diligent, focussed archdeacon in the form of Harpsfield.⁴³

However, the two clerical leaders of our period, archbishops Pole and Parker, actually display a striking similarity with regards to aims pursued and challenges faced. Take, for example, their methods of dealing with the Cathedral. Evidence from Pole's injunctions reveals that Harpsfield was tasked with determining if clergy held divine service, administered sacraments, prayed for the queen, and maintained accurate registers for christenings, burials, and deaths.⁴⁴ This Harpsfield had done during his 1557 visitation. Three years later, the priorities of the cardinal had become those of the archbishop. Parker's visitation of 1560 issued a set of questions to the Cathedral clergy and sought to understand whether sacraments were administered during service, whether the ministers of the church had been conducting themselves faithfully, had kept records, and were of sound doctrine and judgement.⁴⁵ The last part, concerning sound doctrine and judgement, reveals an invaluable amount about the Protestant psyche. Parker's desire to ascertain the beliefs and practises of his clergy reflects an ever-present worry among the new establishment that Catholicism was not only commanding residual devotion but perhaps obvious enthusiasm. Ryrie highlights an example of this prevailing Protestant mentality, quoting a Protestant official as saying; "the Romanists for the most part exceed in bulk, but our divines in weight."⁴⁶

Parker was an obvious choice for archbishop, and Elizabeth seems to have displayed none of the reluctance in nominating him that Parker would present in accepting. As a graduate from Corpus Christi, Cambridge in 1525, he was ordained in 1527 and soon caught the eye of Thomas Wolsey, though Parker declined the cardinal's invitation to join his new college at Oxford. The archbishop's relationship with Elizabeth stretched back to at least 1536 when the politically besieged Anne Boleyn commended her daughter to his care.⁴⁷ An architect of the thirty-nine articles and former chaplain to Henry VIII in 1537, he had also served as the second

⁴³ M. Thompson, 'Diocesis Cantuariensis A.D. 1559-1575', *Oxford University Press*, 2, (1928), p. 8-9

⁴⁴ Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557*, p. 5

⁴⁵ Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, p. 17

⁴⁶ Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 285

⁴⁷ M. D'Aubigne, *History of the Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, (Hartland, 1999), p. 54

prebend of Ely Cathedral, Cambridge, in 1541. Tellingly, when under risk of persecution in 1538, Thomas Cromwell was told by bishop Ingworth of Dover that Parker was coming under attack by traditionalists because of his diligence in preaching the unfettered word of God.⁴⁸ Ingworth would, two decades later, be accused by Harpsfield of conspiring to bring about the martyrdom of Augustinian friar John Stone and was himself a voracious Protestant. Parker married Margaret, daughter of a Norfolk squire, in 1547, having waited until it was likely to be prescribed by English law, which caused friction a decade later when Parker served a Protestant queen who made her preference for priestly celibacy known.⁴⁹ The second chapter of this thesis will draw together many references to those who either embraced martyrdom under Mary, or fled the country into exile to continue the struggle. Parker was neither. Though deprived of his holdings in 1553, in part a response to his relations with the duke of Northumberland who marched against Mary's coronation, but also due to his refusal to see his marriage dissolved, he nonetheless does not appear to have felt threatened by the queen in any mortal way, choosing to remain in England while his contemporaries fled.

A recurring theme throughout Parker's life appears to have been his affinity to authority, which underpinned his belief that church reform needed to come from the top down, although his avoidance of secular politics prevented his admittance to the Privy Council.⁵⁰ Given his work in commissioning the *Bishop's Bible*, much of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and his guiding hand in the *Thirty-nine Articles* finally being subscribed to by the clergy in 1562, Parker is at least a contender for Strype's accolade that much of what we consider Anglican philosophy, is owed to him most of all.⁵¹ Both Pole and his decidedly moderate successor had held that order and conformity were paramount to ensure the success of their church reforms. However, as Frere states in his introduction to the book *Diocesis Cantuariensis*, "It is interesting to compare this register (archbishop Parker's) with those of Parker's two predecessors, Pole and Cranmer. In general, it is much fuller than Pole's."⁵² Could Parker's registers have been 'fuller' due to a lack of conformity to the archbishop's doctrine that Pole had not encountered? Parker's commissaries seemed to think so, recording that only

⁴⁸ K. Smith, *Augustine's Relic: Lessons from the Oldest Book in England*, (London, 2016), p. 98

⁴⁹ Moorman, *History of the Church in England*, Third Edition, (California, 1980), p. 83

⁵⁰ S. Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569*, (Cambridge, 2002), p. 209

⁵¹ Moorman, *History of the Church in England*, p. 83

⁵² Thompson, 'Diocesis Cantuariensis A.D. 1559-1575', Vol II, (1928), pp. 1-9

two prebendaries were resident in Canterbury, with the rest absent from daily life during the first quarter of 1560.

These findings were mirrored elsewhere and underpinned a pressing issue for Parker to deal with: that of non-residence, a practice which was gaining in prevalence during the sixteenth century. True, this was primarily the result of pluralism, in which priests would often manage many churches at once, yet rarely be present. The Elizabethan authorities were aware that a lack of commitment from the clergy would impede Protestant progress - sermons were seldom preached in some parishes, where there was a historic opportunity to win hearts and minds over to the Reformation. Parker's returns pointedly highlight this, stating that "The prebendaries do sometimes omit the sermons appointed to be made by the statutes."⁵³ These statutes likely refer to those enacted by the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, which sought to ensure religious conformity, a crucial part of which was sermons. Interestingly, increases in pluralism may not have been entirely avoidable, as Palmer notes: "between 1548 and 1563 there was a marked fall in population across the Diocese of Canterbury (particularly after 1557)."⁵⁴

It is tempting, having discussed the structure of the cathedral, to treat the traditions of the ancient building as an afterthought. However, here one can attempt to gauge the liturgical direction of the mother church, which reveals a lot about Elizabethan policy in Canterbury. Collinson offers some interesting findings of daily life in the cathedral that show to what extent it had reverted to its Catholic roots by Elizabeth's accession on 17th November 1558. Chronologically speaking, it was in October 1553, the month of Mary's coronation, that money was "spent on the notation of four books 'to set forthe the olde services.'"⁵⁵ As the Marian era wore on, the cathedral was restocked with books, vestments, altar cloths, and veils. These traditional ornaments of worship reflected the conservative nature of the restoration, but what is striking is how, as Mary had only just been crowned and was yet to summon a parliament, these actions contradicted the laws of Edward VI, and were therefore illegal. Wotton was happy to restore the Mass before it was legally permitted, and his attempt to curry favour with the

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ J. S. Moore, 'Canterbury Visitations and the Demography of Mid-Tudor Kent', *Southern History*, 15 (1993), p. 36-85, cited from the thesis of J. Palmer, who kindly allowed me to read it before it was freely available, for which I am grateful.

⁵⁵ Collinson, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 164

queen and make amends for his support for the Reformation may appear contrite or cynical depending on perspective.⁵⁶ Considering Hughes' assertion that Mary did not prohibit Protestant services nor compel obedience to the Catholic faith until "such time as further order, by common consent, may be taken therein" meaning until parliament next met, which it would not do until November 1553, it is tempting to believe the latter.⁵⁷ The devastation upon Catholic worship wrought by Edward VI during his more puritanical Reformation had pointedly – deliberately – stripped many ornaments of prayer, the most obvious being the destruction of altars and their substitution with wooden tables. Such changes, much like the restoration, only had half a decade to take root, rendering them of little consequence in the long run.⁵⁸

Collinson, therefore, argues that "It was not until 1557 that the Catholic Cathedral was restored to something like its former glory, minus only its shrines and relics."⁵⁹ By extension, Elizabeth would have ascended the throne to find Canterbury Cathedral was a predominantly Catholic institution in 1558. Furthermore, given the traditional views of Mary and Cardinal Pole towards the importance of Cathedral churches, the fact that "some eminence was regained by the metropolis of English Christianity" is not surprising. Pole was largely absent from Canterbury yet nonetheless wielded considerable authority not just as an archbishop, but by carrying the legal weight of a cardinal accountable to the Pope, as "a prince of the ecumenical Catholic Church and an architect of Catholic Reform".⁶⁰ Pole had much experience in this area already, having played a considerable part in the Catholic response to European Protestantism through the Council of Trent and in so doing had helped reshape the Catholic Church into a force able to meet such challenges. The cathedral, for all its historical pre-eminence and unique privilege, constituted one part of the church. Sprawling out into the city precincts were around a dozen parish churches, each with their clergy, laity, and allegiance. Parish life in Canterbury was far from monolithic by November 1558. Within the city precincts alone, some preachers had been ordained during the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary.

⁵⁶ M. Zell, 'Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

⁵⁷ P. Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, (Michigan, 1956), p. 197

⁵⁸ Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 28

⁵⁹ Collinson, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 164

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Despite these untested political grounds, Elizabethan church policy diverged confidently from that promulgated by Mary, who had ensured that as many church positions as possible, from the archbishoprics to the local parishes, had been filled with those sympathetic to her counter-Reformation agenda. Yet many of these clerics were so ferociously loyal, such as the three prebends at Canterbury, who were deprived of their holdings for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, and indeed each of England's bishops during 1558/9, that a power vacuum appeared within the church at precisely the point that the Protestants could benefit from it the most. The Uniformity Act and its oath of allegiance caused all but one of the Catholic bishops to resign, resulting in an entirely new episcopate having to be found.⁶¹ This was no small order, yet presented a tremendous opportunity to shift the religious makeup of the church leadership. Matthew Parker, only the second Protestant to hold the office of Archbishop of Canterbury, was enthroned on December 19th, 1559, with policy initiatives centred around exploiting this opportunity. Reiterating that the vast scope of the archbishop's influence was interlinked with limited legal authority is relevant to the career of Parker. His word as a senior cleric had gravitas, yet enforcing his will upon the church was never a simple affair. One need only look to the trials that Justin Welby has been forced to endure in the present day, relating to both the Church of England and Anglican Communion, to realise that disunity was an inevitable outcome of something so accommodating as their founding principle: the Elizabethan Settlement.⁶²

The scale of Parker's ambition was considerable. His seventeen-year episcopate would play host to a dramatic reimagining of the priesthood in Kent. The archbishop seized upon the vacant offices of church power, and swiftly set about tightening the rules around priestly privilege – a shift in policy some Marian clergy appear to have found unpalatable. Parker would become ever more focussed on pluralities during the early 1560s, considering the controversial practice by which a priest held multiple benefices to be counterproductive towards cementing Protestant authority. Furthermore, the problem of non-residence – the symptom of pluralist priests having the luxury to choose which of their churches to live at – was also an established church practice for which Parker had limited tolerance. Here at least, there is substantial evidence that the Marians paid heed. Of the nine Marian clergy in the diocese of Canterbury who voluntarily resigned between September 1560 and January 1563, Daeley notes that "some

⁶¹ Joyce. M. Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, p. 17

⁶² Rose Troup Buchanan, 'Archbishop of Canterbury warns that Anglican Church may 'not hold together' over conflicting views', *The Independent*, 6th December 2014

left because they could (or would) not comply with the statutes regulating pluralism and non-residence”, while contending that “statutes which were more consistently enforced under Parker than they had been under his predecessors.”⁶³ The Elizabethans were aware of the need to make a compelling point, both locally and nationally, that they were more than just placeholders.

Parker also moved throughout the 1560s to appoint Protestant prebendaries into the *sede vacante* offices at Canterbury Cathedral, some of whom were parish priests who Parker realised were better assets to him in Canterbury than outside it. Richard Beesley, whose beliefs will inform some key events presented in Chapter Two, and his associate Simon Clarke were two such men. Strype mentions that “though (Parker) did not like *commendams* nor pluralities; yet in small bishoprics and preferments he thought them a less inconvenience, than that hospitality and the credit and esteem of the Clergy should be lost.”⁶⁴ Canterbury was not a small bishopric in either prestige or geography, and its archbishop’s seat emboldened Parker to go further faster, but there were nonetheless changes to Canterbury’s clergy that were not the archbishop’s doing. For example, while the 235 Marian clergy within the diocese of Canterbury at the death of Mary in November 1558 dwindled to 146 by January 1560 - an impressive decline - this happened “before Parker had to take effective control of his diocese.”⁶⁵ As mentioned, this is partly down to the fact that Parker could not find the necessary four bishops to bless his enthronement until four months after his election in December 1559, an unsurprising side-note considering the Marian exodus from the bishoprics of England upon Parliament passing the Oath of Supremacy.⁶⁶

While it is important not to under appreciate these natural changes within the diocese, a result of Marian clergy resigning when they realised the direction in which the Reformation had turned, or just dying due to old age, there were nonetheless solid examples of policy reshaping the clerical landscape. Marian clergy numbers had decreased by over a third in one year, reflective of a dedicated unit of Catholic clergy who did not want to choose between monarch and God. But the actions of the Marians who remained in their posts are interesting. Take the papal doctrine of priestly celibacy, and consider that by 1561, 57 - over half - of the

⁶³ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 168

⁶⁴ Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, p. 294

⁶⁵ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 168

⁶⁶ M. Zell, ‘Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

surviving Marian clergy had married. Or the Catholic devotion to the Virgin Mary, and the sample of twenty-two wills of Canterbury diocesan clergy ordained under Marian rites who passed away during Elizabeth's reign, in which the Mother of God is notably absent in all but two wills. Only Robert Searles, vicar of Lenham near Ashford, and Christopher Badcock, vicar of Bapchild in Sittingbourne (though upon the accession of Elizabeth, vicar of Holy Cross Westgate in Canterbury), referred to her.⁶⁷ Such an observable outward theological shift had, interestingly, been present during Mary's reign - while only 10% of Canterbury laity wills in 1552 referred to the Virgin Mary, and Holy Company of Heaven, about 40% contained such references in 1556.⁶⁸ If people were proving their conformability to the Elizabethan Settlement early on, the evidence suggesting a similar trend under Mary is under dispute. Zell claims that of eighteen upper gentry wills proved during the reign of Mary, more than half did not hide their Protestant affiliation, choosing reformed preambles.⁶⁹ So, alongside the distinction between the acceptance of the Settlement by the priests, and their enthusiasm for reform, sits the caveat that the upper echelons of Kentish society were turning en masse towards reform.

Duffy has argued for the general populace's begrudging conformity to the crown and its policies, devoid of enthusiasm and slow moving. Daeley's evidence on the mindset amongst the less rebellious clergy suggests the same. Thirteen of the remaining 146 Marian clergy passed away between September 1560 and January 1563, yet most of them would probably not have revolted against the policies of Parker, had they lived longer. In the city of Canterbury itself, many parsons conformed, such as "Richard Forde, (who) probably would not have opposed a regime which allowed him again to cohabit with his wife." During Mary's reign, Forde was rector of St Peter's, Canterbury. Ordained during the reign of Edward VI, in 1552, he would survive both Pole and Parker, serving there until 1583, preaching in the City of Canterbury during the reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Forde's case is of interest; he and his wife, whom he married in the late 1540s, had been obliged to live separately, so while he put church before marriage when forced, he was relieved of the choice by the Settlement. Another of the remaining Marian Clergy in East Kent was John Crofte, a rector in Deal, who "seemed to have received a promotion before he died", and Stephen Pole, vicar of Boughton Monchelsea in Maidstone, "who, whatever he had thought of the new regime, seems to have

⁶⁷ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 159-162

⁶⁸ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 86

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 218

taken no chance that he might lose his benefice". John Britten, vicar of Sturry meanwhile, "had, before he died, performed his duty of appearing regularly at the archidiaconal visitations and in the preamble to his will he wrote of Elizabeth as queen 'by the grace of God'".⁷⁰ This language was as conformist as any.

After all, if Elizabeth ruled with the consent of God, how could her reforms have been blasphemous? Here, we arrive at the crossroad many priests came to: accept the word of the monarch as divine will, or cling to the past. David Starkey in a recent interview made a noteworthy assessment of the Church of England, contending that during the 1970s it had "rediscovered Christianity" which was a mistake, because up until then "the archbishops had been the high priests of English Shinto: in other words, the church's job was really just to [enable us to] worship the monarchy."⁷¹ Considering the place of the monarchy in society during the Reformation period, it is not difficult to identify the reasoning behind the conformable clergy. Their living conditions were high by sixteenth-century standards, and to risk it all for the sake of doctrine, when loyalty to the monarch was also valued, would have been nonsensical to many. Moreover, could not the act of following a monarch be its own absolution? Starkey's words strike a chord with any who study this period – for when was the church to become a vehicle for worshipping the monarch, if not when the ruler claimed divine headship over it?

Moving swiftly from the divine to the financial, the allocation of benefices, which contributed to clerics' high living standards, may in turn have been lucrative enough to discourage dissent. These, as one might expect, were permanent church appointments which included property and income rights along with pastoral responsibilities. A considerable privilege, it was one that many priests seemed to have quickly placed higher than theological scruples. As Zell puts it, "the majority of Kentish *clergymen* were real-life 'vicars of Bray': they kept their heads down, outwardly conformed to each change in official religious policy from the 1530s to the 1560s and held on to their livings."⁷² Rebels were present, however, which is arguably a testament to the efficiency of Parker's reforms. For example, William Dobinson, Vicar of St Mary Bredin since 1540, resigned his commission in 1561 due to Parker's strict rules on pluralities, which impacted his benefice. Daeley presents similar

⁷⁰ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 159-162

⁷¹ Rachel Cooke, 'David Starkey: 'I can be a bit harsh'', *The Guardian*, 21st April 2012

⁷² Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 180

findings to Zell, such as Thomas Chapman, vicar of Brenzett in East Kent, who likely died in prison, his punishment being meted out on the grounds of treason.⁷³ Much like the geographical location of these priests' parishes when taken in the context of Kent at large, the examples of rebellion are few and far between. Where Catholic principle overrode the desire to conform, it did little to provide a rallying point for fellow disaffected conservatives. This was due, in large part, to Elizabeth having learned from the mistakes of her sister Mary, drawing the conclusion which ultimately helped vindicate the Settlement: you cannot kill a non-conformist so much as martyr him, and she was better served letting them undo themselves by resignation and ignominy.

Therefore, a shortage of conservative leadership prevented the last-ditch attempt Catholicism surely needed by this point to survive, and that is only on the generous assumption that the Marian clergy retained convictions that were distinctive enough from others in the church.⁷⁴ The cathedral archives contain contemporary manuscripts that record cases of pluralism in the city. This practice of allowing a vicar to hold multiple benefices at once, were intended to mediate the vacuum of theological leadership in Canterbury, as Clark describes: "One device Parker employed to cope with the problem (of a lack of clergy) was pluralism; this ran at an exceptionally high rate throughout the 1560s."⁷⁵ On the outskirts of Canterbury, Upper Hardres was attempting to function under a vicar who held two other Kentish parishes; Stelling and Benenden, while also administering Brightling in Sussex, which stood forty-five miles and one county away from Upper Hardres.⁷⁶ No wonder then that situations in Canterbury itself arose, such as at St. Margaret in 1562, where the priest came "twice a year for his money and rents, but does not relieve the parish or give anything."⁷⁷ Peter Clark sums up the effect of pluralities well; "the shortage of clergy undermined the official religious settlement before it even got off the ground."⁷⁸ This assumption is supported by, among others, the career of Simon Clarke.

Clarke was in 1561 the vicar of Sittingbourne, a decidedly anti-Catholic man whose Protestant credentials were to eventually gain him membership of the Six Preachers of

⁷³ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 168

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 172

⁷⁵ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p. 163

⁷⁶ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.3, fo.49v

⁷⁷ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5, fo.88v

⁷⁸ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p. 163

Canterbury Cathedral, in 1567. John Bale, whose career will be explored later, wrote a letter to the earl of Bedford in which he awarded Clarke the compliment of being “a man sober, godly and learned”.⁷⁹ This is interesting praise considering what we have explored in this chapter about pluralities. An admirable preacher Clarke may have been, yet he was a pluralist himself, being “parson of Murston and has a preacher-ship in Canterbury” for which it was unknown if he had “a licence or dispensation.”⁸⁰ His presence in Canterbury alludes to Parker’s task of identifying methods of bolstering the ranks of clergy in Canterbury and streamline their deployment across the diocese. Rejuvenating the post of the six preachers was an adequate way in which to ensure clerics who proved their worth could be deployed by the Cathedral to preach.⁸¹ The archbishop's position must have initially been trying if he had to draft in talents like Clarke, who was not yet a Cathedral official at the time (1561). On the other hand, the fact that Clarke would become a six preacher in 1567 stands as a testament to Parker's ability to recognise and elevate talent within his diocese.

Much has been said on the subject of pluralities, but what of clerical theology? Understanding what the early Elizabethan clergy believed enables a more accurate impression of their true loyalties to be gained, and a number of them can serve as illustrations. Take Sir Henry Holtbie, curate of St. Mary Northgate, who administered communion to parishioner Agnes Conny, despite her not having been reconciled to the church in 1561. This would have been a controversial practice even during the less sacramental Protestant period because the Elizabethans knew their church must not become a soft-touch of which to be taken advantage.⁸² Further curious examples of priestly rebellion are contained herein. Thomas Ickham, who served as rector of St. Andrew’s in Canterbury, conducted the marriage of a couple without reading the banns of marriage beforehand. In Ickham’s case, he was brought to justice by contributing to the poor box, but this remains an odd state of affairs, especially when considering that marriage, like communion, still held sacramental status in Elizabethan England.⁸³ At St. Mary Magdalen in Canterbury, curate Nicholas Brett came under pressure to

⁷⁹ Baskerville, ‘A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale’s Unpublished Account’, p. 340

⁸⁰ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5, fo.77v

⁸¹ R. F. Lawrence, *A general index to the historical and biographical works of John Strype*, (London, 1828), p. 163

⁸² CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5, fo.92v

⁸³ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, Y.2.24, fo.3r

resign following marrying a couple without a licence to do so, and likely conducted another marriage, this time without including the Epistle, Gospel or Communion in 1564.⁸⁴ On the subject of marriage, the parson of St. Mildred's "sets a very bad example, living 40 miles away from his wife."⁸⁵ The misdemeanours of the priests around Canterbury coincided with the supply of priests being stretched increasingly thin, which necessitated Parker's pluralities. But there were probably severe doubts as to the quality of men coming forward. Around the same time, the anchorite Christopher Warrener had not obeyed the conditions laid out by the queen's visitation, forgoing the requirement to attend Common Prayer at Christ Church twice a week.⁸⁶ His act of rebellion, which will be considered in more detail later, was arguably a rival church service, one which may have been substantially more popular had its members not been bound by secrecy.

Then, the clergy of Canterbury was deeply divided. The scores of Marian clerics who cumulatively resigned or were deprived by Parker allowed the archbishop to fill their pulpits with Protestant preachers during the early Elizabethan era if mostly through pluralist means.⁸⁷ As always, natural causes play their part, the staunchest Catholics would likely have been appointed during the reign of Henry VIII, when their doctrine was last a long-established standard of government, and therefore they would have been older men by this point. However, the fact that the early 1560s saw the effective end of distinctively Catholic clergy in and around Canterbury also attests to the effectiveness of those strategies devised by Parker, and his queen. The principled but hardly damaging reaction of some prebends to the Oath of Supremacy left no resistance, especially given the misfortunate deaths of half a dozen other prebends soon after. This advantage was reinforced by a parish clergy that could well have still been predominantly Catholic, yet were unable to offer the resistance needed to gerrymander reform. They had the potential to create problems, but begrudging conformity was not nearly as pressing an issue as the flouting of personal authority that Cranmer had endured two decades previously, during the Prebendaries Plot which had sought to oust him.⁸⁸

While an understanding of the clergy of Canterbury is vital in ascertaining how much the effect of the Reformation trickled down into the parishes, it would be unwise to forgo

⁸⁴ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, Y.2.24, fo.45r/X.1.2, fo.1/6

⁸⁵ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5, fo.92v

⁸⁶ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, Y.2.24, fo.5v

⁸⁷ Daeley, Matthew Parker, p. 168

⁸⁸ Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, p. 197

highlighting the role of specific key figures in Canterbury's Reformation story. The next chapter will be devoted to an examination of the lives of the clergy from Canterbury, whose work assists with our understanding of both the city and the period of Marian exile endured by those who would become Elizabeth's most influential clergy. Examining both the men in question and their works produces a more definite impression of how exile or expulsion from England affected those Protestants most eager to see Reformation in their homeland.

Chapter Two: The Staffing of the Church

Having discussed the structure of the church in Canterbury and conformability of its clergy at the end of Mary's reign and the beginning of Elizabeth's in the previous chapter, it is now necessary to take stock of the significant clerical personnel in Canterbury. This includes the men in exile during the reign of Mary, who would later return to the city. Their backgrounds, convictions, and objectives can all contribute to our understanding of the reception of the Elizabethan Settlement in Canterbury. This chapter will consider how the upper echelon of administrative power in Canterbury was in a position, during the mid-1550s, to use events to its advantage. Some Marian clergy such as dean Nicholas Wotton were concerned with protecting their careers, but others, such as Nicholas Harpsfield and Richard Thornden, sought to translate their profoundly held religious views into Canterbury church policy. This chapter will also examine the roles of Elizabethan Canterbury clergy such as John Bale and Thomas Becon.

Furthermore, clerics such as John Foxe, though not resident in Canterbury wrote works which help inform our understanding of the Reformation, such as the *Book of Martyrs*, a volume that catalogued the martyrs of the Marian era and helps to contextualise the views of the Marian exiles. Here, Freeman and Greengrass assist in constructing an impression of Foxe's influence as a writer, with the former analysing the martyrologist's life and publications and the latter, the mentality of the Marian exile.⁸⁹ Moreover, John Ayre, writing in the nineteenth-century, produced an invaluable compilation of the works of Thomas Becon, as did Nicholas Pocock with the works of Harpsfield.⁹⁰ Bailey's work on the life of Thomas Becon is also of import, outlining the theological positions the churchman took as his life progressed.⁹¹ The substance of their careers allows us to observe different aspects of the Reformation; Harpsfield the restorer, Bale the polemicist, and Becon the Protestant author. All of their works, replete with a theological argument, asserted opinion as though it were fact. Their influence lasted decades, even centuries after first being written, a testament to the power of the Reformation

⁸⁹ T. Freeman, M. Greengrass, 'John Foxe: a biography', *Acts and Monuments Online*, <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay5> (Accessed: 14th November 2017)

⁹⁰ N. Harpsfield, *A Treaties on the Pretended Divorce between King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon*, (Canterbury, 1555), pp. 266-274

⁹¹ Bailey, *Thomas Becon and the English Reformation*, pp. 51-78

debates. This chapter will, therefore, analyse how they influenced the city of Canterbury and contributed to broader reform.

The conformability of the minor clergy discussed in Chapter One also existed among their superiors. We begin by exploring briefly the careers of two men who, unlike the reformers did not abandon their livings for their beliefs. Considering Wotton's career first is logical, as he held the deanery of Canterbury from 1541-1567, remaining in the post under each Tudor monarch, and throughout that tumultuous period of flux.⁹² Wotton kept his head down, devoting himself more to sovereign than God and serving in various ambassadorial roles across the continent, most of which he conducted while dean. A man who “refused bishoprics with a passion” but undertook diplomatic expeditions with aplomb, Wotton was one of a three-man delegation sent to negotiate Henry’s marriage to Anne of Cleves. Several years later, in 1543, Wotton was transferred to the Imperial court to liaise with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, proving his worth by helping cement the alliance between England and Germany against France.⁹³

Wotton's diplomatic career, a recognition of which may have also contributed to his appointment to the deanery of York Minster in 1544, makes his absence from Canterbury during much of his tenure reasonably understandable. Of greater interest is the policy of tacit co-operation he adopted towards the drastically differing religious systems of each Tudor monarch, Zell claims that Wotton appears to have taken “no active role in religious affairs in Canterbury diocese”, and therefore placed a higher value on his secular life. Anyone intending to build up his credentials as a godly servant of the church may also find difficulty explaining why his interest in church reform only appears to have been awakened by the threat posed to his own office around the accession of Elizabeth.⁹⁴ Wotton could, of course, have concluded early on that he could best influence church policy through conformity. This would make his decision to turn down the offer to become bishop of Hereford in favour of attaining the deanery of Canterbury, an odd one. True, Canterbury was the preeminent city of English Christendom, but the post of bishop would have awarded Wotton more influence within the church. It would

⁹² E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*: Volume 12, (Canterbury, 1801), pp. 1-26

⁹³ O. Chadwick, *The Reformation*, (London, 1964), p. 332

⁹⁴ M. Zell, ‘Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

not, however, have been likely that he could sustain his undoubtedly successful diplomatic career alongside such a demanding ecclesiastical role.

With hindsight, we can assert with some confidence that the direction of the Reformation had more to do with government policy than clerical devotion, but this was unclear at the time. Clerics had, in living memory, asserted themselves, such as in the prebendaries plot of 1543, a “wholly clerical enterprise” which archbishop Cranmer had been strong enough to weather but not to punish.⁹⁵ The career of Richard Thornden, a topic for later examination, is a prime example of that. Although Wotton was thought a religious conservative in his own time - that is to say Catholic - the evidence demonstrably suggests that Wotton had less time for theological debate than ambassadorial discourse.⁹⁶ True, he protested the changes in the statutes governing the dean and chapter proposed by the canons in his absence, at some point between 1553 and 1556, but this was likely because he feared it might sap the power from his office.⁹⁷ His absence extended beyond this period – he would serve as ambassador to France from 1550-1557, an office that also endured many Tudor monarchs, falling half during Edward's reign and half Mary's, making it likely he was absent from Canterbury for a large minority of his tenure. It is not to say his contribution to English affairs was unremarkable: his tenure in France during the mid-1550s saw him reassure the king that Mary's marriage to Phillip of Spain would not sway her “in matters of conscience and honour”.⁹⁸ Although his career as a diplomat is one of mixed success, this does highlight how important his word was within the French court.

The second Marian conformist examined here is Richard Thornden. A prebend of Canterbury and suffragan bishop during the reign of Edward, Thornden had the authority to teach and sanctify the faithful, and delegate to clergy throughout his territory. Suffragans had no diocese of their own to administer, however, and acted as useful deputies to the diocesan bishops, rendering them freer to participate in local matters. Thornden appears to fit the criteria for a conservative Catholic, being no friend to the reformers during the reign of Mary and

⁹⁵ M. Zell, “The Prebendaries' Plot of 1543: a Reconsideration.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27, (1976), p. 241–53

⁹⁶ D. E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, (Cambridge, 1976), p. 54

⁹⁷ M. Zell, ‘Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed 27 April 2017)

⁹⁸ B. Ficaro, ‘Nicholas Wotton, Dean and Diplomat’, (PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 1981) p. 178

having played a principal role against Cranmer during the Prebendaries Plot in 1543. Cranmer had not deprived him of his office as canon in Canterbury Cathedral and had even appointed him as the suffragan bishop by 1544. Perhaps his outward loyalty to Cranmer, for which he received several benefices, initially masked his role in the plot. Foxe's claim that Cranmer forgave Thornden his part in the plot only after the latter's grovelling apologies, while unconfirmed, is not hard to believe. Whatever Thornden did to restore his position in the eyes of Cranmer, it must have worked, as he soon received the position of bishop-suffragan of Dover in 1544, an office he would hold until his death in 1558, despite being what Freeman describes as a "long standing adversary of Cranmer".⁹⁹ Thornden's ability to survive and thrive while enforcing radically different religious policies is a testament to his ambition. Even during Mary's reign, Thornden was reprimanded in 1554 by one of Cardinal Pole's associates, who reminded him of his support for the Reformation during the reign of Edward, implying it was common knowledge, yet the scrupulous archdeacon Harpsfield, who warrants examination next, found little fault in him.¹⁰⁰ Admittedly, the Marian restoration was fragile; the government had already survived an armed rebellion in Kent in 1554, and Harpsfield did technically - though not in practice - serve under Wotton.

Thornden's actions are those of a man who had secured a comfortable living and was determined to retain it. Perhaps this is why after half a decade of outward loyalty to the Edwardian Reformation, he restored the mass in Canterbury Cathedral in 1553, scarcely before the deceased king was cold, but also before it was even legally permitted. An astute recognition of the direction English religion was headed this may have been, but like Wotton, it is hard to absolve Thornden of the charge of cynical posturing. Cranmer certainly thought so, and during his imprisonment, he labelled Thornden "a false, flattering, lying and dissembling monk."¹⁰¹ The fallen archbishop's sentiment was likely related to Thornden's restoration of the mass having been undertaken without Cranmer's permission, prompting Cranmer's vigorous defence of the Edwardian liturgy which saw him committed to the Tower in the first place.¹⁰² What is

⁹⁹ T. S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed 27 Nov 2017)

¹⁰⁰ M. Zell, 'Thornden, Richard (c.1490–1558)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68339>, (Accessed 27 April 2017)

¹⁰¹ J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, (Cambridge, 2011), p. 82

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

interesting to ponder, as Thornden passed away early in 1558, is whether he would again have willingly accepted the Elizabethan Settlement. Though unknowable, the assumption that he would is reasonable, when considering his prior actions.

References to Thornden crop up on several occasions over the Marian persecutions of 1553-1558, during which forty-one people were put to death in Canterbury.¹⁰³ Though neither Thornden nor Harpsfield possessed the legal authority to order executions, they could facilitate them to the extent of claiming most of the credit. The executions resulted, in large part, from the interrogations of those suspected of heresy, and for each of these, the Protestant polemicist John Foxe would attempt to create a record, as shall be discussed later. As Wotton got to know the French court as ambassador, Nicholas Harpsfield was able, under the patronage of Pole, to contribute far more to the Reformation in Canterbury during 1554-1559.¹⁰⁴ The archdeacon, along with Thornden - essentially his deputy until at least 1557 - stand in contrast to the dean, enforcing religious policy and punishing nonconformity wherever they found it. Harpsfield's tenure as archdeacon of Canterbury between March 1554 and the beginning of 1559 helped facilitate the shift in church policy, from the Edwardian hard-line Reformation of the previous half-decade to the ambitious restoration of Catholicism in Canterbury that dominated the 1550s. His appointment was the natural conclusion of Mary's national policy, and the fact that Harpsfield rapidly became indispensable to Pole attests to the effectiveness of the archdeacon's activities.¹⁰⁵

Harpsfield's appointment to the archdeaconry of Canterbury had been at the expense of the incumbent, Edmund Cranmer. As the younger brother of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, Edmund had served as archdeacon of Canterbury from 1534-1554 at his brother's appointment, amassing many rich benefices and a prebend at Christ Church, Oxford.¹⁰⁶ Such benefices, as delineated in the previous chapter, were lucrative, coveted by clergy everywhere. Senior churchmen were by no means an exception to the rule, yet Edmund valued his marriage and security more, trading everything for Mary to recognise his right to both. Mary, naturally, took

¹⁰³ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, pp. 244-246

¹⁰⁴ M. Zell, 'Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

¹⁰⁵ J. Ridley, *The Statesman and the Fanatic: Thomas Wolsey and Thomas More*, (London, 1985), p. 285

¹⁰⁶ P. Ayris, D. Selwyn, *Thomas Cranmer, Churchman and Scholar*, (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 105

the Catholic teaching that priestly marriage was illegitimate.¹⁰⁷ That Edmund should lose his exceptionally privileged office to the man who was about to deliver his brother a posthumous drubbing with *Cranmer's Recantacyons* encapsulates the speed at which the restoration was advancing. Some historians, such as Jasper Ridley, have however argued that Cranmer's execution was a public relations disaster, as hundreds bore witness to Cranmer's repudiation of his recantations at the stake, providing excellent material for the Protestants to circulate and rendering *Cranmer's Recantacyons* a damp squib.¹⁰⁸

Regardless, Harpsfield's theological priorities and religious convictions are informed by an examination into his background. As a Christian conservative by upbringing, Harpsfield had followed his uncle Nicholas through Winchester College as a scholar, and his brother John had been admitted there the previous year. The Harpsfield's were a religious clan, but the same was true of countless families in sixteenth-century England. The religiosity of the young Nicholas probably more the result of the influence of William Roper, son-in-law of the great Catholic martyr Thomas More. Subsequently declaring Roper his patron, "by your long and great benefits and charges employed and heaped upon, toward the supporting of my living and learning", Harpsfield would write a biography of More while in exile at Louvain during the reign of Edward VI, at Roper's request.¹⁰⁹ The trend among clerics who opposed religious policy to promptly leave England rather than live under heresy may be two-fold. That they had not the stomach for martyrdom seems an overly cynical idea. Their choice reflected even more strongly by the Protestants who embraced exile during the 1550s, to live in more impoverished conditions and devote their time to writing on behalf of their faction, implies a strong moral constitution.

Upon his return to Canterbury in 1553, Harpsfield used his position as archdeacon to persecute both the laity and clergy that he deemed religiously seditious, and he was therefore responsible for much of the Protestant martyrdom in Canterbury perhaps unfairly credited to 'Bloody Mary'. The discrediting of Thomas Cranmer in his book, *Cranmer's Recantatyons*, officially printed in 1556 by John Cawood, was intended to convey the impression that the

¹⁰⁷ Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, pp. 1-26

¹⁰⁸ J. Ridley, *Bloody Mary's Martyrs, the Story of England's Terror*, (London, 2002), p. 137

¹⁰⁹ T.S. Freeman, 'Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12369>, (Accessed: 25 May 2017)

despised archbishop lacked consistency and dignity.¹¹⁰ Along with the many deaths attributed to him, this may have helped John Foxe arrive at his conclusion that Harpsfield was “the sorest and of leaste compassion” of all the Marian restorers.¹¹¹ His close relationship with Mary permeates his unpublished work *The Pretended Divorce*, written around 1555, which constructed a theological and moral repudiation of Henry VIII’s divorce from Mary’s mother, Catherine of Aragon.¹¹² Examination of this text highlights the narrative used by the newly restored Catholic hierarchy in attempting to discredit the foundations of English Protestantism. Harpsfield’s analysis of Henry’s divorce is succinct, beginning with the intent to make it “soon appear” that Henry’s first marriage was “good and lawful and acceptable to God” while arguing that the opposite was true of his divorce, an act “ungodly and unlawful and highly displeasing to Almighty God.”¹¹³

This study has necessitated an analysis of the backgrounds of key figures, to assist in informing their actions when in office, because it helps demonstrate how people of sixteenth-century England were clear-cut, yet not unchanging. Just as Wotton’s background as a diplomat informs his conformability to radically different religious policies, so Harpsfield’s early career reveals the origins behind his non-conformable, conservative convictions, which were profoundly influenced by the people he befriended in his early years. Harpsfield’s attack upon what must at least arguably be the foundation of the English church, the divorce of Henry VIII against the wishes of the pope, an act for which the king required the redistribution of church authority to the crown, assists in building a narrative around Harpsfield’s mission. His lifelong trait was an unwavering desire to reach the root of truth and falsehood, for which his tenure as archdeacon stands as testament. For example, during the last full year of Mary’s reign, 1557, Harpsfield was meticulous enough to visit all churches within his archdeaconry during his yearly visitation. Rather than sending deputies to perform the task, he sought to record the names of churchwardens and parishioners, the number of communicants, and the number of parish families.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ J. Fletcher, J. Fines, ‘Nicholas Harpsfield’s note of Cranmer’s Recantation’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4, (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 310-312

¹¹¹ J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Second Edition, (Vienna, 1556), p. 2161

¹¹² Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield’s Visitation 1557, Part I*, p. 4

¹¹³ Harpsfield, *A Treatise on the Pretended Divorce*, pp. 260-268

¹¹⁴ Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield’s Visitation 1557, Part I*, pp. 1-2

Though the archdeacon was at liberty to conduct a visitation each year, as Harpsfield had in 1554, 1555, 1556, and would again in 1558, the visitation of 1557 stands out for two particular reasons, each of which Whatmore isolates. Firstly, that by 1557 "the Marian reforms had got under way, and could be applied with some thoroughness", and secondly, that "in 1557 the archdeacon personally went round to every church and did not simply choose one church for a whole deanery or visit by proxy."¹¹⁵ Harpsfield's efforts doubtlessly contributed to his appointment, on November 1st, 1558, to the fourth prebendal stall of Canterbury. Nicholas Pocock, who edited four of Harpsfield's manuscripts in the 1870s, remarks that "much of what would have been pronounced as fiction fifty years ago if this manuscript had then been published has been amply verified by the publication of the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII."¹¹⁶ The consideration of Foxe later demonstrates how Harpsfield stands with those Reformation figures rehabilitated by the release of manuscripts for public consumption, and by historians increasingly choosing to discard the prevailing orthodoxy surrounding the men.

Harpsfield wrote with strong Catholic undertones during the 1550s, yet bias is not a disqualifier. Using phrases such as 'Lady truth' and 'holy church', his hard-line attitude towards the Reformation offers insight into what the reformers were up against in Canterbury. Proclamations such as "the holy Catholic faith, which, being injured, defaced, and abolished, is now by the goodness of God and our princes restored to her old honour and dignity" reflect the sense of loyalty towards the Catholic Church all devout Catholics felt, as though it were a vessel of God's perfection. Similarly, his description of "her adversary dame hereby with all her untruths gloriously discomfited and conquered", underpin his actions when archdeacon, as he endeavoured to reverse the injustice wrought on the holy church by the reformers.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Harpsfield's penchant for perfectionism appears in the conclusions of the convocation of January 1558, which he chaired as prolocutor. Intended to combat the lack of priests – as Parker would also have to do two years later – the convocation proposed the uniting of several small benefices into a greater whole, for priests to be exempt from fighting in wars. It also recommended that a request be made to the Pope to allow bishops to ordain priests outside of the traditional ordination season.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 3

¹¹⁶ Harpsfield, *A Treaties on the Pretended Divorce*, pp. 274

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 13

¹¹⁸ J. Parker, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, (London, 1847), p. 472

Harpsfield's position as an integral pillar of Canterbury's church by the accession of Elizabeth meant that the simultaneous deaths of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole on 17th November 1558, though in legal terms a disaster for him, had left him undeterred. Throughout 1559 Harpsfield remained active and retained the authority until otherwise ordered to implement Mary's desired reforms. In this, he was nothing if not persistent, and his eventual arrest in 1559 for "stirring the people, as much as in him lieth, to sedition" was arguably premeditated by the government.¹¹⁹ He had after all refused in October 1559 to swear the Oath of Supremacy, the litmus test by which the loyalty of all Marian clergy to the new administration would now be subject. Considering all we know about Harpsfield, his imprisonment was probably the result of the Elizabethan administration deciding that his ruthlessly effective enforcement of Catholic policy, so damaging to the Protestant cause, could not be remoulded to suit their purposes. The wording of the revived Oath of Supremacy to which Harpsfield refused to subscribe does, after all, harbour many pitfalls for a devout Catholic: "the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things".¹²⁰

However, assuming that a fifteen-year prison term was predicated simply over a refusal to conform underestimates the threat Harpsfield posed in the eyes of the Canterbury civic authorities tasked with keeping a watchful eye on him throughout 1559.¹²¹ The former would imply a punishment merely for disobedience, whereas evidence contained in the Acts of the Privy Council show how his stated words and his influence within Canterbury Cathedral ultimately damned him. Recording that Harpsfield had stated that religion could not and should not alter, some servants of the cathedral were recorded reporting to the authorities that their college was now home to "well nere one hundreth harnesses". The Privy Council revealed its fear by asking that two Canterbury citizens, George May and Thomas Finch, investigate how much "armure" there was contained in the college, to whom it had been delivered and for what purpose it was meant.¹²² That the stockpiling of armour and harnesses could be linked back to Harpsfield is an interesting if somewhat unconvincing concept. Throughout Harpsfield's career, contrary to what Foxe would have us believe about his alleged cruelty, there is much evidence to show that he always attempted to reconcile his 'victims' with the Catholic creeds

¹¹⁹ The Privy Council, *Acts of the Privy Council, 1558-1570*, Volume 7, (1979), p. 54

¹²⁰ G. Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation, 1526 – 1701*, (London, 2004), p. 323

¹²¹ J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, (London, 1824), pp. 250-251

¹²² *Acts of the Privy Council*, pp. 53-54

and meted out their extreme punishments only after becoming convinced that this was impossible. Such a desperate measure as preparing armaments for an implied struggle against the government does not seem to match at first glance, but it is important to remember that there were several armed struggles that were conceived of before Mary had even been crowned, such as Northumberland's rebellion, and that of Wyatt less than a year after her coronation.

But what of the identities of the men sent by the Privy Council to investigate this incident? George May and Thomas Finch did not so much investigate Harpsfield as oversee the process that eventually saw the Marian archdeacon imprisoned. The first, May, served on the city Burghmote from at least 1553 until 1566, during which he appeared to have escaped scandal and proved useful to his superiors.¹²³ He had become sheriff of Canterbury in 1549 – the height of Edward's hard-line Reformation - and served as mayor during 1557/8. He used this office as a springboard to higher political ambitions, becoming Canterbury's elected Member of Parliament in 1559. May had been commissioned early in Edward's reign to survey and sell church goods in Canterbury, implying his acceptance of the new Protestant religion. Thomas Finch meanwhile was perhaps more lukewarm concerning religious matters yet had served as Justice of the Peace for Kent since 1554 and as a freeman since 1559. He would eventually acquire the office of Keeper of the site of St Augustine's Priory in 1560 and serve as commissioner to survey the possessions of the See of Canterbury after the death of Pole.

Each, therefore, was an official with vested interests in Canterbury and were entrusted with church property despite being unmoved by any particular religious creed. As Starkey said, loyalty to the monarch was indeed sufficient.¹²⁴ They were each ordered to make their inquiries about Harpsfield while the 1559 parliament was sitting, between late January and early May that year. The government's choice in sending two men with such a good record of service implies they had high hopes of securing evidence against him and would soon reap dividends. In 1559, Harpsfield's refusal to consent to the appointment of Matthew Parker to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in opposition to which he led most of the cathedral chapter, acted as the final straw, rather than the beginning of his downfall. Harpsfield would remain in prison from that year, 1559, until 1574, dying only sixteen months after leaving prison, in December

¹²³ Durkin, 'The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury', pp. 200-220

¹²⁴ Rachel Cooke, 'David Starkey: 'I can be a bit harsh'', *The Guardian*, 26th April 2012

1575.¹²⁵ His release on the grounds of ill health reinforces the narrative that the authorities wanted to be sure his predicted opposition to the Reformation was nullified.¹²⁶

Having given a brief profile of Harpsfield's life and professional career, there are a few highlights that should not be overlooked. Despite being imprisoned throughout Elizabeth's early reign, Harpsfield had a notable hand in producing Catholic histories of the Reformation during this period. Among his numerous works was an exoneration of John Stone, an Augustinian friar turned martyr during the reign of Edward, published in 1566 in Antwerp as part of Harpsfield's *Dialogi Sex*, although the author was claimed to be one Alan Cope. Stone had refused to renounce his faith and was martyred in the Dane John area of Canterbury, in December 1539, fifteen years before Harpsfield's appointment as archdeacon, and inspired some admiration in the latter. Whatmore even states that Harpsfield wanted to emulate such heroes of the counter-Reformation movement.¹²⁷

Stone had served as an Augustinian friar for some years by the time of the initial Treasons Act of 1535, which forbade the denial of the king's headship over the English Church.¹²⁸ By 1538, it was the turn of the friary of St. Augustine in the present day Whitefriars district to face dissolution, a process started by the bishop of Dover, Richard Ingworth who had the previous year vouchsafed for Parker to Cromwell. Stone alone refused to sign a document containing the two conditions the government deemed essential; that the king was Head of the Church, and that the surrender of the friary to the inspectors was a voluntary affair. Stone's refusal to submit, even at the direct behest of Thomas Cromwell in London, his resultant trial in the Canterbury Guildhall, and subsequent incarceration in Canterbury's Westgate tower, all develop an impression of a local martyr who had the faith, courage and conviction that Harpsfield found so useful – and in fairness, probably genuinely inspirational for his polemic.¹²⁹ After all, so troublesome was Stone that Bishop Ingworth chose to address his controversy directly in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, saying he "straight sequestered him so that none spake with him". He also, for the first time, accused Stone directly of the crime by

¹²⁵ T.S. Freeman, 'Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12369>, (Accessed 27 May 2017)

¹²⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 54

¹²⁷ Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557*, Part I, pp. 3-4

¹²⁸ J. G. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason*, (London, 1979), pp. 35-38

¹²⁹ T.S. Freeman, 'Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12369>, (Accessed: 25 May 2017)

recounting (perhaps fabricating) the friar's words; "the King may not be head of the Church of England, but that it must be a spiritual father appointed by God."¹³⁰

Such a clear-cut theological divide between Catholic doctrine and royal supremacy would never find a resolution between the two churches and forms the blueprint of the final blow Harpsfield struck against the establishment: refusing to swear the Oath of Supremacy. But Harpsfield's immortalisation of Stone is interesting because of what it represents. We know that the archdeacon was a cleric, leader, dispenser and judge, but yet another reason Harpsfield is known to history lies in his polemical work. The recurring theme of martyrdom was played upon by Protestant and Catholic polemicists alike, and Harpsfield's 'Life' of Thomas More, which circulated in manuscript form throughout Catholic circles, but which remained unpublished until the twentieth century, represented the inspiration of these men to the Catholic world.¹³¹ The final 250 words of Harpsfield's 1,000 word *Dialogi* also included a repudiation of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, leaving the martyrologist "mortified", yet according to Freeman "provoked to more intensive and extensive research" for the second edition of Foxe's most famous work.¹³² Canterbury's story during the mid-Tudor Reformations centres largely around the narrative of written and oral polemical methods that increased the reach of the polemicist's propaganda. Understanding the career of Canterbury's most conservative Marian diocesan official is therefore essential to grasping the religious culture of Canterbury by 1559, which he had a substantial part in creating, and which forms a necessary foundation for the examination of the laity in Chapter Three.¹³³

Unsurprisingly, even throughout the most severe counter-Reformation activities of Harpsfield, some clerics resisted the change, to the point of martyrdom. Foxe's Book of Martyrs records the "dramatic set piece" trial in 1555 of John Bland, parson of Adisham, who was interrogated by Harpsfield and his colleague, Richard Thornden. This interrogation, pointedly, was conducted in the chapter house of Canterbury Cathedral, nothing if not Harpsfield's

¹³⁰ Whatmore (ed.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1557, Part I*, p. 3

¹³¹ T.S. Freeman, 'Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12369>, (Accessed: 25 May 2017)

¹³² T. Freeman, 'John Foxe: a biography', *Acts and Monuments Online* <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&type=essay> (Accessed: 14th November 2017)

¹³³ Collinson, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 166

domain.¹³⁴ Bland had undergone vigorous disagreements with his churchwardens in Adisham over their erection of the altar-table, and had, upon Mary's accession, found himself on the wrong side of the debate in a legal sense.¹³⁵ His posthumous elevation along with others in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* centres around his 'troublesome handling', which garnered considerable sympathy from the Protestant martyrologist.¹³⁶ The author of the *Book of Martyrs*, who used the format of his martyrology to push the case for Catholic cruelty in trying to suppress the true religion, will be examined next. Suffice to say that for Bland, his Protestant past caught up to him in a way that encapsulated exactly how much the religious face of Canterbury had changed within a decade. In 1543, Bland came close to being tried for heresy as part of the Prebendaries Plot for preaching against icons and images, but with Cranmer still solidly in the King's favour he was able to protect the future martyr, and his old associate Christopher Nevinson even resigned his prebend to Bland to give the accused some immunity.¹³⁷

Canterbury's religious axis had shifted dramatically a decade later in 1553 when Bland faced the accusation of heresy again. A weak and imminently imprisoned Cranmer could not vouchsafe for Bland, and many who had participated in the Prebendaries Plot, including layman Cyriac Pettit and plot leader Sir Thomas Moyle, interrogated Bland and revoked his bail respectively. That ignominious event was proceeded by a year of détente, with Bland on borrowed time until the laws protecting him, namely the repeal of the statutes criminalising heresy, were themselves repealed and the Heresy Act revived. Thornden would again come into play at the head of Bland's trial in early 1555 after Harpsfield had interrogated him unofficially in the Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral in 1553.¹³⁸ Not only does Bland's story "epitomise the early Reformation in Kent", but it also displays the ruthlessness of

¹³⁴ J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, (Oxford, 1812), p. 1072

¹³⁵ T.S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

¹³⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (Vienna, 1556), p. 304

¹³⁷ T.S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

¹³⁸ T.S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

Harpsfield and the erstwhile Catholic Thornden.¹³⁹ Moreover, it provides a useful link between the actions of these men and the writings of John Foxe.

Even at this stage, English Protestantism was still embryonic, and Canterbury was no exception, as this fascinating example of theological dissent shows. It makes grim reading - Bland and his associate Franklin are identified by Collinson as “the only clerics among sixty-one Kentish martyrs”, with these two men being burned in Canterbury on 12 July 1555.¹⁴⁰ Through an examination of Harpsfield's career, and an example of one of the dozens of trials to which he contributed, we can begin to understand how scarred Canterbury was upon the accession of Elizabeth. Foxe assists with this, recounting that “Nicholas Harpsfield urged on the condemnation of five martyrs at Canterbury so that they could be burned before the death of Queen Mary.”¹⁴¹ Such devotion to repression would take work to undo, yet would also provide valuable lessons for the Elizabethans to dwell on regarding the methods in which one suppresses dissent, as shall be explored in Chapter Three.

Examination of martyrs such as Stone and Bland warrants the same for the martyrologist, John Foxe. There has been much debate concerning the intellectual validity of Foxe's work, with historians such as Philip Hughes asserting that Foxe's writing was fantastical.¹⁴² During the 20th century, the prevailing view was broadly in line with these sentiments. In 1912, Francis Urquhart's view that Foxe was "criticised in his own day by practically all serious ecclesiastical historians" summed up the tone towards the martyrologist that would last decades and which Hughes would adopt.¹⁴³ More recently history, in general, has seen a movement towards revisionism, forgoing traditional assessments in favour of reanalysing the past. Freeman, for example, distinguishes between Foxe before and after he studied under John Bale, the Protestant polemicist who will be discussed later, claiming that Foxe's independence from Bale's dominant personality after the latter's death in 1564 allowed

¹³⁹ C. Burrage, *The early English dissenters in light of recent research (1550–1641)*, (London, 1912), p. 8

¹⁴⁰ Collinson, *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 165

¹⁴¹ Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, p. 304

¹⁴² Hughes, *The Reformation in England*, p. 258

¹⁴³ F. Urquhart, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (London, 1912), p. 12

him to develop his style.¹⁴⁴ When analysing Foxe's work while in exile it is worth remembering the influence that Bale wielded over him. His six-book folio of around 750 pages printed in Basel in August 1559 had its final two books, some 250 pages, dedicated to the Marian persecution.¹⁴⁵

Foxe was one of the reformers who traded the possibility of martyrdom for biding his time on the continent and exonerating the reforming martyrs whose memories he wanted to honour.¹⁴⁶ A partial repudiation of the criticism levied at Foxe is that his writings mainly consisted of first-hand evidence from the martyrs, and he forewent an examination of those for whom he could find no material, instead only listing their names.¹⁴⁷ This level of clarity is present in his most famous work, *Acts and Monuments*, known in popular culture as the 'Book of Martyrs'. The massive 1800-page work not only utilised oral and eyewitness testimony but printed archival material and extracted pieces from Jean Crespin's martyrological essays. Crespin, a French Huguenot, was not just a Calvinist but a friend of John Calvin and was present in Geneva throughout Foxe's exile. He was probably brought to Foxe's attention by Bale, who introduced the martyrologist to many kindred spirits over Mary's reign. It is unsurprising that Foxe considered Crespin an ally – Foxe himself had proven his Calvinist credentials in the fall of 1555, siding with John Knox in a bitter dispute over Richard Cox's advocacy in Frankfurt of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The 'Knoxians', as they would become known, favoured a more reformed structure, such as that used in Calvin's own church in Geneva.¹⁴⁸

Acts and Monuments also holds the distinction of being published in four different editions while Foxe was alive, in which each time the evangelical reformer made an evident effort to correct any errors.¹⁴⁹ Collinson has added to Foxe's reputation in the eyes of modern

¹⁴⁴ T.S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

¹⁴⁵ J. Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum*, (Bavaria, 1563)

¹⁴⁶ http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/english_Reformation_01.shtml (Accessed: 22 November 2017)

¹⁴⁷ T. Freeman, 'John Foxe: a Biography',

<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&type=essay#f13>, (Accessed: 18 November 2017)

¹⁴⁸ J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book*, (New York, 1940), p. 44-46

¹⁴⁹ T. Freeman, 'John Foxe: a Biography',

<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&type=essay#f13>, (Accessed: 18 November 2017)

historians. Paying close attention to the methodology of the Reformation polemicists, he notes that 'choreography', a combination of geography and history, allowed the Elizabethans "imaginative possession of the land which they inhabited", and that Foxe is something of an anomaly. This was not only, as delineated before, because his motives provoked suspicion during the later 19th and early 20th centuries, but also because he was not writing in terms familiar to his contemporaries. Rather, he was writing ecclesiastical history, which puts him more in the mould of Eusebius, who wrote the 'Ecclesiastical History' in defence of Constantine the Great, the Roman emperor who set the stage for Christianity becoming the official religion of the empire. In Elizabeth, Foxe saw something of a second coming of Constantine, and likely shared with Bale the belief that they lived in the time of the sixth seal, the restoration of the true church before the opening of the seventh seal when God's word would spread peacefully. Foxe was a man with an agenda but, once properly examined, he seems worthy of the adage given to him by Collinson, "surely the greatest English historian of his age."¹⁵⁰

Having also explored several ways in which the restorers enforced Canterbury's religious policy, the same analysis is warranted for the reformers who succeeded them. Foxe allows us to view the Reformations from the viewpoint of a martyrologist, Harpsfield from the position of a Catholic restorer, and Thornden and Wotton from the views of conformists. The next significant figure amongst the Canterbury clergy to undergo examination here is John Bale, whose work offers insight into not just the career of a Protestant priest and theologian, but of a polemicist and exile, too. Bale was a Cambridge scholar and later a Carmelite monk, who renounced his orders to marry. He subsequently attracted patronage from Cromwell and Cranmer and staged his famed play *Kynge Johan* in 1540. This anti-Catholic piece of theatrical mockery characterised perceived Catholic vices such as idolatry. Bale would, after a period of exile necessitated because of Cromwell's downfall, become increasingly influential within the Protestant cause over the next decade.¹⁵¹ Eventually becoming bishop of Ossory in Ireland from February to September 1553, he notably refused to be consecrated by Roman Catholic

¹⁵⁰ P. Collinson, 'John Foxe as a Historian',

<https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay3> (Accessed: 28 October 2017)

¹⁵¹ C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles, A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, (Cambridge, 1938), p. 78

rites, and greatly upset the traditions of the Irish church, which had not yet fully adopted the Edwardian reforms.¹⁵² Having fled the Counter-Reformation after correctly recognising that his beliefs endangered him, Bale would meet many Protestants in exile including Thomas Becon, who also played a role in Canterbury's religious story.

What is fascinating about the mentality of the exile is that once contracted, it was never wholly absent again. Greengrass links "the uniquely disorientating impact" exile had on the minds of the English reformers with the loss of identity as determined by "family, friendship and place – delineated by a heritage of local roots and sustained by the affirmation of others."¹⁵³ The Marian exiles would take up refuge in Frankfurt, Strasbourg, Basel, and Geneva, where Calvin had influenced his followers to transform the city's church. Bale did so too, finding that the Latin lingua franca and the shared convictions between Protestant exiles from most European nations soon increased into a large network of contacts, into whose fold Bale would eventually bring Foxe. Collinson, as mentioned earlier, even attributes the apocalyptic overtones of *Acts and Monuments* to Bale's proximity to and influence over Foxe during their time in Basel, from 1555 until around 1558.¹⁵⁴

The location of Basel, a north-western Swiss town 115 miles northeast of Geneva, essentially rendered it a border town between Switzerland, France and Germany, facilitating a practical as well as a symbolic meeting of great minds. Bale was arguably the first Protestant ideologue to discover the value of martyrdom records in advancing the Protestant cause. His 1546 book covering the trial of Anne Askew, a Protestant woman whose hard-line reformed theology stood opposed even to the early English Reformation, leading to her death in 1546, "provided a prototype for the *martyrdom separate*, an exemplary case-study which would circulate in England in various abridgements."¹⁵⁵ Bale's foreword to his book, *The Examinations*, published during his first exile in Wesel, 1546, contains his stated intention to

¹⁵² J. N. King, 'Bale, John (1495–1563)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1175>, (Accessed 23 June 2017)

¹⁵³ T. Freeman, M. Greengrass, 'John Foxe: a biography', *Acts and Monuments Online*, <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay5> (Accessed: 14 November 2017)

¹⁵⁴ Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book*, p. 50-57

¹⁵⁵ T. Freeman, M. Greengrass, 'John Foxe: a biography', *Acts and Monuments Online*, <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay5> (Accessed: 14 November 2017)

preserve the sacrificial stories of God's "elect", to highlight the "perpetual infamy of so cruel and spiteful tyrants."¹⁵⁶ His second exile saw an older, more vociferous Bale continue his writing and mentor like-minds in Basel.

Given the duration of Mary's reign and Parker's delay in assuming operational control of his diocese, it was only in 1560 that Bale came to Canterbury. Commissioned by Elizabeth, to whom he credited "so much virtue, faith, science, and experience" to occupy the eleventh prebendal stall in the Cathedral, Bale devoted his revived status as a church official towards ensuring the success of the Reformation in Canterbury.¹⁵⁷ Bale's letter to Earl Russell, in which he recounted his indignation on June 5th 1561, when he witnessed events that flouted his authority and showed adherence to Catholic tradition, will be examined in Chapter Three.¹⁵⁸ From it, much can be gleaned about the lay reaction to the Elizabethan Settlement. For now, it helps to understand the contention of M. R. James that throughout all his writings, Bale used a form of metaphorical language popularised during the time of William Tyndale, the Protestant author and translator of the Bible into the English vernacular.¹⁵⁹ Bale feared Catholic resilience. The Privy Council may have been committed to combining the Catholic hierarchy with a Protestant liturgy, a proposition palatable – if a little moderate – for Bale, but locally he could see just how divided Canterbury's official and clerical classes were in the early 1560s. As reviewed in Chapter One, many Marian priests remained in post after Elizabeth's accession and prominent clerics such as Wotton continued their passive conformity, remaining in office throughout even the polar-opposites of puritanical Reformation under Edward VI and vehement Catholic restoration under Mary.¹⁶⁰ Bale saw a Catholic laity that was incorrigible and feared it was incapable of change, yet he continued to passionately advocate reform despite convincing himself that Canterbury remained inundated with 'popish' superstition.

Bale was far from the only cleric in Elizabethan Canterbury to have fled Marian

¹⁵⁶ J. Bale, ed. *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, lately martyred in Smythfelde*, (Wesel, 1546), p. 5

¹⁵⁷ J. Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, (Chicago, 2009), p. 1

¹⁵⁸ Bakerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561: John Bale's unpublished account', 1992, p. 346

¹⁵⁹ M. R. James, *Radical Pastoral, 1381-1594: Appropriation and the Writing of Religious Controversy*, (London, 2016), p. 58

¹⁶⁰ M. Zell, 'Wotton, Nicholas (c.1497–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30002>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

England. Although his letter deals primarily with the laity and is therefore of greater relevance to Chapter Three, it nonetheless contains references to a fellow exile who warrants exploration. Richard Beesley began his career in Canterbury after a fellowship in All Souls College, Oxford, as a chaplain of Henry VIII. Subsequently, he befriended Cromwell, who remarked that Becon was a man to whom 'I owe all'.¹⁶¹ Praised by Bale for his faithful Protestant preaching in the face of alarming Catholic dissent in Canterbury, Beesley had also undergone a period of exile from England and had formed part of the Protestant English community that congregated in cities such as Frankfurt, Geneva, and Strasbourg. A letter Beesley helped to draft on behalf of his community, the English exiles of Frankfurt, to a similar community in Geneva, highlights the general feeling amongst the exiles upon the accession of Elizabeth. The letter, sent in 1559, sought agreement on several key issues and placed doctrinal unity as paramount to undoing the events of the last five years while emphasising that all Protestants agreed in "the chief points of their religion."¹⁶² This emphasis on unity underscores the exiles fear of Catholicism and reinforces the notion that the mentality they had developed while in Europe, where they had often lived in poverty with nothing but their fraternal links to provide some semblance of home, could not merely be jettisoned when their opponents in England lost power. Upon his return to Canterbury, Beesley was restored to his former livings of Staplehurst in Kent and Cumnor in Oxfordshire, and to the position of Six Preacher at Canterbury in 1561, a position he had also held before his exile.¹⁶³

Several other exiles gained official positions in Canterbury in the years after their return. Robert Pownall, a Church of England clergyman from Dorset, was one such man. He is relevant to Bale in both life and death – expressly wishing to be buried next to the great polemicist in Canterbury Cathedral, upon his death in 1571.¹⁶⁴ However, he was also one of the recipients of the letter written by the exiles of Frankfurt and co-signed by Beesley. Spending most of his self-imposed exile in Wesel, he befriended Miles Coverdale, the former bishop with whom Thomas Becon would establish an exile network, and who was presently minister of the English church in that city.¹⁶⁵ The more Protestant exiles one studies, the clearer it

¹⁶¹ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 85

¹⁶² J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, (London, 1824), p. 153

¹⁶³ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 86

¹⁶⁴ E. Hasted, *The History of the County of Kent*, (Michigan, 2012), p. 46

¹⁶⁵ A. Pettegree, 'Pownall, Robert (1520–1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22675>, (Accessed 26 Nov 2017)

becomes that the community was interlinked, usually to the power of one mutual contact. Pownall, then an elder of Coverdale's church, assisted in the attempt to elevate Wesel to rival the city of Emden as a Protestant printing centre, and despite its rudimentary appearance, his works of 1555 contained a plea for those Englishmen who had not embraced exile to abandon their homes and join the exodus. In it he railed against Nicodemism, the process of hiding one's true religious beliefs in the public realm, implying that there were many such people in England. Indeed, his introductory epistle bemoans that "worthy magistrates, nobility and rulers turned into faint hearted persons... and thy infinite number of gospellers and faithful Christians, into dissembling hypocrites and hollow-hearted persons."¹⁶⁶ It was a disbelief that many exiles struggled with: how, when their ambitions were seemingly realised, had things deteriorated so disastrously in just a few years?

Just two years later in 1557, the bulk of the English exile population in Wesel decamped to Aarau in Switzerland, due to deteriorating relations with the Lutheran leaders. Pownall had lingered in Geneva along the way, and it was here in 1559 that the letter co-signed by Beesley arrived. In precisely the show of unity the Frankfurt exiles must have hoped to provoke, Pownall co-signed a reply, which accepted the premise that a uniform approach to disputed ceremonies was needed.¹⁶⁷ Pownall returned to England later that year and, having been ordained priest in London in May 1560 by the fellow exile bishop Edmund Grindal, he took up the rectory of Harbledown in Westgate, just outside the city precincts of Canterbury, in 1562. Having predictably proved loyal to the newly devised Thirty-Nine Articles – quite literally the official recognition of that need for unity which had so driven both him and Beesley – he was appointed to the office of Six Preacher around 1570. Examining the two clerics reinforces the narrative that Protestant exiles were a group held together by theological agreement and fraternal bonds. Their lives, which underscored the desire for unity within the exiled network, are of relevance to Thomas Becon, the Protestant writer who emphasised the need for unity and moral clarity above all else in his myriad works.

Becon shared many distinctions with the Protestant polemicists and martyrologists we have already examined. Like Bale, he was an active participant in the Convocation of 1563, which sought to determine Protestant liturgy and practices. During the gathering, and in the

¹⁶⁶ Cited in R. A. Leaver, *'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535–1566* (London, 1991), pp. 197–200

¹⁶⁷ A. Pettegree, 'Pownall, Robert (1520–1571)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22675>, (Accessed 26 Nov 2017)

spirit of Beesley and Pownall, Becon urged the abolition of certain Marian church ceremonies and the introduction of disciplinary measures for priests who did not conform to government orders, though his resistance to church ritual was, argues Ayre, temporary.¹⁶⁸ But the influences behind Becon's ideas were again found at the university. He studied at Cambridge under Hugh Latimer, the bishop of Worcester who Mary ordered to be burned due to his close relationship with Cranmer during the reign of Edward. The evidence suggests that Becon was more than just a student of Latimer's, but his avid admirer, praising him thus: "next to God, I am most especially bound to give most hearty thanks for the knowledge, if any I have, of God, and of his most blessed word."¹⁶⁹ Becon also shared some of his time in Cambridge with Bale, having entered in 1527 to Bale's 1529, though the former attended St. John's College and the latter Jesus College.¹⁷⁰

Becon attended St. John's only three years before William Cecil, a future trusted advisor of Elizabeth, and joined the College of St. John the Evangelist in 1532, where Protestant ideas further influenced him. The result was Becon's arrest in 1540 on the grounds of Protestant preaching, for which he recanted and was pardoned.¹⁷¹ This was a purely pragmatic move - contrition was worth the opportunity to continue writing - and he promptly did so, changing his pen name to Theodore Basille to avoid arousing suspicion.¹⁷² As the Protestant faction ascended throughout the 1540s, Becon himself served as Cranmer's chaplain, but crucially, the archbishop appointed him to his prized post of Six Preacher in Canterbury Cathedral.¹⁷³ Although the date of Becon's appointment is uncertain, it was probably during the late 1540s, as Becon influenced Cranmer's works, his *Catechism* of 1548, *Defence* of 1550 and even the *prayer book* of 1549 after his appointment. As Mary ascended the throne, the hammer blow to Becon would be her decision to deprive married priests of their livings. Forcing clerics to choose between their wives and livings was a calculated act that had nullified Edmund Cranmer as a threat (and indeed, helped build a case against his brother

¹⁶⁸ J. Ayre, *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, (Cambridge, 1843), p. xiii

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. i

¹⁷⁰ Bailey, *Thomas Becon and the English Reformation*, p. 2

¹⁷¹ Ayre, *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, p. viii

¹⁷² A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation*, (Cambridge, 2003), p. 278

¹⁷³ J. Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, sometime lord archbishop of Canterbury*, (London, 1694), p. 50-100

Thomas). It was also, however, a risk, as Becon's biographer D.S. Bailey points out since an estimated 20% of priests were married in 1554.¹⁷⁴

This aside, Becon's continued seditious preaching, much like Harpsfield's half a decade later, consigned him to the Tower of London in August 1553.¹⁷⁵ He was released the following year and promptly fled to Strasbourg, to join the community of exiled English Protestants there. Travelling from there to Frankfurt, he would teach at the University of Marburg for the remainder of Mary's reign. Foxe wrote in awe of his escape, considering it an act of God, "How hardly escaped he with his life out of the Tower, had not God's providence blinded Winchester's eyes, in making his name."¹⁷⁶ Tellingly, upon Elizabeth's accession, Becon was restored to Canterbury as a canon, likely in recognition of the influential role his works had played in shaping public opinion.¹⁷⁷ After all, dozens of his writings were still being printed a full seven decades after his death.¹⁷⁸ One of these was his first work undertaken while resident in Canterbury. Becon's *Catechism* took the form of a dialogue between the father Becon, and an infant son, probably based on his eldest child.¹⁷⁹ Becon's foreword talks about biblical figures and their ability to bring up God-fearing children, their piety intended (by Becon, and as Becon believed, by God) as an example to the burgeoning Protestant population in Canterbury, which appears to have been increasingly amenable to accept this religious reform as the final one.

Having been vicar of Brenzett in Kent during the reign of Henry, Becon would have been aware of the Kentish attitude towards reform, and his work as chaplain to archbishop Cranmer and service as a Six Preacher during the late 1540s and early 1550s would have made him personally familiar with Canterbury, too. As Arye points out, Becon's character "may be readily understood from his favourite maxim: 'If you know all things besides Christ, but not

¹⁷⁴ Bailey, *Thomas Becon and the English Reformation*, p. 78

¹⁷⁵ Seymour Baker House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>, (Accessed: 27 Nov 2017)

¹⁷⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 682–683

¹⁷⁷ C. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, (Cambridge, 1938), p. 84

¹⁷⁸ Seymour Baker House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>, (Accessed: 27 Nov 2017)

¹⁷⁹ J. Ayre, *The Catechism of Thomas Becon*, (Cambridge, 1844), p. xiv

know Christ, you know nothing: if you know Christ, you know enough’.”¹⁸⁰ It is little surprise that Becon asserted that there should be fewer godly ministers than a multitude of faithless ones in *News Out of Heaven*, his letter sent to Sir George Pierpount, probably after his appointment as a knight in 1547. Pierpount was from an old aristocratic family with Norman roots and had purchased great sums of former church land during the dissolution of the monasteries – an interesting example of the connections building up between aristocrat and preacher. Becon further claimed that papists chose “to walk in the darkness of men’s traditions, than once to approach unto this celestial light” in *The Pathway Unto Prayer* (1545), and railing against “immoderate lusts, carnal liberty, disobedience, insurrection, arrogancy, pride” in *A Pleasant New Nosegay* in around 1546. Each of these was Henrician works but their enduring popularity throughout the sixteenth century implied a strong following had arisen among certain social circles.

Becon decided to tackle the problem of Protestants needing a ‘Reformation of manners’ a century before the Church of England launched an official campaign on the issue. His preface in *The Governance of Virtue*, written in 1566 while the reformer was resident in Canterbury, contains a brief description of the reign of Mary, constructing the narrative of that time amongst Protestant ministers who would flock back to England in 1559. Calling it the “bloody boisterous burning time”, and lamenting that the reading of the Bible was forbidden for the “poor lay people”, Becon was keenly reinforcing the fact that he kept printing and the laymen kept reading, despite the Marian persecution.¹⁸¹ *Governance* is a fertile record, a collection of instructions for the daily life of a Christian man. On the first page, the reader is inducted into the Protestant ritual with *A Prayer for the Morning*, in which Becon advises humble thanks for God’s protection during the night. Then follows theology, with *A Confession of Our Sins Unto God the Father* espousing the Reformed belief that the priest was not a necessary intercessor between man and God, the latter of whom was reachable in all times and places.¹⁸²

Becon included prayers for every daily activity, and for most temptations, trials, and struggles one could care to mention, each replete with examples from scripture. Indeed, the Protestants would attempt to regulate each aspect of the lives of the faithful. The authority they had stripped away from the church, they would reimplement into the Protestant’s life through the back door. Confession to a priest gave way to admission to God, granted in the privacy of

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 56

¹⁸¹ Ayre, *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, pp. 30-38

¹⁸² *Ibid*.

the home, yet not wholly detached from written instruction. With this new subset of influence, the reformers seemed keen to dispel any remaining Catholic sentiments by encouraging clearly defined beliefs of their own. Becon's call to guard against the "fantastical" Catholic belief that "Christ's natural body is carnally eaten and drunken in the Lord's Supper" is a good example of this.¹⁸³ His actions while in exile exceeded polemical writing, however. H. B. Thomas' assertion that Becon was one of the most "erudite and industrious artificers of the Protestant Reformation in England", cannot be disassociated from the opinions he formed while on the continent.¹⁸⁴ Evidence shows that he, along with fellow reformer and writer Miles Coverdale, helped establish and manage an entire network of exiles during the mid-1550s, which continued the original exile network in Strasbourg created by Edmund Grindal, the future Protestant bishop of London.¹⁸⁵

This chapter has explored the siege mentality in the minds of those Protestants who had fled England during the reign of Mary. Be it Foxe the martyrologist, Bale the polemicist, Becon the author, or Pownall and Beesley the would-be unifiers, many of the reformers returned to England determined that this Reformation would be final. Scarred by poverty, regular migration, and the long absence from their country and family, they were devoted to making their ordeals worth the reforms they pushed for upon returning to Canterbury.¹⁸⁶ These men shared common traits as authors, theologians, and advocates for church reform, and upon their return took up prebendaries or six preacher positions in Canterbury itself, while in some cases managing their churches, continuing their writings, or both.¹⁸⁷ But most importantly, through their works, they were opinion formers. Whereas Bale seemed to adopt a more cynical, weathered attitude towards the Catholic Church as time progressed, transitioning from Catholic

¹⁸³ Ayre, *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, p. 419

¹⁸⁴ H. B. Thomas, 'Thomas Becon, Canon of Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 69, (1955), p. 160

¹⁸⁵ W. Nicholson, *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, (Cambridge, 1843), p. viii

¹⁸⁶ T. Freeman, M. Greengrass, 'John Foxe: a biography', *Acts and Monuments Online*, <https://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay5> (Accessed: 14 November 2017)

¹⁸⁷ Seymour Baker House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>, (Accessed: 27 Nov 2017)

friar to Protestant polemicist, Becon's writings betray a striking consistency throughout his life.¹⁸⁸

Of course, their works would have petered out far sooner had it not been for lay following. The laity, as the clerics knew, was as yet not fully cultivated by the tools of religious reform, and with their multiple books, plays, pamphlets and poems, they attempted to change this status quo. While Harpsfield and Thornden certainly made their mark on Canterbury through the cruel punishments metered out on nonconformist Protestant laymen and women, their methods would yield fewer permanent results. When looking at the clergy, it is crucial to remember that ordained ministers were only one side of the coin. For every priest who led a parish, there were dozens of parishioners, collectively referred to as the 'laity'. It would be impossible to decipher the impact of the Reformation in Canterbury without an analysis of this section of church life. They were the common, everyday Christians who formed the backbone of the church, and they hold the answer to the question of how successful the Reformation was. Chapter Three will attempt to show how the Elizabethan administration - aware of its weakness at home with a populace tired of religious change, and abroad with a hostile papacy that had excommunicated the queen and plotted the invasion of her kingdom - dealt with opponents differently. With palatable compromise, or with slanders against their reputation, they brought would-be dissidents into line without the need for the stake. Instances of Catholic resilience remained in Canterbury as elsewhere throughout the first few years of Elizabeth's reign causing many clerics, and most especially Bale, great concern.

¹⁸⁸ M. H. Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety*, (Farleigh, 2007), p. 360

Chapter Three: Evidence of Catholic lay resilience in Canterbury during Elizabeth's early reign

Discussing the clergy at length, both concerning the conformability of local priests and the backgrounds of senior priests in Canterbury enables the comparison of their actions with those of the laity. There are no churches without congregations, and the Elizabethan Settlement in 1559 dashed any hopes of Catholic teaching being legally endorsed, starving traditional beliefs of oxygen in a church that was both Catholic and Protestant, yet not Roman Catholic or Genevan Protestant. Successful recusancy in the north of England and counties such as Lancashire provoked Acts of Parliament attempting to curtail Catholic resistance with fines and imprisonment between 1587 and 1593, but what of Canterbury in the early 1560s?¹⁸⁹ The Marian exiles were concerned about Catholicism's continued influence overlay worship: the queen disapproved of priests marrying, due reverence showed at communion, and Apostolic Succession still formed the bedrock of church hierarchy.¹⁹⁰ Not the Reformation the exiles had wanted, then.¹⁹¹ These measures likely saved Elizabeth much trouble from amongst the laity. This chapter will, therefore, explore evidence recording how some of Canterbury's laity held fast to Catholic tradition, despite the Elizabethan Settlement, and defied the conventions set in place by the government in doing so. It will also examine the use of slander against several Catholic officials and attempt to explain why they came under attack. The contribution of John Bale, the Protestant polemicist, explored above, will also be invaluable in understanding the religious climate of Canterbury as perceived by a returning Marian exile.

Revisionists often assert that the successes of the Reformation in Kent are rooted in an exceptional set of circumstances, citing among other things Wyatt's rebellion during 1554, a fundamentally religious uprising (although the aggressors claimed it was political) which intended to depose Mary Tudor and install a Protestant monarch. However, the jubilation that greeted Elizabeth's accession is multifaceted, not rooted solely in religion. History is always written by the victor, making it hard to interpret almost 500 years of the Church of England's

¹⁸⁹ C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 78

¹⁹⁰ R. D. Redmile, *The Apostolic Succession and the Catholic Episcopate in the Christian Episcopal*, (Xulon, 2006), p. 10

¹⁹¹ J. A. Nordstrom, *Stained with Blood, A One-Hundred Year History of the English Bible*, (Edinburgh, 2014), p. xv

pre-eminence in English theology, which may only just be coming to an end now, as anything other than a defeat for Catholicism. The resistance to this defeat, however, is another matter. From the 1530s, the population of Kent was subject to new, Protestant religious influences through preaching and pamphlets, which caused a small but substantial contingent to reject Catholicism publicly by 1533, the beginning of the Reformation. Zell claims that a more significant minority, who held only a wavering interest in the more ritualistic elements of the medieval church, such as pilgrimage and making offerings at shrines, would have still considered themselves orthodox.¹⁹² So, were the fears espoused by the Protestant polemicists as seen above based on empirical fact, or the result of paranoia?

Before examining instances of Elizabethan Catholic resilience, it would be useful to explore Protestant acts of defiance during Mary's reign, which is relevant to Kent's special status through the period. First, it is vital to consider Zell's model of the four options available to the Protestant worshipper during the middle of Mary's reign in 1555; "conform outwardly, play cat and mouse with the authorities, go into exile or defy the church openly."¹⁹³ This narrative continued into Elizabeth's early reign – with Wotton choosing to conform outwardly, and Harpsfield opting for open defiance while Thornden, had he lived, would likely have put ambition first once again. But what of the laity? Churches were not empty, and vast swathes of the population were not burned for blasphemy. But lay rebels were present. We have already observed how John Bland was initially assertive over his Catholic parishioners with the support of the governmental law, Cranmer, and the conformity of Catholic clergymen such as Thornden. His eventual downfall superseded the dismissal of Cranmer, the changing of the law, the continuing disputation between Bland and his parishioners, and the newfound boldness of Thornden, who conducted Bland's trial. So vociferous had Bland's parishioners been that his churchwardens assaulted their priest at Adisham in 1555. Bland's crime? Protesting at the Mass being conducted – by another priest of different theological views – in his church.¹⁹⁴

Bland's exceptional personal story mirrors much of the Reformation process, yet he had lay contemporaries around him who also expressed Protestant sympathies. Throughout Kent, many practitioners of the new faith found themselves investigated by Harpsfield. John

¹⁹² Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, pp. 178-180

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 229

¹⁹⁴ T. S. Freeman, 'Bland, John (d. 1555)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 27 April 2017)

Fishcock of Headcorn, who denied transubstantiation and objected to genuflecting and ‘creeping’ towards the cross was arrested in 1556, holding out a year before he agreed to accept Cardinal Pole’s injunction on the matter, which he later rejected.¹⁹⁵ In the same year, John Philpott of Tenterden denied the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, yet acknowledged the necessity of works for salvation under pressure from Harpsfield.¹⁹⁶ Zell identified starker religious rebellion when he highlighted William Prowting from Thurnham, who rejected an article of faith which was central to almost all Christians, the oneness of the Trinity.¹⁹⁷ Declaring that “Christ is not almighty of himself, but received all power of his father...and as for the holy ghost, he believeth he is the spirit of god the father only”, Prowting irreconcilable to the Marian administration, and he along with Philpott and Fishcock was burned in Canterbury in January 1557.¹⁹⁸ Theirs was the last substantial cohort of martyrs burned before 1559 at twenty-six, five larger than Bland's group in 1555. Its size also exceeded the previous group of five in November 1558, who were burned just one month before Mary's death. These are probably the five that Foxe claims were martyred by the ‘furious and fiery’ Harpsfield, who was in full knowledge of the queen’s failing health.¹⁹⁹

Clark claims that the laity in Marian England had to contend with a queen “not simply concerned to put church policy into reverse, but to put it into reverse at full-speed.”²⁰⁰ Morris explains her ease in doing so that despite two decades of Protestantism the English people were still Catholic in religious feeling.²⁰¹ There are several explanations as to why this was: Duffy’s theory would claim a genuine affection existed, while MacCulloch’s would argue that true Reformation had not yet occurred.²⁰² However, the continued survival of the ‘Henry VIII generation’ meant that those born and raised as Catholics formed a significant portion of

¹⁹⁵ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 230

¹⁹⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, pp. 320-326

¹⁹⁷ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 230

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 230

¹⁹⁹ F. E. Smith, ‘The Origins of Recusancy In Elizabethan England Reconsidered’, *The Historical Journal*, 60 (2016), p. 8

²⁰⁰ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p. 87

²⁰¹ C. Morris, *The Tudors*, (London, 1955), p. 113

²⁰² E. Crawley, ‘Latest Thoughts on the Reformation’, *University of Birmingham*, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/historycultures/research/news/2017/thoughts-on-Reformation.aspx> (Accessed: 5 December 2017)

society until the late sixteenth century. The Papal Bull of 1570 imploring English Catholics to revolt rested on the assumption that Catholics still numbered hundreds of thousands keen to restore the faith of their youth.²⁰³ Catholicism's slow death in England did not transpire in lay life so much as lay death, as the last Catholic generation passed away leaving a vacuum. Even accounting for the impressive Catholic recusancy in parts of England such as Lancashire, the faith observably shifted from a cornerstone of English life to a foreign imposition within decades. Pettegree argues as much, claiming that by 1603 the English people held their church in 'esteem', the result of a generation of conflict in which the enemy had been decidedly Catholic, except for their adversaries north of the border, in Scotland. The heresy burnings under Mary had furthermore aided the polemical and martyrological works of the Marian exiles, as well as shocking the English populace.²⁰⁴

As mentioned above, by June 1557 executions for heresy had declined sharply in Kent. The last of the 26 burned that year, Nicholas White, was executed in Canterbury on June 19th, a rapid departure even from the previous January when Fishcock, Philpott and Prowting had fallen.²⁰⁵ Was this sharp decline owed to a lacking Protestant resilience in Kent, or merely because the most prominent Protestants had been defeated?²⁰⁶ The second option is more likely that Mary had elected to execute only the ringleaders of Wyatt's revolt in 1553 because the longevity of her violent policy was in question. It was already unpopular in England and sharply declining in continental Europe.²⁰⁷ But the martyrs' defiance underpinned the narrative of repression, which resulted in the lay leadership of Kent diverging from the Queen and Cardinal in heresy policy.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, the general lack of enthusiasm for Mary by 1558 probably fuelled much of the jubilation at Elizabeth's accession, despite a hostile pope having excommunicated Elizabeth, Catholic Spain threatening to oppose her militarily and a rival

²⁰³ P. McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I*, (Blandford, 1967), p. 69

²⁰⁴ S. J. Lee, *The Mid Tudors: Edward VI and Mary, 1547-1558*, (London, 2006), p. 66

²⁰⁵ Zell, *Early Modern Kent*, p. 243-244

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ O. P. Grell, B. Scribner, R. W. Scribner, *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, (Cambridge, 2002), p. 60

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 230-231

queen north of the border overseeing a Reformation significantly different from her own.²⁰⁹ Elizabeth and her governors were therefore acutely aware that compromise would beget order.²¹⁰ This did not mean that the laity would not come under scrutiny as the Elizabethan Settlement came into force. Duffy's assertion that the Catholicism of the late medieval period maintained "an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous" command over loyalty until the Reformation, puts Elizabeth's task into perspective.²¹¹

Her administration would have to undo centuries of now heretical tradition, a tradition which was observable in the parishes of Canterbury. The depositions contained in the Canterbury Cathedral Archives record the variety of ways in which Catholic parishioners kept the faith alive in personal worship. At Holy Cross in 1564, the "wife of William Bell left church at the singing of the psalms cursing and railing" and used "an unlawful book of prayers."²¹² Mrs Bell's prayer book was probably Catholic, and likely contained prayers to the Virgin Mary, a theme intrinsic to Canterbury during the early 1560s. The admittedly brief descriptions, when contextualised with Canterbury's recent history reveal that even among the Kentish martyrs' none belonged to Canterbury itself. The Bells were probably traditionalists, not Puritans. Prayer books were not exclusive to Catholicism, and the early Church of England had already compiled several versions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, a distinctly Protestant text which helped construct the framework for Sunday worship and daily faith.²¹³ It was a world apart from Catholic devotional works, and the Elizabethan government's upholding of the freedom of conscience and private worship did not extend to bringing ornaments of private worship into the church. True, Catholicism was not alone in arousing the suspicions of the authorities in the public domain, where *via-media* Protestantism became the norm.²¹⁴ Puritans, for want of a less anachronistic term, had notable encounters with the law, despite the increasing dominance of

²⁰⁹ T. Borman, 'Elizabeth I's Monarchy: rule of a 'weak and feeble' woman?', *National Archives*, (London, 2014), <http://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/elizabeth-monarchy-rule-weak-feeble-woman/>

²¹⁰ C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, (London, 2014), p. 42

²¹¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 157

²¹² CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.3. 8v, 1564

²¹³ D. MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, (California, 2001), p. 12

²¹⁴ R. R. Osmer, *Confirmation: Presbyterian Practises in Ecumenical Perspective*, (Geneva, 1996), p. 116

evangelical Protestants such as Bedford within the Privy Council during the 1560s.²¹⁵ Somewhat surprisingly for a nominally Protestant queen, Elizabeth made puritan gatherings illegal during the mid-1570s, signalling her long-held unwillingness to countenance evangelicalism, and even temporarily defrocked Parker's successor Edmund Grindal, when he refused to disperse these 'prophesying' meetings.²¹⁶

The depositions also record that images were found under the floorboards of St. Alphage church in Canterbury.²¹⁷ The Settlement had prohibited the use of idolatrous images, held to be superstitious facilitators of idol worship, and those in St. Alphage had been removed by order of the commissioners at the royal visitation. The *Homily against the Peril of Idolatry* of 1563 stated, that "Better it were that the arts of painting, plastering, carving, graving, and founding, had never been found or used", for they had caused otherwise godly people to 'perish'.²¹⁸ Heal meanwhile notes that though the Royal Visitation and earlier Injunctions of 1559 prescribed the destruction of Catholic ritual – as had the Edwardian law – they were 'tempered'. They did not, therefore, mention images specifically but were concerned with "returning to an emphasis on abuse."²¹⁹

This highlights an interesting point: that the gulf between Elizabeth and Edward was comparable to that between her and Mary. The Injunctions suggest as much and help explain why half a decade after her accession, Elizabeth and her archbishop had to contend with what they saw as idolatry in various forms.²²⁰ The Canterbury depositions further list how at St. Mary Northgate Mother Wells, a woman irrevocably set in tradition, "derided the present religion" and stated that she hoped the Mass would be sung again soon.²²¹ Her wish was perfectly reasonable – the Tudor religious reforms were ever-changing, inconsistent and, in the case of Edward and Mary, opposed. Why not hold on to hope? She was not alone: Margery Inglewood of St. Margaret continued using her rosary beads at church, a popular form of

²¹⁵ Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, p. 86

²¹⁶ P. Clark, 'The Prophesying Movement in Kentish Towns During the 1570s', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 93, (1977), p. 81-85

²¹⁷ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, Y.2.24. 42r

²¹⁸ J. Griffiths, *The Two Books of Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches*, (Oxford, 1859), p. 243

²¹⁹ A. Milton, *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity c.1520-1662*, (Oxford, 2017), p. 186

²²⁰ M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images*, (Oxford, 1988), pp. 298-303

²²¹ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5. 91v

Catholic devotion that has survived until the present day.²²² Beginning from the crucifix and moving upward, the first bead required a rendition of the Our Father. The next three beads, requiring a Hail Mary each, were incompatible with the *via-media* principles of the Settlement. Of course, the early history of the Church of England bore witness to the smashing of religious shrines such as Becket's under Cranmer in the 1530s, and though the Elizabethans appeared less preoccupied with using violence and repression, their theological scope did not encompass such blatant disregard of orthodoxy by parishioners. Parker identified the lack of surety among layman and cleric alike regarding the longevity of this latest Reformation, writing of this even in 1564 and lamenting how outwardly conformable men were "the furthest off in favourable affection towards the state of religion".²²³ The perseverance of Catholicism was detrimental, for "enough of the old imagery and old resonances remained in the churches in which the new religion was preached" to 'complicate and compromise' the new teachings.²²⁴ Judging by the style of writing employed by the Marian exiles and the objectives they set, they surely agreed. What was the point of Becon's *Governance*, if he had found in Canterbury a laity submissive to the reformed faith? The "old resonances" were evident in Canterbury between 1558 and 1570, to be sure.²²⁵

The depositions also highlight another category of the lay rebel, those who perhaps lacked the Catholic devotion of Inglewood and Wells, yet still showed the new services no respect. Thomas Cutt and John Kevill of St. Mary Northgate were observed "bowling" during the divine service. Such obstructive behaviour betrayed a sheer lack of reverence, suggesting two men who were not observant of the Sabbath at all. Regardless, in this case, their punishment is also recorded: a fine of 12d each to be paid towards the poor.²²⁶ At St. Andrew's, Randall Tatnall kept several Latin books, among them a Mass book.²²⁷ Like Bell's, this was an unlawful book which contained prayers and practices designed to assist the Catholic worshipper at Mass. As the royal visitation had been conducted in 1560, it was probably soon after that his refusal of its conditions was recorded. His fellow congregant at St. Andrew, Hugh Jones, was accused of shutting his shop during the 'Nativity of Our Lady', probably around

²²² CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.3. 18v, 20v

²²³ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p. 153

²²⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 106

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.2. 1/2v, 1562

²²⁷ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.4. 2v, 1560

1563.²²⁸ This was an esteemed Catholic feast day in honour of the Virgin Mary's birth, which ultimately led to Christ's conception, but was incompatible with a Settlement that, while accepting Christ's genealogy, reimagined the Virgin Mary's status within that role. The authorities noticed Robert Homes' non-attendance at Holy Cross in 1561, and Homes stood accused of drawing a knife on the sidemen who warned him of it, but this was not necessarily a statement against the new faith.²²⁹ The Elizabethans soon levied fines to ensure attendance at church, and Homes likely suffered this punishment in addition to the penalties incurred for violence. But his case highlights an interesting distinction, namely that the Elizabethan government was less concerned with achieving conformity than uprooting non-conformity. While it accepted the retention of Catholic personal worship, non-attendance at a Protestant church was an act of outward non-conformity that was liable for punishment.²³⁰ This pragmatic gesture was intended to dampen Catholic lay resistance while reinforcing the Protestant church at the parish level.

Meanwhile, Sir David Robson disrupted the minister of St. Mary Northgate, likely to have been Roland Jackson, during the administration of communion and baptism – on Easter Sunday, 1560. Records indicate that a David Robson was serving in Canterbury during the 1560s, who began his ministry at St. Martin's, after his appointment/collation on December 18th, 1560. Attaching the prefix 'Sir' to a priest's name was a custom that had developed in Catholic England, a habitual term that court record writers would probably have used in the early 1560s. While it would stretch credulity to assume Parker had not taken on operational control of Canterbury diocese by December 1560 – which carries with it the conclusion that Robson had been ordained as, and by, a Protestant – he may have been voicing his disagreement at this specific part of the service.²³¹ Indeed Jackson, as a Marian, could have been incorporating aspects of the services he had conducted during Mary's reign into those he led during the 1560s. Force of habit is a possible reason, especially as the depositions do not then list anything that evoked the charge of infringing the Acts of Uniformity, which promoted and standardised the *Book of Common Prayer*.²³²

²²⁸ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.3. 1r, 1563

²²⁹ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.3. 9v/10r, 1561

²³⁰ J. L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*, 2nd Edition, (Westport, 2009), p. 28

²³¹ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.1.5. 92v/92r, 1560

²³² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Book of Common Prayer*, *Anglican Liturgical Book*, (London, 2017), p.

The court records allow a list of Catholic recusancy to be constructed, but for every Cutt or Bell or Inglewood, there were entire congregations who submitted to the new order. The Protestant authorities had no trouble co-opting the term 'divine' for their services, while those Zell terms 'Vicars of Bray' predominantly decided conformity was worthwhile, and a disunited laity still seems to have been a mostly conformist one.

That the depositions record largely isolated events is not to say Catholic resilience in Canterbury assumed much more organised forms than this. Christopher Warrener, an anchorite of Canterbury, was indicted for clerical nonconformity in 1561. The assize records indicate that a surprisingly sophisticated string of contacts and services were managed and conducted by Warrener on the 22nd and 24th of August, with further gatherings occurring during the 3rd and 10th of September and finally on 5th October 1561. Warrener's meetings at his own house included a celebration of the Lord's supper, followed by the administration of the sacrament.²³³ He had apparently managed to establish a network of Catholics who wished to continue practising the faith in the early 1560s. Among their number were people of many professions: shoemakers, clerks, yeomen, and their wives, including Thomas Turnor, a parishioner of St. Margaret, and Elizabeth Drayton of All Saints, Canterbury.²³⁴ Although the verdict of their resulting trial is unknown, what is clear is that while the Elizabethan laws did allow for private Catholic worship, this was a personal licence, and was certainly not intended to be permission for organised, congregational services.²³⁵ That such an event could have taken place in Canterbury over a prolonged period – some three months – provokes the question of how many meetings had transpired *undiscovered*. While this is unknowable, it is unquestionable that some laypeople met in the country houses of the gentry – which Elizabeth's government initially did not move against – which were located away from official eyes and secluded enough to harbour even continental Catholic priests to perform their services. Warrener's secret Catholic services evoke the fears haunting Bale as he wrote to Bedford in July 1561, mere months before the Catholic recusant was apprehended. Before examining Bale's letter, it would be wise to explore the life of his recipient, the Earl of Bedford: Francis Russell.²³⁶

²³³ J. S. Cockburn, *Calendar of Assize Records, Kent*, (London, 1985), p. 143

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ S. A. Mann, *Supremacy and Survival: How Catholics Endured the English Reformation*, (Chicago, 2007), p. 55

²³⁶ Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', pp. 346-347

The earl's network of evangelical reformers and seat on the privy council assist in constructing an impression of Bale's intentions in making Russell his recipient, and how the polemicist's complaints could circulate the upper echelons of power. As only the second Earl of Bedford, Russell was from a high-ranking but relatively new aristocratic family, one who had made their fortune, interestingly, from Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries between 1536-1541. The Russell's sourced considerable sums of money from formerly Catholic land, including Tavistock Abbey and Covent Garden, which the family helped construct. His father John Russell had served as Lord Privy Seal between 1542-1555, surviving Mary's restoration until his death on March 14th that year, and had previously served as one of only sixteen core ministers who ruled during Edward's minority.²³⁷ John's true religious convictions were apparent from, among other things, the presence of his signature on the declaration that the Protestant Lady Jane Grey would inherit the crown. However, the Privy Council soon realised their mistake and switched their support to Mary after sensing the tide of public opinion shift.²³⁸

Francis would come to prominence during his father's life, taking the mantle of Lord Russell in conjunction with his father being created earl in 1550, enabling him to sit in the House of Lords from 1552. His opinions and sympathies were unbreakably wedded to church reform, and he maintained communication with Wyatt. Though he neglected to play a high-profile role in the latter's revolt, he nonetheless was imprisoned briefly on 29th July 1553 until Mary regained control. Russell led an exciting life during the restoration. Though he visited Italy and made contact with reformers there, he was not a 'Marian exile', and even spearheaded the English forces fighting for Philip II, Mary's husband, during the Battle of St. Quentin in 1557. Regardless, upon Elizabeth's succession, Russell was free to advocate church reform as an evangelical member of the Privy Council. Though not an exile himself, he had extensive contact with them. Thomas Becon would dedicate several works to Russell, such as *The Christian Knight* and *The Monstrous Merchandise of the Roman Bishops*, two more works written while in exile. His foreword, addressed to the then-lord in the former work, "To the

²³⁷ S. T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558*, (London, 1982), p. 127

²³⁸ W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, (d. 1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 5 December 2017)

Right Honourable Sir Francis Russell, Knight, Lord Russell, Thomas Becon wishers the favour of God, continual health, and prosperous felicity”, was nothing if not flattering.²³⁹

A close friend of William Cecil, one of Elizabeth's most influential ministers, Russell visited Zurich in August 1556 where he befriended many reformers such as Heinrich Bullinger, the Swiss head of Zurich's Evangelical church, the Grossmünster. Aside from his successful diplomatic career in serving as ambassador to Scotland from August 1565, his piety was renowned. His contemporaries viewed him as a "stalwart and outspoken supporter of vigorous evangelical Protestantism", but his contacts among the Marian exiles considered him nothing less than their advocate within the English court.²⁴⁰ His devotion to church reform survived him: much of his wealth was dedicated to the Protestants of Geneva, and the Huguenot refugee church in London flourished under his Protectorship in later life. MacCaffrey highlights the only surprising aspect of Russell's reforming zeal, how little he utilised his parliamentary position to advance this cause when the opportunity arose during the 1560s. Nonetheless, he was a patron to John Woolton, the Marian exile and bishop of Exeter in 1579.²⁴¹ His library of 221 volumes contained 165 religious titles, with Calvin and Zwingli among their contents, two theologians who had heavily influenced Bale, Becon and Foxe.²⁴²

Bale's letter provides Russell with context around whether Catholic resilience in Canterbury was isolated, or widespread by speaking his 'truth' to powerless and powerful alike. Ryrie's observation about the characteristics of evangelical Protestantism can preface the letter, "Fervour, universally taken to be an essential feature of Christian piety, is linked etymologically to fire, heat, and warmth, and in early modern usage, the word was constantly linked with those images. Metaphors of vigour, water, and life also recur. Fervour was the polar opposite of coldness, dryness, and dullness. It was the quality which distinguished the sincere Christian from the hypocrite."²⁴³ This informs Bale's letter of 1561. Writing in June, the reformer was reacting against the backdrop of an Elizabethan Settlement two years from conception and another two from completion. The events he witnessed reflected the enduring Catholic piety in Canterbury, shocking his sensibilities enough to necessitate escalation to the

²³⁹ Ayre, *The Catechism of Thomas Becon*, p. 622

²⁴⁰ W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, (d. 1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2608>, (Accessed: 5 December 2017)

²⁴¹ Garrett, *The Marian exiles*, p. 5

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 154

Privy Council highlight the dangers of an enduring Catholic presence. He primarily did this by contrasting Protestant preachers who shepherded small flocks with the popularity of Catholic tradition. In so doing he saw what Peter Clark's research would reveal centuries later: that the restoration of Catholicism had been more noticeable in the towns of Kent.²⁴⁴

MacCaffrey has described Bale's recipient as a "stalwart and outspoken supporter of a vigorous evangelical Protestantism", a natural theological bedfellow to Bale, who was himself hardly following a *via-media* path.²⁴⁵ Russell's evangelical fervour may have influenced Bale's opening lines, which contained a pointed exaltation of Protestant achievements and reminisced that so recently, Canterbury had been oppressed by false religion, ignorant of the truth and "darkened by the stynkyng mystes of popysh tradicyons". The greatest tool of the polemicist was his command of language in creating themes and metaphorically using them for a specific purpose. The 'stinking mists' was a metaphorical nod to incense, another old Catholic ritual. As mentioned, his linguistic style was influenced heavily by the legacy of William Tyndale, who translated the Bible into the English vernacular for the first time.²⁴⁶ Tyndale's work had provided the foundation for the *King James Bible*, a seventeenth-century product of sixteenth-century Reformation, and by some estimates, Tyndale's words permeate 90 per-cent of the New Testament as the English speaking world now knows it.²⁴⁷ Chased across Western Europe by Henry VIII and the Holy Roman Emperor at the behest of the pope, Tyndale argued vociferously with Thomas More and was allied to Anne Boleyn. As Bragg claims, Tyndale gave Protestantism a "subtlety and fury which blazed its message across continents".²⁴⁸ Above all, he made the English language his 'holy grail' in spreading the Word of God and provided the blueprint for many decades of polemical works inspired by his linguistic style. It was this tradition that the Marian exiles inherited, and Bale was no exception.

Bale expanded his use of metaphor throughout his letters, contrasting the mists with God's light, which shone through them to create a simple inference, that the Catholic Church had become a smoke-screen which hid God from Man. Though Bale's letter was laden with

²⁴⁴ Clark, *English Provincial Society*, p. 153

²⁴⁵ W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24306>, (Accessed: 23 June 2017)

²⁴⁶ D. Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography*, (Yale, 1994), p. 2

²⁴⁷ M. Bragg, 'Melvyn Bragg on William Tyndale: his genius matched that of Shakespeare', *The Telegraph*, 06 June 2013

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

these flourishes, his Protestant mentality was on unfettered display in his denunciation of the physical acts of Catholic devotion that he had witnessed in Canterbury during late June 1561. First, the bonfires were celebrating St John's Day on June 24th, followed by identical ones for St Peter's Day on the 29th, which drew more massive crowds. Bale claimed that the bonfires were made "in contempte of Christen religyon" but also ascribed many unflattering characteristics to the (he implies) Catholic celebrants who he accused of mocking the preachers such as Simon Clarke and Richard Beesley while troubling, grieving and molesting them. Such loutish behaviour was in his mind, the symptom of the absence of godly discipline. To further highlight the crowd's blasphemy, he recounted how the schoolboys scorned the act of prayer through staged mock-piety and concluded such actions to be vain and arrogant.

Bale's overarching point was that the citizens of Canterbury had given themselves over to debauchery, and as he switched his emphasis from St. John's Day to St Peter's Day, Bale recounted how "unto that sedicyouse fyer, some of the offycers were most busye to mynyster wode and other matter else."²⁴⁹ He then indicts Richard Borowes, describing him as a "common smellfeast". Little is known of Borowes' official post, and his name is not present in records of the Burghmote either as an alderman or a common councillor, but given the men Bale highlights soon after, John Twyne and James Cancellar, he may have been attached in some way to The King's School.²⁵⁰ Regardless, that Bale reported the individual identities of crowd members to the Privy Council is striking, given the lack of solid evidence that the crowd was comprised of proud Catholics. As Baskerville states, he was "almost certainly over-sensitive about them and inclined to exaggerate their significance."²⁵¹ More-so, Bale could not stand threats to his 'brave new world of Protestant England', and berated anyone who flouted the religious decrees of its government.²⁵² As the depositions show, the honouring of saints was anathema to the Protestant authorities, which made Bale's willingness to indict the official class, including aldermen, for being amongst the revellers of further interest. They had, in Bale's strong view, placed superstition above the warnings of their godly preachers, causing

²⁴⁹ Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', pp. 346-347

²⁵⁰ Durkin, 'The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury', pp. 306-307

²⁵¹ Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', p. 343

²⁵² *Ibid.* p. 344

Bale to implore God to send Canterbury “better and more godly governours.”²⁵³ These events certainly imply what Duffy described as, if not Catholic resistance, then certainly resilience.²⁵⁴ However, the distinction between tradition and adherence is an important one – to suggest that people still celebrate the 5th of November to proclaim the failure of Catholicism to overthrow English Protestantism stretches credulity yet a Protestant characteristic remains in the tradition. Guy Fawkes, still burned in effigy, remains the bedrock of the tradition, yet the defiance against Catholic Europe it represented, once the pillar of the celebration, is no longer present. Still, rituals take time to depart the public consciousness, and these bonfires occurred in 1561, only two years into the Elizabethan age. Bale meanwhile, as a man of absolutes, of Gospel truth, interpreted the endurance of Catholic tradition in Canterbury to be absolute proof of the faith’s resilience.

Bale’s letter continues to indict more prominent individual officials, such as the “malicyouse” John Twyne, an ardent Catholic who had served as the headmaster of The King’s School in Canterbury until 1560, a year prior. Twyne had risen high in the local hierarchy, becoming Canterbury’s Member of Parliament in 1553-1554, after serving as its Mayor for one year.²⁵⁵ Twyne retained his aldermanship from 1550 until 1562,²⁵⁶ a full two years after his dismissal as headmaster, possibly explaining why Bale may have attempted in 1561 to accelerate his downfall, to considerable success. Bale’s accusation that Twyne had used his position to encourage Catholic dissent indicted his former pupil, the author James Cancellar. As an enduring associate of Twyne, Cancellar had some influence in Canterbury, despite having never sat on the Burghmote himself.²⁵⁷ He is recorded as in receipt of a stipend from the newly secularised Canterbury Cathedral in 1542, but he gained greater prominence under Mary, serving as a chorister in the Chapel Royal. There he dedicated to Mary his work, *The Pathe of Obedience*, in which he admonished the beliefs of the Marian exiles as ‘seditious,

²⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 346-347

²⁵⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 128

²⁵⁵ Durkin, ‘The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury’, pp. 237-240

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 258

rebellious and disobedient'.²⁵⁸ His attacks on the Marians were not without their prominent characters, and in his *Treatise against the pernicious opinions of those obstinate people of Kent*, he rounded on *The Vocacyon*, an early work of none other than 'the mad, frantic friar Bale'.²⁵⁹ For all Bale's denunciation of Cancellor as an intellectual inferior to himself and Twyne (who he considered a genuine intellectual rival), Cancellor did have the foresight to secure himself a place on the pardon roll of Elizabeth, thus providing him with a degree of immunity not enjoyed by Twyne.²⁶⁰

Returning to Twyne, Cancellor's old schoolmaster and sometime patron, the alderman's inclusion in Bale's letter was only one salvo in a lengthy battle.²⁶¹ Twyne had, less than two months before the feast day celebrations, featured prominently in a slander case again recorded in Canterbury's court depositions. Formed from evidence given by Joanna Basley, the testimony ascribed scandalous misdeeds to Twyne, and affirmed his status as an 'alderman of Canterbury' before calling him a 'conjurer' and implying that his deviousness had led his associates astray.²⁶² The intent was probably much the same as Bale's – to 'righteously' discredit. The deposition highlighted his 'sundry crimes' which allegedly hurt his community and implied his culpability in seditious events committed in 'winter, 12 months now past', probably referencing information collected during the 1560 visitation of Canterbury.²⁶³

Twyne was indicted for having bid Basley enter his house, at which point he was accused of having conjured "a black dogge...which would daunse and hurle fyre about the house".²⁶⁴ The tactic is clear, Twyne stood to lose considerable local prestige if thought a practitioner of magic. Whether the authorities considered magic a liar's art, or a genuine invocation of demonic power, the reception was not positive. His accuser, Joanna Basley, was

²⁵⁸ S. Wright, 'Cancellor, James (1542-1565)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4545?rskey=xXRfiB&result=1>, (Accessed 10 December 2017)

²⁵⁹ D. M. Loades, *The reign of Mary Tudor: politics, government and religion in England, 1553-1558*, (London, 1979) p. 121

²⁶⁰ Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', pp. 346-347

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, MS.Y.2.24 fo.69V, 1561

²⁶³ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, MS.Y.2.24 fo.69V, 1561

²⁶⁴ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, MS.Y.2.24 fo.69V, 1561

a fifty-year-old woman from the parish of St Paul. The similarity between her name and that of Bale's friend and fellow exile Beesley springs to mind. Although his date of birth is unclear, records indicate that Beesley gained his first commission as Rector of Staplehurst in 1540, likely during his thirties. He was therefore likely to be in his fifties in 1561, as was Joanna Basley. What is certain is that Beesley and Bale were each vehemently opposed to Twyne's 'seditious' advocacy of Catholicism, and a slanderous accusation would have reinforced an allegation about his rebellious character.

Sure enough, Twyne was then accused by Basley of casting stones at her "so vehemently as the stones flying against the stone wall sprang out fyer" and shouting "away then arrant whore for I shall kill thee."²⁶⁵ Twyne's use of language here (if we make the fair assumption that this ludicrous story was grounded in some fact) is believable since Basley was possibly married to a priest. Therefore, Twyne's words verbalised his Catholic belief in the theological tradition of the Latin rite, which held and still holds that priests cannot marry, rendering Joanna a 'whore' if she were Beesley's wife. Such a deposition, which included magic, slander, harassment and threat, was representative of the fantastical lengths to which the Protestant authorities travelled in order to discredit prominent Catholic laymen in Canterbury, and is relevant to Bale's letter, which explicitly mentions Twyne once and implicitly many times, claiming Twyne's support for each misdemeanour recounted by Bale.²⁶⁶

Another deposition transcribed by former archive head William Blore sheds further light on attempts to discredit Twyne, who in his evidence calls himself "a Citizen and Alderman, but not Headmaster of the School". The deposition further stated that "the other witnesses call him Alderman, and not Schoolmaster", meaning it probably transpired while Twyne's position as head of the King's School was in jeopardy.²⁶⁷ The evidence is drawn from the 1560 Visitation and helps construct the events of the previous year that led to Twyne's downfall. Blore records that the vice-dean of Canterbury (another term for archdeacon) thought he "nedeth reformation".²⁶⁸ The powerful office of archdeacon, long since vacated by Harpsfield, was now occupied by the bishop of Rochester, Edmund Gheast, the future bishop

²⁶⁵ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, MS.Y.2.24 fo.69V, 1561

²⁶⁶ Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', pp. 346-347

²⁶⁷ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

²⁶⁸ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

of Salisbury from 1571 until his death in 1577.²⁶⁹ Reproach from a high-ranking church official is noteworthy, showing how the reformers did not hold back in attacking Twyne and how the authorities managed to extract criticism of the alderman from each stratum of the Cathedral hierarchy. Minor canon Thomas Smith claimed he kept a disorderly school, without "any dyet of meate or drinke ordinarie in the foundation of the house."

Similarly, third prebend William Darrell mentioned that the "Schollers of the Grammer Schole goe not orderlie in their apparel."²⁷⁰ So, Twyne stood accused of flouting the curriculum, breaking statutes, and not keeping provisions stocked for his school by a roster of accusers that comprised not only influential churchmen but also neighbours, considering the location of The King's School next to the Cathedral precincts.

If Twyne had been alone amongst Canterbury's slandered Catholics, it could be considered a unique case rather than a concerted policy, but he was not. Another alderman harbouring Catholic sympathies, John Okeden, also known as Ugden, revealed similar sympathies during an attack on Bale in 1560. Okeden's threat to the establishment was obvious, similar to Twyne's with one notable exception. The Burghmote minutes of 24th November 1562 contains letters relating to September of 1561 when a disputed mayoral election had taken place "against a background of religious disharmony between radical and conservative factions within the city." Okeden was one of the two candidates.²⁷¹ The other, Stephen Sare, had been elected as a common councillor in November 1544, having become an alderman in August 1553, a position he held until 1562. The zenith of his career was reached in 1558-1559 when he had already served as mayor. As Mary had passed away in November 1558, it is probable that Sare was well into his mayoral term by the time of Elizabeth's accession, and was elected when Catholic influence in Canterbury was at its height. When considering the possibility that Sare was a devout Catholic, the Privy Council's reaction to the election is telling. Rather than intervening to assist one candidate, the council opted to halt the entire election in 1562 - an act motivated by mistrust of both candidates - and ordered the outgoing mayor to "remove such as appear manyfestly unmetered to hold the place."²⁷² Their investigation concluded that each candidate was "very evyll and perversely geven to funder the order of Relygyon establyshed

²⁶⁹ Horn, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, pp. 15-17

²⁷⁰ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

²⁷¹ Durkin, 'The Civic Government and Economy of Elizabethan Canterbury', pp. 48-50

²⁷² CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, CC.FA.14, f.39r; CC.AC.2, f.11v, 87v, 79r, 119r

in the realme.”²⁷³ Okeden's punishment merits discussion later, but suffice to say this added to his woes. A year previously, he had highlighted "Mr Bale's ungodly wordes and unreverent talke of the Sacrament in the Chapter house of Cant".²⁷⁴ The shift in the religious landscape in a decade is remarkable since such talk had sent Bland to the stake in 1555, but Okeden's words are nonetheless entirely believable. After all, the sermons of the cathedral clergy were preached not in the Quire or Nave as now, but in the Chapter House, so called because of the monks having congregated there for prayers and preaching, in times for which Twyne and Okeden no doubt longed. Okeden had probably heard Bale preach a sermon and disliked the Protestant strands of argument contained therein.

There follows an intriguing exchange between Okeden and John Bale's identically named son, with Okeden having insisted that he could convert the elder Bale should he dare come to his house, to which the younger Bale retorted that the exact opposite would happen, "whereunto this deponent aunswered that Mr Bale would rather contverte hym the said Mr. Ugden." This altercation likely became evidence to condemn Okeden. His son Richard furthermore advised the elder Bale to "set furth playes against religious men and not com into the pulpit to make sermons".²⁷⁵ The mention of the word 'pulpit' ought not to be missed – implying again that Bale had delivered a disagreeable sermon. Obvious here is just how polarising the Reformation was, with Bale's assumption in his letter that Catholics were not Christians met with the counter-claim that the object of mockery in his plays, Catholics, were religious men. In Bale, the Catholic men saw an 'anabaptist' who persecuted devout men with his polemical talents.²⁷⁶

The fortunes of laymen like Twyne and Okeden were declining, and the Elizabethans employed tactics against them that differed from the previous administration. That burning gave way to slander provokes the question of 'why'? One possible answer is that the government realised slander would nullify a dissident while avoiding the risk of their canonisation, as the Marian exiles had done for the martyrs. However, easy as it becomes to lose oneself in local circumstances, one should remember that Elizabeth's throne was incredibly precarious during those early years. Excommunication had defined her against a 'foreign' Catholicism, and while the Papal Bull of 1570 had yet to emerge, the feeling on the

²⁷³ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, CC.FA.14, f.39r; CC.AC.2, f.11v, 87v, 79r, 119r

²⁷⁴ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

²⁷⁵ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

²⁷⁶ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

continent was one of hatred. Pettegree observed this as an asset throughout the long-term, because the queen's ability to recast a Catholicism, so recently devoutly followed throughout England as the foreign oppressor reinforced her position, helped by the exile of the most vociferous English Catholics to the continent, fleeing similarly to the Marian exiles.²⁷⁷ But having just emerged from the turmoil of the previous decade, the young Elizabethan administration was fixated on commanding the here-and-now of the 1560s and Canterbury, as the centre of English Christendom, was more the rule than the exception. Take church policy, with even ardent puritans likely being initially satisfied by the idea that the retention of vestments among other 'popish remnants' was a necessary compromise until continental Catholic opposition had withered.

Fairfield claims that Okeden said of Bale; "Yes by God's blood, he is as the rest are, knaves all the many of them." He furthermore notes that this initially inconclusive evidence against Okeden was not enough to prosecute him on May 27th, 1560, and Bale failed "this time at least."²⁷⁸ Examining lay loyalties highlights how the authorities were often over-sensitive to religious dissent, likely the result of three administrations before them having embarked upon short-lived religious policies. Regardless, the use of slander indicates lay resilience existed within officialdom, just as among the less prominent inhabitants of Canterbury.

The slow decline of their prestige reached its zenith two years later when, during May of 1562, both Twyne and Okeden were ordered to appear before the clerk of the privy council in Westminster, where daily attendance was obliged until otherwise requested.²⁷⁹ Their Catholic sympathies ultimately condemned them, reflected with incredible clarity in the fact that their fellow attendant was one 'Bonner', probably the deprived bishop of Hereford and passionate supporter of the Marian restoration, Edmund Bonner.²⁸⁰ This was the year in which Twyne and Okeden each lost their aldermanries, and the summons was likely the final death-knell for the careers of each man. One of the lords of the privy council to whom the men were to report, was the earl of Bedford.²⁸¹ It is likely that Bale's letter and the court depositions all

²⁷⁷ A. Pettegree, *The Reformation: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies, Volume 4*, (London, 2004), p. 248

²⁷⁸ L. Fairfield, *John Bale, Mythmaker for the English Reformation*, (Indiana, 1976), p. 147

²⁷⁹ The Privy Council, *Acts of the Privy Council*, Volume 7, p. 105

²⁸⁰ P. R. Cavill, *Heresy and Forfeiture in Marian England*, (Cambridge, 2013), p. 24

²⁸¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 105

assisted in bringing Twyne and Okeden to 'justice', by highlighting their crimes repeatedly to the heart of government. The correlation is elusive but heavily implied, and Russell here vindicates Bale's efforts.

Indeed Baskerville, who wrote *A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury*, the article which examines Bale's letter, claims Bale sought to alter local government itself. He contends that Bale knew full well that "the Twynes and Cancellars of England will continue to flourish unless civic authority is reformed and made effective, not just at the level of the Privy Council where Russell sits, but of the towns and villages of Kent."²⁸² After all, the church hierarchy and courts were influential but ultimately advisory – they could not enact legislation or compel obedience on their own. But they did discredit their opponents by creating the atmosphere in which their reputations were ruined, which Potter contends left no-one safe - even clerics - until the abolition of the ecclesiastical courts.²⁸³ Indeed, the theological shift within Canterbury during the mid to late sixteenth century directly impacted the ability of the church to compel obedience. That the ecclesiastical courts could demand their defendants seek penance and atonement was once a strong Catholic belief but would deteriorate into an ineffectual prognosis from a Protestant leadership believing in personal redemption, truly a "rusty sword of the church."²⁸⁴ The decline in the influence of the Church Courts was also another symptom of the role Protestantism played in decentralising faith and may account for the upsurge in demand for works such as Becon's *Governance* as the sixteenth-century progressed. Protestants were able to fill the void left by priests who were *In persona Christi*, with their devotional works that centred around personal discipline rather than loyalty to an institution. Think of Gheast's advice to Twyne that he 'nedeth reformation'.²⁸⁵ The era of institutional religion was already giving way, slightly, to the Reformation of the self.

Bale, like Harpsfield before him, had an eye for detail. As a prebend and friend of archdeacon Gheast, he would have known much of what was transpiring in the church courts. The tempting conclusion upon reading the evidence presented in this chapter would be Duffy's, that most laymen and women were keeping to their sacred traditions. But there were many

²⁸² Baskerville, 'A Religious Disturbance in Canterbury, June 1561, John Bale's Unpublished Account', p. 343

²⁸³ Potter, 'Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury', p. 211

²⁸⁴ C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in pre-revolutionary England*, (London, 1958), p. 354

²⁸⁵ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, X.10.7, 140a, Blore, vol ii, CCA-U91/2, 1560

other forces at play, such as the paranoia of Protestants, who thought they had conquered England by 1540, who doubled down on their theology in 1547, and who had then been beaten back in 1553, only to return to a frustrating compromise in 1559. Elizabeth may have reigned an incredible 42 years after Bale penned his letter, but no Protestant could have foreseen that with certainty. Meanwhile, the depositions received in Canterbury's courts provide some proof of Catholic resilience amongst the laity, and while they were primarily isolated events, they were repeated as one crept up the social ladder, with Twyne and Okeden. Moreover, Catholic lay resilience was strong enough in 1561 to assemble into fully-formed meetings. That services involving the Eucharist could have been conducted in Canterbury after the visitation of 1560 is a testament to the desire amongst devout Catholics to contravene the Settlement by continuing to congregate, despite personal, singular worship incurring no legal punishment. Furthermore, Warrener's actions, occurring so soon after the feast day celebrations which so shocked Bale, does justify the polemicist's fears to some extent. Russell was a natural contact to relay information to, and despite spending most of 1561 in France combining the role of diplomat and spy on behalf of Cecil, he wanted the issue resolved.²⁸⁶ The church of Canterbury and its clergy were moving decidedly away from their Catholic past. Amongst the laity there was division, and yet, as Willis points out, the ecclesiastical records in Kent do not imply a 'harvest of superstition', but a residual attachment to minor traditions, such as bell-ringing and, unfortunately for Bale, bonfires.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Russell, Francis, second Earl of Bedford (1526/7–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24306>, (Accessed: 5 December 2017)

²⁸⁷ A. J. Willis, *Church Life in Kent, being Church Court Records of the Canterbury Diocese, 1559-65*, (London, 1975), p. 150

Conclusion

To conclude, the sixteenth century heralded a prolonged period of national self-examination. The religious institutions of England, which had weathered societal changes on the island for over a millennium, were finally breaking down. This thesis has examined the structure of the church in Canterbury, along with the key figures within the city who wrote during this time and presented evidence for how the Reformation in Canterbury was a unique affair. It has also sought to understand what effect the Reformation had on ordinary lay lives, with the assistance of historians such as Duffy, MacCulloch, Freeman and Greengrass. An analysis of the city's primary resources has enabled an examination into the legal situation Catholics found themselves in at Canterbury to be examined, and the conclusion that they were continued threats to the Protestant establishment to be reached.²⁸⁸ The contributions of modern historians have been invaluable, enabling this thesis to cross-reference their theories in light of new or unused evidence specific to Canterbury itself, such as the court depositions, which support Duffy's assertion that local people kept to their customs. True, the societal changes explored in this thesis are also significant: the church courts in Canterbury were by the 1560s losing a great deal of their once unique influence over the morality of the city, and the Catholicism was, by the beginning of the 1560s, in retreat around England.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Canterbury's depositions attest to a significant Catholic continuum around the city, which manifested in both organised and personal worship.²⁹⁰

Not only this, but many of Canterbury's official class retained a pious attachment to the Catholicism of their youth, which had been reintroduced so recently between 1553-1558 and, they hoped, would be again. Alongside them, the clergy of Canterbury's inner-city churches, like those of the surrounding parishes, was comprised of men ordained across the reigns of many Tudor monarchs.²⁹¹ Local nuance can and often has been overlooked in the overarching interpretations of the Reformation conducted by historians such as Duffy and MacCulloch, to name but two, giving this thesis the opportunity to devote much-needed attention to Canterbury as an anomaly in English religious life, possessing privileges no other city could claim. Owing

²⁸⁸ *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 105

²⁸⁹ Potter, 'Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury', p. 211

²⁹⁰ CCA, Canterbury Court Depositions, Y.2.24, fo.5v

²⁹¹ Potter, 'Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury', p. 11

to the somewhat lucrative office of a clergyman during this period, which brought with it a higher and longer standard of living, the clerics opted for conformity en masse. It has been demonstrated in Chapter One how the notable exception of some, such as a quarter of the cathedral's prebends, did little to stem the tide of priests swearing the Oath of Supremacy. Canterbury's unique place in English Christendom is what made it so attractive to study, and similarly, is what seems to have drawn the great writers and polemicists of English Protestantism towards it. Through the efforts of Matthew Parker, who radically restructured the clerical landscape, Catholic clergy ceded a huge amount of church real estate to incoming Protestants, writers such as John Bale and Thomas Becon took up residence in the city and contributed to its theological makeup significantly.²⁹² In the case of Bale, they would maintain channels of communication with the upper echelons of Protestant power through personal friendships with the earl of Bedford, which awarded them some measure of influence over policy, as seen in the case of Okeden and Twyne.²⁹³ Providing context to everything discussed and studied in this thesis are the observations of modern historians, including Collinson and Zell. Their research into the cathedral and Kentish martyrs respectively has provided considerable focus to the debate started by Duffy around Catholicism's resilience.

Moreover, an examination of the primary works of the returning Marian exiles reveals an evangelical desire to influence religious policy. The significance of their publications and general works, undertaken during both the period of restoration and the later Elizabethan era and concern Canterbury specifically, are often lost to the grand narrative of many modern historians. Understandable as this is, it is undoubtedly impossible to understand the process of religious change in sixteenth-century England without first understanding its epicentre.

It is however undoubtedly true that the exiles in Canterbury all saw themselves as part of a broader movement, which sought to cement the dominance of the Protestant church over not just Canterbury, but Christendom. Arguably the works of the exiles, read by many across several decades, had a lasting impact both on the sixteenth century and beyond, shaping opinion long after the authors themselves had died.²⁹⁴ Overall, Protestantism in England was certainly on the ascendancy by the 1560s, albeit a historical compromise rather than the Puritan movement that would briefly dominate a century later. As much as compiling evidence for the

²⁹² H. B. Thomas, *Thomas Becon, Canon of Canterbury, Archaeologia Cantiana*, 69, (1955), p. 160

²⁹³ *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 105

²⁹⁴ Seymour Baker House, 'Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>, (Accessed: 27 Nov 2017)

effect of the Reformation in Canterbury, this thesis has sought to highlight how Canterbury's place on the broader picture does not often tally with its pre-eminence in English church affairs. The city quite obviously held a significant position in the minds of the exiles, the reformers, the restorers and the government at large.²⁹⁵ The decisions and actions which were undertaken by its clerical class, the platform it gave exile and martyr alike, the power that it vested in polemicists and the laity that made up its churches, all helped shape the institution interlinked with the state until the present day: The Church of England.

²⁹⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 105

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