

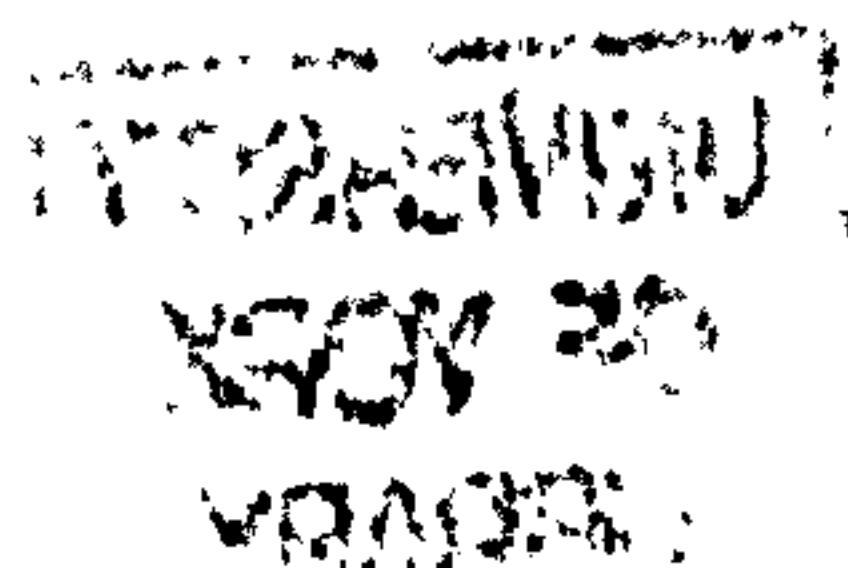
Tobie Matthew and the Establishment of the Godly
Commonwealth in England: 1560-1606

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ABSTRACT

Tobie Matthew and the Establishment of the Godly Commonwealth in England: 1560-1606

Tobie Matthew (1544-1628) was at the heart of a circle of Protestants who worked to establish a reformed church in Elizabethan England. From 1572, Matthew was prominent at Oxford University, as the President of St. John's College; Dean of Christ Church; and Vice-Chancellor of the University, before moving to the Deanery of Durham in 1583. Matthew remained there until 1595, when he became the Bishop of Durham. From 1606 to 1628, Matthew was the Archbishop of York.

This thesis explores Matthew's career at Oxford and Durham, it demonstrates that an early, influential, group of 'moderate Calvinists' was in existence at Oxford and that Matthew was at the heart of this circle. From the mid-1560s, Matthew was engaged in developing a unique vision of the reformation in England. That vision promoted conformity without compromising the evangelical commitment to 'edification', and resolved the tensions between the need for further reform and a duty to the Queen.

This work has drawn heavily on Matthew's extensive library, and through a study of Matthew's reading and his sermons, offers a new explanation of the relationship between theology and ecclesiastical government. Matthew's vision of creating a godly commonwealth in England was a unifying image in the Elizabethan church, which was promoted by Matthew and his prominent political and clerical allies.

This research demonstrates how the intellectual foundations of 'conforming Calvinism' shaped pastoral and political activity. Through an investigation of Matthew's pastoral work in Durham, this thesis explores how Matthew's commitment to the godly commonwealth shaped his churchmanship and how the demands of the north modified his vision of reform. In doing so archival evidence has been examined in the context of Matthew's intellectual engagements, and the cultural and political aspects of religious reform have been stressed.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council, new series</i>
BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York
BL	British Library, London
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cal. Bord. Pap.	<i>Calendar of Border Papers</i>
Cal. Scot. Pap.	<i>Calendar of Papers Relating to Scotland</i>
Cal. Stat. Pap.	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series...Edward VI...Elizabeth I</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
DUL	Durham University Library, Durham
DDR	Durham Diocesan Records
DCD	Records of the Dean and Chapter of Durham
LAO	Lincolnshire Archive Office, Lincoln
YML	York Minster Library, York.

Spellings and punctuation have not been regularised and reflect the original texts.
All dates are in the new style, with the new starting on 1 January.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own composition and my own work. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. All quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks or indented paragraphs, and all sources of information have been acknowledged.

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Tobie Matthew and the Establishment of the Godly Commonwealth in England: 1560-1606

INTRODUCTION

The publication, in 1964, of Professor Dickens's *The English Reformation*, evinced a quiet revolution in the writing of reformation history which would influence generations of historians. Dickens sought to re-introduce the importance of the religious experience into accounts of the reformation, attempting to 'depict the movement as it affected ordinary men and women'.¹ That emphasis on the popular experience of the reformation challenged accounts of national religious reform which had concentrated on parliamentary activity, describing the course of the reformation through a litany of statutes. Dickens's stress on the popular response to, and calls for, that legislative reform was further reflected in works like Professor Cross's *Church and People*, which regarded the Elizabethan settlement in 1559 not as the end of the reformation, but as part of a longer process of reform and conversion.² Research into the popular experience of the national reformation, or national reformations, led many historians to question the success of the reformed church in the Tudor kingdom. Dr. Haigh's work on Tudor Lancashire stressed the continuing vibrancy of Catholicism there, and the failure of statutory reform. At the other end of the religious spectrum, Dr. Sheils's work on Northamptonshire puritanism also produced evidence of thriving communities of religious dissenters, whose puritanism was characterised by a frustration with the limitations of the 1559 settlement.³

¹ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964). A. G. Dickens had addressed many of the historiographical questions about popular religious experiences in an earlier study of Lollard dissent in Yorkshire, published in 1958. A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (2nd edn., London, 1982).

² For an example of an older view of the Reformation as an act of state, M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (Oxford, 1941). C. Cross, *Church and People, 1450-1660* (London, 1976)

³ C. A. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975). Dickens saw in Haigh's work the influence of own his work on Lollardy, Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, (2nd . edn, 1982), p.vi. Sheils' doctoral work

This work on the popular religious experience in early modern England highlighted disparities between the Protestantism of the established church and the parochial experience, prompting two different types of historical response. One description of the reformation emphasised the failure of the established church either to meet the needs of parishioners or to establish a reformed church. In his magisterial study of East Anglia, Professor Duffy stressed the vitality of the pre-reformation church, and the failure of the subsequent reformations to meet the spiritual demands of parishioners. Dr. Haigh described a process of reform which was piecemeal, confused and ultimately unsuccessful: 'the Tudor reformations', he concluded, 'had not replaced a Catholic England by a Protestant England'.⁴ Much of his evidence for this failure rested on his work on parochial and episcopal archival evidence. There he found a reluctance to adopt the Protestantism of the post-1559 church, as parishioners and their priests were disciplined for the continued observance of mass, an attachment to the liturgical and architectural fabric of Catholicism and a failure to purchase works of reformation theology. Haigh found further support for his picture of a failing church in contemporary criticisms of the church by godly observers such as George Gifford and William Perkins. Haigh's picture of Protestant failure was matched by a narrative of the 'continuity of Catholicism in the English reformation', in direct contrast to Professor Bossy's emphasis on the impact of the counter-reformation on English Catholicism. Dr. Haigh's work has done much to highlight the gap between statute and practice, emphasising the interactions between clerics and laity in the process of the reformation. His concentration, however, on ecclesiastical sources left by men who were concerned to discover and punish Catholicism and on accounts by zealous and

was also later published, W. J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Northamptonshire*, (Northamptonshire Record Society, XXX, Northampton, 1979).

⁴ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: traditional religion in England c. 1400-1580* (New Haven and London, 1992). C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), p. 293. This is an argument which can also be seen in J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984).

exacting reformers, has tended to ensure that his accounts are inherently biased towards a narrative of failure.⁵

The other response to an awareness of the disparity between the statute and the practice of the church was to move away from the debate as to the 'success' or the 'failure' of the reformation, and to concentrate on the 'how', rather than the 'if', of reform. These works have, by necessity, therefore, moved away from the archival records of discipline and concentrated on other media which reflect the complex nature of religious experience and proselytisation in Tudor England. One of the earliest of these works was written by Professor Collinson, exploring the culture of English Puritanism. His descriptions of Puritanism as a cultural force, moved the discussion of Puritanism beyond conflicts in the church courts or parliamentary attacks, instead positing an experience of Protestantism more malleable and engaging than episcopal records might suggest. Collinson's extensive work into, as he entitled one of his later works, *The Religion of Protestants*, was supplemented by other studies into the cultural, theological and social experience of Protestantism in Tudor England.⁶ Professor Cressy and Dr. Maltby explored the role of the 1559 prayer book and statutes in shaping the beliefs, as well as the practices, of a whole section of the English laity and Dr. Marsh examined the religious practices which resulted from an interaction of religious and popular culture. Dr. Walsham demonstrated how theology, in particular the Puritan understanding of providence, transcended academic or

⁵ This was the title of a paper by Dr. Haigh, which questioned Bossy's position as evinced in J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975). C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', 93 (1981), 37-69. C. Haigh, 'The Taming of the Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *History*, 85 (2000), 572-588. C. Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp.196-97. For a recent and largely unsympathetic critique of Haigh's position see P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, 2002), pp. xii-xvii.

⁶ P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967). Two of the most notable of these are P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants; the Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982). P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religion and Cultural Changes in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1988)

clerical boundaries and was part of the popular appeal of Elizabethan Calvinism. Her seminal study also drew on a range of 'non-ecclesiastical' sources, namely popular pamphlets, woodcuts and sermons to explore how these religious images permeated society. In this she complemented the work of historians like Dr. Watt, and latterly Professor Lake, who utilised a large number of popular printed sources to explore a culture of Protestantism which existed sometimes alongside, but often separately from the established church; which, as much as the statutes of 1559, was responsible for shaping popular Protestant beliefs.⁷

This research opened up the arena between the ecclesiastical structure, the rhetoric of reformers of many different hues and the popular experience of the church, and historians have begun to explore the malleability of these images and the friction between them. This has produced research concentrating on the role of the clergy and episcopacy in the reform process, examining in particular the theological character of the clerical estate. Dr. Heal's work on the clergy of the English church highlighted questions of clerical preferment and patronage in shaping the character of the church, examining the practicalities of local reform through an investigation of the English and Welsh episcopate. Work on Cambridge has uncovered university connections which were later reflected in the church, while a number of historians have traced the influence of political patronage in the Tudor and Stuart church. Dr. Fincham's work on the Jacobean episcopate has developed both strands of these clerical investigations, exploring patterns of patronage, belief and practice among the episcopate and tracing the connections between them.⁸

⁷ D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989). J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabeth and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998). C. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-century England: Holding Their Peace* (London, 1998), T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1560-1649* (Cambridge, 1992). A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999). See in particular P. Lake, 'Protestants, Puritans and Cheap Print' in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds.), *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*, 3-185.

⁸ K. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990). J. Guy, 'The Elizabethan establishment and the ecclesiastical polity', in J. Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge, 1995), 126-149. F. Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes. A Study of the*

One important aspect to this work is the question of how far the Elizabethan Church, its clergy as well as its communicants, reflected the church as envisaged in the Elizabethan settlement. Research by Professor Lake on the 'moderate Puritans' of Cambridge has illustrated the heterodoxy of clerical opinion within the church, while Dr. Tyacke's work on 'anti-Calvinism' has explored one of the reactions to that development. This emphasis on religious heterodoxy reflected historians' attempts to discover the roots of the religious friction which exploded in the civil war. The 'lengthening' of the English reformation was reflected in work by those who tried to trace the development of English Arminianism and Puritanism from their geneses in Elizabethan England, and encouraged historians to explore those early religious developments in light of their later political impact.⁹ One of the principal questions which historians have asked is how the church remained relatively united in the sixteenth century despite vigorous polemical disputes, when those divisions rent apart the church in the seventeenth century. Central to this discussion was the acceptance by many Puritans, in the 1580s and 1590s, of an ecclesiastical structure of which they were so critical and would come to despise. Professor Lake's influential and inimitable work on godly Cambridge academics argued that many Elizabethan Puritans became 'moderates' and conformed because their fear of 'popery' was greater than their dislike of the halfly-Reformed English church. Dr. Milton, who developed this work in a study of polemic from 1600, supported Lake's argument that the writing of anti-Catholic polemic offered an opportunity for Puritans to bury their argument with the English church, and

Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate (Cambridge, 1980). V. Morgan, 'Cambridge University and "The County" 1560-1640' in L. Stone (ed.), *The University In Society* (London, 1975), vol. 1, 183-245. C. M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1983). P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge 1983).

⁹ N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987). N. Tyacke, 'Re-thinking the "English Reformation"', in N. Tyacke (ed.), *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1990), pp.1-32. For Tyacke's most recent assessment of this development see the introduction to his latest collection N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 3-27. Professor Collinson and Professor Cross have both adopted this 'longer' approach, Maltby, *Prayer Book and People*, also reflects this trend.

instead to demonstrate their attachment to it through a criticism of the Catholic alternative.¹⁰ Other historians have sought to demonstrate that those 'moderate Puritans' did not only accommodate themselves within the mainstream of the English Church, but eventually became that mainstream. Dr. Tyacke's description of a 'Calvinist consensus' explored how the Calvinist theology of predestination had permeated the Church of England, acting as a unifying point of agreement. Rather than adapting themselves to a hostile church hierarchy, it appeared that those godly men had actually become members of the hierarchy.¹¹

Part of the confusion surrounding the place of puritanism within the church, in particular the 'moderate Puritanism' which Lake identified at Cambridge, was one of definition. Collinson's and Sheils's work on communities of puritans were, by their nature, concerned with the collective expression of frustration with the English church, most frequently manifested through nonconformity. It was a type of evangelism evinced through a commitment to further reform in church and state, and while not inherently oppositional (Collinson's work on Grindal demonstrated how many 'establishment figures' were puritan), it was through their opposition that puritans were most easily identified. Lake, however, emphasised the more private manifestations of puritanism as 'a distinctively zealous or intense subset of a larger body of reformed or protestant doctrines and position', as well as an image created by opponents of puritanism.¹² This approach was demonstrated in Lake's work on puritans, where he described Matthew Hutton, Thomas Cartwright, Edward Dering, and William Whittaker as all sharing a common 'moderate puritanism'. The

¹⁰ A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995). P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp.55-77

¹¹ Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, p11, 'From Calvinist to Arminian: the doctrinal tenor of the Paul's Cross sermons, 1570-1638', appendix a in Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 248-65

¹² For an example of 'puritanism' defined in terms of opposition see N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution' in C. Russell, (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), 119-143. P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979). P. Lake, 'Defining Puritanism-again?', in F. J. Brewer, *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, 1993), 3-29.

definition of puritanism as ‘intensely felt’ Protestantism brought, of course, a new range of problems in discovering who might have been ‘a puritan’. Tobie Matthew, who was certainly intensely committed to an evangelical Protestantism, drew a distinction between his own style of divinity and that of those ‘gidde-heade puritans’, as did Matthew Hutton. Matthew’s criticism was prompted by the news of the Hampton Court Conference, and opponents of the ‘Puritans’ were threatened not by the Puritans’ commitment to Protestantism, but the effect of that commitment on their attitudes to church government.¹³ An examination of the dynamics and interplay of the Elizabethan church, its ministers and opponents, must, therefore, address the question of church government and public reform when examining puritanism, and indeed conformity. If the clerics, many of them identified as committed Protestants, attacked puritanism, it was not because of what they shared with the ‘precisians’, but because of the differences.

Attempts to discover the ‘middle ground’ of the Elizabethan church have been dogged by problems of definition, problems which have been heightened by the fluidity of Elizabethan ecclesiastical alliances after 1560. ‘Moderate puritans’ have also been identified as ‘the godly’, and as ‘Calvinists’, the latter has been used particularly to stress their opposition to the ‘anti-Calvinists’. All these descriptions reflect the theological and spiritual engagements of ‘intense Protestants’, and to avoid the separatist and nonconformist implications of the term ‘puritan’, in this thesis I shall use the name which these men and women applied to themselves, ‘the godly’, to explore an emerging sense of the need for the further reform of the Elizabethan church and society. This term also has the advantage of stressing the non-partisan, but Protestant, roots of ‘godliness’, highlighting the Protestant foundations and connections which were shared by nonconformists, conformists and their European allies.

Historians who have worked to define English godliness have tried to make clear distinctions between ‘moderate puritans’ and ‘conformists’, or rather

¹³ British Library, London, Egerton Mss., 2877, f.173, hereafter BL. P. Lake, ‘Matthew Hutton: A Puritan Bishop?’, *History*, 64 (1979), 182-204. Lake explored the Cambridge connection in Lake, *Moderate Puritans*.

unwilling and willing conformists. Historians have argued that 'moderate puritanism' could be defined through a commitment to one, or usually all of the following: the efficacy of the preached word; an identification of the Pope as the Antichrist; and, of course, a commitment to predestination. None of these are inaccurate, and all evince godly concerns. As terms of identification and definition, however, the picture which they paint can be summed up in one word: Protestantism. Predestination, in particular, which has been taken as a peculiar mark of godly commitment, was central not only to the Calvinism developed by Beza, but was also present in Luther's and Cranmer's work and thought.¹⁴ These terms of description, perhaps unintentionally, emphasize only the Protestant nature of the English church and the theological connections between the church in England and her European counterparts. As tools of investigation, however, they reveal no more than the fact that the internal divisions of English reformers, conformist, presbyterian and puritan, were internecine battles between Protestants.

If everyone shared these Protestant commitments then where *did* the differentiation between separatists, the godly and 'mere' conformity occur? It was not just the intensity with which men and women might experience their Protestantism, but the ends to which they put that intensity. This was as true of 'prayer book anglicans' as of presbyterians. All, I argue, shared a core belief system about their ultimate salvation, this was a belief in predestination which would be accompanied by a secondary process of regeneration.¹⁵ Developing from that commitment to predestination, however, were a number of competing theologies about the secondary process of conversion which followed the initial 'election'. These theologies, however, though all springing from a common belief in predestination, and the concomitant need for regeneration, produced very different prescriptions for personal and public action.

¹⁴ A. E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1993), pp. 128-31. From 1525, however, the Lutheran church tended to marginalize Luther's work on divine predestination, and by the end of the sixteenth century 'election' usually meant a human choice to love God. See for example Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp.279-91.

¹⁵ See further chapter one.

Historians' emphasis on the unity of the church as evinced by a commitment to the lowest common denominator has not helped to explain divisions in Elizabethan opinions of the church and society. Seeking to explain Stephan Egerton's assertion in 1603 that Bishop Tobie Matthew would shortly 'turn puritan', Tyacke drew on Matthew's commitment to predestination theology in a sermon preached before the earl of Huntingdon in March 1592. In a later work, Tyacke also noted that Archbishop Richard Bancroft, the scourge of Puritans and promoter of *iuro divino* episcopacy, also believed in predestination. Clearly, predestination was not to be the dividing line between them.¹⁶

In seeking to explain different attitudes to church government, historians have tended to attribute a certain style of church government to a soteriological statement: in the case of a commitment to predestination, the style of government was that of 'moderate puritanism', characterised by an unwilling acceptance of the government of the church in order to minister within it. In addition, or sometimes instead, historians have also sought external systems of theology to explain the differences in proposed ecclesiastical styles.¹⁷ Most obvious was the adoption by historians of the term 'arminianism', drawing on theological debates to unite soteriology and the resulting church government. Criticisms of the use of the term Arminianism have reflected the inaccurate superimposition of that term to describe an English theological and intellectual position which predated the fame of the works of the Dutch theologian, Arminius. While reflecting the important role of theological understanding in determining men's approach to church government, 'Arminianism' proper was alien to the English system and its use ignored the importance of the social,

¹⁶ BL., Sloane Mss., 2877, f.179. Tyacke, *Aspects of Protestantism*, p.11. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 17-18. D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (London, 1990), pp.93-96.

¹⁷ For an example of this extrapolation see Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, pp. 248-93. Tyacke's work on the Hampton Court Conference, especially his suggestion that Matthew, was a puritan, or at least sympathetic to the puritans because he shared a commitment to predestination with presbyterians evinces some of the limitations of those connections. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp.17-18.

political and intellectual contexts within which avant-garde conformity or Arminianism *avant la lettre* developed.¹⁸

Through an examination of Tobie Matthew's ecclesiological and theological developments it is clear that rather than the sterile relationship which historians have posited between soteriology and calls for a particular type of church government, the development of a vision of the church in society was underpinned by a complex interaction of soteriological concerns, theological and intellectual negotiations, and political and social demands. The notion that conformity suggested an acceptance of 'things indifferent' will be challenged, as will the stark divisions in the church posited by historians who have drawn uncritically on polemical disputes and ignored the shared intellectual engagements which brought the disputants and their readers closer together. In this light the clash between mere conformity and 'moderate Puritanism' was not one over the intensity of interpretation, but reflected different readings of the same theological precepts to produce different conclusions about church and government. As a result, the church remained unified in part because those who conducted the polemical disputes drew on the same material to conduct their disputes, while their disruptive influence was limited by their readers' appreciation of polemical dispute as part of the formation of a practical theology, not as its summation.

At the root of the Calvinism of the English church was an emphasis on the secondary conversion, the earthly process of regeneration which followed heavenly predestination. The process of regeneration was a drawing closer to Christ, and Matthew and his contemporaries believed that this regeneration would be experienced differently by different people at different times. As

¹⁸ Various definitions for the shades of English 'Arminianism' have been coined. For 'Arminianism *avant la lettre*' see H. C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1958), p.281. Also see 'Defining Arminianism' in Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism*, pp.156-59. For criticisms of the use of the term, see MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, pp.94-98. For the use of an alternative term, 'avant-garde conformists' see Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 2-4, 26-27.

Matthew asserted, 'manifold diseases' required 'many kinds of medicines'.¹⁹ That sense of the need to adapt was reflected in godly calls for preaching and underpinned contemporary discussions of the church. Different understandings about the needs of the congregations in England, different perceptions of her enemies, and of the potential for lay involvement underpinned different conceptions about how the process of edification might be achieved. Matthew, like Calvin, was sure that the church should be the forum through which the process of regeneration should occur, encouraging his audience to reform themselves 'by Christ our first borne brother, by the holy mother the Church, [and] by truth of the Gospell'. All reformers, from Cartwright to Hooker, shared a common commitment to predestination, however, they came to different conclusions about the peculiar demands of Elizabethan England and how to devise a church which would best ensure the working out of edification. Between a commitment to predestination, and a statement about the government of the church there were, therefore, complex intellectual and spiritual negotiations. It was in the fluidity of these intellectual negotiations, negotiations which led men from the unifying bond of predestination to disparate views of the church, that the dynamism of the English reformation may be found. It has been said that England was theologically inert in comparison with developments in Europe, but through the debates about realising the secondary stage of conversion through 'the church as mother', clerics and scholars produced an ecclesiology underpinned by theological imperatives and grounded firmly in the English experience of reform.²⁰

Tobie Matthew offers an unrivalled opportunity to study this dynamism. A product of Christ Church of the 1560s, which was dominated by the zealous reformers, Thomas Sampson, James Calphill and Herbert Westphaling, Matthew was committed to further reform of the church. His huge corpus of books, remaining largely intact as a library, allow us to trace his intellectual and theological negotiations as he negotiated the pitfalls of court, the Queen's

¹⁹ York Minster Library, York, Additional Manuscripts, 582, f. 14r, hereafter YML.

²⁰ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson Mss., D, 843, f.15v, hereafter Bod. YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 15v. MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, pp. 83-87

conservatism, and the Catholicism of the north. Matthew's activity at Durham, as dean and then bishop, demonstrates how his strong sense of the secondary process of regeneration came to be manifested in his ecclesiastical activity.

Part one will trace Matthew's development of a programme of further reform in the face of the Queen's obduracy and the peculiar status of the English church. Part two will examine how that vision of a godly commonwealth underpinned Matthew's activity in the diocese of Durham, and how the peculiar conditions of the north tempered Matthew's programme of reform.

By ignoring the theological negotiations which underpinned the disparate statements about church government, historians have characterised two extreme and antithetical positions in the Elizabethan church, presbyterianism and proto-arminianism, which sandwiched between them the inert mass of conformists. This work on Matthew's theological development and ecclesiological vision will demonstrate that this is an overly simplistic view. Predestination was, we have been shown, a unifying force in the church, and in the fluidity of the intellectual negotiations which were involved in creating a vision of the church from this common soteriology there were many points of contact and agreement between English Protestants of all hue. The divisions which historians have depicted between different reformers, for example between Thomas Cartwright and John Whitgift, have been informed almost uncritically by contemporary polemical disputes. Those polemics should be read as scholarly disputations, a form of debate in which all had been trained at university. The theological positions adopted by combatants such as Cartwright and Whitgift did not reflect a coherent, stable theological position; by reading them as such historians have produced an overly polarised view of Elizabethan religious politics.²¹

Shortly after it was published in 1574, Matthew bought a copy of one of Whitgift's contributions to the Admonition controversy, *The defense of an*

²¹ This reading of the debate between Cartwright and Whitgift has underpinned Peter Lake's exploration of the topic in his work, *Lake, Anglicans and Puritans?* For the a discussion of English Protestantism based on polarities see for example Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 4-8, 245-46.

aunswere...against the replie of T[homas]. C[artwright]. There Whitgift had published extracts from the 1572 Admonition and Cartwright's defence, outlining his response to each.²² This polemical work, therefore, acted as a dialectic between the two sides. It was a debate in which the reader, as well as the authors, could engage, and Matthew did so through his notations. These polemical disputes were one of the areas where the dynamic developments of Elizabethan theology lay and they had a resonance beyond the immediate dispute, as clerics like Matthew turned to these works to inform their own reading of the contemporary church.

Matthew's own reading and negotiations illustrate the intellectual vibrancy of the space which existed between extreme polemical positions. Matthew's engagement in those debates was reflected in his collections of the works of both sides in Protestant internecine disputes, and Matthew's ecclesiology reflected contemporary developments as well as his continuing engagement in biblical and patristic scholarship. Conformity has too often been read as a compromise of godly commitments to the church as godly reformers who had previously been committed to total and constant reform accepted a church which they thought was unreformed. One attempt to explain the conformity of the godly has concluded that 'puritanism' was actually founded on a common core of religious experiences which 'could transcend the outward issues of church government and conformity', and that a desire to proselytise prompted many to compromise their position on ecclesiastical structures and conform.²³

This is at odds with Coolidge's description of the defining element of 'Puritanism' as being a commitment to 'edification'; a description adopted by historians of Puritanism. This concept stressed that it was imperative that everything worked towards the reform of the soul and society, and that a failure to reform was equivalent to sinning. This made the godly balk at Whitgift's description of 'things indifferent' in the church, and the sense that 'whatsoever

²² J. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition against the Replie of T. C.* (London, 1574) Matthew's copy may be found at York Minster library, shelf mark XV. C. 19. Hereafter the shelf marks of Matthew's copies while be prefaced by 'YML'.

²³ Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.12. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, p. 48.

is not done by the word of God is sin' underpinned the vestiarian crisis and was dear to Matthew. In 1562 he urged that 'godly orders tending to edification and not to destruction to be cherished'.²⁴

For others this sense of the need to encourage edification had resulted in a relentless criticism of the English church; however, Matthew's sense of edification underpinned his theology of conformity. He took the peculiar state of the English church as a given, using his humanist tools of discovery to see in it a sign of the special manifestation of the true church in the Tudor kingdom. There was, he told a congregation in 1581, only, 'one waie into the holy place, and that waie is christ and this Christ is both olde and new: olde in the promise, newe in the performance'. Having argued that the true church would be manifested in different ways in different places and that its form would be designed to meet the needs of its congregation, Matthew was able to celebrate the unique nature of the English church.²⁵ He welcomed the involvement of the polity, as a definer and a defender of the true church, and embraced civil magistrates as fellow workers in the process of edification, of the soul and of society. This, Matthew thought, was the godly commonwealth, the Jerusalem of Tudor England, and he believed himself to be charged with its foundation. This he did, using his prominent position at Oxford, at court, and later in the north, to push for reform and to promote his vision of 'conforming Calvinism'.

This topic has been addressed before, in a doctoral thesis from 1972 by Dr. Gavin: 'An Elizabethan Bishop of Durham: Tobias Matthew, 1595-1606'.²⁶ This thesis, however, will draw on newly discovered material which challenges some of the claims made by Gavin. He did not draw on any homiletic material,

²⁴ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, f.58r-59r. J. S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford 1970), p. 24. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, p.12. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, p. 48.

²⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E. 5, p.164

²⁶ J. P. Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop of Durham: Tobias Matthew, 1596-1606' (unpublished Ph.D thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1972). An MA study of Matthew also exists, which examines material from Matthew's Bristol background, J. E. Newley, 'A Life of Tobias Mathew [sic], Archbishop of York, 1546-1628' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Bristol, 1998).

nor use a notebook that I have identified as Matthew's precedent book which provides valuable information on Matthew's concerns and priorities as dean and bishop of Durham. Gavin's reliance on printed material has also made him minimise the impact of Matthew's Oxford connections on his activity in the north, and he has failed to place Matthew's connections with Leicester, Walsingham and the Cecils in their broader contexts. By choosing 1595 as his starting point, Gavin has largely ignored the twelve years which Matthew spent in the diocese of Durham prior to becoming bishop. Matthew was influential in the cause of reform during this period, using his patronage at court and in the chapter to promote godly networks, act against Catholicism, and establish the clerical and lay friendships which he was to draw on as bishop.

Above all, however, this thesis has asked different questions to those addressed by Gavin. He concluded that Matthew was a 'Puritan bishop', but this work has unpacked the notion of 'Puritanism' or 'godliness' in its ecclesiastical context, exploring how an expression of faith which was so often one of opposition managed to exist within the Elizabethan hierarchy. Underpinning this investigation is an exploration of Matthew's intellectual and theological developments, evinced through his friendships, his correspondence and his reading. Gavin largely ignored all three.

This thesis will explore how Matthew's theology affected his views on church government, on society, and about pastoral activity. The absence of visitation records and other episcopal and capitular records have made this challenging, but some tangential sources have survived, allowing me to build a picture of godly ministry frustrated in its execution by non-godly laity.²⁷ As part of this work on the formation of an ecclesiology, local Catholicism has been examined,

²⁷ No episcopal visitation records survive from Matthew's Durham episcopate, but they do exist for the period 1578-87, Durham University Library, Durham, Durham Diocesan Records, EV/VIS/1 and 2, hereafter DDR. An account of an archidiaconal visitation from Matthew's episcopate survives, DDR/A/ACD. There are also a lack of capitular records from Matthew's time as dean, the Act Books of the dean and chapter do not cover the period 1583 until 1619, 5, The College, Durham, Durham Cathedral Records, B/AA, hereafter DCD. A precedent book which was Matthew's does survive, DCD/T/YB, and I have also drawn on the Miscellaneous post-dissolution charters, DCD. Misc. Ch.

not as a static force as in Gavin's account, but as a dynamic part of Matthew's developing ecclesiology and an important element in his emphasis on the unity of ministry and magistracy in the godly commonwealth. This thesis owes little to Gavin's work, though his full treatment of Matthew's work on the border commission is reflected in this account. Gavin has handled this, and Matthew's connections with Scottish spies, in detail and they have been given only a passing treatment in this thesis. Where details about Matthew's involvement in Anglo-Scottish politics have been included, it is to modify Gavin's reading of the topic by drawing on new sources.

The Godly Commonwealth

Central to this thesis is Matthew's concept of the 'godly commonwealth', a concept which differed from ideas of the commonwealth promoted by Edwardian evangelicals and Catholic communities which emphasised questions of duty and social reform. Matthew operated within the same context of the connection between internal Christian regeneration and external action; however, instead of stressing that social harmony was a result of Christian charity, Matthew imbued political and social reform with the same urgency as personal regeneration. Thus, as edification of the individual was necessary to maintain one's predestined fate, so communal regeneration was necessary to retain divine favour and avoid providential punishments.

Matthew reconfigured discourses about the nature of polity in the context of his 'theology of conformity' and the problems of the north. The sense of a polity charged with reform was particularly intense in Durham, where the peculiar role of the bishop meant that he bore extensive secular as well as ecclesiastical powers. I shall demonstrate how this concept of a godly commonwealth, largely formed at Oxford, was adapted by Matthew to the north, and will argue that conflicting visions of the 'godly commonwealth' underpinned the relative failure of religious reform in the diocese.

The notion of the 'commonwealth' was a commonplace of Tudor thinking about the condition of society and the exercise of power. Thomas More's *Utopia* was

based around a discussion of the best commonwealth, while those men who marched on London in 1536 termed themselves as 'Pilgrims of Grace and the Commonwealth'. The notion of a successful commonwealth, the unity of men and women based on Christian *caritas*, was one shared by Catholic and Protestant alike. In Edwardian England, however, evangelical reformers adopted the rhetoric of the 'commonwealth' and imbued calls for social reform with the urgency of religious reform. Reformers like Thomas Cromwell thought that the reform of church and society was a symbiotic process, and the 'commonwealths' of the south east, who protested in 1549, shared that vision of reform.²⁸

Social, economic and religious reforms were all to be effected by the polity, and discussions about society naturally extended to an examination of the polity. During the south western rebellions of 1549, Thomas Smith devised a programme for social and economic reform to be achieved through the polity, entitled the *The Discourse of the Common Weal*. These ideas were later developed in a treaty which Smith drafted shortly after the succession of Elizabeth to the throne, *De Republica Anglorum*, later produced in English as *Of the Commonwealth of England*. In this he stressed the defining role of the monarch in the commonwealth, pointing to the dissolution of parliament and council on the death of the monarch. He also, however, stressed the inclusive nature of the commonwealth, defining England as 'a society or common doing

²⁸ T. More, *Utopia*, tr. P. Turner, (London, 1965). In his work on the Edwardian Reformation, MacCulloch has drawn some of his earlier work on Tudor rebellions together to demonstrate how an evangelical rhetoric of the commonwealth, which was primarily concerned with social redress, was emerging in evangelical courtly circles at the end of Henry VIII's reign. He also argues that by the 1540s, as demonstrated by the South-Eastern risings of 1549, the rhetoric of evangelical reform and social redress had become a popular image. D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999), p. 122-25. For the Catholic religious symbolism of this idea of communal *caritas*, see the Duffy's discussion of the Pilgrim's banner of the five wounds of Christ, Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, pp. 247-48. For a recent discussion of the social, religious and economic grievances of the commons and their relation to their gentry leaders, see R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001). For a discussion of Edwardian evangelical preaching in London focussing on 'commonwealth' ideas, see S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 461-83.

of a multitude of free men collected together and united by common accord and covenants among themselves for the conservation of themselves as well in peace as war'. As Collinson has pointed out, this was a description not of a totalitarian monarchy, but rather, a 'monarchical republic'.²⁹

Professor Collinson and Dr. Alford have both stressed the potentially inclusive nature of the Elizabethan polity, demonstrating how Cecil, and later Walsingham were at the centre of plans for the continued governance of the country in the event of Elizabeth I's death, a spectre which haunted Cecil throughout the 1560s and 1570s. Those plans reflected a sense that magisterial authority could be located outside the person of Elizabeth I, most notably in the godly men who governed the localities, and that the monarchy was 'a public and localised office like any other form of magistracy'.³⁰ As Elizabeth I was subject to the same godly duties as any other magistrate, so she, like them, should be receptive to counsel. A failure to receive counsel had always been seen as corruption in the commonwealth, and it would continue to be so. The publication of *Leycester's Commonwealth* in 1584 revealed the rhetoric which could be used by those who felt themselves to be excluded from the political process. In Elizabethan England, therefore, there was a rhetoric of the polity which located magistracy in both the Queen and her counsellors, that magistracy was to be used for the good of the commonwealth: the Tudor commonwealth.³¹

The 'godly commonwealth' was a product of the emphasis which men like Matthew placed on the role of the polity as an instrument of God's work. The 1572 parliamentary debates over Mary Stuart's future reflected a belief that God would act through Elizabeth I, as he had done through other kings and queens. Similarly the Queen's day celebrations drew parallels between Elizabeth I and her Old Testament predecessors: in 1595 John King urged God to 'hide

²⁹ T. Smith cited in P. Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', in P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), 31-57. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 126

³⁰ S. Alford, *The Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis: 1558-1569* (Cambridge, 1998). Collinson, 'Monarchical Republic', p.47.

³¹ *Leicester's Commonwealth: The Copy of a Letter Written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and Related Documents*, ed. D. C. Peck (Athens, Ohio, 1985).

Elizabeth like a chosen shaft in the quiver of her careful providence'.³²

Elizabethan rule and the Elizabethan church were, therefore, the means by which God's providential design would be effected.

Matthew stressed the inclusive nature of Tudor magistracy, charging not just the Queen, but her councillors, judges and magistrates with the duty of reform.

Matthew believed that the reformed commonwealth would be achieved in part through economic and social reform. He, like his Edwardian predecessors attacked usury, rent racking, agricultural extortion and other sins which unbalanced the commonwealth. Matthew, however, conceived of the commonwealth's reforming duties as being primarily religious. The reign of Elizabeth I had ushered in the true church and her government was responsible for defending and promoting that true church. Matthew's sense of the duties of reform were prompted by his belief in providence, while the urgency with which he imbued it reflected his belief in the immediacy of the apocalypse.³³

Matthew's claims that the polity bore the same duties of reform as the individual and the church, meant that he extended the concept of edification to the work of the magistrates, charging their work with the same intensity with which the godly worked for their own salvation. 'edification', purifying society, was more than just a fulfilment of providential demands, it was an essential part of the salvation process. I will show that for Matthew the magistrates were as important in the process of salvation as the ministers.

Above all, it will be demonstrated how Matthew's concept of a 'godly commonwealth' drew on the peculiar nature of the Tudor church. As tensions between the Queen and those who pressed for further reform grew, debates about the relation between church and polity became more focussed. Matthew's 'theology of conformity' stressed the role of the church as a means of effecting

³² For the Bishop's Petition see 'Arguments against Mary Queen of Scots presented to Elizabeth by some of both Houses, 26 May (?)', in *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, ed., T. E. Hartley (3 vols., Leicester, 1981-1995), vol. 1, 274-290. This is explored in chapter 2. P. Collinson uses this example in Collinson, 'Monarchical Republic', pp. 46-47. J. King, *Lectures upon Ionas delivered at York in the yeare of our Lorde 1595* (London, 1611), p. 706.

³³ Matthew's sermons before the magistrates are explored in chapters four, six and seven.

the secondary process of regeneration and the role of the magistracy in ensuring that people both attended church and effected the church's work in society.

Tobie Matthew like, Thomas Smith, believed that unity underpinned a successful society, and he believed that that unity would come through faith.

Counselling magistrates in Durham in 1592, Matthew urged them to enforce the laws of conformity: 'Grave' he told them 'is that Advice of Augustine, *Da unum et habebis populum...* set your subjects in unity and you shall have a people of them'.³⁴

Sources

A study of Tobie Matthew offers an unrivalled opportunity to explore the intellectual negotiations, private and public, which underpinned the development of a vision of how the secondary process of regeneration should be achieved in Elizabethan England, a vision which he shared with many reforming allies. This thesis will explore the outcome of Matthew's intellectual developments, his view on church government and his pastoral activity, as well as the negotiations themselves. On his death in 1628, Matthew left his extensive library, valued at £600, to his wife, Frances Matthew, who left it to York Minster in the following year, and so Matthew's library remains largely intact in York Minster Library.³⁵ This work has drawn extensively on the library, tracing Matthew's theological and intellectual development as he returned to the texts throughout his time at Oxford and Durham. Some of the texts have been annotated, not always by Matthew, but many have not. In some instances, therefore, I have taken Matthew's acquisition of a text to suggest an interest in the subject. In doing so, I have been aware that Matthew often received books as

³⁴ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f.15r

³⁵ J. Raine, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York* (York, 1896), p. ix. There are books belonging to Matthew in several other collections. Christ Church Library and Bristol library have donations from Matthew, and it seems likely that Matthew's books in Durham Chapter Library were also donations. During my research, one work which Matthew had given to a friend in Durham came up for sale at Maggs Bros. Ltd for £2000, as a collection, however, the library remains intact. The work was A. Mylius, *Principum et Regnum Polonorum Imagines ad Vivu, Expressae* (Cologne, 1593).

gifts, borrowed them indefinitely and, while in Durham, occasionally confiscated anti-government literature or works of Catholic devotion.³⁶ Interest did not automatically mean agreement, and this becomes increasingly clear when reading Matthew's annotated copies of polemical disputes, for example, the Admonition controversy. Then Matthew used the conflicting texts as a dialectic in which he assumed the role of arbitrator, drawing on both to form a conclusion.

I have also been aware that Matthew did not always purchase a text immediately after it had been published. In trying to ascertain the date of acquisition I have been guided by Matthew's inscriptions. Very occasionally he recorded the date of purchase, but in those instances when he did not, an idea may be gained by his signature which changed as Matthew progressed through the ranks of the church. Some texts which were published before 1603 were not acquired by Matthew until after 1606, and I have not included these in discussions of his pre-1606 intellectual developments.

The question of how Matthew read has been informed by a number of recent works on the history of the book and of reading.³⁷ It is clear that Matthew, like many of his contemporaries, read texts with his own framework of concerns

³⁶ The work which was confiscated from a recusant was J. Wild, *Examen Ordinandorum*. (Lyon, 1555), YML XV. R. 25(2). Matthew also appropriated a number of books and incunables from the Cathedral library at Durham, for example J. Balbus, *Summa Que Vocatur Catholica* (Basle, c. 1485), YML Inc. XIX. C. 5. This incunable previously belonged to 'Prior John' of 'Auckland'. Matthew also owned incunables with inscriptions which record that they were given to Durham Cathedral by Thomas Ferne. N. de Tudeschis [Cardinal Panormitanus], *Lectura Sup[er] secu[n]da p[ar]te primi (su[per] quinto) libri dectretaliu[m]* [of Gregory IX], (2 vols., Basle, 1487-88), YML Inc. XIV. B. 20-22. A. Diaz de Montalvo, *Rep[er]torium sive tabula notabiliu[m] quuestionu[m]..Nicolai archiep[iscop]i Panormi[tani]* (Basle, 1487-88), YML. Inc. XIV. B. 22(3).

³⁷ K. Sharpe. *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2000). P. Nelles, 'The Library as an Instrument of Discovery: Gabriel Naudé and the Uses of History', in D. R. Kelley. *History and the Disciplines: The Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Rochester, New York, 1997), 41-57. E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983). A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998).

foremost, reading the same texts differently as those concerns changed. He also assumed authority over the texts through his annotations, which ranged from his personal reaction to the text to additions such as related quotations from patristic texts. Largely, however, it is clear that his reading and annotations were concerned to make the books into working texts. He employed a system of symbols, all of them common renaissance annotations, suggesting that highlighted passages may have been copied into notebooks according to their symbols. I have not, however, found a discernable pattern of relationships between subject and symbol. Matthew also continued to make notes in his texts, often making inter-textual references. Next to a discussion of patristic texts in Garbrande's edition of Jewel's sermons, for example, Matthew noted other page numbers, writing 'of our Fathers 357. 359'.³⁸ His engagement with the text reflected his training in the disputation as a method of acquiring knowledge and developing opinions. Matthew would frequently ask a rhetorical question in an annotation which was later answered in the text, or put a reference to a contrasting author against polemical passages. This was practical reading, and its results were shown in Matthew's sermons, his correspondence and his pastoral activity.³⁹

This work has drawn heavily on newly discovered sermons in the exploration into Matthew's ecclesiology and his vision of the godly commonwealth. Historians knew that Matthew was a prodigious preacher, but apart from two inaccurately printed sermons from 1592 and a posthumously printed copy of Matthew's 1581 sermon against Edmund Campion, none were thought to survive. Dr. Gavin found no others, and only used Matthew's 1581 sermon against Campion. I have discovered a number of sermons, in note form and also

³⁸ J. Jewel, *An Exposition upon the two epistles of the Apostle Sainct Paule to the Thessalonians*, ed. J. Garbrande, (London, 1583), p. 101, YML V/3. P. 13. This practice was noted by contemporaries who used Matthew's library. Matthew's chaplain while he was at York, the canon John Favour had used Matthew's extensive collection of texts for his own work, reporting that Matthew 'hath not only read all the Ancient fathers with a diligent eye, but hath also noted them with a judicious pen'. J. Favour, *Antiquitie Triumphant Over Novelty* (London, 1619) sig. A2v, YML XVII/2. F. 37

³⁹ See chapter three for a full discussion of the reading of polemic, and chapter five for Matthew's reading of the presbyterian/conformist disputes of the late 1580s.

the full texts, preached by Matthew in Oxford, London and at court in the 1570s and 1580s, and found a number of copies of Matthew's 1581 sermon '*Concio Apologetica Adversus Edmund Campianum*' in Latin and English. I have also rediscovered the original 1592 sermons from which the printed version was taken, and have found notes from sermons which Matthew preached in Berwick in 1603 and in London in 1604.⁴⁰ The discovery of these new sources has played an important part in my work on Matthew, and befitting a man who was 'famed as a preacher', inform every part of the thesis.

Throughout this work there is an awareness of the friction between the written, or noted, sermon and its public performance and I have been frustrated to find a lack of scholarship on the homiletic form. This is starting to be corrected, in particular by Dr. Hunt whose thesis I have been unable to obtain from Cambridge University Library. Dr. Morrissey has addressed some of the questions about form and function, while Dr. McCullough has addressed the political nature of the court sermon. My research has drawn on work examining the tensions between oral and literate culture, and sought a methodological basis for the use of notes of sermons in work on the philosophy of linguistics, in particular the theory of speech acts.⁴¹ The results may be seen in chapter four.

⁴⁰ See for example, Bod., Rawl. Mss., B, 233, D, 237, 272, 273, 837. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5. BL., Eg. Mss., 2877. BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, 2172. St. John's College, Oxford, Mss., 212, hereafter SJ., Mss. Copies of Matthew's sermons against Campian are included in , Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, 843, Bod., Tanner Mss., 169, Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5. BL., Add. Mss., 18203. SJ., Mss., 318. This was printed posthumously T. Matthew, *Pissimi et eminentissimi viri. D. Tobiae Matthaei Archiepiscopi olim Eboracensis Concio apologetica adversus Campianum*, (London, 1638). Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop of Durham'. Both Dr. Tyacke and Dr. Questier have used the 1592 sermons published as 'Two Sermons Hitherto Unpublished of Dr. Tobie Mathew, When Dean of Durham in 1591, afterwards Archbishop of York', *Christian Observer*, 47 (1847), 603-18, 664-75, 722-34, 776-90. Both Tyacke and Fincham have misdated the sermons as being preached in 1591. M. Questier, 'Practical Antipapistry during the Reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997), p.384. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p.19. They were preached on 19 and 20 March 1591[2]. YML. Add. Mss., 582. YML. Add. Mss., 18, f. 32.

⁴¹ A. Fox and D. Woolf, *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850* (Manchester, 2002). M. Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 686-706. P. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998). A. Hunt,

This study of Matthew concludes in 1606 with his promotion to the archiepiscopate of York. This is partly due to the discovery of so many of Matthew's sermons, which prompted a focus on Matthew's earlier career and allowed an exploration of his evolving engagement with the Elizabethan polity which coloured his later years. After 1603, Matthew faced different challenges in the north, and in the country. The unity between church and state, which had underpinned his sense of the godly commonwealth, had begun to crumble. So too had the intellectual and theological orthodoxies of the Elizabethan church which had done more to unite the polemical disputants than divide them. As Archbishop of York, Matthew faced a very different set of problems, reflecting the demands of the archiepiscopate; the changing religious politics of Jacobean and Caroline Britain; and Matthew's own old age. Matthew's difficulties reflected the struggle of all those conforming godly who found on James I's succession that some of the assumptions which had underpinned their unity were now being challenged. This, however, is for another piece of research. This thesis is concerned to trace the formation of a sense of the godly commonwealth, underpinned by godly conformists who drew on church and polity to effect reform, and to explore the central role which Matthew played in that process.

'Tuning the Pulpits: the religious context of the Essex revolt', in P. McCullough and L. A. Ferrell (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000). In particular J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (ed.) J. O. Urmson (Oxford, 1962). J. Tully (ed.), *Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Oxford: 1988).

CHAPTER ONE

Tobie Matthew and the Early Evolution of Elizabethan Godliness: 1560-1573

Gravoria leges by the faithful ministry of feeding pastors should be furthered, and after that godly orders tending to edification and not to destruction to be cherished¹

Tobie Matthew to Lord Robert Dudley, 1562

When Tobie Matthew left Wells Grammar School for Oxford in 1559, he was fifteen years old. His cousin, the eminent reformer James Calfhill, was a canon at Christ Church and he introduced Matthew to the evangelical community of Marian exiles in the cathedral.² From the start of his career, therefore, Matthew was at the centre of a group of reformers whose early evangelism had led to exile, and who had brought back to England an image of a reformed church shaped by their experience of Calvinist European churches.³ This chapter will explore how Matthew and his mentors reacted to the realisation that Elizabeth I would not allow the Genevan experience to be recreated in England. As it became clear that the evangelism of the Marian exiles was increasingly at odds with the moderate Protestantism of the Queen and her government, many of the first generation of reformers found themselves increasingly marginalized within their church. Matthew was at the forefront of a second generation of godly reformers, who, while they shared their mentors' commitment to reform, re-evaluated their precepts for reform within the Elizabethan context. It will be shown how the reforming initiative moved to this new generation of reformers, aided by the patronage of Leicester, Cecil and Walsingham. Matthew developed a sense of the

¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, f.58-9.

² James Calfhill was Matthew's first cousin. Matthew's maternal aunt had married James Calfhill's father, Newley, 'A life of Mathew', p.8.

³ 'D. Goodwini Commentario' in T. Matthew, *Piissimi et enimentissimi viri, D. Tobiae Matthaei Archiepiscopi olim Eboracensis Concio apologetica adversus Campianum*, (Oxford, 1638), sig. A4r. Matthew was born and raised in Bristol, and attended Wells Grammar School, *Historical Manuscript Commission: Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, (2 vols., London, 1907-14), vol. 2, p.298. J. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and the Establishment of Religion in the Church of England* (4 vols., Oxford, 1725-1731), vol. 2, p.514.

unique nature of the English church which was underpinned by a wide reading of theological and polemical texts from England and Europe. The implications of this re-evaluation for contemporary discussions about the conflict between church and state will be explored, and I will demonstrate that Matthew was at the forefront of attempts to establish a uniquely English understanding of how to achieve further reform in the church. This challenges work by Lake which argues that a group of moderate puritans were at the forefront of developing a conscious commitment to the English church, encouraged by a consensus of anti-Catholic sentiment articulated in the 1580s. This research will show that the process of negotiating the conflicting godly imperatives and the demands of conformity started in the 1560s and that the culmination of these early developments was evinced in 1573 in the production of a statement for further reform. Underpinning those statements were positive, peculiarly English, theological developments which reached maturity in the late 1570s.⁴

Tobie Matthew found a place in the evangelical community in Oxford shortly after his arrival there in 1559. He may have spent a year at University College before transferring to Christ Church in 1560 where his cousin, James Calhill, was a canon. Calhill's influence was to be felt throughout Matthew's career. He guided Matthew into the church, towards the evangelical clerics who were to shape Matthew's churchmanship and into the paths of Matthew's future patrons, Cecil and Leicester. James Calhill encouraged his young cousin to enter the church, apparently against the wishes of Matthew's parents, and he also introduced Matthew into a community of reforming clerics and academics deeply influenced by their time in exile, and frustrated by the state of the university, church and kingdom in 1560.⁵

⁴ The mature expression of this ecclesiology will be explored in detail in chapter two. P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*.

⁵ BL., Add. Mss., 4460, f.28. The only reference to Matthew's time at New College comes from Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*. There is no other corroboration of Wood's assertion that Matthew spent time there, but this claim has still been widely repeated in later accounts of Matthew's life. This reflects the instability of Wood as a source, and I have tried to limit the use of his biographical details to those which can be broadly supported by other sources. A. à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, (2 vols., London, 1691-92), vol. 1, p. 625. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. 2. pt. 1, pp. 514-15.

Christ Church, whose dean was Thomas Sampson, and Magdalen, under the leadership of Lawrence Humphrey, seemed to be the only bastions of the reformed faith in the university. These colleges were home to a Protestantism deeply coloured by the experience of Marian exiles in Geneva, Zurich and Strasbourg, and at Oxford Matthew came under the influence of reformers such as Jewel, Westphaling, Humphrey and Sampson. Protestant colleagues at the two colleges, led by Marian exiles, struggled to shake off what Calhill termed 'the papisticall yoke of Oxford'.⁶ In doing so they were aided by their patron, Lord Robert Dudley, later the earl of Leicester, whose influence at the university predated his appointment as chancellor in 1564. In 1560, Westphaling thought that Dudley's influence would be enough to secure Sampson's appointment to the deanery in Christ Church, writing to Dudley in favour of Sampson. Though he was unsuccessful in that year, Dudley's influence eventually worked in Sampson's favour, and in 1561, he took up the deanery. In 1562, Matthew wrote to Dudley on Sampson's behalf, considering him to be in a powerful position to defend the dean against the gathering clouds of the vestiarian controversy. Dudley was also active on behalf on Humphrey and during the dispute over vestments, used his influence to try and protect both Humphrey and Sampson.⁷

In the early 1560s Christ Church was increasingly becoming the centre of Oxford evangelism as men seeking further reform in the church were drawn to Sampson. In 1562 Westphaling joined Sampson at Christ Church as a canon, having gained Cecil's support in his attempt to gain a prebendary there. Cecil's support of Herbert Westphaling, however, was at the expense of Lawrence Humphrey, who continued to sue for a position at Christ Church. In the cathedral, Sampson was supported by James Calhill, the subdean from 1561 to 1562 and again from 1566. With Calhill's support, Sampson introduced further Protestant reforms, overseeing the destruction of all altars, images, tabernacles and missal books.

⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 349.

⁷ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, ff.58-59. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f.7-15. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 837. C. M. Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 29-33, 76-79. P. Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and the University' in T. H. Aston, (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford* (8 vols., Oxford, 1984-2000), vol.3, pp. 423, 428 .

Calphill went further in his assault on the remnants of Catholic worship still in the cathedral. In an attack on Catholic idolatry, Calphill dug up the bones of the wife of the evangelical reformer, Peter Martyr, and mixed them with those of St. Frideswide, who was also buried in the cathedral, before reburying the two. It was a potent image of the reforming zeal which Sampson and Calphill had brought to the Elizabethan chapter, and James Calphill marked the site with a plaque which proclaimed, '*Hic lacet religio cum superstitione*'.⁸

These godly men had first learned their Protestantism in Edwardian Oxford, which had been coloured by the presence of continental reformers like Peter Martyr and his English champion, John Jewel. Many of those connections were re-established and developed during Mary's reign, when the men met again in exile. Humphrey travelled to Basle and Zurich where he met Jewel and Martyr, Sampson also met Martyr while in Geneva, and these English reformers maintained their contacts with their European counterparts after Elizabeth's succession. Jewel continued to correspond with his Zurich allies until his death, while Sampson sought Martyr's advice about whether he should accept a bishopric in a church he felt to be still unreformed.⁹

The experience of Marian exile had shaped the formation of these clerics' ecclesiology and these contacts continued to influence developments in Oxford. All reformers were conscious of the place of the English church in the spectrum of European reformed churches and sought support from their continental colleagues as they worked to reform their own church. Calphill and Westphaling contributed verses on Bucer and Martyr in a volume celebrating those early reformers, and Calphill's exhumation of St Frideswide's bones was thought by many to be for the benefit of an audience in Zurich rather than Oxford; certainly accounts of the exhumation circulated soon afterwards in Latin and German. Members of this group were also among the first to engage in the increasingly international aspect

⁸ J. Calphill *De Katherinae nuper uxori doctissimi viri D. Petri Martyris....* (London, 1561), sig. C1r-C2v, YML III. M. 13. J. Calphill, *Historia de exhumatione Catherinae nuper uxoris Peter Martyris*, (London, 1562). Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, p. 31.

⁹ W. P. Haugaard, 'The Episcopal Pretensions of Thomas Sampson', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, xxxvi (1967), pp. 385-86

of polemic. Humphrey thought that Jewel's response to the polemical attack by the Catholic, Thomas Harding, had engaged '*in publicum orbis Christiani theatrum*' and Calhill also engaged in the international arena of polemic.¹⁰

Leicester used his patronage to support those Elizabethan reformers with their roots in Edwardian evangelism, but despite the earl's support, these evangelicals found themselves increasingly out of place in the Elizabethan church in the 1560s. In their attempt to remedy that disparity, some of the limitations which would restrict their programme of reform were revealed. From the early 1560s godly ministers started to protest about 'popish apparell' in the English church.¹¹ In 1563 a campaign, supported by James Calhill in Convocation, against the wearing of vestments, kneeling at communion and the use of the cross had been narrowly defeated. In the following year many ministers were deprived in London for failing to wear the surplice and in 1565, Sampson, Calhill and Humphrey were, with other Oxford clerics, called before Whitgift for their failure to wear the surplice. Faced by this restriction on further necessary reform, the Oxford evangelicals turned again to the example of the European reformation. Writing to gain Leicester's support for the anti-vestment cause in 1564, Pilkington reminded him 'you know how that all conteries, which have reformed religion have cast away their popish apareill with the pope.'¹² They also sought the advice of their European allies, and in the midst of the vestiarian crisis the Oxford evangelicals sent a delegation to Geneva in an attempt to secure the support of the church there.¹³

¹⁰ L. Humphrey, *Ioannis Iuelli..Vita et Mors* (London, 1573) sig. Dd4r. J. Calhill *De Katherinae*, sig. C1r-C2v. Latin and German accounts were published in 1562, as part of a history celebrating the recent success of godly Reformers. C. Hubertus, (ed.), *Historia Vera: de vita, obitu, sepultura...historia Catherinae Vermiliae* (Strasbourg, 1562). C. Hubertus, (ed.), *Ein Ware Histori comleben...P Martyris (Vermili)..Haussfrawen*. (Strasbourg, 1562). For an example of Calhill's polemical engagement, see his response to John Martiall's attack on the cross in Elizabeth I's chapel, J. Calhill, *An Aunsvvere to the Treastise of the Crosse* (London, 1565), YML V/2. K. 16.

¹¹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 350

¹² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.350.

¹³ J. Loach, 'Reformation Controversies' in Aston (ed.), *University of Oxford*, vol.3, pp.383-84. D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England: 1547-1603* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 35. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 78

The Edwardian evangelists were not the only reformers who engaged in these disputes about the differences between the European and English experiences of reform; their protégés also took up their mantle. From the second generation of reformers, Andrew Kingsmill from All Souls and Ralph Warcupp from Christ Church, were part of the delegation to Geneva, and Matthew also came to the defence of his mentors. In 1562 and again in 1565, Matthew wrote to Leicester seeking his support over the matter. Allying himself firmly on the side of Sampson and Humphrey, he wrote to Leicester that ‘we confess one faith of Jesus, preach one doctrine, we acknowledge one ruler on earth, in all things saving this, we are of your judgements’. Matthew valued harmony over uniformity, asking that if all shared one faith, ‘shall we, therefore be so used for a surplice? Shall one brother persecute another for a forked cap?’¹⁴. This letter, which Matthew wrote when he was eighteen years old, reflected the influence of his early mentors on him. He shared with them a sense of the urgency of the total reform of the church, society and self.

These debates about public worship and the need for reform reflected the Calvinist emphasis upon the two stages of salvation. The first, predestination, was beyond a believer’s control, but there was a second related process of conversion which would take place on earth. Described as regeneration or as a secondary conversion, it was the daily process of becoming more Christ-like and thereby realising the benefits of predestination. In Edmund Bunny’s edition of Calvin’s *Institutes*, Matthew read of ‘Faith’:

*suam definitionem tribus partibus constare: primam, quod velit esse conversionem, eam non in externis tantum operibus, sed in transformatione ipsius animae sitam esse. Secundum, quod ex ferio Dei timore proficisci debeat, eumque timorem partim divini iudicii commemoratione, partim punitionibus iam irrogatis, in animus nostris excitari. Tertiam duabus partibus consistere, mortificatione et vivificatione*¹⁵

¹⁴ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, ff.58v-9r. For the purposes of quotation I have used the English translation in Gavin’s thesis, Gavin, ‘An Elizabethan Bishop’, pp. 7-12.

¹⁵ J. Calvin, *Institutionis Christiane Religionis a Ioanne Calvino conscriptae compendium...per Edm. Bunny*, ed., E. Bunny (London, 1576), sig. f2v. YML V/3. Q. 29. This copy has few annotations, which are restricted to correcting spelling mistakes. This is Matthew’s only copy of the *Institutes*, but it seems highly unlikely that it was the first copy that Matthew read. Raine recorded that duplicate copies in the Minster Library were sold in the seventeenth century which might

As John Udall was later to point out, it was the godly cleric's duty to assist in both the second and third part of the conversion process. From the pulpit the minister should make men fear God, but 'if he had not bene able to helpe their bruised harts

and comfort their sorrowing soules he had beene no better then a tormentor'.¹⁶

By opening men's eyes to their sins, and after making them appreciate the depths of their sinfulness, showing them the path of reform the minister could prompt the secondary conversion process. From the pulpit the minister was charged with helping men and women achieve their own regeneration, and thereby realising their salvation.

Recent work has stressed the role of Calvinism, evinced by a commitment to predestination, in uniting the Elizabethan church. The model of a 'Calvinist consensus' has failed, however, to explain the diversity of views about the ideal ecclesiastical state which existed within the Elizabethan church.¹⁷ The disputes within the church resulted from the need to effect the second and third part of the conversion process. While all Calvinists were agreed that a regenerative process should take place on earth, reformers were divided as to how it should be realised.¹⁸ Matthew and his evangelical mentors developed a vision of church and society which stressed that everything must be done towards encouraging the regenerative process. Any element of church polity or worship which failed to regenerate actively worked against regeneration. This sense of the daily and

explain the absence of texts such as an earlier edition of the Institutes. Raine, *A Catalogue of Printed Books*, p. xiii.

¹⁶ J. Udall, *The Ammendment of Life...the conversion of the Godly, and the manner how it their changeth hearts and reformeth their lives which is the true work of regeneration* (London, 1588), sig. b3r. YML. XV.O. 13(2).

¹⁷ N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987). For Tyacke's most recent assessment of the 'Calvinist consensus' see the introduction to his latest collection N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c.1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 3-27.

¹⁸ Cartwright's argument for the centrality of the preached word in effecting salvation, and his response to Whitgift's defence of non-preaching ministers is shown in T. Cartwright, *A Replie to an Aunswere made of M. Doctor Whitgifte Agaynste the Admonition to the parliament* (From the Short Title Catalogue: published by J. S. Wandsworth (no place), 1573-4), sig. r3. YML XIV. M. 22. On the debate about the effectiveness of the preached word see chapter three.

urgent process of regeneration, described as ‘edification’, has been identified by historians as the preserve of the puritan, but in Matthew’s hands this concept came to underpin his stress on the importance of conformity to the Elizabethan church. ‘Edification’ was not, therefore, inherently oppositional, nor the preserve of an alienated minority, but influenced the ecclesiology of a significant conforming godly majority within the English church.¹⁹

Men like Humphrey, Calhill and Sampson argued for constant edification in the English church, and feared those things which would work against the edification process. When they examined the English church against the images of reformed churches in Zurich, Geneva and Frankfurt it was clear that there was much in the English church which was not edifying, and must therefore be disposed of. All three agreed on the danger posed by clerical vestments, a symbol of the continuing vestiges of pre-reformation practice in the Elizabethan church and refused to wear them in the 1560s. Matthew shared their views. Writing to Leicester he used the Genevan image of the church as the ‘naked Christ’, arguing that this would be achieved only if ‘godly orders *tending to edification and not to destruction... be cherished, furthered and defended*’. In this vision of reform, where non-edifying orders were destructive, there was no sense of ‘things indifferent’ suggested by conformist clerics like Whitgift. Matthew also criticised this defence of ‘things indifferent’ in his letter to Leicester, arguing that the vestment controversy reflected wider concerns: ‘to wear a cap or surplice, or a forked cap, as you take it an accidental thing, a device of man, and as we say a question of divinity.’²⁰

Matthew was one of many evangelical reformers who looked to their patron, Leicester, during this first conflict between the demands of reform and those of the government. Though Leicester did not change his Queen’s mind, he did work to protect those godly men who were punished for their commitment to further

¹⁹ J. S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford, 1970), in particular chapters 1 and 2. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p.2.

²⁰ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, ff.58-59. My italics. In 1573, Cartwright attacked Whitgift’s use of this defence. Matthew underlined Cartwright’s complaint: ‘M. Doctour maketh it an indifferent thing for men and women to receive the supper of the Lord clothed or naked’, J. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition against the Replie of T. C.* (London, 1574), p.24. YML XV. C. 19.

reform. Leicester managed to secure the release of Humphrey from prison, but Sampson was ejected from the deanery of Christ Church on the order of Elizabeth I. However, Leicester continued to support Sampson, finding him a living at Wigginton Hospital in Leicester, which Sampson held with lectureships in London. Leicester also continued to promote Humphrey. Writing to the university in 1567, Leicester proposed Humphrey, 'every waye a ryght worthie man', for election as vice-chancellor, urging the university in their choice to, 'thinke upon your own estates and also of my care and good meaninge towards yow'. Humphrey was not, however, elected as vice-chancellor until 1571, after he had agreed to wear vestments on his appointment to the deanery at Gloucester.²¹

This first clash between the Queen's obduracy and evangelical zeal left many Marian exiles disillusioned with the progress of reform in England. The post-exile community had created a programme of reform which was concerned only with realising in England the churches which they had encountered abroad. The intractability of the Queen over the question of vestments demonstrated how unlikely it was that that vision would be realised, and the Marian Protestants were left deeply frustrated and without an alternative reforming vision. In 1566, then, when Leicester saw an opportunity to rehabilitate the Oxford reforming community, by inviting the Queen to visit the university, he was eager to promote the new generation of evangelical reformers. Leicester had accompanied Elizabeth I on her visit to Cambridge two years earlier and was determined that his university should match the displays of her rival. Under Leicester's supervision, the university produced dramas, disputations and orations. It was an opportunity for Leicester and those scholars and clerics who had benefited from his patronage to perform in front of the Queen, her household and much of the Privy Council. As well as presenting themselves as part of a coherent godly group, it was an opportunity to present a case for reform, and press for further action, at a moment when relations between the government and the hotter sort of Protestant were strained, and other channels of discussion were closed.²²

²¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 837, f. 56. Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford', p. 428.

²² Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 837. F.S. Boas, 'University Plays' in A. Ward and others, *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* (18 vols., New York, 1907-21), <<http://www.bartleby.com/216/1206.html>> (7 October 2002)

During the Queen's visit to Oxford, the frustration of the reformers was clear. They dwelt on the twin themes of tyranny and counsel, while referring their Queen to glorified images of continental reform. The welcoming oration was delivered by the university orator, Thomas Kingsmill, who had been elected on the recommendation of Leicester and of Warwick, to whom he was related. He greeted Elizabeth I on the porch of Christ Church with an oration in which he praised 'all the benefits your majesty has conferred upon this academy [of which] the greatest is this, that you have brought out of Germany so many pious sons of Peter Martyr and of Martin Bucer'. Lawrence Humphrey, so recently censured by the Queen was, Kingsmill argued, now the true heir of these godly reformers.²³ The sense of frustration was further reflected in the plays and disputations put on by Christ Church to entertain the Queen while she stayed with them. Then the clerics and scholars dwelt on images of rule, tyranny and counsel. The college performed a number of Latin plays composed by the students and fellows which dwelt on the importance of counsel in a monarchy, starting with *Marcus Germanicus* and concluding with James Calhill's *Tereus and Progne*. Using Seneca as a template, Calhill explored the promise of destruction for those rulers who ignored moral and natural law, and the related theme of man's hopelessness in the face of tyranny.²⁴

The image of counsel would come to dominate Protestant thought, as councillors and clerics struggled throughout the 1570s to persuade a recalcitrant Queen of the need to defend the church at home and abroad. In Oxford in 1566, the foundations of that discourse were laid. The Marian exiles had once before questioned the role of the monarch in church affairs. That had been under a Catholic queen and many, of course, had fled from England in order to preserve their consciences.²⁵ In the mid-1560s, the same questions arose, but this time, the

²³ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 837, ff. 29-30. R.W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction A.D. 1529-1570* (6 vols., Oxford, 1895-1902), vol. 2, p.138.

²⁴ F.S. Boas 'University Plays', <<http://www.bartleby.com/216/1206.html>>

²⁵ Blair Worden has explored the Protestant use of images of counsel and tyranny by the Reformers Walsingham, Leicester and Sidney, in the context of the politics

evangelicals of Oxford found themselves challenged by a Protestant queen, which infused their discussion of loyalty and conformity with a sense of betrayal. It became clear that a programme of reform based solely on the uncritical adoption of the Genevan church was no longer viable in Elizabethan England, and the reforming initiative passed to a younger generations of reformers who adapted the demands of their mentors in light of the limitations of the 1560s and 1570s. Central to this process was an examination of the role of the prince in the church.

Matthew was engaged in these discussions about the future of reform in England, from the start of his time in Oxford. In 1563 the influence of his evangelical mentors prompted Matthew to buy a new bible. This was an edition of the Latin vulgate, produced by the distinguished French scholar, Robert Estienne, in 1555. Part of the international godly community in Geneva, Estienne had been close to the English reformers Thomas Sampson and William Whittingham, and his translations of the bible influenced the text of the English Geneva Bible, published in 1560.²⁶ On acquiring this bible, Matthew read it closely, reflecting his mentors' concerns about the conflict between the demands of the crown and the church. He sought images of rule, noting on the end papers of the bible places where he could find images of '*Imperature Rege*', and he listed those images, concluding with 'David, Saul'. Matthew also dwelt on the problem of an unreformed prince, marking heavily in the text passages '*contra idolatram principae*'.²⁷

Scripture was the basis of faith, but, as Humphrey argued, assistance was sometimes required in discovering how to apply the scripture.²⁸ As the conflict between the Queen and the godly of Oxford continued, Matthew turned to other sources, further reflecting his mentors' engagement with the European reformation. In 1566, he bought a copy of Peter Martyr's *Comentarii Doctissimi*

of the 1570s, see B. Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), in particular chapter 9.

²⁶ *Biblia* (Geneva, 1555), YML XI. P. 2. Matthew bought the bible in 1563 for 6s 8d, and it seems to have been his working bible for several years. Matthew later bought an English Genevan bible, which he used for his sermons (see chapter 3), but his copy does not survive in York Minster Library. *The Geneva Bible: A facsimile of the 1560 edition*, ed. L. Berry, (London, 1969) pp.7-10

²⁷ *Biblia*, these notes are on the front and the end papers.

²⁸ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. A3r-A4v.

and read it closely for Martyr's views on monarchy. Matthew highlighted historical examples of magistrates faced by tyrannical rule, in particular concentrating on the domestic example of a frustrated counsellor, Agricola.²⁹

The European discussion of the politics of religion had been prompted by events in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and by discussions at the Council of Trent. Matthew engaged in these developments, drawing on international examples to explore the English problem. Yet when discussing an ungodly English ruler, Matthew and his mentors also had at their disposal domestic writings on religious tyranny. Calhill and Sampson had been engaged in the questions of exile and conformity during the Marian regime, which had prompted the writings of Protestant political theorists examining the duty of obedience and rebellion. Matthew turned to these texts. He bought works which had been at the heart of Calvinist thinking about resistance, acquiring Ponet's *A Short Treatise of Politicke Powers* and de Seyssel's *Viri Patricii de Republica*. Matthew further reflected Calvinist thought about rebellion in his meditation on natural law. In his bible Matthew considered, under his notes on tyrannical princes, the role of 'natural magistrates': their powers, and their duties. In describing their duties, he reflected Calvinist thought: their primary role, Matthew wrote, was '*efficia causa Dei*'.³⁰

During the Queen's visit of 1566 Matthew had an opportunity to explore some of those themes before Elizabeth I and her entourage. On 3 September, he, with some of Leicester's other rising young stars, was given the opportunity to dispute before Elizabeth I. The personnel and the concerns of these disputations, were to

²⁹ P. Martyr, *In librum iudicum D. Petri Martyris... Comentariorum doctissimi, cum tractatione per utili rerum & locorum* (2nd edn., Zurich, 1565), sig. A4, pp. 45, 66, 153, 157. YML XV. G. 8. Matthew bought the work for 8s in 1565. The only surviving work of Tacitean history in Matthew's library is a later Italian edition, S. Ammirato, *Discorsi del Signor Scipione Ammirato Sopra Cornelio Tacito nuovamente posti in luce*, (Florence, 1598), YML VIII. L. 4.

³⁰ J. Ponet, *A Short Treatise of Politicke Power*, (Strasbourg, 1556), YML. V/2. J.16(3). C. de Seyssel, *Viri Patricii de Republica Galliae et Regum Officiis*, (Strasbourg, 1548), YML II. O. 25. *Biblia* (1555), endpapers. On Calvinist discussions about resistance, rebellion and government see Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1978), vol.2, pp. 189-238. On the Calvinist use of natural law, *ibid.*, vol 2., pp. 310-78.

dominate Oxford in the 1570s. By giving the second generation of reformers such a prominent platform from which to promote themselves, Leicester was signalling his commitment to their future development while also demonstrating that a godly community had begun to evolve. Edmund Campion who, with Matthew, was one of Leicester's most prominent young scholars, was involved in a disputation about natural philosophy. Matthew, with fellow Christ Church men, John Woolley and Thomas Thornton, addressed moral philosophy. Matthew returned to the theme of counsel. He and his friends argued about the moral properties of law and the role of that law in the regenerative reform of the commonwealth and the individual.³¹ Matthew's conclusions do not appear to have been revolutionary, they certainly did not preclude him from benefiting from the further, crucial patronage which these disputations prompted. Campion was invited to speak again before the Queen at Woodstock where she retired after her visit to the university, while Matthew was rewarded with the title of 'Queen's Scholar'. As a further sign of the esteem in which his mentors and his patron held him, Matthew was chosen to give the farewell oration to the Queen from Christ Church. Then Matthew dwelt again on classical images of rule. His conclusions, however, were not critical, and instead he used the opportunity to deliver a panegyric to the Queen. All, however, knew that flattery could also be deeply critical.³²

Following the Queen's visit of 1566 Tobie Matthew rose to a position of increasing prominence within the university; a prominence that was later matched by promotions within the church. Matthew was indebted to Leicester for both. In 1564 Matthew had been appointed lecturer in dialectic, which he held until his

³¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, ff. 35r-36r. Both men were involved in the Sidney/Leicester circle. John Woolley, became a Latin secretary to Leicester, and eventually Elizabeth I, and later married the daughter of Sir William More. The Mores were close friends of Matthew, and Matthew unsuccessfully courted the daughter in 1576, the year before his marriage to Frances Matthew. Woolley continued to be part of this circle, and was involved in the production of Humphrey's *Ioannis Iuelli. Vita et Mors*. See below, chapter three. Thornton was Sir Philip Sidney's tutor at Christ Church, and continued to benefit from his patronage after Sidney left Oxford. BL., Lans. Mss., 12, f.50. BL. Add. Mss., 4460, f. 25v. H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts: 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1996), p. 79. Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop', p. 23.

³² Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp.252-57. J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* (2 vols., London, 1788), vol. 1, p. 97.

appointment in 1567 as a lecturer in rhetoric. His oratorical skills were further recognised in 1569 when he was appointed to the prestigious post of public orator of the university following the resignation of another of Leicester's clients, Thomas Kingsmill.³³

Matthew had, of course, trained for a position in the church, and clerical preferments soon followed his success at Oxford. In 1566 Matthew had been ordained as a deacon and in 1570 was appointed as archdeacon of Bath. Matthew had been born in Bristol and educated at Wells grammar school, and his appointment reflected his continuing ties with the chapter at Bath and Wells, 'wherin I had a greate part of mine educacion and wherto I feel myself moste deeplie bounden', and with the 'verie lovinge' subdean of Wells, Philip Bisse. Matthew had remained in correspondence with Bisse throughout his time at Oxford, and may have also been in contact with Bisse's brother, James, who went to Magdalen in 1570 before returning to take up a living at Wells. James Bisse achieved note as a godly preacher, publishing two of his most well known sermons in 1581³⁴

Through friendships which were forged in this pastoral context, Matthew made allies who were to support him in his later struggle to establish the godly commonwealth. He established connections with other clients of Leicester who were engaged in the evangelical struggle; both John Garbrande and John Bridgewater held prebendaries at Wells. He also made friendships which were to sustain him on his removal north, reflecting personal affection as well as a shared commitment to reform. While Matthew was at Wells, Valentine Dale was the dean. Though Dale was often absent as ambassador to the King of France, he and Matthew apparently met at Bath and Wells. Each was to support the other throughout their careers. Matthew also first met Anthony Blencowe at Wells. Holding a prebendary in the cathedral from 1566 until his death in 1618,

³³ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 837, f.57.

³⁴ J. Bisse, *Two Sermons Preached the one at Paule's Crosse.. the other at Christs Churche in London* (London, 1581). Wood, *Athenae Oxon*, vol.1, p. 312. *Calender of the Manuscripts of Wells*, vol.2., p.298. J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, eds., J. M. Horn and D. S. Bailey, (3rd. edn., 8 vols., London, 1969-1996), vol. 3, pp.15, 20.

Blencowe was also Provost of Oriel. Their friendship deepened at Oxford, becoming so close that Blencowe planned to accompany Matthew when he travelled north to take up the deanery of Durham in 1583.³⁵

Matthew encouraged connections between the cathedral close and Oxford university. From 1574 William Watkynson, recorded as 'a scholar of Oxford university', held a prebendary at Wells. Apparently as a result of his friendship with Matthew, Watkynson returned to university, going to Christ Church to study for a bachelor of divinity. At Christ Church Matthew introduced Watkynson to the legist Jean Hotman, son of the international reformer François Hotman, and while he was there Watkynson translated psalms and Protestant works on providentialism.. While both Matthew and Watkynson were still at Wells, and while Matthew was dean of Christ Church, Watkynson donated several books to Christ Church library.³⁶ These friendships manifested themselves in practical support and patronage, but Matthew also made friendships which were to leave a deep mark on his intellectual development.

In June 1571 Matthew was ordained by Bishop Jewel of Salisbury, the Marian exile whose friendships with reforming luminaries like Peter Martyr placed him at the heart of the English godly community. The significance of his ordination by Jewel, shortly before that minister's death, stayed with Matthew throughout his career. He saw himself as Jewel's reforming heir, an appropriation heightened by his reading on apostolic succession, when he questioned whether the true church was passed on by the ordaining hands of the bishop. Four years after he had been ordained, Matthew read the dispute between the conformist, John Whitgift, and the puritan, Thomas Cartwright, on the succession of ministers within the church.

³⁵ Precedent book of Tobie Matthew, known as the 'York Book', DCD/T/YB, f. 31r. Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 3., p.6. Bod., Rawl. Mss., B, 223, ff.1-16. Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 5, p. 36. H. Gee 'A Sixteenth Century Journey to Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd Ser. XII (1916), p.104

³⁶ Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 5, p. 74. Wood, *Athenae Oxon*, vol. 1, p. 189. Watkynson gave A. Trombeta, *In Tractatum Formalitatum Scoti Sententia* (Venice, 1505) Christ Church Library shelfmark, E. 3. 56, and T. Metochita, *In Aristotelem* (Basle, 1559), Christ Church Library shelfmark Hyp. L.30. N. R. Ker 'The Provision of Books' in Aston (ed.), *University of Oxford*, vol. 3, pp.504-8. G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Jean Hotman's English Connection', *Mededelingen van de Afdeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 53.5 (1990), p. 21.

Matthew noted that 'the imposition of handes [is] an effectuall significacion or ceremonie'. He then read Cartwright's criticism of the claim that the bishop effectively wielded the power of Christ in the ordination ceremony, and asked himself, 'why Christe breathes when he gave his Apostles the Holy ghost?'. He underlined Whitgift's answer, 'he [Christ] made a perpetuall promise that all should receave his spirit as from tyme to tyme were called to him to the office of ministerie'.³⁷ Matthew thought that Jewel was the instrument of this spirit, and considered himself to be Jewel's spiritual heir. He held Jewel up as an image of the early reformation, shaped by European contacts, who, unlike Matthew's godly mentors, had negotiated the demands of the Elizabethan church. Matthew continued to hold Jewel as a true image of evangelical reform, stressing the connection which existed between them as a result of Jewel's ordination of Matthew. Later, in 1581, he cried: 'ô Iuell, by whom I was made minister, and called by the name of sonne, while I live I will love, and honour and remember'.³⁸

Leicester was concerned that the influence of the evangelical community at Oxford should be felt in the church. He believed the university to be 'the right eie of England and a light to whole realme', and through his patronage encouraged the practical ministry of these clerical scholars. Shortly after his ordination, Matthew was presented to the rectory of Algakirk, Lincolnshire. That living was secured for Matthew by Bishop Thomas Cooper, who had been dean of Christ Church from 1567 until his promotion to the bishopric of Lincoln in 1570. Cooper shared a commitment to further reform with Matthew; he also shared a patron, dedicating his *Thesaureus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* to Leicester in 1565. Leicester continued to try to influence Cooper after he left Oxford, intervening with him on behalf of another Christ Church alumnus, Arthur Wake, insisting that Cooper should restore Wake after his deprivation for nonconformity. Another

³⁷ Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, pp. 225-34. The marginal notations are on p. 277 of Matthew's copy, YML XV.C.19. Though published in 1574, Matthew did not buy a copy until 1575. The *Defense of the Aunswere* includes Cartwright's attacks and Whitgift's responses.

³⁸ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 834, f.13v.

member of the Christ Church circle, Thomas Thornton, also held a living in Lincolnshire, which was in the gift of the bishop.³⁹

Matthew's identification with Jewel and Jewel's ecclesiology was heightened by Matthew's increasing integration into the group of reformers who had gathered around Jewel in Salisbury, and who, like Matthew, had benefited from Leicester's patronage. In 1572 Matthew was presented to the prebendary of Teinton Regis in Salisbury Cathedral by the patron of the living, Henry Clifford, by a grant of presentation made by the Henrician bishop, John Capon. There was no clear connection between Clifford and Matthew, and it seems likely that in his presentation of Matthew he reflected the dean and chapter's choice. The dean at the time of Matthew's installation was John Piers, who was also dean of Christ Church and bishop of Rochester. It seems likely that Piers was instrumental in securing the prebendary for Matthew, which was the most valuable in a wealthy Cathedral, reflecting wider networks of political, courtly and clerical patronage.⁴⁰

There were already notable reformers in the close. In 1561 Matthew Parker had presented Peter Bizzari to the prebendary of Alton Australis, a position which he retained throughout the 1570s. Bizzari was one of the many Italian Protestants who had fled the Inquisition, and then sought out Leicester: two poems '*Ad Robertum Dudleum*' were included in his *Varia Opuscula* published in 1565. Leicester clearly exercised considerable influence within the chapter. From 1588 Jean Hotman, another exiled Protestant protected by Leicester, held a prebendary at Salisbury following his service as Leicester's secretary in the Netherlands. On his departure Hotman's prebendary of Ilfracombe was taken by another of Leicester's secretaries, William Camden.⁴¹

³⁹ Lincolnshire Archive Office, Diocesan Records, PD/1571/1, hereafter referred to as LAO DR. LAO, DR, Cor/B/1/3, f.5. Bod., Rawl Mss., D, 843, f.13v. J. P. Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop' pp. xiii, 14. W. G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church Miscellany* (Oxford 1946), p. xviii. E. Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955) pp.124, 200.

⁴⁰ Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 6, pp. ix, 1, 77.

⁴¹ Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 6, pp. 20, 34, 53. S. Adams, 'The Papers of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester II. The Atye-Cotton Collection', *Archives*, XX (1993), p.133. I am grateful to Professor S Adams for this reference. P. Bizzari, *Varia Opuscula* (Venice, 1565) cited in Rosenberg, *Leicester*, p.57n and appendix a.

Matthew encountered many former friends of Jewel at Salisbury, forging links with foreign and domestic Protestants which he maintained throughout his career. He renewed his acquaintance with John Garbrande who, as well as holding a prebendary in Bath and Wells, held the prebendary of Chisenbury and Chute in Salisbury cathedral from 1569 until 1589. A Protestant refugee from Holland, Garbrande had been a close friend of Jewel and had been asked to edit Jewel's manuscripts following the bishop's death. This he did, acknowledging his debts to courtly patrons, dedicating one volume to Leicester and Burghley, and the second to Walsingham. Matthew later bought and carefully read Garbrande's volume of Jewel's sermons.⁴²

Matthew met other evangelical allies in Salisbury, including John Foxe, who after his Marian exile, had continued to be a close friend of Jewel, and who benefited from Leicester's and Cecil's support. Matthew also established a friendship with William Overton, a near contemporary of his at Oxford. They developed a similar vision of a godly commonwealth, sharing a belief about the role of lay judges in effecting moral reform. Matthew later reflected this commitment in sermons which he preached in 1576 and 1581, while Overton expounded this vision of society in a sermon preached before Sussex assize judges in 1579; a sermon which Matthew later acquired.⁴³ These friendships would influence Matthew's intellectual development, grounding him in the recent domestic and European reform developments. These contacts served him in another way too. His increased association with those older reformers lent credence to his claim to be the heir to Jewel, while his rising prominence at the university and later at court,

Matthew's own connections, which often mirrored those of his patrons, influenced later movements between the University and the Cathedral. Matthew was a close friend and patron of Jean Hotman and William Camden before they secured the prebendary at Salisbury, see chapter two.

⁴² J. Jewel, *An exposition upon the two epistles of the Apostle Sainct Paule to the Thessalonians*, ed. J. Garbrande (London, 1583) YML V/3. P. 13

⁴³ St John's College, Oxford, Manuscripts, 212, hereafter SJ., Mss., 212. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp.178- 87. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 66-69. W. Overton, *A Godlie and Pithy Exhortation: Made to the Iudges of Sussex*, (London, 1579), sig. a3r, b1v-4r. YML XVI. F. 36(1)

meant that Matthew increasingly appeared to be at the forefront of the younger generation of reformers.

This prominence owed much to Leicester, who continued to pay special care and attention to Matthew's career. Around 1570 Matthew became one of Leicester's personal chaplains, a post which he still held in 1576 and which he may have continued to hold beyond then. Matthew's new proximity to Leicester and to the court earned him further introductions to men who would play an influential part in Matthew's career, namely William Cecil and Francis Walsingham. In 1570 both Leicester and Cecil intervened on Matthew's behalf when he attempted to gain the prebendary at Christ Church recently vacated by James Calhill. Philip Sidney, writing on behalf of his former tutor at Christ Church, Thomas Thornton, expressed outrage at Cecil's support for Matthew. Sidney argued that Leicester and Cecil 'hath unto him [Thornton] granted the next preferment of a canonry of Christ Church', urging Cecil 'neither your humble benefit may be revoked... but that he may with your favour enjoy his advowson, by your meanes obtained and yourself the word promised'. Sidney was unsuccessful. Those 'whom neither can I judge friendly to myself, nor indifferent towards him [Thornton]' triumphed, and Leicester, with Cecil's support, ensured that Matthew took up the living.⁴⁴

In 1572 Cecil intervened again on Matthew's behalf, securing his selection as a chaplain in ordinary to the Queen. The appointment of court chaplains usually lay in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain, but when Matthew was appointed, Cecil had temporarily assumed some of the duties of Elizabeth's first Lord Chamberlain, the religious conservative, Lord Howard of Effingham. Those duties included the selection of the Queen's chaplains in ordinary.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ BL., Lans. Mss., 12, f.50. BL., Add. Mss., 4460, f. 25v. Adams, 'Papers of Robert Dudley', p.132. Despite the often repeated claims that Leicester and William Cecil had an antagonistic relationship, Stephen Alford demonstrates that in the early years of Elizabeth I's reign, they usually worked together, especially in the cause of Reform. S. Alford, *The Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis: 1558-1569*, (Cambridge, 1998), pp.30-33.

⁴⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 46-65. P. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Religion and Politics in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 63, 73. Chaplains in ordinary were permitted to hold three livings together, and from 1572 Matthew held his livings at Algakirk in Lincolnshire, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury together.

Matthew's first sermon before the Queen in 1572 was a probationary sermon in which he articulated the concerns of his clerical and political patrons for the future safety of the church and the kingdom, prompted by Elizabeth I's reluctance to act decisively against the threat posed by Mary, Queen of Scots. The sermon also reflected the evolution of Matthew's thought about secular and spiritual government, and the nature of national reform. Matthew had first publicly engaged with questions of magistracy and counsel in 1566 during the vestiarian crisis. Then Matthew had reflected his mentors' reforming programme, and was still part of the frustrated and apparently impotent, group of evangelicals. By 1572, however, he was at the forefront of a new group of reformers, who had begun to modify the Swiss model of reform in light of English limitations.

By 1572 Matthew had begun to develop a sense of the unique nature of the English church and crown. His jottings in the front and back of his 1555 bible had been concerned with images of magistracy, and the possibility of rebellion against the prince, but his conclusions were that no rebellion against the prince could be justified. Instead, Matthew developed the idea of the natural magistrate who did not introduce godly religion through revolt, but through counsel.⁴⁶ Rather than criticising the Queen's role in the church, Matthew came to stress the influence that could be wielded by a godly counsellor, who could persuade the Queen to harness that great power for good. Shortly after it was published in 1567, Matthew had acquired a copy of Jewel's second polemical engagement with the

⁴⁶ Matthew continued to engage in European Protestant discussions about government and rebellion, and also collected some of the attacks on Elizabethan rebels and nonconformists produced by his patrons. For example, J. Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition: how grievous it is to a commonwealth* (London, 1569), YML. II. Q. 17 (1). T. Norton, *A Discourse touching the pretended match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* (London, 1569), YML. II. Q. 17(8). The authorship of this tract has been disputed, and Francis Walsingham and Thomas Sampson had been suggested as alternative authors. 'G.R', *Salutem in Christo: Good men and Evil Delite in Contraryes* (London, 1571), YML II. Q. 17 (9). The author of this tract on the Duke of Norfolk's sedition seems to have been Richard Grafton, who addressed the preface to William Cecil. G. Buchanan, *De Maria Scotorum Regina totaque eius contra Regem coniuratione* (London, 1571), YML II. Q. 17(2). This work was printed by the godly printer John Day, publisher of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and beneficiary of Leicester and Cecil's patronage. Later works include F. Hotman, *Francogallia* (Frankfurt, 1586), YML. II. P. 3. P. Du Plessis Mornay, *Tractatus de Ecclesia* (La Rochelle, 1579), YML IX. P. 19(4).

Catholic Thomas Harding, *A Defence of the Apologie of the Churche of England*. He read Jewel's description of the peculiar nature of the English ecclesiastical polity carefully. Above the text he wrote that 'Professors of Religion [are] fitt for Princes court', then highlighted a section in which Jewel drew on biblical antecedents for godly counsel: 'S. Paule reioiced and took comfort in his hands for there were some even in Neroes courte, that began to harken to the Gospel, and Eusebius said *Valeriani Aula erat iam Ecclesiae Dei*'. Matthew underlined this last quotation heavily, hoping, maybe, that Elizabeth's court could also be the church of God.⁴⁷

As the 'church of God', the court should constantly work to edify. Matthew's 1572 sermon at court was not, therefore, just a tool of counsel, but of edification. Matthew opened his sermon with the hope that 'I may preach the word of god truly without falshood and plainely without feare, that you might... followe it effectuallie without delay, so as gods name may be most glorified, our consciences best edified, oure private lives and common wealth honest reformed'. Matthew thought that lay magistrates, as well as ministers were involved in achieving reform. Under his notes of *Imperature Rege* in his bible Matthew had noted the injunction in the first epistle of Peter which was concerned with government, 'be as livelie Stones, be made a spiritual house...ye are a chosen generacion, a royal Priesthoode, an holie nacion'.⁴⁸ Matthew had noted in Jewel's work from 1567, that St. Cyril had said to the emperors, Theodorus and Valentinian, '*ab ea, quae erga Deum est, pietate Repub. vestrae status pendet*'.⁴⁹ In 1572 the threat of Mary, Queen of Scots loomed large, and the country's safety seemed in doubt. When Matthew took to the pulpit, he urged the Queen to act in order to edify herself and so to defend the kingdom. In doing so he acted as the spokesmen of his ecclesiastical and secular patrons, Cecil and the prominent

⁴⁷ J. Jewel, *A Defence of the Apologie of the Churche of England* (London, 1567), pp.33-34. YML XV. C. 11. *Biblia* (1555), f.1v, these notations are one of the front papers of the bible.

⁴⁸ *Biblia* (1555) these notes are on an end paper at back of the bible. I Pet 2: 5-9, the English translation comes from the 1560 Geneva Bible. Matthew repeated this imagery in a sermon of 1581 preached before the Queen and court. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.170-71.

⁴⁹ Jewel, *A Defence*, p. 34

clerics in the House of Lords, urging the Queen to act against her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots.

By 1572, the discovery of Catholic plots surrounding Mary Stuart had prompted both the Commons and the Lords to present petitions to the Queen urging her to act against her cousin. One diarist noted that 'the busshopes sholde set downe reasons moving the conscience, and next reasons for pollicie'.⁵⁰ Cecil had read and endorsed a draft version of the bishop's arguments which were presented to Elizabeth I at the end of May, and Matthew's sermon repeated much of the same imagery.⁵¹ The bishops warned that, 'the late Scottish Queene hath heaped upp together all the sinnes of the licentious sonnes of David', warning that if Elizabeth I did not punish Mary, 'her Majestie in conscience oughte, as also good and faithfull subiectes, to feare that God will reserve her as an instrumente to put her from the royall seat of this kingdome'. They drew on Old Testament imagery of Kings who fatefully misjudged the treachery of those who were close to them: 'the shaddowe of honor...deceived upon occasyon both Kinge Saule in sparing Agage, King of Amelich, and Kinge Achab in receavinge to his mercye Kinge Benadab'. Both kings had been deceived into believing it was not permissible to kill fellow kings: both had learned their mistakes at the hands of God or their enemies. The bishops also reminded Elizabeth that the monarch to whom she was often likened, David:

did forbide that his traytorous sonne Absolon should be slaine; and when he was kylled effemynately he bewailed the same...but he was sharpley rebuked by Jobe, his counseilore sainge, 'Thou haste shamed this day the faces of thy servants which hath saved thie lyfe and the life of thy sonnes'⁵²

Matthew drew on the same imagery to argue that the Queen should act to fulfill her duty to God and her subjects to protect herself and her country. Matthew

⁵⁰ Entry from 23 May 1581 in 'Anonymous Journal, 8 May - 25 June' in *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, ed. T. E. Hartley (3 vols., Leicester, 1981), vol. 1, p. 331

⁵¹ '26 May 1572. A wryting at St James to move hir Majesty to assent to justice against the Scottish Quene'. Public Record Office, Kew, State Papers Scotland (Mary Queen of Scots) 8/47, cited in Hartley, *Proceedings*, vol.1, p. 274.

⁵² Hartley, *Proceedings*, vol.1, pp. 278-9.

warned of the danger of Catholicism, 'what can be...more pernicious to common state of all government?'. He urged Elizabeth I:

I pray you mark the story of the cite of Bethulia [which] was never safe til Judith had Holophernes hed in hir bag. And Jud.13 the people of God could never be at quiet til David had brought Goliath's hed to Jerusalem...Debora the Good prophetees never signified sufficient occasion to resound hir thankful praises unto the Lord, til Jael that godly gentlewoman had nailed fast to the grounde the head of Sisara their captein enemy. 1 Jud. 4.5
Wherefore the case so standing with as it doth with your majesty who so doth or hath, or shall persuade with your highness nowe to use mercie so long abused, when more nede is of sharp severity so long forborn, your majestie may well thinke yt partie seketh to quench fire with strawe; nay dezireth the death of Saul for the life of Agag; or the death of Achab for the life of Benadal, nay wissheth youre highness guilty of all the bloud, which by that meanes may be spent and split⁵³

Matthew developed his Old Testament examples and applied them inescapably to the present. Referring to another monarch to whom Elizabeth I was often likened, Matthew spoke of, 'good Queen Hester...so mercifull and pitifull a Queene did seke so sharpe and swift revenge [on the traitor, Haman] but she did it , and she did it in defence of a subject, and shall it not be done, to assure yourself for safeguard of a prince? And she did it to revenge another: and shall it not be done to assure yourself?' After such a pointed application of the Old Testament images, Matthew distanced himself, perhaps humorously, from his counsel: 'I deliver the doctrine in generality, out of which if your majestie shall in particularity gather any note worth the following, no man shall be gladder then I therof this is the first tyme that ever I came in this place and I am unworthily here as now and God knoweth if ever I shall come again or no; howbeyt as it is the first, so if it shall be the last I shall crave humble pardon to give this advice'.⁵⁴

This sermon reflected the developing image of the godly commonwealth, an image which came to underpin godly conformity in the 1580s and 1590s. By dwelling on the potential offered by the reforming magistrate, and the possible influence wielded by the minister who offered counsel, Matthew had begun to celebrate the peculiar nature of the English church. This was a movement away

⁵³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.59-60.

⁵⁴ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.61.

from a programme of reform which held the Protestant churches of Europe as an immutable template, and to a discussion of the peculiar needs of the English church in its Elizabethan context; Matthew was at the heart of this movement.

This shift was reflected in the publication, in 1573, of Lawrence Humphrey's *Ioannis Iuelli...Vita et Mors*. This was produced in the midst of the debate between 'conformists' and 'puritans' following the publication of the *Admonition to Parliament*, marking the start of puritanism's marginalization as a political force. Matthew and his allies were engaged in these debates, but chose to offer an alternative vision of reform which could be achieved within the Elizabethan commonwealth. This vision, which modified the earlier programme of reform with later ecclesiastical and political concerns, was reflected by the image of Jewel created by the *Vita et Mors*, and was a conscious statement of a new purely Elizabethan interpretation of godly reform.⁵⁵

John Jewel had been at the heart of the evangelical community who had brought back to England a vision of a reformed church informed by their exile, and in the years after his death a wide variety of reformers tried to lay claim to his image, asserting themselves to be the true heirs of Jewel. Invoking Jewel's image was an appeal to a time when the hopes of the English reformers were yet to be compromised by the demands of an obdurate Queen. Jewel represented a common commitment to further church reform; however, his heirs were now divided as to how that reform should be realised in the Elizabethan kingdom. The way in which different reformers used Jewel's image reflected their own vision of the future of the English church. John Whitgift, therefore, drew on Jewel's conformity; Thomas Cartwright saw him as promoting the Swiss example of

⁵⁵ L. Humphrey, *Ioannis Iuelli..Vita et Mors* (London, 1573). Thomas Cartwright, Thomas Field and Walter Travers were involved in the presbyterian attack of 1572, prompted by the publication of J. Field, *An Admonition to the Parliament* (Hemel Hempstead, 1572) and T. Cartwright, *A Second Admonition to the Parliament* (Hemel Hempstead, 1572). Matthew engaged in these discussions, reading both sides of the polemical dispute carefully. He owned T. Cartwright, *A replie to an aunswere made of M. Doctor Whitgift: Against the Admonition to the Parliament by T. C* (Wandsworth, 1573-40), YML XIV. M. 22. J. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition against the replie of T. C* (London, 1574), including Cartwright, *A Second Admonition*. YML XV. C. 19.

reform; and William Whitaker moved the debate beyond divisions within the English church to promote a vision of Jewel as an apologist for the English church.⁵⁶

Humphrey's *Ioannis Iuelli...Vita et Mors*, which was published with attached elegies by a number of different reformers, reflected the vision of Jewel held by his closest friends. *Vita et Mors* created an image of Jewel, and his vision of reform, which reflected the hopes of his godly contemporaries at Oxford. It was a celebration of the achievements of early Elizabethan reformers, but it also marked the passing of the period of reform dominated by Edwardian evangelicals. The attached verses by younger men like Tobie Matthew, John Rainolds and John Woolley reflected the passing of the initiative to the second generation of reformers. *Vita et Mors* reflected a common heritage: it was also a statement of further reform, suggesting how Jewel's vision of a church in society might be realised anew by younger reformers.⁵⁷

Following Jewel's death in 1571, Lawrence Humphrey had written an elegy for his friend's tomb. Later, Matthew Parker and Edwin Sandys asked Humphrey to write an account of Jewel's life which he published as the *Vita et Mors*, dedicating the work to Parker and Sandys. In Humphrey's hands the *Vita* became *Vita et Mors*, stressing the continuing relevance of the image of Jewel even after his death, a point further reinforced in the attached elegies by a number of different reformers. Humphrey asserted this himself, in an early passage describing Jewel's

⁵⁶ William Whittaker, from Cambridge, also claimed to be Jewel's heir. He later produced a version of the *Vita et Mors*, publishing it as part of his account of Jewel's polemical disputes. Matthew acquired a copy of this work, W. Whittaker (ed.) *Ioannis Iuelli Sarisburiensis in Anglia Episcopi adversus Thomam Hardingum* (Geneva, 1585), YML XIII. C. 10(2). P. Lake discusses Whittaker's appropriation of Jewel, P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp.55-59. Lake also addresses the appropriation of Jewel by both Whitgift and Cartwright in the *Admonition* controversy, P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), p. 25. For Hooker and Jewel see, D. MacCulloch, 'Richard Hooker's Reputation', *English Historical Review*, cxvii (2002), 773-812.

⁵⁷ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. Nn2v-Nn3r, M3v, Oo1r. Booty does not address this aspect of the *Vita et Mors*. He adopts an uncritical reading of the text, using it solely for biographical details. J. E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England* (London, 1963), pp.204-8.

life in the *Vita*, underlined heavily by Matthew, who clearly agreed: ‘..initia pueritiae, secundus Academiae studia, tertius exilium, quartus reditum et episcopatum, quintus mortem et ultimam vitae catastrophen, ubi omnes mundi cives iussit valere et plaudere, continebit’. In his own hand Matthew added, however, ‘non nimium honorandi mortui’.⁵⁸

Jewel’s biographers stressed Jewel’s place in the European and historical narrative of reform. His European credentials were impeccable. Humphrey dwelt at length on Jewel’s exile experience, stressing his contacts with Peter Martyr and his commitment to the preached word. In his copy of the *Vita*, Matthew read this section carefully, noting examples of Jewel’s preaching. The attached elegies dwelt on the importance of the exile experience in bringing England within the framework of European reform. Verses were attached by those, like Alexander Nowell, who had also tried to bring their exile influence to bear within the English church. Men who stressed the historical significance of the English experience of European reform also wrote elegies: verses were composed by John Foxe; Ralph Gualter; and George Buchanan.⁵⁹ These contributions demonstrated the significance which Matthew and his allies would place on understanding the English reformation by examining it in light of the European experience. However, rather than drawing on the Swiss reformation as a model to aim for, Matthew and his contemporaries increasingly sought to justify the English reformation as equally valid as, if different from, the European example. In this light, the English church was not to be judged solely in terms of its likeness to the churches of Geneva or Zurich, but as an independent player in the same process of global reform.

Matthew developed an image of the English church as a unique manifestation of a true church. Instead of using continental churches as the sole benchmarks by which to judge the success of domestic reform, reformers like Matthew increasingly turned to other sources, the bible and patristic texts, to seek alternative images of the true church throughout history. This underpinned the development of a purely domestic theology of the church, which moved beyond

⁵⁸ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. A1r, B3r.

⁵⁹ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. Ee2r, Mm4r, Nn1 r, Nn3v, Oo2v, Qq2v.

recriminations about how far England had strayed from the European template of reform, stressing instead how the English church met the particular demands of the Tudor kingdom. In one of Whitgift's attacks on Cartwright, Matthew had noted, 'Evangelists stirred up extraordinarily', underlining Thomas Cartwright's assertion: 'when churches have bin by the Antichrist even raised from the foundations, God have stirred up evangelists, even immediately by his spirit, without any callinge of men to restore his churches again, of which sort was Master Wickliffe...Luther and Zwingli in Germany'.⁶⁰ Humphrey's definition of 'evangelists' was broader, encouraged by the anti-papal element in identifying 'extraordinary' reformers. A heading in the *Vita* noted, '*ecclesiae propogatio*', under which Matthew had asked himself, '*satis vixit quis?*'. His question was soon answered, on the following pages he underlined '*Iohannis Wicliffi.... Lutheri et Tho. Cranmeri*' and their successors: Peter Martyr; his wife, Catherine Martyr; Bucer; and, of course, Jewel.⁶¹

In his elegy on Jewel, Matthew argued that Jewel's place in the history of the English church, his contacts with European reformers and his anti-Catholic polemic marked him out as one of those 'evangelists' whose work restored a uniquely English church. Later in a sermon of 1581, Matthew invoked Jewel's image, placing him and his work in the apocalyptic tradition, 'O Jewel ...that art reproved and belide for Christ for the truth, great is thy reward in heaven, for so did they persecute the prophets that were before thee'.⁶² In the *Vita*, Matthew argued that Jewel's importance was global. He wrote: '*Aegyptus Nilo celebratur, & India gemmis...Graecia Clara fuit sapientem propter Ulysem:/ Syrus Persarum decoravit nomine terram*'.⁶³

Jewel's importance rested on his mediation of the European experience in the English context, and Matthew celebrated him, and by implication his church, as being as worthy as their European counterparts:

*Te celebrem fecit Petrus, Florentia, Martyr:
Ni tremat horribili semper iactata tumultu*

⁶⁰ Whitgift, *A Defense of the Aunswere*, p.212.

⁶¹ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. ¶2r, A2v.

⁶² Bod., Rawl Mss., D, 843, f.13v.

⁶³ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig., Nn2v.

*Gallia Calvinii propter monumenta vigebit
Clarus et excellens divina mente Iuellis
Quem facilem natura virum vigilantia doctum
Quem pietas patrem...
..Ille tibi solum talem dedit, Anglia, qualem
Ille tibi solam promisit nomine Gemmam⁶⁴*

The English church, Matthew argued, had a reforming history comparable to her European counterparts, reflecting the distinct nature of the English reforming experience.

As Matthew moved the debate beyond the English church's failure to replicate their European cousins, he and his allies stressed instead Calvin's emphasis on the second and third part of salvation, namely regeneration. Matthew argued that in different congregations and different societies the regeneration process would be prompted in different ways. This raised the question of how that process would be initiated in England, and what form the church should take in order achieve regeneration. This concern with applicability underpinned the evangelical commitment to preaching; it also informed Matthew's work on the best path for future, English, reform.

⁶⁴ Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig., Nn2v-3r.

CHAPTER TWO

Tobie Matthew and the Church in Conflict: 1572-1576

The Apostles of Christ saie, and so must we saie, whether it is beter to obeye god or man, iudge yow. And David a Prince himself saide, It is better to trust in the Lorde, then to trust in prynces..[but] we must be subiecte with all feare to our governors, not onlie good and iust, but frowarde also, and David, that cutte the vesture of Saul, durst not once so much as touche his bodie¹

Tobie Matthew, Sermon at the Spital, 1572

This chapter explores Matthew's continuing intellectual development, as his early sense of an English Church was refined in the context of the political and ideological conflicts facing the godly in the 1570s. During this period, Matthew's networks expanded to include a godly community at court and in London, and the extent to which these connections influenced Matthew's response to the divisions within the church will be explored through his reading of polemic and his sermons.

In their accounts of the tensions within the Elizabethan church, historians have tended to rely on polemical tracts produced by disputants in the theological and ecclesiastical battles of the church. The polemical tracts, however, were extreme statements of a given position and conceived as dialectic texts, rather than as a coherent reflection of theological developments. This has resulted in a narrative of reform which has emphasised the polarities within the church, leading to a description of the reform process which has rested on dichotomies.² In the case of the struggles of the 1570s, as godliness tried to come to terms with its relative failure as a political force, contemporary polemicists, and therefore historians have posited a division between 'conformity' and 'godliness' which suggested that the two were inherently mutually exclusive. But this dichotomy was not, nor did many contemporaries consider it to be, an accurate reflection of the fluidity of godly views

¹ SJ., Mss., 212, pp.10-11.

² Lake's exploration of the ecclesiastical politics of this period, which rests largely on the polemical debate between Whitgift and Cartwright demonstrates this tendency Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, pp. 14-62. See also, Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, which posits a dichotomy between Calvinists and Anti-Calvinists, pp. 4-8, 245-46.

about reform in church and state: Matthew's reading, and his engagement in the struggles of 1576 evince that. The artificiality of that dichotomy is further demonstrated by the use to which these polemical disputes were put. In the 1580s, Whitgift and his opponents both drew on largely sterile arguments, first used in the vestiarian crisis; however, those debates formed part of a dialectic about future English reform, grounded in the politics and the practicalities of church reform. Matthew was engaged in these clerical disputes, and his re-evaluation, in 1576, of the political role of the monarch in the church, signalled the beginning of his mature expression of reform, later reflected in his concept of the godly commonwealth.³

In July of 1572, Matthew once again benefited from Leicester's patronage, becoming president of St John's college in Oxford. Following the resignation of the reforming president John Robinson, the college had, as stipulated in the college statutes, turned to Christ Church to find their new president. Though the fellows were meant to elect a new president from the fellows of Christ Church, Matthew's prominence in the university and his powerful patrons ensured that, though only a canon, Matthew was eventually elected. Matthew, with Leicester's encouragement, tried to use his presidency to establish a godly community within the college. In doing so, however, he faced two apparently insurmountable problems: poverty and popery. This was Matthew's first experience at the vanguard of the campaign against Catholicism. It influenced his emerging ecclesiology, heightening his sense of the dangers of domestic dissension and prepared him for his eventual role in Oxford and Durham as a champion of anti-Catholicism.⁴

³ These divisions are questioned in P. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1992) White's close reading of polemical texts has informed his own reading of divisions within the church, he has argued for a graduated view of theological standpoints, rather than two diametrically opposed positions. The polarised nature of English history was the intellectual lynchpin between the collection edited by Lake and Questier, P. Lake and M. Questier, (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000) in particular, M. Questier and P. Lake, 'Introduction', pp. ix-xx, *ibid*.

⁴ Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop', p.19. Matthew's most noted piece of anti-Catholic polemic was his response to Edmund Campion's *Decem Rationes*, in a sermon preached in Oxford in 1581, Campion had previously been at St. John's college, see chapter four.

When Matthew moved to St John's, the college was still a bastion of Catholicism within the university. During Matthew's time there, the changing character of Catholicism became more pronounced, as exiles like Gregory Martin attacked Catholic conformity and provided political and theological justifications for separation. Domestic Catholicism was, therefore, becoming increasingly politically charged, and Matthew discovered that tools of Reform developed to counter conservatism within the church were ill suited to challenge the Catholicism of recusants and 'papists'. St. John's was at the heart of these developments. Gregory Martin, the translator of the Catholic Douai bible, had recently left the college for the safety of the continent, and continued to correspond with his former colleagues, writing, for example, to Thomas White to attack his conformity with the English church.⁵ Another notable figure in the Elizabethan Catholic community, Edmund Campion, was a fellow of the college until his flight to the English school in Douai in 1572. Campion, however, had earlier left Oxford for Ireland in 1570, intending to write a defence of his patron's brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, and his policies in Ireland. Matthew, had known Campion, a fellow beneficiary of Leicester's patronage well, and while he did not encounter Campion during his presidency, both Campion and Martin's influence continued to be felt within the college. During Elizabeth's reign eight men from the college died for their Catholicism, several of whom were priests.⁶

Matthew knew the religious tenor of the college before his election, he had also seen other men struggle with the conservatism of St. John's. Matthew's election had been prompted by the resignation of the reformer John Robinson, the fourth president since the recent foundation of the college in 1554; the Catholicism of the college and

⁵ Gregory Martin's letter to Thomas White in New College of 1575 was included in the notebook of Roger Dowe, reflecting reformers' concerns about these debates within Oxford Catholicism about nicodemism and separatism, Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 316-32. W. Fulke, *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translation of the Holy Scriptures in the English Tongue*, ed., C. H. Hartshorne (Cambridge, 1843), pp. xii-xiii.

⁶ Gavin, 'Tobie Matthew', p.15. J. McConica, 'The Catholic Experience in Tudor Oxford' in T. M. McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the early Jesuits: essays in celebration of the first centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896-1996)*, (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 63n.

its relative poverty might have explained the unwillingness of any of the fellows of Christ Church to offer themselves as president of St John's. In Matthew, however, Leicester, and eventually Cecil, saw a potential reformer of a bastion of Catholicism and conservatism. They worked to support him as he tried to reform the college. This was Matthew's first attempt in introducing a programme of reform in a community which was conservative and Catholic. He employed tools designed to reform a partially reformed church: education, preaching and patronage. Matthew discovered, however, that the network of Catholic interest and the rhetoric of separation challenged the efficacy of these tools. The result, the development of a rhetoric of unity and the increased emphasis on the role of the law in the conversion process, was reflected in his selection, by Leicester and Cecil, a decade later, to reform Durham.⁷

Following his election to the college, Matthew worked to implement reform. He turned first to the library, reflecting the importance of his reading in his own theological training and evincing the later emphasis which he would place on bibliography as a tool of reform. The college library had been established on the foundation of the college, and its collections reflected the Catholic commitments of the early Marian donors. On Matthew's arrival in 1572, the Catholic nature of the library had not been diluted by Protestant works; the largest recent bequest had been made in 1564 by Robert Parnell, a Catholic humanist close to Mary I. The poverty of the college meant that no money had been spent on the library between 1568 and 1572, and that students were reliant on largely Marian donations or on the private collections of tutors. Matthew thought that both were highly unsound, and worked to establish a new, reformed library. He sought outside support. In 1573, Sir William Cordell, the visitor of St John's college and a committed Catholic, wrote to pledge his support for the re-foundation of the library. The poverty of the college, however, meant that the plans for a new library were not realised until 1583, but Cordell donated a Royal Polyglot bible, printed in Antwerp, in 1581.⁸ Despite his continuing

⁷ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f.12r. J. F. Fuggles, 'A History of the Library of St. John's College, Oxford from the foundation of the College to 1660', (unpublished B. Litt thesis, Oxford, 1975), pp. 1-3.

⁸ N. R Kerr, 'The Provision of Books' in Aston (ed.), *University of Oxford*, vol 3, p. 508. J. F. Fuggles, 'Library of St John's', pp.19, 26, 42, 51.

commitment to Catholicism, Cordell also seems to have encouraged others to support Matthew's plans for the library. Mildred Cecil, friend of William Cordell, donated books to the college in 1586 and 1589. Matthew, however, apparently increasingly disillusioned by his lack of success at St. John's gave no books to the library.⁹

As well as supporting Matthew's efforts within St John's, Leicester tried to encourage the establishment of a godly community by influencing the students who attended the college. Thomas White, the founder of St. John's, had also been a donor to the Merchant Taylors' School in London and the two foundations had close ties. The school held a number of scholarships to the college and the two shared a visitor in William Cordell. Through Cordell, Leicester met the reforming schoolmaster Richard Mulcaster, who he soon came to patronise. Between them they worked to change the religious tenor of the school; it was said that through Mulcaster's reforming education, 'St John's college in Oxford, was supplied with such hopeful fruits that it soon flourished'. Mulcaster dedicated his first work on educational reform to the earl, and Leicester supported Mulcaster throughout his career. Through the earl's intervention, Mulcaster was promoted to become the headmaster of St. Paul's school, before taking a rectory in Essex. Tensions, however, emerged between Matthew and his patrons, with Matthew arguing that the poverty of the college, reflected in the collapse of the library scheme, meant that St John's could no longer afford to offer scholarships for Merchant Taylors' students. He was, however, unsuccessful, and on the question of the limited resources available for reform his patrons won.¹⁰

⁹ In 1586 Mildred Cecil gave a copy of Dionysius's *Antiquitatum Romanarum*, lib.10 (Paris, 1546), St John's Library Shelfmark, 7 (A. 2.12), with the inscription on sig. a2r 'Liber collegii St Joannis Baptistae in Universitate Oxon ex dono Illustrissimae Domine Mildredae Burghleigh 1586'. In 1589 she gave, J. J. Grynphaeus, *Monumenta Patrum Orthodoxographia* (2 vols., Basle, 1569), shelfmark, (D. 3. 14, 15), inscription on sig.L12r 'Liber collegii St Johannis Baptiste Oxon ex dono Da Mildredae Burghleigh 1589'. The 17th-century library catalogue in manuscript 'Bernard's Catalogi manuscriptom Angliae et Hibernae, 1697' in St John's College does not include any texts which were donated by Tobie Matthew.

¹⁰ Rosenberg, *Leicester* p.243-5, 'Grammar Schools: Merchant Taylors' School' in A. Ward and others, *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* (18 vols., New York, 1907-21), <<http://www.bartleby.com/217/1409.html>> (5 July 2002)

Matthew became increasingly frustrated by his failure to introduce lasting reform at the college, and turned instead to his interests at Christ Church, in the church, and at court. While president of St John's, Matthew had kept his canonry and his contacts at Christ Church, and, frustrated by the progress of reform in St John's, turned his attentions to the evangelical circle which already existed at Christ Church. In 1574 college visitors to St. John's college complained that Matthew's dedication to his Christ Church canonry meant that he was spending increasingly little time at St. Johns, and argued that his misplaced zeal was damaging to the college. Matthew's attentions, however, were firmly fixed on his earlier, godly, community. His patrons shared his awareness of the relatively limited success of reform of St John's in comparison to Christ Church. Sir William Cordell's nephew, William Gager, who had attended Merchant Taylors' School, later went to Christ Church rather than St. John's, when Matthew, as a canon, was one of those who secured his admission.¹¹

Matthew's time at St. John's took him to the heart of the battle against Elizabethan Catholicism, introducing him to many of those who would shape the reinvigoration of domestic Catholicism in the 1570s and 1580s. His inability to achieve lasting reform reflected the problems of poverty and the conservatism of those he worked with. This experience, however, was the start of Matthew's career as a practical reformer; concerns which would dominate his reforming programme, for example the establishment of reformed libraries, were first developed at St. Johns, where Matthew remained until 1576.¹² His limited success, however, did not damage his growing

¹¹ BL., Add. Mss., 22885. Public Record Office, Kew State Papers (on microfilm in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds) 12/24/32, hereafter PRO SP. *Register of the University of Oxford: 1571-1622*, ed., A. Clark (5 pts., Oxford, 1885-88), vol.2, p. 336. Wood, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, vol.1, p.418. E. G. W. Bill and J. F. A. Mason, *Christ Church and Reform: 1850-1867* (Oxford, 1970), p.12; Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop', p.20

¹² Matthew's extensive library, now at York Minster, demonstrates his personal commitment to the scholarly aspect of reform. Matthew also made this library available to other scholars and clerics, R. Bernard, *The Faithful Shepherd* (2nd. edn., London, 1621), sig. A3r, YML. III. Q. 31. Favour, *Antiquitie Triumphant Over Antiquitie*, sig. A1r-A2v. Matthew was committed to the development of clerical libraries, he gave six books to Christ Church in 1584. M. Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis Scripturae* (Basle, 1567), Christ Church library shelfmark Hyp. P. I. 3, O. Eppilinus, *Selectora Vetustissimorum ac probatissimorum patrum iudicia* [no date], Christ Church library shelfmark Hyp. P. 41, Platina, *De Vitis Pontificum* (Cologne, 1540),

reputation in London and Oxford godly circles. That prominence reflected the patronage of both Leicester and Cecil, and through Matthew's friendship with William Cecil he also developed connections with some of the godly of the capital.¹³

1572 saw the consolidation of Matthew's position in the university; it also marked the start of his rise to prominence at court and within the London godly community. In that year, William Cecil engaged Matthew in the campaign against Mary, Queen of Scots and her co-plotter, the duke of Norfolk. From the pulpits of London Matthew proclaimed the dangers of Catholic rebellion and the need for swift action to prevent further threats, and he was deeply involved in the campaign for the execution of the duke and the Scottish queen. His involvement in the parliamentary campaign was demonstrated in his first sermon before the Queen in 1572, which, reflecting the

Christ Church library shelfmark OI. 2.10, Ptolemy, *Geographia*, (Basle, 1572). Matthew also donated a copy of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and a copy of P. Giovo, *Elogia Veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita* (1546). Matthew also gave a copy of this text to Durham Cathedral, P. Giovo, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium* (Basle, 1577). This was the only book which he gave to the cathedral. Matthew did not give any books to St. John's college, but in 1612 Matthew made a large bequest of books to his native town of Bristol, which formed the basis of the public library there. N. Mathews, *Early Printed Books and Manuscripts in the City Reference Library Bristol* (Bristol, 1909), most books in this catalogue were given by Matthew.¹³ Matthew was also friendly with Cecil's chaplain, the godly reformer Adam Holiday. Matthew owned several of Holiday's books, but, as the two were also at Durham together it is possible that some of these gifts are from their time in the chapter including M. Luther, *Quaestionum Sacrarum...Centuriae III* (Basle, 1561), YML V/3. Q. 5 which bears Adam Holiday's signature and the date, 1573. Whether this was the date when Holiday bought the text, or gave the work to Matthew is not clear. One work, P. De Aquila, *Petri de Aquila sectatoris nobilissimaru subtilissimi Iohannis Scoti doctrinaru libros hos sententiaru quatuor* (Speyer, c. 1487), bears the signature 'Ex dono Durham Rob[er]ti Blakeney, Prioris de Tynmoth' as well as 'Adami Holiday' suggesting that both Holiday and, therefore, Matthew received the work when in Durham. Other works belonging to Matthew, but with the same signature, 'Adami Holiday': P. Melanchthon, *Elemontorum Rhetorices libri duo*, (Leipzig, 1565), YML V/2 Q. 5; G. Cardano, *Hieronimi Cardani Mediolanensis, Medici. De Rerum Varietate Libri xvii* (Abivnon, 1558), YML III. O. 3; G. Cardano, *Hieronimi Cardani Mediolanensis, Medici. De Subtilitate Libri xxi* (Lyons, 1559), YML III. O. 12; R. Higden *Polycronycon* (Southwark, 1527/1555) YML XVI. D. 4; A. Haldrenius, *Epitome Singularum Distinctionum in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* (Paris, 1549), YML XV. R. 13; Aeschines, *Orationes Horum Rhetorum* (2 vols., Venice, 1513), YML VI. K. 1. Stephan Alford has demonstrated that Collinson's claim that Cecil was not a Calvinist until 1595 was incorrect, and that instead Cecil was involved in evangelical circles in London at an early stage, Alford, *Early Elizabethan Polity*, pp.24-26.

interests of William Cecil, called for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Matthew's activity, however, was not limited to the courtly sphere. Shortly before Norfolk's execution, Matthew had preached a sermon in London attacking the treachery of the duke. That sermon became so renowned that Norfolk referred to it on the scaffold. One observer recorded that after Norfolk had removed his 'hat, gown and doublet; and standing in his vest which was of white fustian, he said to Mr. Nowell in his ear, "this is the satin doublet which the preacher Tobie Matthew spoke of". Another anonymous observer did not record this statement, and it seems possible that it was Alexander Nowell, the evangelical dean of St. Paul's, who made Norfolk's comments public.¹⁴

This introduction to godly society in London was consolidated by Cecil's continuing support. In 1573 Matthew wrote to Cecil, requesting his help in defending an Oxford friend, Thomas Wilkes, against unfounded charges of Catholicism. Matthew wrote that, 'I thought it a dutie, not so much for your familiaritie, as Christianities sake, boldely, you humbly to present myne opinions of the partie unto your honour.' Matthew asked Cecil to extend his patronage to include Matthew's friend, as well as the godly preacher himself. 'I wolde', he told Cecil, 'become a most infante and lowly petitioner, the rather at my most earnest and humble desyre, your lord would both with expedicion and to effect showe your selfe as a patron hitherto many other wayes, so herein here after a parent to him, thereby binding not him only to pray for your honour as he hath longe done; but me also to rest at your Lordships commandment, as I shall doe now'.¹⁵

Matthew felt the benefits of Cecil's support in London, as well as in Oxford. In 1575, Matthew was 'specially admitted' to Gray's Inn. This had been Cecil's Inn of Court, and he continued to be involved in the government of the community. Intervening in the Inn's choice of preacher, Cecil reminded the Benchers of: 'the special regarde which I have of the good government of your house as one of the seminaries of the

¹⁴ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 46-65. PRO SP 12/21/46. *Proceedings*, ed., Hartley, vol.1, pp. 332-33. See above, chapter 1, for a discussion of Matthew's first sermon before the Queen.

¹⁵ BL., Lans. Mss., 17, f. 135.

nobilitie and gentlemen of this realm'. It was also, for a time, a seminary of godliness. In 1574, William Charke, a renowned evangelical minister formerly from Peterhouse in Cambridge, had been appointed as the preacher for Gray's Inn's. Matthew met him there, and the two continued to be friends after Matthew's removal north. In 1581, Charke was appointed the preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and when Matthew visited London in the 1580s, he apparently stayed with Charke, preaching at the Inn. Other places to which Matthew would later return to reflected godly friendships formed in the 1570s. That itinerary included both St Bride's and St Giles's in Cripplegate, both renowned centres of evangelical reform. At St Giles's Matthew may have responded to an invitation by another of Leicester's clients, the godly preacher, John Bartlett. Leicester had sponsored Bartlett's, *The Pedigrees of Heretiques* in 1566, and Bartlett later claimed the earl as the champion of London puritans.¹⁶

Matthew also had existing connections with reforming circles in London. His old friend, Thomas Sampson, had secured a prebendary at St. Paul's, after his ejection from Christ Church following the vestment crisis. Sampson continued to be involved in godly activity in London, writing to Cecil in 1574 to lament the lack of preaching ministers, and it seems likely that Sampson encouraged his protégé to engage in London preaching circles. In 1576, Matthew preached the Easter sermons at the Spital, which had in the past been preached by Sampson. Sampson may also have introduced Matthew to his godly colleagues. Certainly by 1576 Matthew was working with Alexander Nowell on behalf of another reformer based in London, Thomas Cromwell.¹⁷

Matthew was, therefore, involved with those at the heart of the godly movement in London at a time when that community was engaged in a parliamentary and polemical offensive. In 1572 the godly party had promoted a parliamentary bill

¹⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 20. BL., Lans. Mss., 17, f. 61. R. Douthwaite *Gray's Inn: Notes Illustrative of its History and Antiquities* (London, 1876), p. 51. J. Forster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889* (London 1889), p.48. Rosenburg, *Leicester*, p.211.

¹⁷ BL., Add. Mss., 332371, f. 21v. W. Page, (ed.), *Victoria County History of London* (London, 1909), p. 317.

designed to further reform of the 1559 prayer book. The Queen's refusal to allow the discussion of the bill, and her insistence that the commons 'should not deale in any matters of religion but first to receive it from the bisshops' was seen as a death knell to the achievement of godly reform through parliament. After the parliament ended, godly reformers, frustrated by the embargo on parliamentary debates about reform, kept discussions about the role of the Queen in the running of the church alive from 1572 until the next parliament in 1576. Their ranks included many of those who called for further reform, including those, like Matthew, who had been disappointed in their attempts to secure Mary, Queen of Scots' execution and who considered the kingdom to be in danger. The publication, in 1572, of Thomas Wilcox's *An Admonition to the Parliament* and John Field's *A View of Popishe Abuses, Yet Remaining in the Englishe Church*, brought those frustrations into a very public arena, and the response, Whitgift's *An Answere to the Admonition*, established a polemical dialectic between 'conformity' and 'godliness' which came to shape ecclesiastical politics from 1572 to 1576. That polarity was not, however, one which was wholly reflective either of the breadth of views within the godly movement, or of the tenor of most godly discussions about the relation of church and state.¹⁸ Matthew was engaged at a personal and a polemical level with these disputes, and that engagement informed his own, developing vision of the church.

Throughout the Elizabethan period, Matthew collected, and read, polemical discussions about the contemporary church. This reflected contemporaries' view of

¹⁸ 'Peter Wentworth's Speech, 8 February [1576]', in *Proceedings*, ed. Hartley, vol. 1, p. 430. J. Field [and T. Wilcox], *An Admonition to the Parliament* (Hemel Hempstead, 1572). J. Whitgift, *An Answere to a certen libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, (London, 1572). Matthew owned T. Cartwright, *A repleye to an aunswere made of M. Doctor Whitgift: Against the Admonition to the Parliament by T. C* (Wandsworth, 1573-40), YML XIV. M. 22. J. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition against the repleie of T. C* (London, 1574), including Cartwright, *A Second Admonition*. YML XV. C. 19. Other polemical texts from this dispute included J. Field, *Certaine Articles, collected an taken (as it was thought) by the byshops out of a little booke intituled an admonition to the Parliament, with an answere to the same* (Hemel Hempstead, 1572). T. Cartwright, *A Second Repleie of Thomas Cartwright: agaynst Maister Doctor Whitgiftes second Answer touching the churche discipline* (Heidelberg, 1575). T. Cartwright, *The Rest of the Second Repleie of Thomas Cartuvright [sic]: agaynst Maister Doctor VUhitgiftes second Ansuver touching the churche discipline* (Basle, 1577)

polemical debates, which was not of two, unresolvable views, but of a dialectic in which the reader was engaged, and from which they would draw their own, moderating, conclusion. Dialectic was a central part of the Elizabethan learning process; it was at the heart of the Oxford curriculum, and was a means by which students learned and displayed their learning.¹⁹ Matthew was himself a lecturer in dialectic from 1564 to 1567. Nor was dialectic solely the preserve of academic life, but informed intellectual engagements at all levels. It has been demonstrated, for example, that William Cecil constructed his policies through a dialectic engagement with the challenges that he faced.²⁰ It was, authors thought, a particular skill of the educated. Writing in 1565, to defend Jewel against attacks by the Catholic polemicist, Thomas Dorman, Alexander Nowell assumed that educated readers could be discerning in their reading of contesting texts. He wrote ‘though many simple soules may muche mervell at suche plentie of Englishe bookes, as are of late so sodeinly sent us from beyond the seas by our countrey men there...yet the learned and discrete Readers, accustomed to weigh and iudge, rather than to counte and numbere, will easily consider it no matter for our adversaries’.²¹ John Garbrande, in the introduction to his version of Jewel’s sermons, agreed; discussing the proliferation of polemical texts, he asked ‘what else’ could be done, but to ‘lay downe all affection and favour of parties, and peruse that hath been saide in matter of controversies on both sides, and iudge iustly of that is alleged’.²²

Instead, therefore, of seeing inter-confessional polemical statements as theologically coherent reflections of ecclesiastical developments, we should see them in the context in which they were written: as polemical engagements, with both authors and readers aware that the reader would judge and mediate the opposing views. This onus on the reader was made explicit in texts such as Nowell’s defence of Bishop Jewel, *A*

¹⁹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273 demonstrates the extent to which dialectic dominated the Oxford Arts curriculum. For further discussion see J. McConica, ‘Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford’, *English Historical Review*, XCIV, (1979), 291-317. M. C. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 1959), in particular chapter 4.

²⁰ Alford, *Early Elizabethan Polity*, pp 15-18

²¹ A. Nowell, *A Reporoofe..of a book entitled a Proofoe of Certayne Articles in Religion denied by M Iuell set forth by Thomas Dorman* (London, 1565), sig. a2r. YML XVI. F. 4

²² Jewel, *An exposition*, ed. Garbrande, sig. a3v

Reprooffe, in which he reprinted Thomas Dorman's original text, or in Whitgift's, *The Defense of An Answere*, which included Cartwright's earlier attack on Whitgift.²³ Parity was not, however, thought to be a feature of polemical debate. The authorial voice was assumed to be superior to the defendant whose views had been reprinted. This, of course, was particularly true in cross-confessional polemic, when both Catholic and Protestant worked on the assumption that the veracity of their own position precluded any possibility that the other could be right.²⁴ Even internecine disputes, which were, of course, also concerned with salvation, refused to admit the possibility of compromise within the text. This was, however, not how they were read by reformers like Matthew.

It is a commonplace that there were few theological developments in England, because, unlike their continental allies, English reformers were not faced with defending their church from hostile forces who were, if not in the same country, on the same land mass. In these accounts, confessional conflict was the forge in which distinct theologies were cast. England, it has been claimed, was removed from these pressures, confining itself to theologically sterile discussions about the church.²⁵

²³ Each of the points which the author wishes to disprove is reprinted in full above the reproof. For example see Nowell, *A Reprooffe*, sig. A1v, b2v-4r, B1r, B2v. Whitgift, *The Defense of An Answere*, pp. 32-33, 35-40. Matthew engaged with both sides of the cross-polemical debate, for example as well as texts by Jewel he owned T., Harding, *A confutation of a booke intituled an apologie of the church of England* (Antwerp, 1566), YML XIII. P. 2. T. Harding, *A reionder to M Jewels replie against the sacrifice of the masse* (Louvain, 1567), YM L. XIII. P. 32. T. Heskyms, *The Parliament of Chryste avouching and declaring the enacted truth of the presence of his bodie and bloode in the blessed sacrament* (Antwerp, 1566) YML XV. B. 15.

²⁴ Questier has explored the role of cross-confessional polemic in Protestant /Catholic conversions, demonstrating that the statements of faith which each contained were not designed to prompt conversion, but designed to stress the distance between the two positions. M. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, c. 1580-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 15-39

²⁵ For an explicit statement of this view see, McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, pp. 22-24. Collinson criticised accounts of the English Reformation which stressed the 'theological mediocrity of the movement', but also agreed that most accounts of English reform stressed the extent to which the English church adopted parts of the German or Swiss reformations. P. Collinson, 'England', in R. Scribner, R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 86. This sense of the sterile nature of the English reformation reflects the writing of histories which have concentrated on frustrated Marian exiles and later presbyterian

There were, however, challenges to the English church, both within and without, demonstrating that the Protestant church in England was far from being a fixed monolithic entity. These polemical debates, both cross-confessional and internecine, were the fruits of those challenges, and, as in Europe, they underpinned some of the theological developments in England. When Matthew read polemical works, as he did throughout Elizabeth's reign, he was exploring how fellow Protestants mediated their common theology in light of the Elizabethan experience. Matthew learned about the theology of communion, for example, through dialectical texts, noting heavily Peter Martyr's views on transubstantiation in his copy of an Oxford disputation of 1549 in which Martyr, Richard Cox and Richard Morrison were some of the disputants.²⁶ Polemical discussions were primarily concerned with matters of practical churchmanship, based around questions of the role that ceremonies played in salvation. This concern with the mediation of universal, theological precepts within the peculiar demands of the English or European example underpinned Matthew's own theological development as he worked to create an image of achievable English reform. In doing so, he drew on polemical texts, from which he created a harmonized vision of reform, underpinned by vibrant theological developments.

In England of the early 1570s the struggles within the church were reflected by the publication of polemical texts which promoted the godly position defended latterly by Thomas Cartwright, and the *status quo* championed by John Whitgift. Matthew read both sides carefully, drawing his own conclusions from their disputes. These polemics were a restatement of a concern which had worried reformers in the 1560s, namely the failure of the English church to match the example set by European reformed churches. Thomas Cartwright's attack was shaped by the template of

complaints. Those programmes of reform were constructed primarily around the desire to establish a European reformed church in England, for an example of this see Lake's delineation of the changing stress in Elizabethan puritan thought, Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, pp. 3-6. I argue that while these debates which were constructed around the image of European Reform *were* largely sterile, there was an alternative, creative, English theology being developed simultaneously, the results of which may be seen in Matthew's thought.

²⁶ P. Martyr, *Disputatio de Eucharistiae Sacramento habita in Celeberrima universitate oxoniensi in Anglia* (Zurich, 1557), in particular, sig, b2r, c1r-c5r, d1r-v, d5v, fr1-f3v, n2r, t7r, YML V/3. J.10.

European reform with little regard to English peculiarities. He argued, 'I knowe no question moved whyche hath not bene many yeers before in other churches reformed holden as truth and therefore practical', and in its slavish adherence to European reforming example, Cartwright's position evinced something of the sterility of the thought of those godly reformers who would later become marginalised within the church. In his apology, Whitgift also failed to develop any sense of the peculiar nature of an English church. Instead, he responded to Cartwright in similar terms, namely the English church's likeness to her European cousins. Matthew noted in the margin of Whitgift's response, that there was, 'Allowance geven to our forme of common praier by them of beyond the seas', underlining Whitgift's claim that, 'there is no cause why we should consider ourselves one whit inferiour to them'.²⁷

By the 1570s this increasingly sterile and polarised polemical dispute, which was focussed on the English church's failure to match her European cousins, produced two stark alternatives. One could argue, like Whitgift, that a rigid acceptance of the Queen's command was necessary; a stricture which gave rise to the development of 'things indifferent' to explain those areas where the church differed from the European example. The alternative, for those godly men and women who were unable to accept the concept of 'things indifferent', was either to reject the Queen's authority in the church or to rebel against her.²⁸ For Matthew, neither were acceptable choices.

The spirit in which Matthew read these texts informed his later, accommodating vision of the church and reform, in which godly Reform did not necessarily imply a rejection of monarchical authority. Matthew focussed on Cartwright's calls for the increase of those things within the church which would lead to proselytisation and regeneration. He underlined heavily Cartwright's assertion that: 'Paul compareth the preaching unto planting and watering, a very notable place to prove there is no salvation without preaching...the ordinary wayes whereby God regenereteth hys

²⁷ Cartwright, *A Replye Made to An Aunswere*, sig., b3v. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, p. 500. For a brief bibliography of the main texts in this debate see chapter one.

²⁸ Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, p.24. For a discussion of Matthew's rejection of the concept of 'things indifferent' see chapter one.

children is by the worde of God which is preached'. This was in direct contrast to Whitgift's assertion that reading ministers were an acceptable substitute for preaching ministers. Matthew shared with Cartwright a belief that the preached word prompted regeneration, he also shared Cartwright's commitment to achieving that through the English church, noting heavily those passages where Cartwright called for an increase in preaching. Matthew's dislike of the continuing presence of Catholic ritual within the church had been demonstrated in his involvement in the vestiarian crisis, and he also noted sections where Cartwright criticised baptism, questioned the value of confirmation and attacked the use of the cross.²⁹

Matthew may have shared a with Cartwright a sense of frustration at the slow pace of reform within the church, but he did not share Cartwright's views on how that reform should be achieved. He noted Cartwright's assertion that: 'the church and commonwealth doe embrace and kisse one another...lyke unto Hypocrites twinnes which were sick together'. His other notations, however, suggested a sympathy with Whitgift's vision of the church in society. Matthew underlined Whitgift's commitment to his 'loving nurse the Church of England', a phrase redolent of Cyprian's description of the 'church as mother' which underpinned Calvinist thought on central role of the church in the salvation process. He then seemed to show considerable sympathy with Whitgift's defence of episcopacy and monarchical intervention. Underlining Cartwright's argument that many preachers would be better than a few bishops, Matthew noted 'a point excellently answered' above Whitgift's reply: 'it is a point of good husbandrie to feede the sheepe as occasion serveth, and to admonishe the watchmen and cities of their duties'. Matthew wrote in the margin, 'magistrates as well as ministers called shepherdes and watchmen', underlining heavily Whitgift's assertion that 'Senior and Elders might remayne in the church until there were Christian Princes and Magistrates by whome the people of God might be kept in peace and quietness and the churches of god more perfectly goverened...in the place of the Apostles, Evangelists & c. are succeeded Bishops, Pastors, Doctors, so I may say that in the place of Elders, and Seniors are come Christian Princes and Magistrates'. While Matthew was committed to Cartwright's vision of daily

²⁹ Cartwright, *A Replye to an Aunswere*, sig. r3v. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, pp. 219, 234, 617, 725-6.

regeneration through the church, he shared Whitgift's stress on the unity between church and commonwealth.³⁰ This was a movement away from the debate which assumed one or the other, and reflected the development of a new ecclesiology.

These disputes about the role of monarchical authority within the church continued to rumble on until parliament was summoned again in 1576. Then the godly community gathered its forces in preparation for a major push for reform, hoping to revisit the debates from the 1572 parliament. Shortly before parliament opened in February 1576, Matthew wrote to his friend, the evangelical parliamentarian Thomas Cromwell, apologising for his inability to engage in the godly campaign in parliament and convocation, claiming that, 'my course in waytinge upon her Majestie ...doth so straine my libertie, as not being myne owne mane I cannot as I would eyther dispoase of my self or satisfie my frendes, if I were there I would rather listen all then speake much'. Thomas Cromwell was in London, and in the Commons, for much of the 1576 session and recorded Peter Wentworth's speech on the need for godly counsel: 'the onely salve to heale all the sores of this commonwealth'. Later in the 1576 parliament, the call for godly counsel was realised, with the presentation at the beginning of March of a petition for the reform of church discipline. Reflecting many of Thomas Cartwright's complaints, the petitioners called for more and better qualified preaching ministers.³¹

Though Matthew had apologised to Cromwell for his preoccupation with the Queen, he was actually able to 'speake much' for his friends, preaching a sermon at Paul's Cross only a few days before parliament opened on February 8. In that sermon Matthew addressed one of the recurring themes from the 1572 parliament, which would also be revisited in the 1576 successor, namely the safety of the realm in the face of Catholic threats. In 1572 Matthew and his patrons had agreed that the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots would secure the safe future of the realm. By 1576, the Queen's refusal to marry and the continuing plotting surrounding Mary, Queen of Scots had made the question of how to secure a safe, Protestant future for

³⁰ Cartwright, *A Replye to an Aunswere*, sig. a2r. Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, pp. 220-21. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, p.199.

³¹ 'Wentworth's Speech' in *Proceedings*, Hartley, vol. 1, pp. 425-434. 'Petition of Commons for Reform of Church Discipline, 2 March [1576]', in *ibid.*, 445-47.

the country even more pressing. Matthew's handling of this theme at Paul's Cross caused some scandal at court, and shortly afterwards he wrote to his patron, Leicester to defend himself against claims that his sermon was 'concerning succession'. The succession that he had spoken of, Matthew argued, was the succession of the church: 'I delt with them likewise, first to seke the kingdeom of God and righteousness therof, and the rest would be eazilie obteyned, being certainly perswaded that as god is god, so if we have a dutiful regard of succesion to oure quiet goverment'. His opponents had read that as engaging in questions of the Queen's successor, but Matthew argued that he had been speaking of religion: 'so wisshing success and succession for ever to religion, the only such prop and stay of the household of faith, I proceeded to other particulars incident to the text.'³²

Matthew's discussion of the succession reflected a prominent concern of reformers, which like the need for godly counsel, had informed discussions about the relationship between church and state since the failures of the 1572 parliament. Though a prominent spokesman for one element within reforming circles, he was at pains in the same sermon to distance himself from the movement for presbyterianism which, it seemed, would also reappear during the imminent parliament. Matthew reported to Leicester that he had attacked those who argued for reform through presbyterianism:

I begun to merveile not a little with myself, what it should meane, that albeyt the wiser and better sorte have ever had a sufficient and singular care of the clergie, yet the greater nombre of men, much inferiour to the rest in calling and more in discretion were nowe of late utterlie fallen from any good opinion of the minister...I asked whether it were the doctrine we preach, or the differences in some opinions thatertain holde or the negligence in performing of our duties, or the lewdness of the life we leade, or the covetousness that some of us be steined with all or what else of more importance, why they shold either conceive such harde burninges, or utter such hard speches, or intend such practises against us, as every where abroad is bruited. I doubted not but many godly of greatest authoritie, and gravest iudgement, wold not condemn Rowland for oliver, one for another but let every particular beare his own bodey, rather they all in generall sholde sustein the wrong, which a fewe deserved³³

³² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 356.

³³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.354. There is no record of the date of the sermon, but Matthew's account, clearly written shortly afterwards, was dated the 8 February

The godly movement for reform was, therefore, fluid and Matthew demonstrated that a commitment to the reforms proposed by Cartwright did not automatically suggest a commitment to the government that he proposed.

One part of the parliamentary campaign that Tobie Matthew was sympathetic to was Wentworth's call, in 1576, for the freedom of speech in parliament. Wentworth, prompted by the prohibition on discussing reform in the 1572 parliament, launched into a passionate defence of the necessity of godly politics and addressed the question of the failure of counsel. Asking what the godly should do under an ungodly prince, Wentworth concluded: 'to avoyd everlasting death and condemnacion with the high and mighty God we ought to proceed in every cause according to the matter and not according to the prince's mynde'. Wentworth was imprisoned for his stand, prompting his godly allies to address more urgently the question of how to act under a tyrannical prince.³⁴ For many reformers, the parliament of 1576 marked a failure in reform and a crisis in counsel confirming the limits of parliamentary reform which had been demonstrated in 1572. It was, therefore, a moment of re-evaluation of the existing programme for reform, and a questioning of the usefulness of the dichotomy created by the polemical engagements between 'godliness' and 'conformity' as a template for future reform.

Through his time at St. John's, Matthew had come to prize unity within the church, drawing a distinction between the church of England, and those Catholics and separatists who challenged the integrity of the church as a national, and unifying body. Matthew's commitment to the national church and to its head, Elizabeth I, meant that he had to develop a new programme for further reform which worked within, not against, the structures of conformity. In April 1576, a month after the parliament had ended, Matthew delivered a sermon at the prominent preaching place of the Spital in London. He concentrated on the questions which had been exercising

1575[6]. There is no record of this sermon in the calendar for Elizabeth I's reign in M. MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642* (Toronto, 1958), pp.200-56.

³⁴ *Proceedings*, ed., Hartley, vol.1, pp. 423, 427, 476-95. Collinson sees this change in godly mentality as occurring slightly later, P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979), pp. 219-323.

godly minds, focussing on the duty of the godly under a religious tyrant. In the context of the politics of spring 1576, this was a highly contentious discussion indeed. Matthew's conclusions reflected the development of a new sense of the godly commonwealth in England.³⁵

Matthew preached this sermon at St. Mary's, Bethlehem Hospital, otherwise known as Bedlam, Bethlem or the Spital, as part of a prestigious series of Easter sermons. The Spital was a prominent preaching place in the city; on Elizabeth's succession the preaching of godly sermons at the Spital and at St Paul's was thought to herald the advent of a Protestant church. Later in 1559, Thomas Sampson had preached the Easter sermons at the Spital, repeating them later at Paul's Cross.³⁶ By Elizabeth's reign, the hospital of Bethlehem had passed into the hands of the city, and despite plans that it should come under the control of Bridewell Hospital, the mayor and aldermen retained control of the hospital throughout Elizabeth's reign. The mayor appointed the master of the hospital, increasingly coming to view that patronage as a perquisite of the job, and he may have been involved in the selection of the preachers. By the 1570s, however, the Spital had a reputation for godly activity, reflecting its peculiar jurisdiction, and this too may have influenced the choice of preacher.³⁷

³⁵ SJ., Mss., 212.

³⁶ W. Jenkinson, *London Churches Before the Great Fire* (London, 1917). 'Thomas Sampson' in L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (22 vols., Oxford, 1921-22). The church and hospital were outside the City walls but under City jurisdiction, which meant it had long attracted those pushing for reform. George Boleyn took the Mastership in 1529, in 1536 Richard Barnes petitioned to succeed him. In 1543, the convocation of Canterbury denounced the 'ungodly marriages' that were taking place in the hospital, while in 1590 the High Commission moved to prevent puritans burying their dead there 'outside the orders of the church', and Bancroft cited Bethlem as a place where the Genevan Prayerbook was in force. E. G. O' Donoghue, *The Story of Bethlehem Hospital From its Foundation in 1247* (London, 1941), pp, 109-11. P. Collinson, 'Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', in P. Collinson, (ed.), *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983) p. 245n

³⁷ J. Andrews and others, *The History of Bethlem*, (London, 1997), pp.60-62. I have not been able to discover anything about the selection process of Spital preachers, or identify any of the other preachers who delivered sermons in the same series as Matthew.

The Easter sermons were occasions of great civic pomp. On Good Friday, the mayor and aldermen attended sermons at Paul's Cross dressed in Violets. In the following week, they attended a series of sermons held at the Spital, and on the Sunday after Easter, 'the children of Christ's Hospitall came from thence through the City to the sermon kept at S. Mary Spittle all clothed in Plunket coats with red caps'. A custom had been established that a bishop should preach on Easter Monday, a dean on the Tuesday and a doctor of divinity on the Wednesday. The sermon which Matthew delivered in 1576 was preached on Easter Monday, despite his being a mere doctor, suggesting that he had reached a position of some eminence within London preaching circles.³⁸

Matthew chose this highly public, and publicized, moment to address the current godly debate, namely the sense of difficulty in resolving godly activity and a duty to the Queen. By 1576 Matthew had accepted, like many godly reformers, that the possibility of further reform through parliament was over. Instead he addressed questions of magistracy and tyranny, moving the debate on from the need for godly counsel, to ask questions about godly duties under a tyrant. This sermon demonstrated that Matthew had yet to resolve what appeared to a dichotomy between reform and conformity, but by questioning the value of that dichotomy, Matthew started to address the questions which would underpin his mature ecclesiology.

From the start of the sermon Matthew engaged directly in debates which had occupied the reforming community in the past months. Citing Augustine, he warned: 'whosoever for feare of any whatsoever power concealeth the truth, he provoketh on himself the indignation of God, because he seemth more to feare man than god'.

Matthew drew on the English church's recent history, asking:

when almost all other Prophetes, Apostles, Matyres and Christians, our fathers, our mothers, our brethren, our sisters, our kindred, our owne flesshe and bloude

³⁸ Jenkinson, *London Churches*, pp. 268-270. In the eighteenth century, Spital sermons were used to raise money for the hospitals of London, with printed copies of the sermon sent speculatively to merchants, politicians and members of the gentry and nobility. It is possible that Matthew may also have been engaged in something similar, urging the congregation to continue to support Bethlehem Hospital, as well as using the occasion to propound his views about further reform in the church. SJ., Mss., 212, pp. 56-58. Andrews, *History of Bethlem*, pp. 169, 193.

have endured the most exquisite kinds of unspoken of, unredde of, unhearde of, unthoughte of cruelties and bloudie butcheries, of all ages and places, for alone confession of their faith in Jesu Christ and him crucified: what shall we saie? Shall we saye that...their learning was madnesse...or that he that cannot dissemble?³⁹

Matthew asked what the godly person could do when faced by an irreligious prince, addressing the apparent dichotomy between a commitment to further reform or to the monarch. Reflecting the recent experience of the godly, he argued that 'we must be contented to acknowledge it our bounden dutie, not onelie to declare our consciences unto brethren of our profession, birdes of a feather, but to betraye our faith as occasion is offered, to whatsoever tyranntes, though as harde harted to us as Felix to Paule'. Echoing Wentworth's objection, Matthew accepted that 'there maye a question or two be moved, wether it suffice not a man to holde his religion by lawes of a realme and his faith by example of princes?'. He replied, 'howbeit for a shorte answer and sure, that maybe no longer, then those lawes and examples be accordinge to God'. Matthew, however, admitted the conflict inherent in this statement, acknowledging that, 'we must be subiecte with all feare to our governours, not onelie good of Saul', continuing he asked, 'what shall we then doe, when we are haled before Felix or other tyranntes?'.⁴⁰

Matthew's answer reflected his growing acceptance of the need for conformity. In 1566 when Matthew had addressed the same problems of the ungodly tyrant, he had dwelt on the possible role of natural magistrates in challenging a tyrant, '*efficia causa Dei*'. By 1576, however, he had come to reflect the other trend in Calvinist thought, the Pauline emphasis on passive non-resistance.⁴¹ There were, Matthew argued, a number of possible responses to a tyrant: all were passive. 'First', he argued, 'we must bessech the Lorde by our most humble and earnest prayers to mollifie the hartes of harde harted Princes'. He continued: 'Secondlie if that will not serve, we must become suppliant humble and fairespoken to such enemies, for a soft answer doth awaie displeasure'. 'Thirdlie', Matthew warned, 'if we canot appease their

³⁹ SJ., Mss., 212, pp. 3, 8-9.

⁴⁰ SJ., Mss., 212, pp.10-11

⁴¹ Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol.2, pp. 192-95.

implacable rage we maye flie if we canne...we are commanded, if they persecute us in one citie to flie to another'. Matthew concluded, 'fourthlie, if all other lawfull meanes shall faile, then is it the last and the beste to suffere'. He ended this discussion with an admonition which would underpin his subsequent calls for reform: '*we* are not them that withdrawe our selves unto perdition, but we pertayne (I trust) unto faith, to the winninge of the soule'.⁴²

This new emphasis on the passive acceptance of tyranny, without a call for limiting counsel, reflected a shift which was beginning to occur within Matthew's thought. Not only had he begun to accept the role of the monarch in the church, but had come to celebrate that presence as part of the peculiar manifestation of the true church in England. Matthew told his audience that the true church which was realised in England, bore 'the name of the citie of my god, which is the name Jerusalem'. He also argued for an important corollary, that 'there is no evill in the citie that the Lorde hath not done'. The sermon of 1576 evinced a turning point in Matthew's thought. It reflected a reluctant acceptance that the political future of godliness would not lie in parliament with natural or lesser magistrates. Following this acceptance, Matthew's thought about the church in the commonwealth evolved. Accepting the unalterable relationship between crown and church, he came to view that 'evill in the citie' as part of the 'well guided providence of our all mercifull father' for establishing the true church in England. This reflected an evolution in Matthew's thought about the distinct nature of the English Reformation, which came to include its peculiar form of church government as an important part of its special nature. The common Protestant habit of likening Elizabeth I to Old Testament monarchs came increasingly, for Matthew, to illustrate the extent to which, 'our Iudith, our debora, our Hester', had ushered in another phase of the true church. Previously Matthew had looked for signs of that true church in the church's history, through images of Jewel and Marian exile, now he increasingly located them in the structures of the church.⁴³ This was evinced in Matthew's later ecclesiology, through an emphasis on using those structures, of church and society to achieve public edification. This was a theology of

⁴² SJ., Mss., 212, pp.11-12. My italics.

⁴³ SJ., Mss., 212, pp. 9, 12. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.356.

conformity which Matthew refined, and promoted, during his time as dean of Christ Church.

CHAPTER THREE

Tobie Matthew and the Development of the Godly Commonwealth

Bretheren, be not afrayd of the name of the church, but take heed lest the name of the church deceave you...Go thorough with all histories, torne over the chronicles, unfold the monuments of all nations, looke into the moments of all tymes, but beleve the sure not the changlings; the cleare not the darke, the divine not the prophane, the religiose not the ridiculouse¹

Tobie Matthew, '*Concio Apologetica Adversus Edmund Campianum*', 1581

By 1576, it seemed that those who wanted to pursue further reform had only two options: either to conform and compromise their commitment to reform, or to pursue reform and in doing so, rebel. The choice which been created by the polemical debates of the previous five years, was, for Matthew, unacceptable. In the Easter sermon of 1576, Matthew had shown his abhorrence of rebellion, but he continued, however, to stress the need for further reform, and in doing so signalled the development of a new programme of reform which reconciled those two alternatives.² This was a vision of reform which worked within the structure of conformity while continuing to promote total and continuing edification. That Matthew and his allies developed such a vision of reform in society challenges the assertion that godly conformity was by necessity a compromise. Instead, this chapter will demonstrate that the concept of edification, which has been characterised as inherently hostile to the Elizabethan church, came to underpin an ecclesiology which prized conformity.³

In 1576 Matthew became dean of Christ Church and, with his patrons' support, encouraged there the development of circle of historians, geographers, legists and theologians, from England and Europe. This chapter will explore how these men were involved in developing a sense of England's unique nature, and how they applied that concept to a wide range of problems, from the political and

¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f.14v.

² SJ., Mss., 212, p. 12

³ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 48. For an example of how the concept of edification underpinned Cartwright's vision of the church see Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, p. 31.

diplomatic to the ecclesiastical. Further signs of the Queen's hostility to the godly programme of reform, namely her attack on Archbishop Grindal and the prophesyings, her refusal to defend Protestantism in the Netherlands and her apparent enthusiasm for the Anjou marriage, all prompted Matthew and his colleagues to develop a new vision of reform which stressed the unique experience of the church in England. This was expressed through images of the godly commonwealth, a means of producing a programme for establishing the true church within the structures of the Elizabethan polity. The character of this vision will be explored through Matthew's sermons, a number of which have survived from the period, and his reading. Tobie Matthew further promoted that vision through an emerging manuscript community which, though based at Oxford, enjoyed clerical and courtly contributions. The nature of the community, its concerns and Matthew's influence over its development, will be addressed by examining surviving notebooks and manuscript collections produced by clerics, scholars and academics as they worked to establish a godly commonwealth.

The Emergence of a Network

Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester, continued to be Matthew's primary patron at Oxford, intervening to secure Matthew's promotion there. At the same time, Matthew had also begun to develop a position of prominence at court and in London godly circles. Matthew's struggle, in 1576, to gain the deanery of Christ Church and his subsequent career at Oxford and in the church, demonstrated that courtly support was as important as clerical support in gaining promotions within the church. Matthew continued to receive that support from Leicester and Cecil, reflecting a common concern to re-evaluate the godly programme of reform in light of royal hostility.

The events of spring 1576 had demonstrated how closely Matthew was engaged with the political programme of reform in the capital. That engagement had made him more prominent in London circles, but it had been at the expense of his Oxford duties. When, later in 1576, the deanery at Christ Church fell vacant, those London commitments made many of Matthew's colleagues at Christ Church unwilling to support his nomination to the deanery. This limited support

in Oxford, was, however, compensated for by Matthew's political alliances. Writing to his former student, Philip Sidney, in June 1576, the canon Robert Dorset reported that, 'Matthew's appointment to the Deanship is not yet fully decided, for this reason he is earnestly collecting friendships at court'. Dorset, however, thought that Matthew's position was far from secure, 'on his home ground, however, I know he is not getting the votes of the prebendaries and students: and if my brother and I had not sought to keep the peace in this business our whole house would long since have devoted its energies to a contrary petition in favour of your friend, James'.⁴

William James had been a contemporary of Matthew's at Christ Church in the 1560s. When Matthew was elected to the Presidency of St. John's College, James became the Master of New College in Oxford. James had the same reforming commitments, mentors and patrons as Matthew and the two were to pursue almost identical, if staggered, careers. James, however, had continued to be more closely involved in Oxford godly circles than Matthew, which, though it had earned him the support of the canons and students of Christ Church, meant that he was lacking the powerful courtly allies who supported his rival. James' slower clerical career (he followed Matthew to the deaneries of Christ Church and Durham and after Matthew, became bishop of Durham) reflected the importance of courtly intercession for clerical promotion.

Though William James had the support of most of the canons and students at Christ Church, it was courtly intercession which decided who should become the dean of the college. The canons were aware of this, and tried to match Matthew's canvassing with a courtly campaign of their own. Under Robert Dorset's guidance, the prebendaries and students of Christ Church wrote a petition to Elizabeth I on behalf of William James on the 6 July. Dorset himself wrote to Leicester, while another of Sidney's former tutors at Christ Church,

⁴ 'Letter from Robert Dorset to Philip Sidney, June 21 1575', in J. M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney: 1572-1577* (London, 1972), pp. 312-14. The original letter is in Christ Church Manuscripts collection, and has been translated by Osborn and reprinted in full.

Thomas Thornton, wrote to Burghley: both expressed their support for James.⁵ Though James and Matthew were both godly reformers, Matthew's courtly patrons ensured that it was Matthew who secured the deanery. Dorset complained:

He [James] is bettered by Matthew, neither in age, nor in rank, nor in experience, knowledge of leadership, erudition, labour expended in spreading the gospel, services to our most noble Lord the earl [of Leicester], goodwill among the University, or our house, nor finally in integrity or purity of life: he is exceeded by him only in fluency, in the art of currying favour and consequently, in strength of support.⁶

Several months after he became dean of Christ Church, Matthew resigned as President of St John's College. One of his biographers noted that 'the deanery of Christ Church is not lightly nor easily attained to but by some choise man of the University, being a place of good value and reputation'.⁷ While a slightly sycophantic assessment, the position of dean of Christ Church was indeed a high-profile appointment, which both reflected and ensured influence in the university and at court. Christ Church was, of course, a royal foundation, and acquiring positions there necessarily involved courtly patrons, and Matthew's success reflected his increased renown in courtly and reforming circles as well as his effective networking.

Matthew's increasing prominence in London godly circles had been consolidated by positions in the church, through which he had developed friendships with a large number of men committed to further reform.⁸ In August 1574, Matthew was collated to the prebendary of Combe IX in Wells Cathedral. He was also admitted as a canon residentiary, consolidating his position at Wells

⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 71-2, 73-4, 75.

⁶ 'Dorset to Sidney' in Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, p. 315. Osborn read this letter as an attempt by Dorset to gain Sidney's support for Matthew. Considering Sidney and Dorset's support for James and Sidney's frustration when Matthew rather than his candidate, Thornton, got the Christ Church prebendary in 1570, it seems more likely that this letter was, instead, an attempt by Dorset to gain Sidney's support for the campaign for James. BL., Lans. Mss., 12, f.50. BL., Add. Mss., 4460, f. 25v.

⁷ Durham University Library, Durham, Mickleton and Spearman Mss., 23, f. 124v, hereafter DUL, M&S.

⁸ See chapter one

as Archdeacon of Bath. It is clear, however, that his duties in London, Oxford and Salisbury kept him from spending much time at Wells Cathedral. Matthew had been installed by proxy and had still not visited the chapter nearly a year later, for which he was fined. In 1575 Matthew wrote to the chapter at Bath and Wells, from Salisbury, to defend his failure to fulfill the terms of residency there. He claimed poverty, arguing that he would have travelled to the Cathedral: 'had I not bothe bene destitute of an howse and bene driven to susteine greater extraordinarie charges than eyther I loked for or am well able to spare'.⁹

Matthew's marriage to Frances Barlow in 1577 confirmed and strengthened his place among the circle of reformers at Salisbury and Hereford, gaining as brothers-in-law men like Wickham, Day and Overton, who had, by the 1570s, become a central part of the godly establishment.¹⁰ In the 1580 convocation, Matthew presented William Day, who was the dean of Windsor, as Prolocutor, later delivering a speech on behalf of this champion of early Protestantism. Matthew also became friendly with Frances' brother, William Barlow, who was, towards the end of the century, Whitgift's chaplain, and later bishop of Lincoln. These connections were encouraged by the Barlow sisters, who remained close after their marriages. Frances Matthew gave birth at both Salisbury Close and at William Day's home at Eton, and some of her clerical relatives through marriage became godparents to her children.¹¹

⁹ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Wells*, vol.2., pp. 294-95. Matthew was installed in the Prebendary of Combe IX on 31 August 1574, by proxy. He had been admitted a canon residentiary on his undertaking to pay caution money, money which was still unpaid by October 11, 1575. Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 5, pp. 15, 41.

¹⁰ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 150. The Barlow sisters married well in the church. Frances Matthew had the godly bishops William Whickam, Herbert Westphaling, William Overton and William Day as brothers-in-law.

¹¹ Frances Matthew was married to Matthew Parker's son Matthew Parker before Matthew. She gave birth to his posthumous son at Eton, William Day was one of the boy's godparents. The son died after a couple of months. Tobie Matthew junior and Mary Matthew were both born at Salisbury, in 1577 and 1582 respectively. YML. Add. Mss., 322. BL., Add. Mss 4274 f.178r.. YML. Add. Mss. 18, pp. 149-51. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 1-7.

These connections confirmed Matthew's place at the heart of the evangelical establishment. Many of his brothers-in-law were slightly older, and Matthew provided a link with the second generation of reformers. He carried the vision of these reformers, their emphasis on edification and their sense of recent reforming history, to the younger students and colleagues at Oxford, and was, with them, involved in realising older commitments in new settings. He drew on his contacts with 'forward Protestants' at court to encourage the establishment at Christ Church of a group of humanist scholars who, like Matthew were concerned with exploring England's unique position within Europe, and he drew on his clerical connections in exploring the implications of their discussions on the English church. As one of the most prominent members of that group, he also used his position to promote their conclusions.

The membership of the group was mixed. It included foreign Protestants like Jean Hotman, Horatio Palavicino and Alberico Gentili. Historians were also involved, most notably William Camden, as were geographers like Richard Hakluyt. Matthew's fellow canons at Christ Church, the reformers Herbert Westphaling, Richard Thornton and Richard Edes also played a part.¹²

Matthew's position at the heart of this group was commented on by contemporaries. It was reported that even before he became dean of Christ Church, Matthew 'was much respected for his great learning, eloquence and sweet conversation, friendly disposition and the sharpness of his wit'.¹³ Another biographer reported that Matthew had 'raised up to himself so many friends, so many excellent admirers [in Oxford] where he lived beloved, in singular honour and veneration'.¹⁴ Many of Matthew's 'friends' saw themselves as followers of the cleric. His inclusion in numerous manuscript notebooks reflected his pre-eminence among the second generation of reformers, and the use of his image to invoke a certain type of reforming programme. Many of those scholars self-

¹² The membership of this group was delineated in a number of manuscript collections, including a collection of verse written by the Christ Church student, William Gager. BL., Add. Mss., 22583, ff. 47, 52, 56, 71, 72, 74, 83v, 86. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 264. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 273. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5. Bod., Auct. Mss., F. 5. 13.

¹³ Wood, *Athenae Oxon*, vol.1, pp. 625

¹⁴ Add. Mss., 4460, f. 25v

consciously appropriated Matthew's image. A Durham biographer reported that at Christ Church, Matthew was 'so exceedingly admired that every man accounted himselfe happy company of this Bishop then called Mr Matthew and his men or attendance called still by the name of Mr Matthew's man'.¹⁵

A few months after Matthew became dean of Christ Church, the evangelical community faced a series of crises which many reformers thought would be fatal to their cause. In 1576, the Queen had attacked the preaching meetings known as prophesyings, ordering her archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, to end the practice in the southern province. Grindal refused, and in a lengthy letter sent to the Queen in December 1576, he defended his godly commitment to the preached word. This godly counsel failed. Elizabeth I was incensed by the parallel which Grindal drew between himself and Ambrose, who had counselled the tyrant Theodosius, and she suspended and later arrested her archbishop.¹⁶

In the years following 1576, it seemed that there was little hope for further reform in the church. The attack on prophesyings reflected a challenge to the importance of the preached word in effecting regeneration, and went to the heart of the godly cause. The Queen's mistrust of preaching meetings was further reflected in those who she promoted within the church. In 1577 John Aylmer became bishop of London. Later attacked by puritans as 'dumbe John of London' because of his lack of preaching, Aylmer also established a commission against nonconformity in the church soon after his arrival in

¹⁵ It is not clear who was the author of the brief biography of Matthew in Durham. It seems possible, however, that it may have been written by one of the Durham canons who Matthew had previously met at Oxford. DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f. 124v. This notion of appropriation through imitation was also reflected in the following which Matthew's contemporary, and rival, Edmund Campion enjoyed. His young scholars called themselves 'Campionists' and imitated Campion's speech, his diet and his walk. K. Duncan-Jones, 'Sir Philip Sidney's Debt to Edmund Campion', in *The Reckoned Expense*, ed. McCoog, p. 88.

¹⁶ MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, pp. 40-42. P. Collinson, 'The Downfall of Archbishop Grindal and its place in Elizabethan Political and Ecclesiastical History', in P. Collinson (ed.), *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), 371-98.

London. Also on the rise was the cleric John Whitgift who had famously written against Thomas Cartwright's calls for further reform, and who, it appeared, was being primed to replace Grindal at Canterbury. The promotion of men who did not regard the preached word as necessary reflected a shift of power away from the godly community within the church; the resulting debates about the role of preaching within the church evinced a continuing struggle between the two parties. By 1580, it seemed that the future of the godly cause in the church would be bleak.¹⁷

The challenges within the church were accompanied by threats to the position of further reformers in politics. From 1578, Leicester, Sidney and Walsingham were faced with further worrying signs for the continued safety of the reformed church in England as Elizabeth I flirted with the possibility of a marriage to the Catholic prince, the duke of Anjou. Her counsellors argued that she also opened herself and her country up to a Catholic attack from abroad by her failure to intervene in the Netherlands.¹⁸ This worrying spectre of Catholic political activity was also matched by an increased awareness of domestic Catholicism, and both Matthew and his mentors worried that the safety of the English church hung in the balance.

¹⁷ This attack was from the Marprelate pamphlets produced in the 1580s, which attacked the non-preaching clergy. 'Martin Marprelate' claimed that he was an 'enemy to all dumb dogs and tyrannical prelates in the land'. While the Marprelate pamphlets reflect the extreme wing of the movement for further reform, and were attacked by many godly ministers, the attack on non-preaching ministers, and the labelling of them as 'dumb dogs' was shared with more moderate godly reformers. In 1576, Matthew attacked the non-preaching ministers in London and railed against 'Ye ministers of the church, or rather ye idle bellies, ye idoll pastors, ye dumbe dogges that labour not, but loyter in the vineyard of the Lord'. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 67. M. Marprelate, *An Epistle to the terrible Priests of the Convocation House* (Printed Overseas: 1588?), pp. 12, 25. For the debate between Whitgift and John Field, which was largely based around the question of the importance of preaching, and the development of the 'conforming position' see Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*, and my discussions in chapter two and four. For the passing of the 'Grindalian moment' in the church, see Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, pp. 20-21, 219-32.

¹⁸ S. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London, 1996), pp. 159-80. Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, chapters 6 and 7.

Godly clerics and courtiers mourned the failure in counsel: Grindal's exile had demonstrated the limits of godly counsel when faced by an obdurate Queen. In 1580, both Tobie Matthew and Philip Sidney tried to counsel the Queen, defending the reforming positions held by their mentors. Philip Sidney wrote to the Queen, apparently on behalf of Leicester, attacking her proposed marriage to Anjou. Like Grindal's letter, four years earlier, this attempt to counsel also earned Sidney an exile, but for him it was from the court. The evangelical community, however, continued to try and counsel their Queen, and later that year Matthew presented Elizabeth I with a petition, from Convocation, on behalf of the disgraced archbishop, Grindal.¹⁹

Matthew was chosen by the convocation to write and to deliver, a petition to the Queen requesting Grindal's restitution. Matthew's selection reflected not only his reputation for 'commanding a pure and fluent pen', but his increased prominence at the forefront of the new generation of godly reformers. That position had required Matthew to counsel the Queen before, in 1572 and 1576, when he had self-consciously adopted the role of counselling orator in the pulpit, and this may have prompted Convocation to choose Matthew. In his petition of 1580 Matthew appealed to the tradition of Christian counsel and oratory for which he had become renowned. Addressing the Queen, Matthew referred to his previous attempts to offer counsel: '*etsi majestatem regiam sive verbo, sive scripto interpellare, serenissima princeps Elizabetha, non decere, nisi rarius, non licere, nisi gravioribus de causis arbitratamur*'.²⁰ Matthew also drew on examples of rulers, religious and civil, who had, at moments of danger, taken the counsel which was necessary to safeguard their commonwealths. He argued that even Augustus, '*Caesar Octavius*', had taken counsel, and that the monarch to whom Elizabeth was often likened, David, had also acted on godly counsel.²¹

¹⁹ BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, f. 104r-106r. This petition is also reprinted in Fuller, T. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain: from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648*, ed. J. S. Brewer (6 vols., Oxford, 1865). vol. 4, pp. 428-32. A. Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life*, (London, 2000), pp. 218-21. K. Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet* (London, 1991), pp. 162-64.

²⁰ BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, f. 104r-106v.

²¹ BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, f. 105

In the 1580 petition Matthew articulated, for the first time, a detailed exposition of the godly commonwealth. That this vision was expounded in a petition on behalf of Convocation, underpinning Convocations' justification for their intervention in Grindal's case, demonstrated how many in the Elizabethan church had come to share Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth. That Matthew was chosen to present that petition, and in doing so propounded a vision of the reforming polity, further illustrated his role in creating and promoting this vision of conforming Calvinism. Matthew outlined the roles of the Queen, her magistrates and her ministers in reforming the church and society, and emphasised that through action in the polity the salvation of all those in commonwealth might be secured. The polity was, therefore, charged with divine action: it was also taken to be the definer of the limits of the true church. By following a godly policy, the Queen could erect structures and laws which might ensure the salvation of her people; by doing so, the Queen could occupy a particularly blessed place within the English commonwealth. Matthew argued: *'gratiosa est in omnibus hominibus clementia, in proceribus gratiosior, in principe vero gratiosissima, gloriosa est regi mansuetudo, reginae gloriosior, virgini vero gloriosissima'*. Matthew stressed that the potential for glory lay not only in the Queen's hands, but also in those charged with executing the Queen's affairs. After praising the glory and grace which would be achieved through the gentle rule of the Queen, Matthew continued: *'si non in omnes, at in pios: si non in vulgus, at in magistratus, at in ministros'*.²²

Matthew argued that since all were involved in the godly commonwealth, ministers, as well as magistrates had a duty to counsel. He argued that his and his fellow clerics' petition reflected a concern to secure the commonwealth's safety. Their intervention, though, he claimed, unwilling, was prompted by the implications of Grindal's continued suspension: namely a crisis in reform and a failure of counsel. After apologising for his forthrightness in offering counsel, Matthew continued:

tamen cum praecipiat apostolus, ut dum tempus habeamus benefacimus omnibus, maxime vero domesticis fidei, committere nullo modo possumus,

²² BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, f. 105

*quin illud hoc tempore a tua celesitate humiliter contendamus, quod nobis ad petendum utile et necessarium, toti ecclesiae et reipublicae ad obtinendum salutare et fructuosum*²³

Matthew concluded by referring to the providential scheme of reform, arguing that in order to secure the continued presence of the true church, the Queen and her ministers had a duty to tend the divine word. This call for further reform, based on providentialism would dominate Matthew's later sermons on the need for a godly commonwealth. He concluded his petition: *'ad reipublicae tranquillitatem, ad ecclesiae conservationem, ad suae veritatis amplificationem, omni felicitatis genere diutissime prosequatur'*.²⁴

The reluctance of the Queen to allow further reform through parliament, and her failure to listen to godly counsel throughout the 1570s had prompted Matthew to explore a way to reconcile the English experience of reform with contemporary and historical manifestations of the true church. The petition of 1580 and Matthew's sermons of 1581 evinced the summation of that process of reconciliation. These were theological negotiations which Matthew was engaged in throughout his time at Christ Church, drawing on the expertise of his scholarly, clerical and political friends.

Throughout the 1570s Matthew was a prominent member in a godly group who worked to resolve the friction between the commitment to further reform and a duty to the Queen. The conflict at the heart of Matthew's thought, indeed at the heart of all English godly thought, was the difficulty of reconciling the stricture to pursue constant edification and the apparent impossibility of doing so within the unreformed English church. Matthew wanted to resolve existing tensions, and aware that an uncritical promotion of an European ecclesiastical template did not allow any such resolution, he returned to the scripture. 'There is', Matthew thought, 'no other way to know which is Christs true church but only by the Scriptures'. Rather than adopt the reading of the scriptures which had underpinned European reform movements, Matthew intended to return to the

²³ BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, f. 104r

²⁴ BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, ff. 105v-106r

Bible to explore the English church's distinct experience of reform. As European reformers, Luther, Bucer, Calvin and Zwingli had created their churches from a reading of the Bible, so, Matthew argued could Elizabethan reformers. Instead of being hide-bound to a Swiss template of reform, English reformers could, like their European counterparts, return *ad fontes* and create their own, distinct, local church.²⁵

Matthew hoped that by understanding the different manifestations of the true church, he might come to know that which was dispensable and that which was not. He knew that histories as much as theological writing could shed light on ecclesiastical matters. 'We use', he argued, 'to alleage Theodore, a learned and eloquent father and historiographer, and out of him prove as playne as is possible that Christ our Lord in the Eucharist did not change the nature of the bread and wine, but added grace to the nature, but that the signes do remayne in the same substance, figure and form, as they did before'. The developing subjects of history and geography were both tools which could be used in understanding the 'circumstance' surrounding the different manifestations of the true church through history, and in doing so distinguish the temporary from the unchangeable.²⁶

Leicester and Sidney were also involved in encouraging these new scholarly tools and through the support offered by them and by Matthew, Christ Church in the 1570s and 1580s became one of the centres for the development of geography. Shortly after Matthew became dean of Christ Church, Richard Hakluyt started delivering geography lectures there and his presence encouraged other Christ Church scholars, like William Camden and Philip Jones, to develop their interest in descriptive geography; a branch of geography concerned primarily with the political, natural and geographical description of exotic lands. These developments provided analytical tools with which to investigate the distinctive nature of the English experience, and a descriptive framework within

²⁵ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 11r.

²⁶ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 11v.

which men could explore the historical and geographical manifestations of the true church.²⁷

Matthew was engaged in these geographical developments. His verse to Jewel in the *Vita* stressed the importance of the different geographical manifestations of the word in understanding providential history, and he argued that Jewel's greatness was recognised in India and Egypt. Matthew bought geography books for himself while at Oxford, including a copy of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. He read this text carefully and later dedicated another copy to the library at Christ Church. He shared his enthusiasm with other reformers, receiving a copy of Higden's *Polycronycon* from William Cecil's chaplain, Adam Holiday.²⁸ Those who were at the forefront of this emerging discipline were also aware of the wider religious implications of their work. Richard Hakluyt's work, *The Principall Navigations* drew heavily on Peter Martyr's work, and while Richard Hakluyt delivered geography lectures at Christ Church, his brother, Oliver, was preaching there.²⁹

²⁷ Philip Jones, a Bristol student whose presence at Christ Church may have reflected Matthew's connections with the city, later produced a translation of Meierus' work, *Certaine Briefe and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen*, which guided travellers on what to observe and record on their travels. He also preached, and produced a collection of sermons which Matthew acquired for his library, P. Jones, *Certaine Sermons preached of Late at Ci[ren]ce[s]ter in the countie of Gloucester* (London, 1588) YML. XV. P. 34(3)L. B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago, 1997) pp.15, 59-62. McConica 'Elizabethan Oxford', p. 717.

²⁸ Ptolemy, *Geographia* (Strasbourg 1522) Christ Church library shelfmark Arch Inf.C.2.4, with a dedication on the title page recording Matthew as donor, dated 29 July 1583. Matthew bought geography books for himself while he was at Oxford. His other copy is in York, Ptolemy, *Geographia* (Venice, 1562), YML I. K. L. The date at which Holiday gave R. Higden *Polycronycon* (Southwark, 1527) YML XVI.D.4 to Matthew is unclear, for further discussion of this see chapter 2, fn. XXX Matthew continued to collect geography books at Durham, acquiring P. Mela *De Situ Orbis* (Antwerp, 1582) YML III.K.24(1). S. Munster, *Cosmographiae Universalis* (Basle, 1572) YML III. E. 15. Strabo, *Valentinus Curio Lectori* (Basle, 1523), YML. VI. G. 1. Matthew also had another copy of Mela's work, P. Mela, *De Orbis Situ* (Basle, 1522), YML VI. 9. 14(2)

²⁹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 273, p. 195. BL. Add. Mss., 22583, f. 63r. Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 59.

Canons were also engaged in the discipline. Thomas Morrey, Herbert Westphaling and William Goodwin all owned books concerned with descriptive geography, as did Matthew's friend from Bath and Wells, the Christ Church student William Watkynson. Thomas Morrey also shared the concerns and frustrations of these godly reformers, and like them sought to understand the English experience of reform through a critical appraisal of England's place in Europe. On his death in 1584, Morrey owned a copy of the *Admonition to the Parliament*, and possibly a copy of Travers' *Ecclesiasticae disciplinae explicato*. He also possessed volumes of Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Martyr, Bucer and Luther, and on his death left commentaries by Calvin to Christ Church library.³⁰ The engagement with the emerging discipline of geography reflected the search for explanatory tools to guide the analysis of the English experience in light of historical manifestations of the true church.³¹

Through the intervention of Leicester and Sidney, the Christ Church group came to be influenced by European scholarly developments. Leicester supported the Protestant Italian Pietro Bizzari, who wrote the descriptive geography *Rerum Periscarum Historiae*, after his arrival in England.³² John Florio, another geographer, linguist and international man of letters, had also benefited from Leicester's patronage, and was close to Philip Sidney and his sympathisers; when Leicester brought the renowned Italian emigrè, Giordano Bruno to Oxford in 1583, Sidney introduced him to John Florio. Through his involvement with Leicester and Sidney, Florio had also been introduced to Christ Church and the circle of geographers there. Florio borrowed a copy of Jaques Cartier's *Voyages* from Richard Hakluyt, and with his money and encouragement translated it as *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of Two Navigations to Newe France*, published in 1581. John Florio found favour too at Matthew's hands, and in 1598 sent him

³⁰ Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, p.97.

³¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, p.194. Cormack lists the geography books owned by some of the members of Christ Church; descriptive geography dominates the collection. Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp. 60, 234-36

³² Rosenberg, *Leicester*, p.57; Cormack, *Charting an Empire* p. 234

a copy of his Italian dictionary, *A World of Words*, into which he wrote a dedicatory verse.³³

History was close to the development of descriptive geography. William Camden, who benefited from the support of Burghley, Leicester and Sidney, was also at Christ Church before taking up a position as headmaster of Westminster School. At Oxford he was involved with those early geographers. Camden was an admirer of Matthew, calling him, '*Theologus Praestantissimus*', in whom, '*doctrina cum pietatem et ars cum natura certant*'. Later, in 1589, Camden sent Matthew an manuscript extract from his *Britannia*, noting on the draft, '*amplissimo vivo, & amico optime mento, Dno Tobiae Mattheo*'. In the accompanying letter, Camden told Matthew that, 'I trust it will find pardon with you who remembreth out of your Tully'.³⁴ This reflected more than merely Camden's concern about his 'manner of penninge'. It evinced too the image that these men shared when they invoked Cicero, namely that of the orator who worked to achieve the reform of the commonweal. Camden's friend, Sidney, thought that knowledge was to be striven for with 'the end of well-doing and not of well-knowing only', and believed that with poetry, histories and geographies were to underpin the future reform of the commonwealth.³⁵

Tobie Matthew also continued to be engaged with European ecclesiastical developments, reflecting his mentors' engagement with, if not their commitment to, European examples of reform. Matthew's connections with foreign Protestants were encouraged by his patrons' involvement with ecclesiastical

³³ J. Florio *A Worlde of Wordes or a most copious and exact dictionarie in Italian and English* (London, 1598), f.2r YML VII.K.2. McConica 'Elizabethan Oxford' p. 716. J. Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (London and New Haven, 1991) p.23. Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 90. Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, p. 61. Matthew may have previously met Bizzari at Salisbury where they both held prebends, Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 6, p. 20.

³⁴ BL. Mss Add 36294 ff.12r, 13r. Wood, *Athenae Oxon*, vol. 1., p. 625. Rosenburg, *Leicester*, p. 101n. Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, pp.59-60. Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 124.

³⁵ BL. Mss Add 36294 f.12r. P. Sidney 'The Defence of Poesy', in *Sir Philip Sidney: A critical edition of the major works*, ed., K. Duncan Jones (Oxford, 1989), p.219

political developments abroad, and that engagement assisted the refinement of his own vision of the future of reform in England. Walsingham, Sidney and Leicester promoted an actively Protestant political programme at home and abroad, manifested in calls to intervene in the Netherlands and in attacks on the Anjou marriage. These 'forward Protestants' were also engaged in the theological developments of their European cousins. Sidney and Walsingham were in contact with French Protestants such as du Plessis Mornay and Languet, and Sidney had been sent by Elizabeth I in 1577 to try and encourage German Protestants to settle their disagreements over the sacramental importance of the Eucharist. This emphasis upon the European experience of Protestantism, and a resulting notion of 'friendship' prompted Leicester to support Protestant emigrés in England including Pietro Bizzari, John Garbrande and Petruccio Ulbadini.³⁶

Matthew also drew on the European experience of reform and established connections with foreign Protestants. Following his election to the deanery of Christ Church, and his later appointment as vice-chancellor of the University in 1579, Matthew used his prominence at Oxford to help Protestant emigrés. Most notable of these were two legists, one, Jean Hotman, from the heart of Genevan Calvinism and another, Alberico Gentili, an Italian exile, whose legal views were in direct contrast to those of Jean and François Hotman. Gentili and Hotman were both involved in developing the notion of the godly Elizabethan commonwealth, but their conflicting reading of legal scholarship reflected some of the tensions which the vision of the commonwealth would provoke in the Oxford godly community.³⁷

Jean Hotman was the son of the Genevan luminary, the legist François Hotman, who had been friends with Calvin and Beza. Hotman had followed his father, and studied the law, but when he came to England in 1580 it was as a tutor to

³⁶ Worden, *Sound of Virtue*, p. 60. Rosenberg, *Leicester*, pp.57, 224.

³⁷ Oxford University Archives, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Vice-chancellor's accounts 1661-66, including a copy of the accounts from 1566. WPB/21/4 f.52r. Meyjes, 'Hotman's English Connection', pp.12. A. M. Ghisalberti and Others, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (59 vols. (Work in progress), Roma, 1960-2002), vol. 53, p.246.

the sons of the godly diplomat, Sir Amias Paulet. On his arrival in England, Hotman went to Christ Church where he was given rooms in the house of Arthur Wake, a godly canon and friend of Matthew. Hotman soon became a part of the legal and godly communities at Christ Church, establishing friendships with younger students like William Watkynson, and throughout his time at Oxford he saw Matthew as a patron, appealing to him to secure a place at the university for a fellow Genevan student, Samuel le Chevalier. Philip Sidney also acted as a patron for Hotman, introducing him to Leicester as a potential secretary. Hotman was in Leicester's service from 1582, going with him to the Netherlands in 1585. On his return he secured a prebendary in Salisbury Cathedral, apparently through Leicester's intervention.³⁸

Matthew was even more actively involved in supporting Alberico Gentili, who fled from Italy in 1579. While his father and brother went to Germany, Gentili travelled to London. There, he met other religious exiles who directed him towards Castiglione, a gentleman of the privy chamber and Elizabeth I's Italian teacher. Castiglione took charge of Gentili's care, sending him to Matthew, by then vice-chancellor of the university and developing a reputation for being sympathetic to foreign Protestants. Matthew became Gentili's protector and promoter. In 1580, he secured for Gentili the patronage of both Leicester and Sidney. Through Leicester's intervention, Gentili was made DCL by the university and found a position teaching civil law at St John's college. Contributions were made for his upkeep from across the university; he was giving lodgings at New Inn Hall, and supported by donations from University, Merton and Corpus Christi colleges.³⁹

Tobie Matthew and the Concept of Edification in the English Church

By 1581 Matthew had come to develop a mature vision of the godly commonwealth, reflected in the sermons which he preached that year at the

³⁸ Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 6, p. 53. Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, p. 79. Meyjes, 'Hotman's English Connection', pp.12, 22. Rosenberg, *Leicester*, p. 270. For Leicester and the Salisbury connection see above, chapter one.

³⁹ A. Gentili, *De Iuris Interpretibus dialogi Sex*, (London, 1582), A²r, YML III. L. 28. A. Gentili. *Disputationem Decas Prima* (London, 1587), sig. A3r-A4v. *Dizionario degli Italiani*, vol. 53, pp. 245-6.

Spital, before the Queen and in front of Oxfordshire Assize judges. Matthew had moved away from the need to recreate, uncritically, the Swiss church in England. His understanding of the Calvinist emphasis on the secondary process of regeneration led him to argue that as the word in the pulpit was tempered to make it applicable to the congregation's needs and, therefore, more effective, so the structure of the church should be tailored to meet the different needs of different societies. Moving away from the template of Swiss reform, Matthew sought examples of a true church in other places, drawing on the scripture, patristic texts, as well as theological and polemical texts in an attempt to find guidance as to how the English church should be. In 1581, Matthew argued that, 'there is but one body of the church', which, 'is olde in the substance and the matter, which is alweies one, but newe in the circumstance and maner which is much unlike'.⁴⁰ Matthew employed the tools of geography, history and linguistics to distinguish between the 'substance' and the 'maner' in the examples of the true church.

This emphasis on the need to constantly re-interpret the scripture was reflected in the godly stress on the importance of preaching. Preaching as a regenerative tool rested on the ability to fit the scriptural text to the circumstance. In 1573 Thomas Cartwright had produced a vigorous defence of preaching and had criticised Whitgift's assertion that merely reading the biblical text would effect regeneration. Matthew read and underlined Cartwright's argument that the text needed to be explained and made applicable:

Preaching is called also a sweete savour. And therefore as the spices being brayed and punned, smell sweeter and stronger, then when they be hole and unbroken: so the worde by interpretation being broken and bruised, caryeth a sweeter savoure unto the understanding then when it is by reading geven grose and whole⁴¹

Matthew sought to establish the true church in England, and looked for precedents in the bible, emphasising the importance of context in exploring the true 'meaning' of scriptural injunctions. In 1576, Matthew asked a London

⁴⁰ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 161

⁴¹ Cartwright, *A Replye to an Answere*, sig. R3v

congregation: 'Doth not father David geve a generall rule, that the letter killeth, but it is the spirit which giveth life?'.⁴² It was necessary to distinguish between the spirit and the circumstance of its manifestation, and Matthew drew on the skills he had learned at Oxford to do so. As patristic texts could be analysed through the use of hermeneutic tools, so it seemed, could the bible. Both Origen and Aquinas had already explored this, Aquinas dwelling on the historical nature of the Israelite's church. Matthew had read Aquinas, 'that great schoolman', and he had had at Oxford a theological training still steeped in the precepts of scholastic enquiry.⁴³

Matthew was aware of the inherent difficulties in distinguishing the '*littera occidens*' from the '*spiritus vivificans*' in the scriptural interpretation. He had underlined Jewel's assertion, '*ne putemus, in verbis scripturam esse Evangelium, sed in sensu*'. Discovering that sense, Matthew knew, rested on an ability to contextualise those words. Matthew later highlighted an extract from Erasmus's *Enchiridio Militis Christiani*, in which Erasmus had stressed the need to apply humanist tools to the scripture: '*iuxta sapientem quendam è divinae scripturae venis, velut thesauros effodere.*'⁴⁴ He used the tools and precepts of humanism in his quest to discover the true church in the scripture. In 1581, Matthew urged colleagues and students at Oxford: 'Search the scripture... studie not only the letter and the sentences, but allso the right sences of the scripture, and draw then to theyr proper and true exposicion by the knowledge of tongues, by the conference of places, by regard of the circumstances, by the analogie of our fayth and our creede, and lastlie by the dayly invocation of the holy spirit.' It was an understanding of the contextual operation of the spirit, in the process of regeneration which meant that the church was always, 'newe in the

⁴² SJ., Mss., 212, p.26.

⁴³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 155. A. Hastings, 'Law' in A. Hastings and others (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford, 2000), p. 383. McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', pp. 291-301.

⁴⁴ Jewel, *Defence of the Apologie*, p. 74. Erasmus, 'Enchiridio Militis Christiani Proposita' in T. Gervasius (ed.), *Panoplia Christiana seu adversus varias tentationes et afflictiones*, (Geneva, 1588), p77. YML. XV. I. 23.

circumstance and maner', even though it was continuous. Matthew asserted that 'Christ is the same yesterdaie, the same to daie, the same forever'.⁴⁵

Matthew argued for the Elizabethan re-interpretation of the scriptures, but he did not advocate the rejection of all previous scriptural glosses. Critically, he continued to draw, on European reforming scholarship, promoting, 'Luther for zeale, Zwinglius for playnes, Erasmus for diligence, Martir for learning, Bucer for gravitie, Oecolampadius for Spirit; Melancthon for sciences, Calvin for iudgement; Beza for wit; Brentius for eloquence; Illiricus for reading; Magdeburgenses for fidelitie'. He drew a parallel between recent reformers' work and patristic texts, arguing that as scholars read patristic texts critically, they should approach contemporary texts in the same way. Matthew argued that 'the good doctors of old, have added a great furthering (and I may say a bewtifying) to these [disputes] of our tyme, what by cleering the dark places of scripture [and] by expounding every article of our fayth'. 'Yet', Matthew continued, 'seeing only God is true and all men liars...seeing that we are commanded to trie all things and keepe that which is good...to stand fast in the libertie wherin Christ made us free, and not be entangled agayne with the yoke of bondage; truly we ought not to assent to them in all things'.⁴⁶

Where the first generation of evangelical reformers had argued that the writings of European reformers should be taken as a template for future reform, Matthew argued for a more subtle reading of their texts. He thought that the re-interpretation of the bible in light of the peculiar Elizabethan circumstances meant that the resulting church would be more capable of effecting regeneration within the Elizabethan polity. In 1581 Matthew counselled a congregation of Oxford academics:

let no man detest a new sence of the holy scriptures, for that it is dissonant from the old doctors, for god hath not bownd the exposition of the scriptures to their sence, but left it to the intire scripture it self, under the censure of the Church, otherwise all hope should be taken from us, and those that com after us, of expounding the holy scripture out of one booke into another quarter.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Bod. Rawl. Mss. D. 843 ff. 9v, 14v.

⁴⁶ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, ff. 10r-10v.

⁴⁷ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 9v.

In 1581, Matthew preached before the Queen and court on Good Friday. Then he dwelt on the peculiar nature of the church in England. Instead of criticising the differences between the English Church and her European counterparts, he celebrated them, arguing that these distinctions meant that the English church was more fitting to the conditions of the English people, and therefore more likely to secure their salvation than the imposition of a purely Genevan model. He told his courtly audience that, 'Christ be borne to regenerate us....by the new and living waie'. Addressing the question of apostolic succession, Matthew continued:

to clere this doubt; we must understand that as there is but one body of the church, one faith of true Religion ; one baptisme of oure vocation, oure Lorde and father of all; likewise but only one waie into the holy place, and that waie is Christ and this Christe is both olde and newe: olde in promise, newe in performance; olde in signe newe in the truthe, olde in the shadowes, newe in the bodie: olde in the sacrifices, newe in the sacramentes: olde in the letter but newe in the spirit; olde in the lawe, but newe in the gosple⁴⁸

Matthew later reflected on the manifestations of the church, and argued that those men who could correctly identify the 'circumstances' shaping a church's 'maner' should prescribe the best form of church to remedy the weaknesses of a society. 'Let us followe our elders, that is well', Matthew argued, 'but as leaders, not as lords, for they must not have domynion over our fayth, neyther must we lene so much to them and be so much theyr slaves that we have no manner of intermeddling with the exposicion of the scripture'.⁴⁹ In separating the substance of the church, and its manner, Matthew hoped that he would be able to diagnose and prescribe the best form of church government for the Elizabethan kingdom.

In Calvin's *Institutes* Matthew found a working definition of a true church. There he read that the *notae ecclesiae* were that the sacraments should be administered properly and 'the word of God preached properly and listened

⁴⁸ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.161-62

⁴⁹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, ff. 9v-10r.

to'.⁵⁰ The question of the proper administration of the sacraments had divided earlier Elizabethan reformers. Matthew, however, moved the discussion away from external matters such as the wearing of vestments, to explore the function of the sacraments. These were, he argued, two-fold. By participating in the sacraments, men and women drew closer to God, while enhancing the unity of their congregation through an open confession of faith. The sacraments were a central part of edification, but the edifying came not from any dress or ornamentation, but through the unifying and regenerative nature of the sacraments. By ignoring his mentors' complaints about the unnecessary, popish, elements within the communion, Matthew pursued the basic reforming position that it was the internal action which the ceremony prompted which was important, rather than the ceremony itself. In 1581, Matthew told a congregation at the Spital that: 'circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is les then nothing: but faith [which] working by love is the newe creature'.⁵¹

Mathew argued that sacraments should adapt to their different circumstances in order to be as effective as possible. He drew a parallel between the experience of England and Israel, stressing the continuities as well as the changes:

his sacraments thus as circumcision was termed a seale of the righteousness of god so is baptisme termed the confident answeere of a good christian to goddeward; that who so believeth and is baptised shall be saved: and as where the bloud of the pascall lamb was sprinkled there all the inhabitants were saved from the smiting angel: so he that eateth the flesh and drinketh the bloud of Jesu Christ hath eternall life⁵²

Ceremonies, like the word of God itself, had to be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the congregation to be effective. Matthew counselled a

⁵⁰ Matthew's copy of Calvin's *Institutes* is largely unmarked, but McGrath argues that this definition was shared by all Calvinists. Matthew's copy was Calvin, *Institutionis Christianae*, ed., Bunny, YML V/3. Q. 29. McGrath *Reformation Thought*, p.181

⁵¹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 222.

⁵² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 216

congregation: 'Abraham knoweth us not, neyther Israell acquaynted with us, but thow lorde arte our father and redeemer and thy name is everlasting'.⁵³

In determining the best form of ceremonies, Matthew turned to the polemical debates of the Edwardians, whose complaints about the church continued to be relevant in Elizabethan England. He read Peter Martyr's Oxford disputations from 1549 about the nature of the Eucharist, which provided a European spin on English developments.⁵⁴ Matthew underlined the date of the dedicatory epistle and the account of the disputations, locating these debates in their particular context. The disputants had discussed transubstantiation and the alternatives. Matthew underlined Martyr's discussion of the role of the sacraments in remedying human weaknesses, reflecting the position of Calvin rather than that of some of his later followers. Matthew noted Martyr's claims that the Eucharist was more than a purely symbolic process, underlining Martyr's claim: '*corporis Christi & sanguis est aliqua coniunctio cum symbolis*'. Later on in Martyr's disputation, Matthew wrote in the margin, '*conficitur autem sacrificium ecclesiae duobus, sacramento & re sacramenti*', writing on the opposite page, '*in Christo, quam in sacramento, duas manere naturas integras & perfectas*'.⁵⁵

These Oxford disputations reflected not only the intellectual discussions which underpinned the Edwardian, and therefore Elizabethan church, but addressed the need to contextualise the word of God. Matthew read closely Martyr's debate with Tresham on the proper reading of the scriptural statement, 'this is my body', with regards to transubstantiation, writing in the margin, '*specie no[n] intelligit accidens sed substantia*'. Matthew had also read Jewel's attack on the

⁵³ SJ, Mss., 212 p.24. The emphasis on the sacraments as a remedy for human weakness was an important element of Calvin's thought on the Eucharist. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, p. 182.

⁵⁴ P. Martyr, *Disputatio de Eucharistiae Sacramento*, (Zurich, 1557) YML V/3. J. 10. For the importance of Martyr's 1548 Oxford lectures on the Eucharist on Cranmer's thought about the Eucharist, reflected in the 1549 prayer book see D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 403-05. Matthew also owned a copy of Martyr's lectures, P. Martyr, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae in Celeberrima Anglia Schola Oxoniensis habita tractatio* (Zurich, 1557), YML. V/3. J. 10

⁵⁵ Martyr, *Disputatio de Eucharistiae*, sig. †8v, B2r, C1r, C2r.

literal reading of the scripture. In his copy of Jewel's 1567 attack on the Catholic polemicist, Harding, Matthew underlined Jewel's assertion: '*Hoc est corpus meum: Hoc est figura corpus mei....non dubitant Dominus dicere. Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*'. Matthew then underlined Jewel's call for the proper reading of the scripture.⁵⁶

These cross-confessional debates, therefore, engaged with the problem of defending, or creating, new manifestations of old commandments. Matthew's reading reflected an awareness that at the heart of those discussions about how to realise scriptural commands was a debate about how to read the scriptures. That debate was about how to realise the relationship between 'circumstance and maner' which could always change, and 'substance and matter' which could not.⁵⁷ His reading of these polemics, reflected the developing sense of a new, distinct vision of English reform.

Earlier, in 1576, Matthew had stressed the importance of constant, and total edification. He told his Spital congregation, 'our verie bodies be temples of the holie ghost...that we must glorifie and carie God in our bodie and spirit, which both are goddes', and urged total reform, 'is this not the fervent prayer, of th'ap[ost]le for the Thessa[lonians]: that the god of peace may sanctifie them in all thinges that there whole spirite and soule and bodie may be presented spotlesse at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ?' Matthew argued further that a failure to reform jeopardised the whole community; 'finallie', he asked, 'shall anie man become so adulterous, as to take the members of christ, and make them the members of an harlotte?'. A failure to reform was as bad as sinning: 'sith out of one somtyme cannot flow swete water and soure: sith he that is neyther hotte nor colde, but likewarme, is to be spewed out of gods owne mouth into the furnace of hellfire'. This was a clear and brutal description of the constant duty for further reform, demanded by a commitment to edification.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Martyr, *Disputatio de Eucharistiae*, sig. D7v. Jewel, *A Defence of the Apologie*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 161

⁵⁸ SJ., Mss., 212, ff. 2v-3v.

By 1581, Matthew had extended that concept to apply to the commonwealth.

He spoke of the pure, edified church:

Christ loved the whole church and gave himself for it, that he mought sanctifie it and cleanse it by the fountain of water in the worde, that he mought make it to himself, a glorious church not having spott or wrinkle, or any such thin, but that it should be holy and without blame: so should every stone in the whole building of the church; every member of this mysticall bodie endeavour to be⁵⁹

Matthew thought that in England the church would be realised through the polity. The Queen's polity, which was the limit of the English Kingdom, and therefore of the true church, was also to be used to achieve the process of edification.

In 1581 Matthew spoke to the Queen about that church in England: 'the house of God which house are we if we holde fast our confidence and reioycing of oure hope unto the ende of being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the hed corner stone...it groweth together to be an holy temple in the lorde, in whome also we are built together to be the habitation of god by the spirit'.⁶⁰ He used the concept of another polity which contained a true church, Jerusalem, to explore England's peculiar nature. 'Be not afraid', Matthew counselled, '[God] hath appoynted to you a kingdom: a kingdom of glory in heaven and of grace on earth; which is the church of the living god, the pillar and ground of truth: a citie beseiged but never vanquished...he that triumpheth in Israel is not altered'.⁶¹ Matthew knew who ruled that kingdom, and whom God had entrusted to ensure its continued reform. He argued that the Queen and her ministers had been charged, 'both to build up and to beautify [God's] holy temple in the realm of England'.⁶²

Matthew thought that magistrates should use the law to effect reform. While reflecting a Calvinist emphasis on the reformatory role of the magistrate, Matthew's beliefs rested on a different understanding of the relationship

⁵⁹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 209

⁶⁰ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.168

⁶¹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 213-14.

⁶² YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 14v

between polity and church than that posited by Calvin. Oecolampadius and Calvin had both sought the separation of church and polity, Matthew sought instead to endow the polity with the duties of reform. In the face of monarchical interference in the process of reformation, Matthew embraced the peculiar nature of the English church. Instead of rejecting that monarchical power, he emphasised the communal aspect of 'edification' and located that community within the English polity. Thus, the boundaries of Tudor rule were the boundaries of the regenerative community. Instead of secularising the law makers, Matthew sanctified the magistrate. Matthew told the city fathers of London that: 'as god leadeth his people like sheep, by the handes of Moses and Aaron: his magistrate and his minister, the word and the sworde: so if the sowle by us shepherdes were so directed ...if the bodie and goods by you magistrates and greate estates were so governed as you wold become in ded, as ye are called in name, very gods among men'.⁶³

Catholicism as a Challenge to the Unity of the Church

Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth was one in which moral regeneration could be achieved through civil law. Thus, although forced attendance was apparently a secular transaction, resting on coercion based on fear of the Queen's penal powers, it could have spiritual implications. Matthew believed that enforced attendance, especially at sermons, not only introduced the non-believer to the regenerate word, but that attendance itself was part of the spiritual process. By becoming part of the godly commonwealth, part of the sanctifying community, those who attended church were playing an active part in their own salvation and, therefore, in the regeneration of the community. 'This much I saie with Augustin', Matthew told his courtly congregation, 'of outwarde necessitie is inward voluntarie...should we not all be graynes of that bread, and grapes of that cluster we wilbe or sem to be members of that bodie and partners of that bloud?'. Matthew concluded: 'Jerusalem mought be builded as a citie, that is at unitie with itself'⁶⁴

⁶³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.227-28.

⁶⁴ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 214, 233.

By Easter of 1581, that unity seemed to be ever more fragile as the limits of the Protestant reformation and a continued attachment to Catholicism were highlighted by the well publicised English mission of the Jesuits, Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons. Matthew, of course, had known Campion well, and would later deliver a sermon attacking Campion in September of 1581. He had also been involved in attempts to discover and punish domestic Catholicism, and was well aware of the continued popular attachment to that faith. In June 1576, as archdeacon of Bath, Matthew had been part of a commission to visit the church, city and deanery of Bristol. Two years later, in 1578, Matthew was, with Humphrey, Westphaling and James, part of the commission charged with uncovering and punishing Catholicism among the fellows of Exeter College in Oxford. Matthew continued to be involved in anti-Catholic work in both the university and the diocese of Oxford. In October 1580 Matthew was among those who were charged with the discovery and certifying of Catholics in the Oxford diocese.⁶⁵

By early 1581, however, fear of Catholicism and its seditious potential had reached a fever pitch, prompting the passage of severe anti-papal laws in parliament. The law, Matthew argued, could be used for compulsion and conversion, and his stress on the urgency of anti-Catholic action rested on his vision of the godly commonwealth. As everything in an individual's life, and in the church, must tend either to edification or to destruction, so too, Matthew argued, must everything in the godly commonwealth. Those who jeopardised the unity of the commonwealth, threatened the purity of those within it. The same was as true for Familists as it was for Catholics, and the 1581 parliament had also considered the threat of the Family of Love. Matthew argued that by challenging the polity, they undermined the edification of all; in doing so he drew on the imagery used by godly reformers to describe edification, that of building. At the Spital sermon of 1581, Matthew counselled men, 'not to foresake the fellowship which we have among our selves, as the manner is of some papists that of obstinancie; of some lovists that of hypocrisie; of some certein other that of singularitie sorte them selfs into privat conventicles, sunder

⁶⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council*, new ser., ed. J. R. Dasent (32 vols., 1890-1907, London), vol. 10, pp. 221, 295, vol. 12, p. 241.

them selfs from publique assemblies in the congregation, branches cut of from the vine....stones from the building, members from the bodie of Jesu Christe'. Matthew warned that to do so threatened not only individual salvation, but public regeneration. He reiterated his hope that: 'the fellowship among our selfs (howsoever the worlde go with us and others) mought be unbroken'. Turning to Augustine, he argued, '*teneamus fratres charitatem, sine qua etiam cum sacramentis & fide nihil sumus: tenemus autem charitatem, si amplectimur unitatem*'.⁶⁶

Matthew worried about all threats to unity, but it was the threat of Catholicism and the potentially seditious nature of that faith, which was most exercising throughout 1581. In June 1581 Matthew preached on two consecutive days before the Oxford Magistrates, at an assizes dominated by charges brought against those Catholics who Matthew had acted against in the previous October.⁶⁷ He dwelt on the potential for the magistrate to effect reform through punishment. On one day he took as his verse Micah 6:8. 'he hath shown thee, O Man what is good, and what the Lorde requireth of thee; surely to doe iustly, and to loue mercie and to humble thyselfe to walke with thy God.'⁶⁸ An exhortation to fulfill the laws of the Lord, set within the framework of the fall of Israel, this was a favourite text of godly preachers who urged civil authorities to pursue further reform. Edwin Sandys used the same text in his sermon before the York assizes judges, and Richard Edes, preaching before James I in 1603 also used this text to dwell on the role of the polity in effecting religious reform.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 232-33. C. W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 33-35

⁶⁷ Christopher Haigh addresses briefly the case of one persistent recusant, Cecily Stonor, brought before the judges at this session. C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), p.37.

⁶⁸ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, p. 181

⁶⁹ E. Sandys 'A Sermon preached at an Assises' in *Sermons made by the most reverende father* (London, 1585), pp.188-205 Apart from one sermon, there are no dates for the sermons included in this collection, they must, however, have been preached during Sandys' archiepiscopate and before the publication date, i.e. between 1577-85.; When he later printed the sermon, Edes entitled it 'The dutie of a King' R. Edes, *Six Learned and Godly sermons* (London, 1604) sig.

In the summer of 1581 Matthew reminded the judges that in executing the laws against Catholic recusants, they were executing the laws of the Queen, and ultimately God. He also used the occasion to warn of the potential collapse of the commonwealth which would follow a failure to act. Matthew warned: 'who knowethe the ruine of the[m] bothe that is eyther of the wicked or the seditious or of the[m] that fear not God nor obaye their King, by the sinne of Jonas not only the shipp but the whole Ninyve was in danger, by the sinne of Adam, the whole world.'⁷⁰ The political rhetoric surrounding the recent mission made Matthew's assertion that the safety of the commonwealth rested on religious unity more immediate. In June 1581 Matthew couched his attack on Catholicism in terms of the danger which it posed to the unity of the church and commonwealth; he reminded the magistrates: 'Chrisostome sayeth if you have a unity you have a people'.⁷¹

As a public tool of the polity, the law was as important in effecting the regeneration of the commonwealth through social laws as through the enforced attendance at church. This vision of the godly commonwealth was much closer to that envisaged by the Edwardian reformers, such as Latimer and Cranmer, and Matthew took the opportunity of prominent occasions, like the Spital sermons, to criticise the lack of charity among members of the commonwealth. The charity and unity which Matthew believed underpinned the proper working of the sacraments should, he argued, be reflected in godly actions. Failure to fulfill godly duties undermined the communal edification process, and from the pulpit at the Spital Matthew attacked the city fathers serried beneath him who he felt were guilty of that failure: 'yowe I meane that make these galles and ruptures in the churche of Christe, where is your charitie and conscience before god and men? Ye merchantes and occupyers of greatest wealthe, which overspread your younger and poorer nighbours'. Matthew attacked carnal landlords, lawless tenants, and those who short measured, yet he kept his real ire for those most obviously rupturing the commonwealth: 'nobility, gentry, and

B1r-F3v. Edes was at Christ Church when Matthew preached this sermon, and may have been among the congregation at the assizes.

⁷⁰ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp. 179, 181.

⁷¹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 182.

comminalitie, with your exceeding and devouringe usuries; yow that monopolize and ingrosse unto fewe handes, and enhaunce to excessive prices all manner commodoties ... [you] that make a covenante with deathe and a league with hell; [you] that dalie crucifies the Lord Jesus againe.’⁷²

The building of the temple was an image used to describe the process of communal edification, and Matthew used an inversion of that image to explore the corruption of the regenerative process. He attacked:

ye goddes and magistrates and Judges of the earthe, which builde your houses with bloude, that the stones crye for fire to the tymber and the timber for ruinne unto the stones, ye that laye heaviness uppon the loines of the fatherlesse and wydowes, that devoure the people of the lande as bread, that devoure the people of the earthe for shoes⁷³

A failure in charity reflected a failure in law, and by calling on public action in the commonweal to repair that failure, Matthew deliberately conflated the demands of biblical law and secular law. In 1576 he had counselled the Spital congregation that the only regenerative force was: ‘faith that worketh by charitie: charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe’. Matthew posited a divine role for the secular law, he argued that ‘the end of the law is charitie from a pure heart from a good conscience and from faith unfeigned.’⁷⁴ Preaching before the Oxfordshire magistrates in 1581, Matthew repeated the injunction to do godly works which, he argued, included the proper administration of the Queen’s laws. He then continued: ‘Paul sayeth pray for the magistrates [who] seek the kingdom of god and the righteousness therof... for this the lord requireth of thee, these wordes of the prophett shalbe ther iudge at the laste day if you performme it not, and the law is a dett not a promise and Paul sayeth love is the fulfilling of the lawe and *debitores summus*’.⁷⁵ This was a conflation of the divine law of the Old Testament and the secular law of the Queen. Reformers argued that Old Testament law would lead men to regeneration, by bringing them to an appreciation of their own sins and also an appreciation of how to overcome those weaknesses. In the godly commonwealth, where everything should be

⁷² SJ., Mss., 212, p.57. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp. 125-26.

⁷³ SJ., Mss., 212, p.56

⁷⁴ SJ., Mss., 212, p.51.

⁷⁵ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273 ff. 181, 183

done for edification, Matthew argued that the Queen's laws bore the same weight of spiritual reform.

Law and the Godly Polity of England

The role which Matthew ascribed to civil law reflected his friendship with Alberico Gentili. When Gentili arrived in Oxford he was developing his thought about confessional politics and the role of the law in effecting reform. His conclusions, an argument for the moral properties of the law and a defence of a local re-interpretation of Roman law, prompted uproar among many of the Oxford godly. John Rainolds and Jean Hotman were some of the more prominent figures who waged a campaign against Gentili at Oxford, and appealed for support in their attack from some of their international colleagues. Matthew however, remained close to Gentili, and though he did not adopt all of Gentili's ideas, Gentili's influence may be seen on Matthew's thought about the law and the reform of the commonwealth. The conflicts between the legists at Oxford about the role of the law in the commonwealth, reflected some of the tensions at the heart of godly thought in the 1580s, as different men struggled to reconcile their political and religious duties.⁷⁶

In 1582 Gentili published his first work in England. He dedicated *De Iuris Interpretibus Dialogi Sex* to the earl of Leicester, thanking him for his early patronage. He also remembered the men who had brought him to the attention of Leicester: '*clariss. Io: Bap. Castellioneus*', and, '*Thob Matthaeus, aliiq; nobiles viri, & magnae pariter aestimationis de me tecum habere*'.⁷⁷ *De Iuris* was discussion of confessional politics, drawn from Gentili's work at Perugia University, and in his discussion of Roman law Gentili introduced many of the themes which were to dominate his work over the next decade. Prompted by his experience of the Inquisition, Gentili examined confessional politics, suggesting

⁷⁶ Jean Hotman was prominent among the earliest attacks on Gentili. It was not until the mid-1580s when Gentili was suggested for the regius chair in civil law at Oxford, that John Rainolds entered the fray. Meyjes, 'Hotman's English Connection', pp.18- 21. J. Barton, 'The Faculty of Law' in Aston, (ed.), *University of Oxford*, vol. 3, p. 240. *Dizionario degli Italiani*, vol. 53, p. 248-50.

⁷⁷ A. Gentili, *De Iuris Interpretibus Dialogi Sex* (London, 1582), sig. A2r.

a system of international politics divorced from religious concerns. He developed this in his work on natural law, which examined the moral and confessional nature of law, and at the same time sought a system of international exchange which might be free from confessional concerns.⁷⁸

One of Gentili's earliest conclusions, reflected in his 1582 *De Iuris*, was a conviction that Roman law could play an important role in this scheme. His suggestion for the application of Roman law (which he argued should be applied differently in different societies) caused controversy among Oxford legists. In *De Iuris*, Gentili launched into a detailed and blistering attack on the *Mos Galicus*. This was a school of French legists, including Jean Bodin and François Hotman, who applied humanist tools to the glosses which had grown up surrounding Roman law. These humanist legists attempted to unravel the complexities and contradictions caused by the stress on the local experience of the Roman law, in order to produce a universally applicable system of thought. They attacked, for example, the practice in Italy, where the emphasis on using the *podestà's* interpretation of Roman law as the basis for future rulings had introduced a distinct regionalism into the Roman law system.⁷⁹

While Gentili trumpeted Roman law as a medium for international dialogue, believing that it could underpin his vision of de-confessionalised politics, he did not support the work of Bodin and his colleagues. While celebrating the universalism of Roman law, he maintained the importance of adapting that law to meet local circumstance. This was a reading of the law which was very similar to Matthew's reading of the manifestation of the true church. In his copy of one of Gentili's later works, *De Legationibus Libri Tres*, published in 1585, Matthew read Gentili's discussion of Roman law carefully. He underlined Gentili's account of the different applications of Roman law in different countries, and highlighted Gentili's stress on Roman regional distinctions,

⁷⁸ *Dizionario degli Italiani*, vol. 53, pp. 245-51.

⁷⁹ S. Rowan, 'Roman Law' in H.J. Hillebrand (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (4 vols., Oxford, 1996) vol. 2, p. 408

underlining his assertion '*oppidum ea Romae pars dicta fuit, quae intra moenia erat, & ab urbe differebat*', writing in the margin, '*nota*'.⁸⁰

Both Matthew and Gentili employed humanist tools, but the emphasis which they placed on regional differences undermined the humanist stress on universalism. This universalism had been reflected in early reformers' calls for a united reformed church, and continued to be felt in the campaign to establish a Genevan church in England. Matthew and Gentili both challenged the notion that 'truth' lay only in international unity. They both continued to emphasise the importance of circumstance in mediating international law and religion, seeing diversity as a natural corollary of universally applicable concepts. Matthew, of course, had begun to develop his ideas about the unique nature of the English reformation before he met Gentili, but Gentili's work on the legal manifestation of this concept appears to have helped Matthew to refine the practical application of his vision.⁸¹

Jean Hotman attacked Gentili's work shortly after his arrival in Oxford, reflecting in part Gentili's criticism of the *mos gallicus*, of which Hotman's father had been a prominent member. Gentili's work, however, also questioned the stability of the vision of an international and uniform reformed community, and his emphasis on regionalism undermined earlier Protestant calls for the adoption of the Genevan church. Both Jean and François Hotman were part of this tradition. Jean Hotman attacked Gentili's arguments and his attempt to infiltrate the community of godly reformers clustered around Leicester and Sidney. Writing shortly after the publication of *De Iuris* in 1582, Hotman claimed that 'the distinguished Earl [of Leicester] finds it hard to accept that he allowed himself to be persuaded by Alberico into agreeing to be patron of such a lot of gibberish'. How far this was true is unclear, Leicester certainly continued to support Gentili, but Hotman's appropriation of Leicester's disquiet reflected

⁸⁰ A. Gentili, *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (London, 1585) sig. D2r, N3v. YML III. K. 14

⁸¹ *Dizionario degli Italiani*, vol. 53, p.247-8.

the elements within Gentili's thought which many, including Matthew, found unpalatable.⁸²

Gentili applied his work on Roman law to England. Drawing on Machiavellian analyses, Gentili attempted to develop the precepts of Roman Law within the setting of English politics, using English historical examples. He came eventually to posit a separation between politics and law especially, he argued, in confessional matters. Gentili claimed that coercion was ineffective and inappropriate in matters of religion. He did, however, admit the need for religious unity, but argued that instead of enforcing faith through statute, those who rejected the religion of the majority should go into exile. This vision may have reflected Gentili's own experience as much as his legal thought, but Gentili came to expand this separation of politics and religion to encompass an international stage. International relations, he argued, should be governed by secular concerns alone: power not piety should guide princes. He argued that excommunication should prove no bar to normal diplomatic relations, and extended this concept to the Turks.⁸³

The attack on the use of statute to effect conversion clearly conflicted with Matthew's own stress on reform through the political commonwealth, but despite some of the conclusions which Gentili came to, he continued to be part of the reforming circle surrounding Leicester and Sidney. When the Italian emigrè, Giordano Bruno, visited Oxford in 1583, Philip Sidney introduced him to both Tobie Matthew and Alberico Gentili.⁸⁴ In 1584, when the Spanish

⁸² Letter from Hotman to Payne, (20 November 1582) cited in Meyjes, 'Hotman's English Connection', p. 18.

⁸³ The mature expression of this thought was expressed in Gentili's *De Legationibus*, published in 1585, but it appears that Gentili had been promoting this vision before the publication of this work. W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (4 vols., Harvard, 1932-40), vol. 3, pp. 366-67.

⁸⁴ Bruno recorded meeting Tobie Matthew, Martin Culpepper and Mario Nizzoli on his visit to Oxford, and they were some of the only Oxford fellows whom Bruno liked. G. Bruno, *De la Causa, Principio et Uno* (Venice, 1583) ed. Rescogitans Philosophical Library, Milan, dialogue one. <<http://www.rescogitans.it/ita/biblioteca/de%201a%20causa/dialogo1htm.>>(12 May 2001)

ambassador, Mendoza, was caught conspiring to put Mary, Queen of Scots on the throne, Sidney's friend, Walsingham, sent for Gentili and Hotman to offer legal advice. Gentili, therefore, still clearly remained part of that group of reformers, and his improved relationship with Hotman reflected the moderation of his opinions about the *mos gallicus*.⁸⁵

Gentili's closeness to the group was further reflected in his account of the Mendoza case, which he published in 1585 as *De Legationibus Libri Tres*. Then he used his introduction to offer a detailed defence of Leicester, in response to the recently published *Leicester's Commonwealth*. Dedicated to Philip Sidney, Gentili's defence was remarkably similar to Sidney's draft defence of his uncle, and the two may have collaborated on the text. That Sidney and Gentili chose this work as a forum for the defence of Leicester, may have reflected the international market which they envisaged for *De Legationibus*; it also demonstrated Gentili's place at the heart of this circle. Though Gentili attacked that which united many of these Protestants, namely confessional politics as demonstrated by a desire to intervene in the Netherlands, his work on legal and moral reform would come to refine the influential vision of a godly commonwealth.⁸⁶

Matthew owned Gentili's 1585 work, *De Legationibus*, and he read it carefully. As a later dedication in another of Gentili's works made clear, Gentili and Matthew had been close friends at Oxford, and Gentili saw Matthew as an intellectual ally as well as a patron. Many of the ideas, such as the secularisation of politics, which Gentili developed in later works, were present in his 1582 work, *De Iuris*, and it seems likely that Gentili and Matthew had

⁸⁵ By 1585 Gentili had begun to moderate his views on the *mos gallicus*. Matthew highlighted his references to Hotman in Gentili's 1585 work, Gentili, *De Legationibus*, sig. G3v. For an account of Hotman's and Gentili's involvement in the Mendoza case, see Meyjes, *Hotman's English Connection*, p.20.

⁸⁶ A. Gentili *De Legationibus*, sig.*2r-*4r. 'Sidney's Defense of Leicester' in *Leicester's Commonwealth: The copy of a letter written by a Master of Art of Cambridge (1584) and related documents* ed. D. C. Peck (Ohio, 1985), 249-64. Rosenberg, *Leicester*, p. 219

discussed, at Oxford, some of the ideas which Gentili expounded in later works.⁸⁷ Certainly, in his copy of *De Legationibus*, Matthew highlighted the names of those common friends who, Gentili had argued, had influenced the writing of the work. These included Leicester's secretary and Matthew's old friend, Arthur Atye. Matthew noted 'A. Atey', next to Gentili's characterisation of him as, '*elegantur itaque doctissimus, rerumque scientissimus Artarus Atius, cum ego quadam de iure legatotum*'. Gentili also recorded his involvement with Leicester, and Matthew also noted in the margin, 'F. Walsingham', next to Gentili's praise of him.⁸⁸

De Legationibus was concerned with the law of nations, and as well as exploring questions of diplomacy, Gentili addressed two aspects of national law in which Matthew was deeply interested: the confessional nature of the law, and the need for a counsellor to guide the application of the law. Gentili opened the work with a muse on the role of law in the commonwealth and the need for counsel, which Matthew read carefully. He also noted the second chapter of the work, in which Gentili stressed the need to mediate universal structures in light of local circumstances, underlining Gentili's heading: '*multiplex eius legati nomen, de quo nos sumus dicturi & definitio*'. Gentili argued that the law provided the skeleton of the commonwealth, and that its application would shape the character of that commonwealth. He also argued for someone who could, with knowledge, guide politicians in the execution of the law: the end of which would be public reform. This process of 'application' leading to regeneration reflected the process which Matthew believed took place in the pulpit and Matthew was sensitive to the parallels.⁸⁹

Matthew thought that in his description of legal and political counsel, Gentili envisaged an orator. Matthew underlined his assertion: '*legatus de quo institutis nobis est sermon, & orator quandoque & interpres, & nuncius, vocabulis scilicet latoribus, nuncupatur*'. Though Roman law could be highly specialised, Matthew highlighted Gentili's assertion that men should be found to mediate

⁸⁷ Gentili, *De Legationibus*. Matthew's copy is YML III. L. 28

⁸⁸ Gentili, *De Legationibus*, sig. K1r, N3r.

⁸⁹ Gentili, *De Legationibus*, sig. A1r-v, A3r, M4r.

between the local and universal. Next to this passage, Matthew wrote 'orator'. Matthew, of course, had already placed himself in the tradition of oratory, using his sermons before the Queen to deliver godly counsel. Reform of the polity, Matthew thought, could also come from those who advised on matters of the law. As the law came to be part of the regeneration process, then it seemed clear that legal counsel could also be godly counsel.⁹⁰

A natural corollary to Gentili's work on the need for secularised international relations was his examination of the role of the law and the polity in England. Gentili focussed those discussions about a separation between secular and spiritual concerns in the framework of the Elizabethan church, reflecting the conflicts which Matthew had been working to resolve. As politics should be secularised so, Gentili argued, jurisprudence should be introduced into the execution of divine law. He claimed *res religionis* consisted of two things: those things concerning the knowledge of the '*culto di Dio*' and those to do with human action. Theologians, Gentili argued, should be concerned with '*culto di Dio*', while legists, who were familiar with the reform of men and women through the execution of the law, should be charged with reforming human action.⁹¹

Matthew agreed with Gentili about the potential of the law to effect moral reform, and the sense of the law as a tool of regeneration for both the individual and the community came to underpin Matthew's sense of the godly commonwealth as the arena for communal edification. While Matthew may have questioned the limitations which Gentili proposed for theologians, he saw the law as a unique expression of England's unique circumstance and, therefore, the tool best suited to English regeneration.

Tobie Matthew and the Manuscript Community of Christ Church

Matthew was at the heart of a circle of scholars and clerics at Christ Church who drew on this work, and these ideas, to develop a new vision of the reformation in

⁹⁰ Gentili, *De Legationibus*, sig. A1v. This work contained further discussions of the legal orator, which Matthew also highlighted, *ibid.*, sig. N1r-N3v,

⁹¹ *Dizionario degli Italiani*, vol. 53, pp. 248-50.

England after the Queen's refusal to countenance further reform. The group was sustained by Leicester and Sidney, who shared Matthew's concerns about the conflicting demands of the polity and the church. A collection of verses written by William Gager evinced something of the membership of that group, as well as illustrating some of their concerns.⁹² Gager was a student at Christ Church from 1574, where he remained until his appointment as surrogate to Dr Swale, vicar-general of Ely. A Latin dramatist, Gager wrote many of the plays performed at late-Elizabethan Christ Church, and he wrote verses too, producing volumes on the deaths of Unton and Sidney.⁹³ His collection of plays and verses, centred on the Christ Church circle in the early 1580s, captured a moment when Christ Church was still home to earlier reformers, as well being as the centre of work by younger scholars.

The verses reflected the self-conscious attempt by the emerging community of second generation of reformers to realise anew the hopes of their Edwardian and Marian predecessors. Gager included a verse, '*In Obitum ...Edmundi Grindalli*', whom, he argued, was, '*Pastora gentis decus immortale Britanniae*'. The image of Grindal's fall reflected the crushing of reformed hopes. Collinson has seen the 1570s as a 'Grindalian' moment, when it appeared that further reform might be possible. For Matthew and his allies, however, Grindal's suspension did not reverse a trend within the church, but was the conclusion of a longer struggle between evangelicals and the Queen. It was in the debates of the 1560s and early 1570s that the vision of the godly commonwealth had been formed; however, Grindal's suspension did not mark the beginning of this programme of reform, but demonstrated how necessary it was. Gager, therefore, celebrated Grindal's vision of the church, while taking from his downfall, lessons for future reform.⁹⁴

William Gager took the opportunity of Matthew's departure from Christ Church in 1583 to draw up a list of prebends, fellows and students at Christ Church,

⁹² BL., Add. Mss., 22583. Gager was the nephew of William Cordell, and was admitted to Christ Church by the canons, including Matthew, PRO SP 12/24/32.

⁹³ BL. Add, Mss 22583, ff. 51v-58r. William Gager, *DNB*; Bill and Mason, *Christ Church and Reform*, p.12

⁹⁴ BL., Add. Mss., 22583, f. 58r. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*, pp. 219-232.

writing short verses to each. Dated 26 September 1583, they were written about a month after Matthew left Oxford, and celebrated his achievements in the college and university. There were verses dedicated to Matthew, '*anglorum salve Tulli, Matthae diserte*', and to his godly colleagues Wake, Edes and Thornton, '*et par doctrinae cum gravitate, fides*'. Gager reflected too, the continuing engagement with the European experience of reform through his verses to foreign Protestants, Horatio Palavicino and Alberico Gentili, while the younger generation of reformers were represented by verses to Thomas Smith, later secretary to the earl of Essex, Oliver Hakluyt and Martin Heton.⁹⁵ In a dialogue which he had apparently written in 1581, Gager was more explicit in his praise for Matthew's achievements. The '*Aeloga ad Matthae*' was a dialogue between '*Bellus*' and '*Fanne*', which explored Matthew's resolution of the conflicts within the clerical body, arguing that through his mediation Matthew had offered the possibility of a new future.⁹⁶

The concerns of this group were further revealed in the manuscript notebooks and collections which were circulating in the university, at court and in the church in this period. Of these, two were written by men at the heart of this Oxford network, and reflect the different ways in which the manuscript community brought the sense of the godly commonwealth to a wider audience.

One of the notebook collections was written by Robert Dowe, who after he had received his Bachelor of civil law in 1582, took up a fellowship at All Souls College in Oxford. His brother, Henry Dowe, was at Christ Church from 1576, he and Robert maintained close contacts with Christ Church throughout the period.⁹⁷ Dowe's notebook is neat, indexed and legible, and was clearly intended for a wider readership. Robert Dowe taught handwriting at the

⁹⁵ BL., Add. Mss., 22583, ff. 52v, 55, 56v, 57v, 67, 73v, 78, 83v, 86, 90v.

⁹⁶ BL., Add. Mss., 22583, ff. 74r-77v.

⁹⁷ *Register of the University of Oxford*, A. Clark ed., ii, *Degrees Part III* (Oxford, 1888), 36; Wood, *Alumni Oxoniensis* p. 418; Woudhuysen *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 44: Woudhuysen claims that Dowe was a don at Christ Church. I have not been able to find evidence of this, though he clearly had close links to Christ Church. In the front of this notebook he wrote '*Sum liber Roberty Douri ex collegio Omnium Animarum*', and elsewhere is always mentioned as of All Souls. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5.

university, and this collection may have had the added benefit of being a portfolio of his work. His collection includes copies of sermons, plays, letters and prayers from Christ Church in the 1570s and 1580s. This notebook, and several others which he collated, seem to have been a form of manuscript publication, making certain texts available to a limited audience, and by so doing creating a community of common concern. The desire to limit the audience, which Dowe shared with Matthew, also reflected the influence of his patrons, Leicester and Sidney, who manipulated the potential offered by manuscript publication throughout the 1580s.⁹⁸

John Rogers, a student at Christ Church in the early 1580s also sought to reflect the interests of this network in his own personal notebook. Where Dowe's notebook was clearly designed for circulation, Rogers' was a working notebook. Many of his notes on sermons, orations and lectures seem to have been taken directly at the time, and overall Rogers' collection is messy and unfocussed. While Rogers shared with Dowe a desire to record key moments in the Christ Church group's development, for example the conflict between James and Matthew in 1583, he also included practical notes; for example he copied out John Robinson's lecture on Edward Dering's catechism, reflecting the use to which this selection would later be put, when Rogers took up a clerical living.⁹⁹

Dowe's selection reflected the self-conscious manuscript community in operation in Tudor Oxford: Rogers' notebook, however, demonstrated the end to which those manuscript copies could be put. Both reflected the vision of the church which Matthew and his friends were developing, and manuscript collections like those of Dowe were an important part of the media of this group. Through their circulation and their appropriation through copying, these

⁹⁸ For a discussion of this see P. Lake and M. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: the Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), pp. 595-99.

⁹⁹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273; John Rogers took a living in Chalcombe in Northamptonshire, where he became involved in the godly community there. He was a *classis* member and deprived for nonconformity in 1605. He conformed, but continued to come into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities for his refusal to wear a surplice or to use the prayer book. Sheils, *Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough*, pp. 83-84.

notebooks brought Matthew's ecclesiological views to a broader, though primarily scholarly and courtly, audience. Rogers' notebook was also important in transmitting Matthew's vision of the church. His notes reflected an engagement with Matthew's vision: an engagement which he carried to the provinces.

Robert Dowe and John Rogers both explored the recent history of the English church, and both recorded the membership of the circle of men who worked to realise the vision of the first generation of reformers within the confines of the Elizabethan church, as well as the links between the two generations. Dowe, Rogers and their contemporaries, copied letters, sermons and histories about Jewel and Grindal, and recorded their links with the European reformation. One particularly popular practice was the copying of epistolary collections, reflecting an interest in their content and in the network of relationships that such a collection mapped out. One manuscript collection had copies of Matthew's letters to Leicester, as well as Roger Marbeck's letters to Cecil, Leicester, Grindal and Jewel. This suggests that the letter writers were conscious of operating in, and manipulating, this semi-public sphere, aware of the role of the manuscript community in forging a collective identity. The inclusion of less prominent reformers suggests that this manuscript publication was aimed at those who were intimate with the process of reform in the church. Marbeck's letters, for example those to his colleague George Carew, Precentor of Salisbury, and to Thomas Thornton and another of Leicester's clients, John Delabre suggests that the manuscript collections were designed to appeal to a relatively limited circle.¹⁰⁰

Another popular collection which outlined the membership of the godly was a collection of '*carmina domini Rogeri Marbeck ad amices oxonienses*', a collection of verses composed by Marbeck on his departure from Oxford in 1566. Again, the songs were mainly to men like Matthew, Thornton and

¹⁰⁰ Bod., Auct. Mss., F, 5, 13, ff.37-180, 191-195, 196-201, 211-212. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 264. Mss. no. 9 of 'The manuscripts of Evelyn Philip Shirley Esq' in *Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, (London, 1876), p. 363.

Delabre. The verses simultaneously defined both the membership of the group and the terms of membership: those terms were predicated on men's hoped for contribution to the process of reform. Marbeck praised Matthew: '*que natura suis plenae virtutibus auxit/ quemque deus domis large caelestibus auxit/ quodque quoquo voce doces verae reveraenter ipsa/ exprimio in factio.*'¹⁰¹ Similarly, Gager's collection of verses from the 1580s appears to have been a self-conscious attempt to record the membership of the new Christ Church group which emerged in the decades following the deaths and disgrace of Marbeck, Jewel and Grindal.

The discussions of the membership of the group illustrated the extent to which the manuscript community was involved in creating a common godly identity among many reformers at court and in the church. The act of manuscript copying was as limiting and exclusive as addressing verses to a few friends, and it seems that they were designed to circulate in this small group. It is clear, however, that their influence extended beyond those named. Gilbert Freville, a minister in Bishop Middleham, County Durham copied out in full those songs of Roger Marbeck in his commonplace book which he started in 1581. There is no clear connection between the two, except that he knew Matthew in the 1590s. The copy was made at least fourteen years after Marbeck wrote his songs, reflecting the slow transmission of material in manuscript form.¹⁰²

The second generation of reformers had been influenced by their contacts with Edwardian Protestants, and tried to realise their predecessors' concerns in Elizabethan society. Extracts which reflected the concerns of the Marian exiles and their contacts with European churches were found in several of these manuscript notebooks. John Rogers, for example, had copied into his book verses on the death of Peter Martyr; a letter from Calvin to the English exiles in Zurich from 1554; and Jewel's speech on his ejection from Corpus Christi

¹⁰¹ Bod., Auct. Mss., F, 5, 13, ff. 327-334. BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, f.78v

¹⁰² BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, ff.78r-v. Bod., Auct. Mss., F, 5, 13 also contains a copy

college in 1553, *'voce lugubri et lamentabile, qua lacrimas adversus extorsit'*.

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This manuscript community, however, was even more interested in the way in which the Elizabethan reformers had mediated a commitment to European reform within the apparently hostile church. Rogers copied out letters and accounts which illuminated points of friction between the Queen and the godly reformers. He included, for example, a copy of Matthew's letter to Leicester, in which Matthew defended Thomas Sampson's role in the vestiarian crisis.¹⁰⁴ Dowe also recorded moments when the godly had clashed with the Queen, and included James Pilkington's letter to Leicester defending his refusal to wear vestments. Dowe also copied out Matthew's first sermon before the Queen, which had been part of the parliamentary campaign for Mary Stuart's execution, and included Matthew's sermon from 1576 which had called for further reform..¹⁰⁵

The development of the new sense of godly reform had been prompted by the Queen's obduracy; therefore, moments of the failure of godly counsel dominated these manuscript collections. Matthew's supplication to the Queen of 1580, calling for Grindal's restitution was copied out in full in one notebook. This concern with the frustrations of godly reform was reflected in other notebooks too; another Oxford collection included a detailed copy of Archbishop Grindal's submission to Elizabeth I. Some parts of this collective history which had underpinned later strategies for reform were particularly popular. One of these was Matthew's letter to Leicester, written to apologise after giving offence in his sermon from 1576 on the succession. Dowe included a copy of this letter, as did the compiler of another manuscript notebook concerned with Roger Marbeck, John Rainolds and the progress of godly reform. Another author stressed the importance of 1576 in conclusively ending godly hopes for the future. He copied out Matthew's letter about his sermon on

¹⁰³ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp.74, 207, 208-12. Jewel's speech was also in Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, f. 5r.

¹⁰⁴ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, p. 258. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D., 263, ff. 58r-59r.

¹⁰⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 45-47, 48, 65, 66-9. Bod., Auct. Mss., F, 5, 13, f.312.

the succession, and followed it with a copy of Wentworth's plea for free speech.¹⁰⁶

Many of the men who were involved in the Christ Church circle had benefited from the support of Leicester or Sidney, so too had many of those who recorded the development of that network; Dowe had been employed to teach Robert Sidney 'to write'.¹⁰⁷ His collection included letters by written by Robert Dorset to Leicester, and by Thomas Thornton to Burghley. Thornton had been Sidney's tutor at Christ Church, and it was him who Sidney supported for the canonry in 1570 which Matthew eventually gained.¹⁰⁸ Dorset, a canon at Christ Church, was also close to Sidney and, with Dowe, he was partly responsible for Robert Sidney's education.¹⁰⁹

Research has shown how manuscript networks could complement the public sphere opened up by the print culture and confessional conflict. The attractions of the limited publication offered by manuscript networks meant that ideas could be explored, and opposition stated which would otherwise have been

¹⁰⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 45-47, 354-58. BL., Sloane Mss., 1710, ff. 104r-107v. 'The manuscripts of Evelyn Philip Shirley Esq', p. 363.

¹⁰⁷ Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 44. Between 1583 and 1588, Robert Dowe composed five manuscript part-books which contained Sir Philip Sidney's poems, some of which had been set to music by Byrd. His notebooks also contained elegies on Sidney, including one by Byrd, and a poem by Edward Dyer which Byrd had set to music.

¹⁰⁸ Thornton gave a copy of Hieronymus', *Opera* (Antwerp 1578-9) Christ Church shelf mark Cellar I.1.2.2 to Christ Church in 1582, with an inscription which spoke of his time at Christ Church as prebendary and student, Ker 'The Provision of Books', p.505; It seems likely that Thomas Thornton was related both to Richard Thornton, canon at Christ Church from 1576 to whom William Gager wrote a verse in his collections of Latin poems BL., Add. Mss., 22583, f.56r, and to Richard Thornton, whose work may be seen in a manuscript collection featuring Sidney as well as a copy of *Iter Borealis*, Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts* p.261-62 and who contributed to the purchase of Sixtus Senesis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (Cologne 1586) Christ Church shelf mark Cellar G.1.2.8 on receiving his MA in 1584/5. Ker 'The Provision of Books', p.507; also to the Thomas Thornton who graduated BA in 1599 and MA 1602, leaving books to Christ Church in 1601 and 1602 Ker 'The Provision of Books', p.510-11.

¹⁰⁹ Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts* p.44; Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop', p.24

‘froward’.¹¹⁰ Philip Sidney’s letter, which attacked the Queen’s marriage, circulated only in manuscript. Though it earned him an exile from court, he escaped the punishments that Philip Stubbs received after attacking the Anjou marriage in a widely disseminated pamphlet, *The Gaping Gulph*. Through manuscript circulation, therefore, contentious, and sometimes dangerous works could be published. One of these notebooks included Thomas Smith’s discussion of the Queen’s marriage, while another carried a manuscript copy of the *The Gaping Gulph*. This emphasis on the marriage may reflect Sidney’s involvement in the group: another manuscript collection contained work by Richard Thornton; a copy of Richard Ede’s *Iter Boreale*; copies of Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*; and four of his *Certain Sonnets*.¹¹¹

Often the motivation behind manuscript publication was the relative secrecy which that practice offered, seen in the manuscript publication of Sidney’s ‘Letter’. There were, however, other implications of a limited readership, reflecting current thought about who could offer counsel in a godly monarchy. While Matthew and his contemporaries argued for political involvement, they shared a strong distrust of the ‘populace’ and ‘popular opinion’.¹¹² Matthew’s letter to Leicester following his 1576 sermon at Paul’s cross was a common feature of many of these collections. Its inclusion is notable not only because it addressed the godly concerns surrounding Elizabeth I’s marriage plans, but because Matthew spent most of the letter defending himself against claims that he had engaged the unstable popular sphere in questions which concerned godly

¹¹⁰ Lake and Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists and the “Public Sphere”’, pp. 589-592. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, pp. 159-80.

¹¹¹ Marsh’s Library, Dublin Mss Z 3.5.21 cited in Woudhuysen, *Circulation of Manuscripts* p.261

¹¹² For the idea of ‘popularity’ and ‘public opinion’ see chapter four. I have used the concept of ‘popularity’ developed by M. E. James, and recently used by E. H. Shagan, of an attempt to appeal for support from those who were outside the political establishment. As I will show in chapter four, it was possible to stimulate ‘popular’ debate unintentionally. E. H. Shagan, ‘Protector Somerset and 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives’, *English Historical Review*, CXIV (1999), 34-65. For the concept of popularity in Essex’s rebellion see M. E. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 447-50.

counsellors.¹¹³ Manuscript publication, therefore, allowed authors to restrict the discussion of certain concepts to those who were capable of doing so.

This desire to limit the audience may have reflected Matthew's unwillingness to allow his sermons to be printed, while he permitted, and indeed aided, a limited manuscript publication of several of his sermons. Matthew's sermon against Campion, from 1581, featured in many manuscript collections. Rogers opened his notebook with a copy of Matthew's *Concio apologetica adversus Edmund Campianum*, a copy which he proudly signed, '1582. Jan 6 Joh. Rogers Oxoniae'.¹¹⁴ Despite the outpouring of responses to Campion's *Decem Rationes*, from Oxford, Cambridge and Grub Street, Matthew was unwilling to allow his sermon, the first public response of the godly establishment, to be published. Instead, his sermon circulated only in manuscript form, often copied out and bound with printed defences, such as William Whitaker's *Ad Rationes Decem E. Campioni*. Matthew's refusal to print reflected reformers' awareness of the distinction between the preached word and the printed word; a distinction which underpinned calls for more preaching in order to ensure that texts were applied to their contexts. Matthew's sermon against Campion had been specifically designed for a scholarly audience, conceived, as Campion had challenged him to, as a scholarly disputation. In it Matthew used rhetorical tropes and quoted from classical and theological authors who he usually avoided in sermons, making clear the very limited, and highly specialised nature of his audience.

In this sermon Matthew engaged with only one of the polemical questions in the cross-confessional debate. That contribution was a highly scholarly one, dealing with the use of patristic texts, without answering Campion's other attacks on the English church. Matthew argued:

eyther incenst by this occasion, or moued by this text I thought it
necessarie to deliver two thinges. The one that we may openly and plainly

¹¹³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 354-57. See below, chapter four.

¹¹⁴ For example, Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E 5, pp. 138-148; Bod. Rawl. Mss. D.273

ff.1-30 Bod. Rawl. Mss. D, 843 ff.7-15; Bod, Tan. Mss, 169, f.21; Bod Western Mss 27705. Bod Add Mss 18203 f.53.

counfess how very much we are to attribute to the Fathers. The other that we may truly and freely prove, how undeservedlie this contempt of the Fathers is objected against us all and how falslie against my self.

This, however, was the limit of his response. He told the congregation: 'of the rest of the book I have not much to say especiallie at this tyme which no doubt Mr Whittaker hath learnedlie and fullie answered.'¹¹⁵ Unlike the defences offered by Jewel or Whitaker, Matthew's was only a partial, and therefore vulnerable, defence of the church of England. Rather than launching into a resounding and comprehensive polemical attack on the Roman church, refuting all of Campion's claims, Matthew had made the specific, and scholarly, concerns clear. Only those, therefore, who were, like Matthew, used to reading inter-confessional disputes as dialectics, could be trusted to handle this sermon.

This sermon also reflected how Jewel's legacy influenced Matthew's own ecclesiology and theological developments. This sermon, concerned with defending himself and Jewel from Campion's attack, drew on Jewel's reading of patristic texts. In 1581, Matthew returned to his copy of the *Vita et Mors*. He underlined the account of Jewel's use of the fathers. At the top of the page he wrote, '*Authoris opinio de nova ecclesiae*', he read on, writing next to the text '*Campianum conc. 5a p. 18*'. The popularity of the sermon against Campion reflected the extent to which it appeared that Matthew had indeed taken on Jewel's mantle. Certainly Campion and his Roman mentors believed that the future of the church of England lay with Jewel, Humphrey and their heir in Matthew. The Oxford godly were aware of this, and the sermon reflected a moment of increased visibility within the church. In his call to draw on humanist tools to realise anew the concerns of older reformers, Matthew's sermon was, in its emphasis on realising anew scriptural precepts in every generation, also a programme of action for the scholarly reformers who gathered in Elizabethan Oxford.¹¹⁶

Sir Stephen Powle, a contemporary of Matthew at Oxford who worked on behalf of Walsingham and Cecil, also kept a number of notebooks in which he

¹¹⁵ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 7r.

¹¹⁶ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, ff. 7r-15r. Humphrey, *Vita et Mors*, sig. Ee2r-v

collected texts, thoughts and questions. These collections, similar to those of Rogers, were guided by the humanist emphasis on textual hoarding for later redeployment in speech or action.¹¹⁷ Rogers and Powle collected pertinent texts as part of the formation of the intellectual self, and it is possible to see the communal collection and distribution of texts as a way of creating a collective consciousness. By selecting texts which he thought relevant to debates about the sovereignty of church and crown, and placing those debates firmly in their Christ Church context, Dowe had in effect created his own narrative of the reformation. By offering that narrative to this manuscript community, Dowe must have felt assured of its acceptance, but also aware of the permeability of interpretation. Through the collective selection and reading of texts, these miscellanies functioned within the community in a similar way to the way in which Rogers personally used his notebook. They were the foundation for the development of an understanding of church and society, and a guide to the future. Rather than the interaction of the individual reader between text and circumstance, it was a communal reading, suggesting that these texts may have formed the basis of the development of some sort of consensus about the self, society and salvation. That process reflected Matthew's thought about the godly commonwealth and his engagement with the community itself. Through this limited publication, trusted colleagues were engaged in the same intellectual negotiations as Matthew as they worked together to produce a vision of future reform. Matthew also promoted the conclusions of this work, in a less controlled sphere, namely from the pulpit, and it is his sermons to which I will turn now.

¹¹⁷ J. Scott-Warren, 'Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: the textual transactions of Sir Stephen Powle' in A. Shepard and P. Withington, (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England: networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester 2000), pp.20-22

CHAPTER FOUR

‘A necessitie and arte of hearing as wel as speaking’¹:

Tobie Matthew in the Pulpit: 1572-1583

Let us drawe nere to God by the hearing of his worde, he that hath an eare let him here...If the mouthe of the Lorde hath spoken who shall not prophecie and if wee must prophecie must not ye likewise harken to God by us? This one thing is necessarie, other things we maie doe, but this ye must doe²

Tobie Matthew, Easter Sermon at the Spital, 1581

At the heart of Matthew’s commitment to further reform was an emphasis on the necessity of the preached word. Preaching was, Calvin had argued, one of the marks of a true church, and godly reformers were united in their belief that the earthly process of regeneration would be effected by the sermon. Protestantism was the faith of the text, but as Matthew’s discussion about the manifestations of the true church showed, that text had to be realised anew in different circumstances. The sermon and the preacher, guided by the holy spirit, effected this alteration. A commitment to preaching united evangelical reformers of all hues, godly conformists and presbyterians, and separated them from those, like Whitgift, who considered preaching to be of secondary importance. Those debates continued throughout the 1570s and 1580s, and reflected the divisions in the church between those who called for edification and those who considered that there could be ‘things indifferent’.³

¹ Matthew underlined this injunction in his copy of a sermon dwelling on the need for constant preaching. R. Wilkinson, *A Sermon of Hearing, or Jewell for the eare: wherein is contained a preparative to the hearing of the word* (London, 1593), sig. C7v. YML XVI. F. 36(4)

² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.181.

³ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, p.111. See chapter two for the debate between Whitgift and Cartwright. For preaching as a unifying force within the godly movement, see Lake’s account of conforming godly ministers in Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, pp. 25, 48.

This chapter will explore how Matthew negotiated those challenges to the primacy of preaching, examining his own assertion of the importance of the preached word. Chapter three addressed Matthew's use of the principles of 'applicability' in his discussions of the Elizabethan church, and this chapter will explore how that emphasis on the circumstance influenced his homiletic output. This work will challenge older accounts of Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching theories which posited a direct connection between doctrinal beliefs and homiletic style. It will also offer a corrective to more recent work which has drawn on these classifications in attempts to discover whether a preacher was a godly minister or an 'avant-garde conformist' through their preaching style.⁴ Instead, Matthew's sermons reflected the marriage between the function of the sermon and its form, while Matthew's self-conscious appropriation of different homiletic voices reflected his awareness of the different audiences and different messages which his sermons addressed.

The sermon was at the heart of Elizabethan and Jacobean godliness, but it is only relatively recently that the early modern sermon has enjoyed close analysis by historians. Patrick Collinson's work on puritanism, which moved the description of godliness away from the political activity of the 1570s and 1580s, to focus instead on enduring cultural images, was important in raising the profile

⁴ Older works, and for many years the only works which addressed the nature of early modern preaching. J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late 15th and 16th centuries: A study of English sermons 1450-c.1600* (Oxford, 1964). M. Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642* (Toronto, 1958). W. F. Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson: A study of its literary aspects* (New York, 1962). H. Davies, *Like Angels from the Cloud: The English Metaphysical Preachers 1588-1645* (San Marino, 1986). Their influence may be seen in works such as F. Bremer and W. E. Rydell, 'Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today*, xlv (1995) in which the authors examine the drama of puritan sermons in light of theoretical works about 'plain style preaching' and J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 121-143. Most recent to engage in these questions about homiletic theories, S. Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002). Wabuda offers no new conclusions about the relationship between homiletic style and soteriological beliefs.

of the sermon as a fundamental part of this religious culture.⁵ This prompted historians of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church to use contemporary sermons to explore some of the religious developments of the period. Tyacke, for example, used the Paul's Cross sermons to explore the extent to which the Elizabethan church could be said to be Calvinist.⁶

Historians have also started to address the dramatic nature of the sermon, moving beyond the text to examine the audience of the sermons. Questier and Lake have used Foucault's theories to address the liminal nature of the scaffold speech, and they have developed this in light of their work on an Elizabethan public sphere. The importance of context in explaining the sermon has also been addressed by Dr. McCullough in his work on preaching at court, and Dr. Ferrell and Dr. Hunt have also explored the sermon as a non-literary event. Dr. Walsham has also addressed some of these issues in her work on the printed sermon, exploring the frictions and accommodations between oral and print cultures.⁷

⁵ P. Collinson *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967). P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants; the church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982).

⁶ Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 248-65. See also evidence of this in A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 50-51.

⁷ M. Questier and P. Lake, 'Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the gallows: Puritans, Romanists, and the state in early modern England, *Past and Present*, cl (1996), 64-107. More recently, see their work on the Elizabethan public sphere, P. Lake and M. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587-627. A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* pp.8-64. A. Walsham, 'Preaching Without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent', in J. Crick and A. Walsham *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, (Cambridge, forthcoming). Many thanks to Alex Walsham for allowing me to read an early version of this article. I have been unable to get a copy of A. Hunt's unpublished thesis, but instead see A. Hunt 'Tuning the pulpits: the religious context of the Essex revolt' in L. A. Ferrell and P. McCullough (eds.) *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), 86-108. P. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998). D. Meek, 'The Pulpit and the Pen: clergy, orality and print in the Scottish Gaelic world', in A. Fox and D. Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850* (Manchester, 2002), 84-118.

Underpinning some of this research, however, is older work on preaching styles, which allied style of divinity and form of sermon. This work, by Blench, Davies and Maclure, regarded the sermon as a literary event and applied non-divine terms of analysis to their discussions. They also tried to posit a direct connection between confessional beliefs and literary style, arguing that where a puritan would adopt a 'plain' style of preaching, an 'avant-garde conformist' would produce a metaphysical sermon. Morrissey, in her work on Jacobean preaching theories, argued that the attempt to connect style and soteriology reflected a belief by these historians that the early modern sermon was guided by the principles of rhetoric. While Morrissey argued that the early modern sermon was not influenced predominantly by rhetorical theory, it is clear that in some circumstances, Matthew did draw on oratorical traditions. Furthermore, the connection which historians have posited between a style of preaching and divinity, reflected a mis-reading by Blench, Maclure, and by those historians who have used them, of contemporary preaching manuals.⁸

These guides, which were mainly written by the godly, stressed the need to make a sermon applicable. Writers like William Perkins naturally assumed that their preaching manuals would be superfluous for university divines, and instead aimed their works at less educated ministers. In this context, William Perkins' and John Udall's calls for homiletic simplicity reflected the concern which all the godly shared: to make the sermon affective and applicable to the congregation. The audience which Udall and Perkins assumed for the purpose of their works was a 'simple' one requiring a simple style. Matthew shared this concern, and his adoption of different homiletic voices reflected his desire to make the sermon applicable and, therefore, regenerative. Morrissey has shown that the classifications of Blench are inadequate terms of analysis when faced with the early modern sermon. She fails, however, to explore some of the more subtle relationships between form and function which did exist within the

⁸ M. Morrissey, 'Scripture Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-century and English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 686-706, though this is a study of Jacobean preaching, the preachers drew on the same texts as their Elizabethan counterparts. Blench, *Preaching in England*, pp. 168-182. Maclure, *Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp.47-159. H. Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (6 vols., Princeton, 1961-96), vol. 1, pp. 227-320.

sermon. She concludes: 'we understand so little of the theories of preaching in accordance with which these sermons were composed, we are not well-placed to determine what their characteristics imply for the politics, ideologies or theologies of the writers'. An investigation of Matthew's sermons, however, reveals that the implications of those characteristics *can*, in some places, be determined.⁹

The Importance of the Preached Word

In 1576, against the backdrop of royal action against prophesyings, Matthew had confirmed his commitment to the saving power of the word, especially the spoken word. Citing Paul's injunctions on the importance of preaching, Matthew told his Spital congregation: 'faith commeth by hearinge and hearinge by the word of God'.¹⁰ In the 1570s and 1580s, this emphasis on the spoken word above everything else could be contentious.

The polemical debate between Cartwright and Whitgift demonstrated that different opinions on the importance of preaching existed within the church. Whitgift argued that it was the text, not the preaching, which effected regeneration, and defended the straight reading of biblical extracts. In his 1572, *Answer to the Admonition*, Whitgift responded to Field's stress on the need for a preaching ministry. 'I wisse', he wrote, 'that every minister were a preacher but that beeing unpossible as the state is now I see not how you can condeme reading ministers, seeing reading is necessarie in the church and fayth cometh as well by reading the scriptures in the booke as rehearsing without the book'.¹¹ Cartwright, and indeed Matthew, did not agree. Matthew underlined Cartwright's response, 'the word of God preached hath more force and is more effectual than when it is red'. He also underlined Cartwright's assertion:

⁹ J. Udall, *The Ammendment of Life: Three Sermons..containing the effects of the worde of God in the conversion of the Godly* (London, 1588), YML XV. O. 13(2) W. Perkins, *Prophetica, sive De Sacra et unica ratione concionandi* (Cambridge, 1592), YML XVII/3.I.6. W. Perkins, *The Art of Prophecyng* (London, 1607). Morrissey. 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion', p. 706.

¹⁰ SJ., Mss., 212, p.39.

¹¹ The *Answer to the Admonition* was republished as part of Whitgift's polemical work from *The Defense of an Aunswere*. Whitgift, *The Defense of an Aunswere*, p. 252.

‘Soloman sayeth, that where prophesie (whych is not a bare reading, but an exposition and *application* of the scriptures) fayleth, there the people perish’.¹² In light of the Queen’s hostility to prophesying, this warning became particularly worrying to the English godly in the 1570s and 1580s.

At the heart of the Queen’s mistrust of the preaching meetings known as prophesyings was a fear of the potential explosiveness of preaching. In 1576 Matthew discovered the extent of this concern about the volatility of the sermon, when he was forced to write to Leicester, apologising for ‘setting agog the people’ in a Paul’s Cross sermon. Monarchical suspicion of the potentially incendiary nature of the sermon was further demonstrated in 1578, when Bishop Barnes of Durham tried to prevent the rehabilitation of Archbishop Grindal. Barnes reported, and exaggerated, news of civil unrest following a puritan sermon in Durham. Playing on Elizabeth I’s concern about the destabilising effect of preaching, he and Sandys ensured that Grindal remained suspended, and dealt a blow to the godly promoters of preaching.¹³

Despite attacks on what the Queen believed to be excessive preaching, Matthew remained committed to the sermon as the primary tool of conversion. Central to this commitment was a desire to make the scriptural word applicable and, therefore, redemptive. Matthew bought an edition of one of the influential works on godly preaching, a series of commentaries by the reformer Wolfgang Musculus, *In Epistolam Apostoli Pauli ad Romani*, published in 1562. He read Musculus’ glosses on the Pauline injunction that faith came through the ear, and underlined Musculus’ claim that the spirit worked through the minister in the pulpit to effect regeneration.¹⁴ Later, Matthew read the discussion by John Udall on preaching. Matthew highlighted a section on ‘the true definition of faith’, marking Udall’s claim that: ‘faith is a certaine knowledge and sure persuasion of the free favour of God in Jesus Christe grounded upon the

¹² Cartwright, *A Replye to an Aunswere*, sig. R3v. My italics.

¹³ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 354-58. P. Collinson, ‘The Downfall of Archbishop Grindal’, 373-88. P. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: the Politics of Religious Dissent* (Stanford, California, 1970), pp. 15-22.

¹⁴ W. Musculus, *In Epistolam Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos* (Basel, 1562), sig. L5v, S6r. YML XII. C. 13.

promise of God in his holye worde and seal in our heartes by the holie ghost'. Matthew was aware that the preacher in the pulpit was the conduit for that process, transforming the *littera occidens* into the *spiritus vivificans*.¹⁵

The sermon, therefore, was to instruct, and through instruction, edify. Bewailing the state of many in the English Church in 1578, Archbishop Sandys claimed: 'they erre, because they knowe not the scripture: and they cannot knowe, because they are not taught. Woe therefore to the idle and dumb pastor, to the dumme dog, to the unpreaching minister'.¹⁶ Matthew agreed. Attacking non-preaching ministers he warned that: 'ignorance of God in matters necessarie be a grevous offence; not the mother of devotion, but the stepdame of destruction'.¹⁷ Matthew also attacked those who failed to alert the congregation to their sins, thereby denying them the opportunity to reform themselves. He attacked priests, 'that laye pillows under the eares and cussions under the elbowes of sinners, to hunt their soules, yee that speake pleasant thinges unto the people and crye peace unto the wicked.' In a later work, John Udall also drew on this biblical warning, attacking those priests, 'whome the prophet speaketh of that lay cushions under mens elbows to lull them a sleepe to their sins'. This emphasis reflected the Calvinist belief about the process of regeneration; Udall, as Matthew noted, characterised the process as 'a true turning of our life unto God, proceeding from a pure and earnest feare of God'.¹⁸

The sense of sin, was the precursor to regeneration. In his copy of Udall's tract on preaching, Matthew wrote 'the qualities of a good preacher', underlining Udall's assertion that: 'he must be able to teach...to instruct, to reproof and to comforte'.¹⁹ In his preaching manual, published in the 1590s, Perkins also emphasised the role of the preacher to offer comfort and instruction, as well as reproof. He argued that: 'the law is thus far effectual as to declare unto us the

¹⁵ SJ., Mss., 212, p. 26. Udall, *The Amendment of Life*, sig. C5r.

¹⁶ E. Sandys, *Sermons made by the most reverende father*, p.60.

¹⁷ SJ., Mss., 212, p.29

¹⁸ SJ., Mss., 212, p. 56. Udall, *Amendment of Life*, sig. B2v. J. Udall, *Peter's Fall: Two sermons upon the historie of Peter's denying Christ* (London, 1588), sig. E7v. YML XV. O. 13(1)

¹⁹ Udall, *Peter's Fall*, sig. B2v, B2v-B3v.

disease of sin and by accident to exasperate and stir it up, but it affords no remedy'. Perkins then dwelt on the remedy for sin, offering advice for the preacher on how to effect regeneration through the 'application' of the scripture. Perkins argued that after making the congregation aware of its sins, the preacher should expound the gospel: 'the gospel as it teacheth what is to be done; so it hath also the efficacy of the Holy Ghost adjoined with it, by whom being regenerated we have strength both to believe the gospel and to perform those things which it commandeth'. He then examined the process of applying the scripture to the special needs of the congregation: 'application', he wrote, 'is that whereby the doctrine, rightly collected is diversely fitted according as place, time and person do require'. The most important application, Perkins argued, was: 'practical application ... which respecteth the life and behaviour ... [and] whereby the doctrine is applied to reform the life from ungodliness'.²⁰

The end, therefore, of the regenerative sermon was public action. Matthew asked, 'what is faith without charitie but sounding brasse, what is hope without workes, but a tynckling cymball?'.²¹ Matthew later returned to this, reminding a congregation that the process of internal conversion was an ongoing one with public effect. He exhorted them, 'let us not love in word nor in tongue, but in dede and in truth, for thereby doe we knowe that we are of the truth and can assure our hartes before him'. Godly activity in the commonwealth worked towards communal regeneration. Perkins argued the end of the sermon was, 'instruction...whereby doctrine is applied to frame a man to live well in the family, commonwealth, and church'. Matthew agreed, arguing: 'christianitie is not a mater of speaking, but of doing, [not] of speculation, but of practice, [not] of words, but of workes'.²²

²⁰ W. Perkins 'The Art of Prophesying', in *The Works of William Perkins*, ed., I. Bernard (Abingdon, 1970), pp. 341-3. Matthew bought Perkins' early work on preaching, W. Perkins *Prophetica* (1592) YML XVII/3.I.6 and his later discussion of churchmanship W Perkins, *The foundation of the Christian Religion gathered into sixe principles* (Cambridge, 1604) YML XV.P. 38 (1).

²¹ Bod. Mss Top. Oxon. e. 5 p.222

²² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 223. Perkins, 'Art of Prophesying', p.343.

The Preacher and his Congregation

A successful sermon, therefore, was one which moved the audience to personal repentance and to public reform. While the preacher tried to make his sermon 'applicable' to his audience, ultimately it was the congregation's response which decided the efficacy of the sermon. Reformers were exercised by the failure of audiences to listen properly to sermons and they worried that the potency of the preached word was being undermined by passive congregations. The godly preacher Robert Wilkinson reminded a congregation: 'for so sayth Paul, that all scripture is profitable, but set this art of hearinge aside and all will be unprofitable'. He bemoaned men's failure, 'to move ther eares properly to the word preached'; that failure, he believed, had allowed 'ignorance to persist for four and thirty years'. Reading Overton's sermon later, in his northern diocese of Durham, Matthew agreed. He underlined that passage, and highlighted others in the sermon which emphasised the 'necessitie and arte of hearing as wel as of speaking'.²³

Matthew addressed these same concerns at Oxford and in London. Advising men of the importance of the preached word in bringing faith, Matthew cried, 'earth, earth, earth here the Worde of the Lorde. If the Lion rore who will not tremble?'. Many reformers thought that far too few trembled. Wilkinson also used that exhortation: 'God sayd O earth, earth heare the word of the Lord, but he never sayd earth, earth preach the word, for Arons roabe befits not every man upon the earth, but evry man is bound to weave this Jewell and his care'. Matthew marked this passage in the margin, underlining it heavily.²⁴ Matthew worried that an inattentive audience would undermine his efforts to regenerate the commonwealth. Preaching to Christ Church students in 1579, Matthew urged them 'heareth the word of God: which is as bayt to ye fish'. He also warned, 'ye bayt is not so taken as it taketh he [that] heareth well and truely yt

²³ Wilkinson, *Jewell for the Eare*, sig. A3r-v, C7v.

²⁴ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 181. Wilkinson, *Jewell for the Eare*, sig. C7r-v.

heareth the word of god willingly ...Amos sayeth if the lyon roreth who will not here?'²⁵

The congregation were aware of their role in making the sermon a 'success', and many godly auditors developed 'active' ways of listening. One of these ways of listening to, and absorbing, a sermon was to take notes. The practice of note taking reflected the auditor's awareness of his privileged position in the conversation of the pulpit. In summarising the preacher's argument, the note taker demonstrated what, in the sermon had been 'applicable' and effective. John Manningham, an Elizabethan lawyer, noted sermons he heard at court, at the Inns and at Paul's Cross. He usually concentrated just on the text; the heads of the sermon; and its application. Hearing 'At Paules one of Balliol Colledge in Oxeford', Manningham recorded the text, '3 Jonah 4 et 5', in full, and noted the divisions: 'into Jonahs sermon to the people of Nineveh, and the people's repentaunce at the sermon. The former consists of mercy...and justice'. After noting divine manifestations of these qualities, Manningham recorded that, 'he [the preacher] reprehended those which are to sharpe reprehenders without circumstance...like the people of India which are said to barke in stead of spakinge'. At other times, Manningham made much fuller copies, for example when he heard the renowned preacher, Dr Spenser at Paul's Cross. This suggests a two-tier system of copying, especially for the longer sermon notes, with Manningham writing up notes he made at the sermon at a later date.²⁶

The writing of sermon notes was also a process whereby the note taker asserted his or her authority over the text of the sermon. This process could become part of the piety of the sermon, demonstrating a meditation on the sermon which was part of the regeneration process. This process of note taking, writing up and reading reflects the ongoing interaction between word, preacher and audience. The godly gentlewoman, Lady Margaret Hoby, for example often recorded in her diary that following a sermon, she 'medetated on that I hard'. Part of that

²⁵ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, p. 332.

²⁶ *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple 1602-1603* ed., R. Parker Sorlien (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1976), pp.13, 71-72, 90-95. The sermon by 'a Balliol man' was preached 20 June 1602, while Spenser's sermon was preached in October of that year.

meditation seems to have been the noting of sermons. In her diary she frequently noted that she had spent the evening writing in her 'sarmon book'.²⁷ John Rogers, the Christ Church student, also seems to have noted sermons with the intention of returning to them for private meditation. In his notes on Matthew's sermons, for example, Rogers relied on biblical references, interspersed into the text where Matthew presumably quoted from the scripture. This suggests that Rogers read these notes alongside the bible, recreating part of the homiletic experience.²⁸

In this way, the copying of sermons could be part of the regenerative process of the sermon. It could also signal a godly commitment to the preached word: Hoby lamented in November 1599 that, 'I praied and examined my selfe, when I found what it was to want the Continueall preachinge of the word by my Couldnes to all spirituall exercises'. Walsham's work on the culture of proscribed sects in England, has shown how the copying of certain texts could become an act of piety close to that of the medieval monk. It is possible that for those godly men and women who felt themselves to be starved of the word, writing in these notebooks acted as a sign of their continuing, if frustrated, desire for the preached word.²⁹

They could also be the basis for sub-homiletic activity to make up for any lack of preaching. Lady Margaret Hoby made private copies of sermons she attended, but she often revisited those texts in the presence of others, discussing the content with her chaplain Mr Rhodes or reading them aloud to the household. She frequently noted that she had, 'hard the repeticion of the sarmon'.³⁰ Udall recognised that different members of the congregation would be moved by different parts of the sermon. Drawing on the communal nature of the edification process, he argued that the congregation should make those differences part of their repetition of the sermon. In 1588 he counselled that,

²⁷ *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599-1605*, ed., D. M. Meades (London, 1930), pp. 66, 82-3, 129.

²⁸ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp. 178-85, 287, 332.

²⁹ *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, ed. Meades, p. 83. This is discussed at length in A. Walsham, 'Preaching Without Speaking'.

³⁰ *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, ed. Meades, p. 82.

‘after the sermon is done, we oughte at oure cominge home to meete together, and say one to another: come, we have all bene where we have hearde God’s word taught, let us confer about it that we may not onely call to remembrance those things that every one of us have carried away, but also that one may have the benefit of ye labours of others’.³¹

Udall’s advice reflected an awareness that the sermon would be affective in different ways for different parts of the congregations. Sermon notes reflected those elements of the sermon which the preacher had succeeded in making ‘applicable’ and affecting to the auditor, and, as preachers stressed, each auditor had a different response to the preached word. These different appropriations of the sermon reflected the mental world of the auditor, they also reflected the process of assimilation which preachers argued would lead to regeneration. This resulted in varying accounts of the sermon. In 1591, George Gifford was asked to supply his own copy of a sermon he had preached at Paul’s Cross after the comparison of different accounts of the sermon showed a great disparity in the notes even though the auditors ‘had gathered the sense in writing as neere as they could’.³²

Notes were taken from sermons for a variety of reasons. Matthew’s statutes from 1593 for Durham Grammar School included provisions for students to take notes from fellow students’ oratories, or from sermons, with the intention of teaching some of the precepts of rhetoric.³³ This form of learning was later promoted in John Brinsley’s *Ludus Literarius*, in which he argued that students should divide their notes on a weekly sermon into text, doctrine, proofs and applications. Similarly, nascent preachers were encouraged to learn homiletic

³¹ J. Udall, *Obedience to the Gospell: Two Sermons conteyning fruitfull matter* (London, 1588), YML XV. O. 13(3). Udall wrote this against a backdrop of increasing action against nonconformity, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to meet in this way. Matthew underlined Udall’s complaint that although twenty people could meet in an ale-house, those who ‘confer privately of those things they have hearde...shalbe charged to be within the compasse of a conventicle’. *Ibid.*, sig. C1v.

³² G. Gifford, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse the thirtie day of May, 1591* (London: 1591), sig. A2 (r)

³³ W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History of the County of Durham* (3 vols., London, 1905-28) vol. 1, pp. 337-38

skills through attending other clerics' sermons. Several of John Rogers' sermon notes were concerned with gathering the structure of the sermon rather than its content. In his notes on Matthew's 1581 assize sermons, Rogers concentrated on the divisions of the text, drawing them in his book as a tree. Elsewhere Rogers focussed on the conclusion of the sermon. In his notes of Matthew's sermon in Christ Church from 1579, Rogers noted the text and the conclusion of Matthew's argument, namely the importance of listening to the word, which he accompanied with textual examples. These different scribes, therefore, approached their note taking with an agenda in mind, whether gathering notes for private meditation, public repetition or as a learning tool.³⁴

This raises a number of methodological questions for the historian who wishes to use written accounts of sermons as source material. It is clear that even the full manuscript copies of sermons, prepared by the preacher himself, were not always accurate transcriptions of the sermon. Preaching manuals counselled against taking a full and comprehensive text into the pulpit, urging instead the importance of responding to the holy spirit and to the audience when delivering the sermon. Preachers, therefore, who later produced full texts of their sermons invariably apologised for any inaccuracies. John Udall, who claimed in 1584 in the preface to a collection of his sermons that he had been forced by his friends to print two of his sermons, also admitted that there might be differences between the text and performance. He claimed, however, that: 'I have penned the same as neare as I can remember'.³⁵

Full manuscript copies of a sermon, for example Matthew's 1576 Spital sermon or his 1581 sermon against Campion, were, therefore, likely to have been retrospective notes, and given that Matthew clearly envisaged some sort of

³⁴ Bod. Rawl. Mss. d. 273 ff. 179-180, 181-185 for Matthew's 1581 sermons before the judges, *ibid.*, f.332 for the 1579 sermon Matthew preached in Christ Church. Mitchell, *English Pulpit Oratory*, p.32.

³⁵ J. Udall, *Peter's Fall: Two Sermons Upon the Historie of Peter's Denying Christ* (London, 1584), sig. A5r. Matthew owned a later copy reprinted in 1588, Udall, *Peter's Fall* (1588) sig. A7r, YML XV. O. 13 (1). Perkins also warned against committing the full text of a pre-prepared sermon to memory, Perkins, 'Art of Prophesying', p. 344.

semi-publication for them, may have been refined through the addition of quotations and references which were missing from the original sermon.³⁶

These revisions were a common feature of printed sermons. In the preface to one of his sermons which was published in 1589, Udall claimed that for the printed version he had relied upon his memory and, 'have set them down as they were spoken, saving (only) that in some particular applications I have had in regard (in writing) unto those to whose hands they may come as (in speaking) I respect mine audiorie'.³⁷

Udall's revisions addressed one of the frictions inherent in using textual versions of the homiletic performance. Not only were these copies of sermons likely to be inaccurate reproductions, but they did not reflect the process at the heart of the sermon: regeneration. Preachers like Matthew rested their defence of the preached, rather than the read, word on the need for applicability, and producers of printed sermons were aware of the limits of their form. John King, published a number of sermons which he had delivered in late-Elizabethan York. He spoke of the friction between the oral and printed sermon. He lamented: '[I] have changed my tongue into a penne, and wheras I spake before with the gesture and countenance of a living man, have nowe buryed myself in a dead letter of lesse effectual persuasion'.³⁸

The Text and the Performance: Speech Acts and the Sermon

These questions, raised by the use of textual sermons, reflect Elizabethan debates about the role and efficacy of preaching. In using sermons, it is important to distinguish, as Elizabethans did, between the *littera occidens* and the *spiritus vivificans*, namely the potential disparity between verbal utterance and the effect which that utterance had. An attempt to accurately recapture the experience of divine regeneration is likely to be flawed. It is, however,

³⁶ SJ., Mss., 212. For an example of full texts of the Campion sermon, SJ., Mss., 318.

³⁷ J. Udall, *The Combat Betweene Christ and the Devill: Foure Sermons upon the temptation of Christ in the wilderness* (London, 1589), sig. A4v. YML X. V. O. 13(4)

³⁸ J. King, *Lectures upon Ionas delivered at Yorke, in the yeare of our Lord, 1594* (London, 1611), p. 5

important to look beyond the text of the sermon and to try and examine the effect of the sermon on the congregation. It has been shown that the process of note taking could be part of, and therefore reflect, the process of internalisation and regeneration. The diversity, however, of people's responses introduces difficulties in reconstructing the whole 'event' of the sermon. In an attempt to answer some of these methodological questions I have drawn on the work of linguistic philosophers on the analysis of speech acts. This is an attempt to fully recreate a homiletic performance, which, as the preacher Lancelot Andrewes later noted, rested on the involvement of three parties: '1. God, 2. the *Preacher* and the *Hearer*'.³⁹

In his work on the friction between the text and a performance, Quentin Skinner refined earlier work by Austin and Searle analysing 'speech acts'. Their work stressed that any verbal action had several 'meanings': that of the words themselves, which was the locutionary meaning, and the effect of the words, the illocutionary meaning. Any proper description of a speech act, it was argued, should explore the locutionary activity in the context of the illocutionary intent. It was argued that only by contextulising the locutionary activity could the proper significance of a verbal act be discovered. This allowed the discovery of the significance of the speech act.⁴⁰ Instead, therefore, of simply citing Matthew's words, the historian should be aware of Matthew's intentions in uttering those words. This emphasises the importance of exploring the sermon in its contemporary context, examining what else, apart from regeneration, Matthew was trying to achieve through his sermons.

³⁹ L. Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (London, 1629), p. 130 (2nd pagination), cited in Morrissey, 'Scripture Style and Persuasion', p. 687.

⁴⁰ J. L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1975), in particular pp. 101-47. J. R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, 1969). J. R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge, 1979), in particular, pp. 1-29. For a defence of his position see, Q. Skinner, '“Social Meaning” and the explanation of social action', in J. Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*. (Oxford, 1988), 79-96 and Q. Skinner, 'A reply to my critics', in *ibid.*, 260-276. For a critique of that position, see, in particular, K. Graham, 'How do illocutionary descriptions explain?' in Tully, (ed.), *Meaning and Context*, 147-65.

Ideally the accurate recreation of a homiletic performance would involve not only a knowledge of the context within which the preacher was operating, but his texts and the disparate notes of the congregation, reflecting the range of 'uptake' of the preacher's message. Where Matthew is concerned, however, there are only two full manuscript copies which he has signed and despite a selection of different notes from Matthew's sermons, there are no matching set of sermon notes from Matthew and from his congregation.⁴¹ This raises the question of the recovery of the character of the sermon from only limited manuscript accounts. Drawing on John Rogers' notes of a sermon which Matthew preached before the Oxfordshire assize judges in 1581, some of the difficulties in discovering how far Rogers' 'uptake' of the illocutionary message reflected Matthew's intention, will be explored. This also raises questions about how the historian should designate the illocutionary activity, as the intended illocutionary action or the one which the auditor thought they heard.⁴²

Skinner argued that where there are a number of concurrent illocutionary activities, it is important to prioritise one as the primary illocutionary intent. This, he argued can be drawn from either accounts of the speaker's intent or the auditor's uptake. He has stressed that the primary illocutionary action will be both intended by the speaker and 'taken up' by the auditor. He also posits a direct causal relationship, arguing that a knowledge of the speaker's intention automatically tells us what the auditor takes up and therefore, what the illocutionary act was. Skinner argued that if the illocutionary intent of a speech act was to warn, then in performing the act, the auditor was warned. In this context he argued that there is a clear causal relationship between intent, action

⁴¹ Signed manuscript notes may be found at SJ., Mss., 212, YML., Add. Mss., 582. There is a short version of the 1576 sermon at Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.66-69. For a discussion of the relation between the two see below [PP]

⁴² John Rogers took notes on two sermons which Matthew preached before the Oxfordshire Assizes of June 1581 on consecutive days, Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 273, pp. 178-80, 181-85. The discussion of Rogers' notes in the light of work on speech acts will focus on the first of these sermons.

and uptake.⁴³ This, however, relies on the assumption that the historian is working within an entirely rational context. Where the sphere of activity is non-rational and concerned with spiritual regeneration, it is difficult to draw with much confidence a direct causal relationship between Matthew's intentions and the effect on his audience. Matthew's primary motivation was his intention to regenerate his audience with the effect of securing the salvation of the elect: to discover the success or failure of that process is beyond the mere historian.

Instead of offering solutions to the problems of recreating an oral event from limited textual evidence, this work on speech acts highlights some of the relationships which operated within the sermon. Austin's alternative emphasis on 'uptake' in characterising an event, was reflected in the privileged role of the auditor in a sermon, and other work has illuminated the frictions inherent in trying to develop a causal relationship between the intentions and effect of any verbal action.⁴⁴ These disparities between the locutionary and illocutionary activity mirror the distinction posited by reformers between the letter and the spirit, and their emphasis on the importance of illocutionary activities in providing the 'meaning' of the sermon. The non-verbal activity, the printed sermon with no possibility of a related illocutionary act, was felt by reformers to be inherently less effective than the verbal performance.⁴⁵

Applying the tools of speech act analysis to Matthew's sermons, and attempting to discover the primary illocutionary act, demonstrates the inherent fluidity at the heart of the homiletic experience. A number of coexisting messages could be delivered from the pulpit, and the human and the divine element of the sermon ensured that those messages would be read differently by different

⁴³ Q. Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', in Tully, (ed.), *Meaning and Context*, 29-67. Skinner, ' "Social Meaning"', in *ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

⁴⁴ Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, pp.45-69, 105-10. For the development of the idea of 'uptake' in its social context see J. R. Searle, 'Austin on the Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts', in I. Berlin and others (eds.), *Essays on J. L. Austin* (Oxford, 1973), 141-159.

⁴⁵ For examples of the awareness of the limitations of the printed sermon see King, *Lectures upon Ionas*, p.5. Sandys, *Sermons made by the moste reverend Father*, sig. A3r.

members of the congregation, ensuring that any designation of illocutionary meaning reflects the historian's mental world as much as the note taker's. Drawing on Matthew's 'anti-Catholic' sermon of 1581 some of those tensions may be revealed. Delivered at an Oxfordshire Assizes which was concerned primarily with anti-Catholic action, Matthew's injunction to the judges, 'my sonne feare the Lord and the Kinge and medle not with those that are seditious', suggests a call for severe penalties to be used against Catholics. This designation of intent reflects a knowledge of the rhetoric of Matthew's other sermons, his polemical reading and the context of the sermon. In his notes, however, Rogers, made no mention of Catholicism.⁴⁶

Instead, Rogers focussed on the separation of the godly and the ungodly. He noted that 'Chrisostome sayeth when a good and badd thinge meete together their nature is such that the evill shall not be better by the good made worse by the evill.... the sonne cannot cure the infected but the holsome shalbe infected by the pestilente'. He also recorded Matthew's injunction: 'whosever will obaye God [and the Kinge] avoyd the companye of the ungodly for blessed is that man that walketh not in the counsell of the ungodly'.⁴⁷ The words in square brackets were added at a later date, reflecting perhaps that Rogers had returned to his sermon notes and read them with his bible, the reference to which he had included. This later modification of the text, suggests that the message which Rogers received at the time of the sermon was one which emphasised the separation of the godly from the ungodly, rather than the danger of sedition. This emphasis on separation might demonstrate the start of Rogers' later preoccupations, and his involvement in the puritan movement. When Rogers went as a minister to Northamptonshire he became involve in the classis movement there, and throughout the 1590s and 1600s was in trouble for nonconformity. His interest with separation, therefore, might have reflected the

⁴⁶ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp. 178-80. Haigh uses a case from this session of the assizes in C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), p.37.

⁴⁷ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp. 178-80, in particular p. 179.

concern, which would dominate his later life, with the separation of god's flock from the unregenerate.⁴⁸

The use of these sources, therefore, raises a number of questions about the validity of any designation by the historian as to the 'meaning' of a sermon. Reading this sermon in light of Matthew's other work, it is arguable that it reflects Matthew's anti-Catholicism, while John Rogers' notes suggest an early preoccupation with separation in light of his later clerical career. These different readings of the same texts reflect not just the intrusion of hindsight, but the nature of biblical imagery. It is possible, for example that Rogers and Matthew read different meanings into these flexible images, or obversely that certain images had such a specific meaning in the context of Elizabethan politics that Rogers did not need to record the practical application of those images. While the stress on the illocutionary meaning is important in emphasising the contextual nature of speech acts, it is clear that any attempt to assume a clear causal relationship within the homiletic process will be flawed.

None of Matthew's sermons which are recorded in full manuscript form are complemented by notes from the audience. There are, however, two copies of a sermon which Matthew preached at the Spital in 1576, and a comparison of these copies reflects the importance of application as the regenerative part of the sermon. One of the sermon copies is in Matthew's own hand. The other is a summary, from Robert Dowe's collection.⁴⁹ The other sermons in Dowe's collection are full manuscript copies which he has presumably taken either from the preacher's own copy, or from a duplicate of it. This, though only part of the sermon, seems to be no exception, and appears to have been copied from Matthew's own sermon. There are some differences in spelling, but there are only three occasions when there are discrepancies in the text. Two occur in one passage, on London's hospitals Matthew wrote: 'in pensions 987; in all 1771 impotent persons...and army royall thoughe not of fightinge'. In comparison, Dowe copied: 'in pensions 987; in all 1771 *poore* persons...and army *loiall*

⁴⁸ Sheils, *Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough*, pp.83-86

⁴⁹ SJ., Mss., 212, is the sermon in Matthew's own hand, Dowe's copy maybe found at Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp.66-69.

though not of fightinge'. The text differs in one other place: Matthew attacked preachers, 'that lay pillowes under the eares and cussines under the elbowes of sinners *to hunt their soules* yae that speake pleasant things'.⁵⁰ In Matthew's manuscript the italicised text was interlined above the text and looks like it may have been added later. These words are missing from Dowe's copy. These suggest that Dowe was copying from an early version of Matthew's copy.

Dowe is not, therefore, an affirmative auditor in the sense that Rogers or another auditor of Matthew's sermons, Roger Platte, were. His selection of extracts from the sermon for his notebook illustrated, however, those elements of a sermon which contemporaries might wish to return to. Dowe has recorded the time, place and preacher of the sermon, and copied out the biblical text in full, but then Dowe went to the end of the sermon. There he found an apocalyptic warning from Matthew, urging the need for urgent repentance. Dowe copied out this dramatic exhortation in full, accompanying his text with scriptural references in the margins, similar to a printed sermon. Dowe then moved onto the application of this call to repentance, the charitable needs of London's hospitals. In the margin, Dowe highlighted this section, writing in capitals, 'hospitalls'.⁵¹ Dowe ignored Matthew's doctrinal dilations and his attacks on Catholicism, concentrating instead on Matthew's insistence on the personal need for repentance, vitalised by apocalyptic imagery. That dramatic encouragement of a movement to grace was applied in the call for charity. Dowe, and his imagined audience regarded this dramatic moment of realisation of the spirit and regeneration and the application of that experience as the key elements of any sermon.⁵²

Sermon Styles and Applicability

At the heart of the sermon process was a concern on the part of the preacher to make the sermon applicable and, therefore regenerative. In his later work on sermons, Perkins advocated a simple, four part form of preaching. He urged

⁵⁰ SJ., Mss., 212, pp.56, 58, my italics.

⁵¹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 66-69.

⁵² SJ., Mss., 212 pp. 50-59. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 66-69, especially p. 69.

preachers to start by reading the scripture, then to place the scripture in its narrative context, and then to deliver doctrines which had been drawn from the text. The concluding part was described by Perkins: 'to apply, if he have the gift, the doctrines rightly collected to the life and manners of men in simple and plain speech'.⁵³ This, of course, was the application of the sermon, and, many believed, the role of preaching.

The concern with applicability was reflected in the diversity of preaching styles which Matthew employed. Different audiences, and different messages, required different homiletic forms, and in choosing his preaching styles, Matthew was guided by the desire to ensure that the sermon was applicable. This challenges Morrissey's assertion that no discernable relationship existed between the form and the function of the sermon, and addresses work which argues that there was a doctrinal basis for different homiletic styles.⁵⁴ Matthew, like the preaching manuals from which he drew, was conscious of the potential of different homiletic forms and manipulated them according to the context of his sermon.

William Perkins, and later Richard Bernard, both produced influential preaching manuals in English.⁵⁵ Both godly ministers, they were concerned to increase the provision of preaching in the country, and their manuals were designed to instruct those preachers who otherwise might have relied on homilies. These works were not, therefore, designed to inform the university educated cleric. Historians have misread these works on preaching, arguing that godly calls for simplicity in the sermon reflected a doctrinal commitment, rather than the audience to which these works were aimed. Perkins' stress on the simple sermon, reflected his concern for applicability. He argued that in the 'uttering' of the sermon 'two things are required: the hiding of human wisdom and the demonstration or showing of the Spirit'. This reflected the godly emphasis on ensuring the primacy of the regenerative spirit, Perkins asserted that: 'hearers

⁵³ Perkins, 'Art of Prophecying', p.346

⁵⁴ Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion', pp. 705-6. For one exposition of this view see Blench, *Preaching in England*, pp. 100-11, 168-208.

⁵⁵ W. Perkins, *The Art of Prophecying* (London, 1607). R. Bernard, *The Faithful Shepherd: or The Shepherds faithfulness wherein is set forth the excellencie and necessity of the ministerie* (London, 1607).

ought not to ascribe their faith to the gifts of man, but the power of God'. It also reflected a concern that using Latin phrases, or citing difficult authors which the congregation might not understand, might hinder their appreciation of the sermon. 'The minister may', Perkins argued, 'yea and must privately use at his liberty the arts, philosophy and variety of reading while he is framing his sermon', in the pulpit however, he argued that, '*artis etiam celare artem*'.⁵⁶

The attack on unnecessarily ornate sermons had become a long standing feature of godly writing on preaching by the time Perkins produced his manual. In 1586, John Udall dwelt, in a printed sermon, on the qualities of a preacher. Matthew bought this collection of sermons and read Udall's injunctions carefully. Udall attacked those ministers who used: 'poets, philosophers and other Humane authorities yea when (oftentimes) they themselves know not whether the author whose name is alledged didde ever write such booke as is mentioned, but only as they have found it in some collection of theyr sentences together'. Matthew wrote, at the top of the page, '*qui loquit, loquat ut eloquia Dei, eamque sola*'. Matthew then underlined what, Udall warned, would be consequence of these uninformed embellishments, those preachers: 'shewe themselves to be unlearned and the worde of God is so barren in their mouthes that they must lengthen out their time with such poultries, but ungodly'.⁵⁷ Matthew had used 'humane authorities' in the pulpit before he read Udall's sermon, and he continued to do so afterwards. His interest in the simple sermon, therefore, reflected his broader interest in tempering his homiletic style to the audience. He was not afraid to use sermon structures and styles which were condemned by the godly ministers who argued for an accessible style when he felt his audience could cope with it, for example when he preached at court.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Perkins, 'Art of Prophesying', pp. 345-46.

⁵⁷ J. Udall, *The True Remedie Against Famine and Warres: Five Sermons upon the firste chapter of the prophesie of Joel*, (London, 1586), sig. C2r, C3v. YML XV. O. 13(5)

⁵⁸ Matthew's Spital sermon of 1576, which addressed a broad audience, used this 'plain style', SJ. Mss., 212. When, however, he preached before courtiers, for example in 1572 he had used a more complicated homiletic style, which in its debt to the classical rhetorical structures reflected his intention to use the sermon to engage in the arena of political counsel, Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 48-65

The godly attack on those who relied on allegories, similes, and on secular writers to explain theological concepts has often disguised an appreciation of the drama of salvation. In the *Institutes* Calvin stressed the need for dramatic and affecting preaching, and Matthew employed a range of dramatic devices to heighten the effectiveness of his sermon.⁵⁹ These were informed by his reading of rhetorical works, as well as writings by Christian humanists. Speaking before a congregation at St Laurence's in London, Matthew spoke of the need for constant striving for personal redemption, and employed a Ciceronian tool of building up images upon images to intensify his message. He warned: 'we cannot [es]ceep the lawe, we have so many enimis, namely the world. The fles[h], and the divell naye wee have a gratter enemy than this, which mad all this your enimis to be oure enimis, you marvill what this enimi is, and I muse you marvill, it is sinne'. Following a catalogue of biblical sins, for example Noah's drunkenness, Matthew offered the promise of relief tempered with divine punishment: 'we most followe Christ, and especiallie indure the afflictions and crosses, because Christ did indure the afflictions tho never sinned, then wee must not think moch to indure the same, which have sinned. amen'.⁶⁰

Matthew also used allegorical techniques, criticised by reformers from Tyndale to Perkins. In *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus had criticised complex allegorical exegeses of biblical texts, stressing the confusion which over reliance on allegorical extrapolation might cause. Matthew agreed with this emphasis, arguing in 1581 that 'we ought not to rule in our sermons. We do not preach ourselves, but Iesus Christ our lord and ourselves servants'.⁶¹ However, Matthew clearly thought that there were audiences who could cope with a more complicated form of scriptural interpretation than that which he used in open London sermons. Preaching before the court in 1572, he used allegorical dilations on the properties of objects which Erasmus disliked. Preaching on

⁵⁹ For Calvin's stress on the drama of the sermon see W. J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A sixteenth century portrait* (Oxford, 1988), p. 228.

⁶⁰ BL. Sloane Mss. 2172. f.3r

⁶¹ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f.13r. Perkins, 'Art of Propheying', pp. 337-38, 345. Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 8. This style of preaching was particularly Dominican, see B. Jarret, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921), pp.91-92.

Psalm 24, Matthew dwelt on the biblical injunction that men needed 'clene hands, and a pure hart'. He cited Galen, who had declared in his *Anatomies* that the hand was 'a member of members, an instrument of all other instrumetes of the body', and continued:

as by the hand our temperature of bodi is discerned, our marriages solemnized, our curtesie profered, our obedience notified, our bonds and writings ratified, our oathes upon bookes testified...by laieing on of handes in baptism, in confirmation, in cosecraton of magistrates and ministers, but as it were such a sensible cleneness of our visible behaviour as is answerable to that inward grace, the outwarde sign wherof is conferred on us? For like as in both handes the right and the left there be X fingers which must all be clene so in both tables of the lawe, there be X commandments⁶²

While Matthew avoided this type of allegory in the sermons which he delivered to a more general congregation, he must have been aware that the courtly audience to whom he was preaching was familiar with symbolic constructions. The Elizabethan court shared with its European counterparts a fascination with the symbol as an encoder of truth, using *impresse* and chivalric emblems in courtly festivals.⁶³ This neo-platonic stress on discovering the truth through representative images meant that Matthew's audience contained men and women who were able to appreciate this moral extrapolation on the properties of objects.

Matthew also drew upon another form of allegorical or symbolic discussions which relied not upon the bible, but rather classical writing: adages. Matthew's fondness for these was reflected in his later sermons at court and in the university. He bought for himself a copy of Erasmus' *Adages*, a reprint of the fullest 1540 edition, which he read carefully.⁶⁴ These proverbs, drawn from classical authors, were accompanied by both an explanation of the imagery and suggestions for their use. Matthew's notations tended to concentrate on the applications of these proverbs. He had, for example, highlighted the proverb '*Noctua volat*', noting that the owl was taken as a sign of victory, '*noctuae volatus, victoriae symbolum existimabatur*'. He then underlined Erasmus'

⁶² Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 50.

⁶³ Strong, *Art and Power*, pp.22-23

⁶⁴ D. Erasmus *Adagiorum Chiliades Quotuor* (Basle, 1574) YML XIII. F. 3

suggestion that the proverb could be used wittily when an affair had been settled by a financial bargain, rather than by effort.⁶⁵

Erasmus' introduction to the *Adages* demonstrated their appeal to Matthew and reflected why, despite godly criticism, he felt able to use them in the pulpit. Erasmus highlighted the antiquity of the proverb which had been a teaching tool of both the ancients and the holy prophets. Drawing on Plutarch's use of adages, Erasmus reflected on the similarity which that author had noted between religious rites and adages : 'things most important even divine are often expressed in ceremonies of a trivial and seemingly almost ridiculous nature'.⁶⁶ Matthew was interested too in the capturing of essences through imagery. Highlighting Ascham's approval of Aesop's Fables in *The Scholemaster*, Matthew later acquired a copy of the allegories for himself.⁶⁷

Matthew, however, rarely used humour in his sermons, despite his reputation for punning. Harrington recorded several of Matthew's humourous puns from when Matthew was vice-chancellor, and the reputation remained with Matthew throughout his life. One biographer claimed that Matthew became so renowned for his punning that in seventeenth-century Yorkshire there was a saying, 'Thou art a Toby', for, 'a merry or jocose fellowe on the throwing out of puns'.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ The extract is '*quoties res on viribus, sed pecumiarum interventu confect creditur, quod Athehiensium nomisma noctuam haberet insculptam*, D. Erasmus *Adagiorum Chiliades Quotuor* (Basle, 1574), p. 43. The translation is not mine, but taken from D. Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Adages li 1 to lv 100*, ed., R. A. B. Mynore, tr. M. M. Phillips (Toronto, 1982), p121.

⁶⁶ Erasmus, *Collected works*, pp.13-14

⁶⁷ R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster* YML VII. M. 4.

⁶⁸ 'Memorial of Tobie Matthew', YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 141. This biographer noted that Matthew, 'being Vice Chancellor of Oxford, some right matter and men came before him but he being not at hand. One was very importunate for them to stay for his counsel. The vice chancelor hearing said who is of your council. The man said Mr *Leasted* 'alas! Say the vice chancellor no man can stand in you in the *les stead*. No remedy says the other, Necessity hath no law?' Indeed quoth he, no more I think hath your counsellor...another was bound in a Bond like by to be forfeited and came in hast to offer it saying he would be bound if he might be taken, Yes says the Vice Chan [sic] I think you will be taken; what's your Name? Cox saith the party and so pressed as the manner is to come into the court Make Room there said he, let *Cox* come in.

Among Matthew's surviving sermons, the one occasion on which he employed humour was in his sermon against Campion. Then he attacked the Catholic theologian Pighuis, who had criticised Augustine, 'tell a lye Pighuis...so grunted sometimes Pighuis one of the Epicures fat pigs that his name is very answerable to his nature'.⁶⁹ The primary concern of this sermon was not regeneration, but an attack on Campion. Only then, on those occasions which were not concerned primarily with the divine, would Matthew introduce humour into the pulpit.

The writers of preaching manuals prescribed not only a clear and simple style of preaching, but also a simple sermon structure. Matthew read Musculus' development of the 'ancient' style of preaching of the pre-reformation church, in which he suggested a four part sermon. This started with the reading of the text, then placed it in its biblical context, next explored its doctrines, and then applied the conclusions to the lives of the auditors.⁷⁰ This style, which Perkins later adopted in his preaching manual, was simple and accessible and therefore an effective form of preaching to most audiences, from 'the ignorant and unlearned' to a 'mingled' congregation. This preaching structure was also later championed by Richard Bernard, chaplain to Matthew at York. He dedicated one edition of his pastoral manual to Matthew, praising him as a '*most faithful shepherd*', whom, he claimed, 'I have ever admired'. Matthew apparently continued to promote and to use this simple structure.⁷¹

Matthew frequently used this simple style, though he did refine it according to his text and audience, for example in 1576 when Matthew preached on Easter Monday at the Spital. Then Matthew read his text, which addressed the

ibid., pp.142-42. DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f. 125v includes further examples of Matthew's wit from his time in Durham.

⁶⁹ Bod. Rawl. Mss. d. 843 ff.7r, 11v

⁷⁰ W. Musculus, *In Epistolam Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos* (Basle, 1562), pp.215-28, YML XII. C. 13. This structure later became the standard form prescribed by preaching manuals. Perkins was the first to popularise it, Perkins, 'Art of Prophesying', p. 349.

⁷¹ R. Bernard, *The Faithful Shepherd: or the Shepheard's faithfulness, wherein is set forth the excellencie and necessity of the ministerie, wholly transposed and made anew and enlarged* (2nd edn., London, 1621), sig. A3r. YML III. Q. 31

constancy of faith in the face of persecution. He then placed the passage in the context of Paul's persecution, explaining the meaning of each verse, before proposing his sermon:

I thought it expedient for this tyme and place to handle thease three thinges: First that an open confession of the fayth is necessarie for all Christians even before Tyrantes: Secondlie, that albeyt true faith and religion be slaundered with the odious name of sect and heresie, yet in ded it is the worship of God our fathers. Thirdlie wherein the sincere worship, and service of god, doth principallie consiste⁷²

This was followed by a prayer and a discussion of the doctrines which could be drawn from the text. The conclusion, on 'charity' was a vigorous attack on the uncharitable members of the commonwealth, and Matthew offered his auditors a practical guide to reform, highlighting the needs of Bethlehem hospital.⁷³

There were, however, several occasions on which Matthew did not use this form. On three occasions Matthew self-consciously abandoned the simple form for other homiletic structures, reflecting his concern to make the sermon applicable, and evincing the connection between form and function in the sermon.

Tobie Matthew and the Political Sermon

In 1572 Matthew delivered his first sermon before the Queen, against the backdrop of the parliamentary campaign against Mary, Queen of Scots in which he was apparently involved. Matthew's use of the sermon to counsel for action against Mary Stuart has already been addressed; in doing so Matthew believed he was acting for the safety of the godly commonwealth, engaging in both political and religious spheres. For this sermon, then, Matthew chose a structure which reflected his role as godly counsellor, dropping his usual plain style for a highly politicised homiletic form.⁷⁴

⁷² SJ., Mss., 212, p. 1

⁷³ SJ., Mss., 212 pp.1-2

⁷⁴ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 48-65.

Matthew adopted a homiletic structure which was indebted to a rhetorical order. It was a system which had been adopted by Erasmus and promoted by Hyperius of Marburg, and it brought the precepts of classical oratory within a Christian framework.⁷⁵ Reformers were aware that the sermon and the oration were both designed to reform through persuasion, and Erasmus highlighted the common ground between the two by introducing rhetorical precepts to the sermon. In 1570 John Rainolds wrote in his preparatory notes for his lecture on the first book of the *Rhetoric*: 'there are two parts of eloquence, the first of life, the second, of the tongue...the latter we learn from Cicero...the former from Christ'.⁷⁶ Matthew's use of this homiletic form, however, reflected not just a concern with eloquence, but Matthew's self-conscious adoption of the role of the godly orator.

The image of the Christian orator was one which English reformers had drawn on for some time. In the opening to his *Arte of Rhetorique*, Thomas Wilson glossed Cicero's myth of the orator as a founding father. Dedicating his work to Dudley, the earl of Warwick, Wilson told that great hope of Edwardian reformers that he had: 'sette this simple traictise to your Lordshyppe to Schole, that it may learne Rhetorique of youre daylye talke, fyndyng you suche an Oratoure in your speach, as greate Clarkes so declare what an Oratoure shoulde be'. Earlier he had claimed of rhetoric that, 'no man should be withoute it, whiche either shall beare rule over manye, or muste have to do wyth matters of a Realme'. Drawing on the tale of Pyrrhus and Cineas, Wilson argued that rhetoric was a greater tool than the sword in the formation of kingdoms: 'if the

⁷⁵ Blench *Preaching in England*, p. 88. Matthew collected a number of works by Hyperius of Marburg while at Oxford and Durham. His earlier purchases included, A. Hyperius, *Topica Theologica Conscripta* (Wittenburg, 1565), A. Hyperius, *Methodi Theoligiae* (Basle, 1568), A. Hyperius, *Varia Opuscula Theologica* (2 vols., Basle, 1570-71). A Hyperius, *De Theologo, seu de ratione studii theologici libri iii* (Basle, 1572), A. Hyperius, *In Iesaiæ Prophete Oraculae annotationes breves & eruditae* (Basle, 1574), A. Hyperius, *De Sacrae Scripturae Lectione & Meditatione* (Basle, 1581), A. Hyperius, *Commentarii...in epistolas D. Pauli ad Timotheum* (Zurich, 1582), A. Hyperius, *Commentari epistolas...D. Pauli ad Galatas* (Zurich, 1582). Matthew bought this last text while he was bishop of Durham.

⁷⁶ J. McConica, 'Humanism in Tudor Oxford', p.307. Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, p84.

worthines of eloquence may move us, what worthier thing can there be, then with a word to winne cities and whole countries?'.⁷⁷ If oratory was a tool for the foundation of a nation, then, Matthew thought, how great was the need for Christian Oratory in the establishment of the Protestant nation?

It was a connection which others had made. Wilson himself brought the moral qualities of the pagan rhetoric into the Christian framework: 'where Manne lyved Brutyshlye in open felde...these appoynted of God called them together by utterance of speache, and persuaded with them what was good, what was badde, and what was gaynfull for mankynde'.⁷⁸ In Edwardian England, where establishing rule had been the precursor to establishing the faith, that connection between political and godly reform was clear. It was applicable too in Elizabethan England where, by 1572, some of the limits of the government and the church were emerging. In his adoption of the rhetorical structure, Matthew was self-consciously assuming the role of a founding orator, guiding politicians.

Matthew was a Christian orator and he employed Christian rhetoric, the sermon, to effect moral and political reform. Matthew opened with a reading of his text, from the psalms. He followed with an invocation, 'a humble and hearty praier for the whole Catholique church, namely that church of England and Ireland, therin for our most gracious soveraign Elizabeth &c'.⁷⁹ He followed with a discussion of the subordinate element of the theme, the need for 'clene hands'. The theme was then divided into parts, exploring the different ways a pure heart might be endangered, and then confirmed. Matthew then launched into the confutation, dwelling particularly on the need to act against those who threatened the kingdom, and then the conclusion, 'God give us pure hartes both in religion purified by faith and in conversacion devoid of hypocrisie'.⁸⁰ The form was oratorical, the text divine, and the application political, but in the godly commonwealth those lines of distinction were blurred.

⁷⁷ T. Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553), sig. A1r-A2r

⁷⁸ Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, sig. A3v

⁷⁹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.49.

⁸⁰ Bod. Mss Top. Oxon. e. 5 pp.50-65, quotation from p.65

Matthew also addressed the courtiers who were present. The Queen, Matthew thought, was at the centre of a network which spanned court and parliament. All of those who were engaged in this network were part of the process of reform; all could, and should, offer godly counsel and further the reform of the commonwealth. Corruption of any part of the process threatened the course of godly reform. Matthew attacked the practice of courtly bribery, arguing that it perverted the proper working of godly counsel. He warned courtiers to: 'kepe all handes cleane, but cheefly courte handes out of this unclean pit for if this kinde of uncleness of handes were as rife here...Jerusalem sholde soon come to naught'.⁸¹

The arena of political action extended beyond the immediate sphere of the court, and Matthew was conscious of the need to engage the wider political network as well addressing the Queen who was at the centre of the process. This sermon addressed the Queen and her immediate courtiers, but Matthew was also conscious that it the sermon was a fundamentally public occasion, and he and his political mentors were aware of the publicity that a sermon could generate. Part of Matthew's strategy for persuading the Queen to act against Mary, Queen of Scots was the winning of broad, public support for his position. He was aware that the sermon would be heard only by those in the room, but that its message would be repeated and therefore reach a broader, secondary sphere. The sense of the publicity of the sermon, and Matthew's attempts to influence public opinion, reflected an engagement with an emerging, early version, of a public sphere.⁸²

Sermons and the Elizabethan Public Sphere: Politics and Polemic

The sense of a public sphere in Elizabethan England differs from the public sphere which Habermas identified as being in operation in the eighteenth

⁸¹ Bod. Mss Top. Oxon. e. 5 p.54

⁸² For a discussion of the self-conscious manipulation of the 'publicity' of the sermon see A. Hunt, 'Tuning the Pulpits: the religious context of the Essex revolt', in McCullough and Ferrell (eds.), *English Sermon Revised*, 86-114. For a discussion of this concept in late-century England see T. Claydon, 'The Sermon, the 'public sphere' and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in *ibid.*, 208-34.

century, but Habermas' description offers useful terms of analysis when addressing the publicity of sixteenth century politics.⁸³ Politicians like Leicester and Cecil were aware of the importance of wide public support as a tool in their attempts to counsel the Queen. They were also aware that the success of some policies, for example anti-Catholic action, required a degree of consensual popular support, and in getting that support they developed techniques to manipulate popular opinion, using the press and the pulpit in their campaigns. One of the features of the public sphere described by Habermas was its independence from the state. In sixteenth-century England, however, it was clear that it the state was partially responsible for opening up, and developing, a popular engagement with the polity⁸⁴.

The free exchange of ideas which was a feature of the Habermasian sphere was limited in Elizabethan England by governmental involvement, but popular opinion did play a part in forming governmental policy, and politicians, including the Queen were aware of the importance of listening to, and influencing that opinion. By Elizabeth's reign, it was clear that a discourse which recognised the potential influence of popular opinion on governmental action had been developed. As early as 1549, Protector Somerset acknowledged the influence of public opinion on governmental policy, and by Elizabeth's reign, politicians had developed tools to ensure that public opinion supported governmental policy. The pulpit was a key part of this media, and the homilies and prayers which offered the government's gloss on events from the 1569 rebellion to the 1588 Spanish Armada reflected the value of the parochial pulpit in promoting official opinion. The sermon itself was an event

⁸³ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. T. Burger (Massachusetts, 1989), pp. 232-35, 236-50. J. Habermas, *The Habermas Reader*, ed. W. Outhwaite (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 6-12. For a discussion of this in the context of early modern, cross confessional debates see P. Lake and M. Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere"', 587-627.

⁸⁴ For 'popularity' see chapter three and definitions in Shagan, 'Protector Somerset and 1549 Rebellions', pp.34-55. James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, pp. 447-50. For the importance of the different ideas of counsel in Tudor politics, J. Guy, 'The Rhetoric of Counsel', in D. Hoak, (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995). Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere"', pp. 589-91.

with an impact beyond the immediate audience, and in London, particularly, the Queen was aware of the publicity of sermons. Peter Heylyn famously noted that when Elizabeth I had: 'any business to bring amongst the people, she used to *tune the Pulpits*, as her saying was; that is to say, have some Preachers on and about *London*, and other great Auditores in the Kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design'.⁸⁵

In 1576 Matthew discovered that the publicity which could be generated by a sermon meant that the government paid close scrutiny to the capital's sermons, in particular those delivered at Paul's Cross. In February of that year, Matthew was forced to write to Leicester, defending himself after a news of a sermon he had preached at Paul's Cross had reached the ears of his patron and the Queen. Matthew was accused of preaching on the contentious question of the succession, but Matthew argued that he had spoken against 'the familie of love...[and] that holy unholy league made up at Trident', and that he had hoped for: 'the continuance of the blessed gospel of Christe, the lock and kay of all christinaity in religion and of all tranquillitie of this realm in England'.⁸⁶

Matthew defended himself against claims that he had engaged unstable popular opinion, and his defence reflected governmental concern with the secondary, as well as the primary, homiletic audience. Matthew admitted that he had touched upon the succession, but claimed it was the succession of the true church. Matthew also argued that he had not engaged popular opinion, or encouraged popular involvement with politics through the repetition or discussion of the sermon, claiming:

I added further that touching succession of other masters and persons, as it is a cause, that concerneth the prince and the peers to be considered of, howe and when it shall please God and them, so I deeplie required and charged the people with many more wordes in any wize neither to suspect the greater estates of negligence, or carelesness in that respect, nor them

⁸⁵ P. Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (1668), sig. Y1r, cited in Hunt, 'Tuning the Pulpits: the religious context of the Essex revolt', in McCullough and Ferrel (eds.), *English Sermon Revised*, p. 87. *Liturgies and Occasional forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. W. Keatinge Clay (Cambridge, 1847), pp. 457-695.

⁸⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 354-58

selfes to busie their tongues or wittes therin as a matter farr unmeet for them to intermeddle withall⁸⁷

There was an awareness of the value of public opinion, but also of its inherent instability. Matthew was aware that, as the events of 1580 and 1581 would demonstrate, the public sphere was open to inversion. He was unwilling to engage larger audiences, with the implied lack of control over his material, shown by his commitment to the manuscript community and his refusal to print his sermons. Matthew apologised to Leicester: 'if I have for want of discretion either misgoverned my speech or abused the place, or set agog the people, or hindered the gospel, or offended the state, I am most sorry and more ashamed'. Matthew had opened up the discussion to a broader audience, and by doing so undermined the monopoly of court and parliament on the political process.⁸⁸

Matthew's refusal to print any of his sermons reflected an awareness of the differences of the two media; however, although he was unwilling to print, others, for example the government, used the pulpit and press in tandem. Work on governmental campaigns against Catholicism has demonstrated the extent to which the state relied upon a range of polemical writers to engage popular opinion and to promote a vision of Catholicism as inherently seditious.⁸⁹

Having opened up this arena, however, the government discovered that it could not necessarily control it. The mission of Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons to England in 1580, reflected the potential within this machinery for inversion. They published several pamphlets attacking the church in England and, as well as popular works, Campion addressed the scholarly community. In June 1581, a friend and sympathiser of Campion, William Hartley placed copies of

⁸⁷ Bod. Mss Top. Oxon. E. 5 pp. 354, 357.

⁸⁸ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 358.

⁸⁹ Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere"', p. 589. For the development of these connections in late-Elizabethan and Jacobean England, Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, pp. 31-42. D. E. Kennedy, 'King James I's College of Controversial Divinity at Chelsea', in D. E. Kennedy, *Ground of Controversy: Three Studies in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century English Polemics*, (Melbourne, 1989), 97-126.

Campion's polemical work, *Decem Rationes*, on the benches of St Mary's Church in Oxford before the annual commencement.⁹⁰

The governmental response drew on the media of print and the disputation to try and reassert their control of public opinion. In July, a couple of weeks after Campion's work had been distributed in Oxford, Cecil wrote to Aylmer urging him to respond to the attack. Though Bishop Aylmer declined, the young Regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, William Whitaker was pressed into action. Ostensibly requested to respond by Aylmer, it is clear that Whitaker was also favoured by Cecil. Whitaker published *Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Campiani Iesuitae Responsio* in the autumn. Its dedication to Cecil and the men of Cambridge university, and its concerns with theology reflected the intended scholarly and courtly audience. Though Aylmer intended in 1581 to have the response translated into English, it was not until 1606 that an English edition was published. Oxford too was involved in the response, Lawrence Humphrey and William Herbert both produced defences: Herbert's, however, was not published.⁹¹

Campion had accompanied his literary challenges with a call for a public debate. He received his desire following his arrest. The government sponsored highly public disputations between Campion and members of the reforming establishment in an attempt to discredit Campion's attacks. Godly clerics and friends of Cecil, Alexander Nowell, Lawrence Humphrey and William Charke, were employed to defend the godly case against Campion. Several members, however, of the godly community were wary of this continued attempt to engage

⁹⁰ E. Campion, *Rationes Decem quibus fretus, certamen adversariis obtulit in causa fidei* (Henley-upon-Thames, 1581) This was not printed in English until 1632, E. Campion *Campion Englished or a translation of the ten reasons* (London, 1632)

⁹¹ W. Whitaker, *Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Campiani Iesuitae responsio* (London, 1581), sig. *2r-*3v. T. Matthew, *Pissimi et eminentissimi viri. D. Tobiae Matthaei Archiepiscopi olim Eboracensis Concio apologetica adversus Campianum*, (London, 1638). W. Whitaker, *An answer to the ten reasons of Edmund Campion the Iesuit* (London, 1606) *Lake Moderate Puritans*, p. 59.

unstable popular opinion. Aylmer and Norton both urged Cecil not to pursue the idea of the disputation.⁹²

Their wariness of popular opinion was shared by Matthew. Matthew delivered the university's response to Campion in the autumn of 1581, but he refused to print his sermon and it circulated only in the relatively controlled media of the manuscript collections. Matthew's refusal to print reflected his reluctance to engage with the public sphere whose instability had been demonstrated by Campion.⁹³ Instead, his sermon, delivered in Latin, and full of scholarly references to theological texts and to Oxford fellows, reflected the narrow audience which he conceived for this response. Campion had been chosen for the mission to England because of his former proximity to godly men such as Leicester, and Campion himself stressed his closeness to those now at the heart of the reforming establishment in Oxford. The choice of Matthew to deliver the Oxford response may have reflected a desire by Leicester to reassert his godly credentials within the university, as well as allowing Matthew to defend himself.

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Campion had demanded a scholarly debate, and Matthew's response should be seen in that context. The title of his sermon stressed that the primary aim of the sermon was as a scholarly response to a polemical attack, rather than for the regeneration of the congregation. Erasmus' introduction of the sermon as '*concio*' highlighted the political and rhetorical pedigree of the sermon, and Matthew employed this secularised form for the title of his sermon, '*Concio*

⁹² T.M. McCoog, 'Playing the Champion': The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission' in T. M. McCoog (ed.), *The reckoned expense: Edmund Campion and the early Jesuits: essays in celebration of the first centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896-1996)* (Woodbridge, 1996) p.135.

⁹³ Matthew's sermon was published posthumously, in 1638, Matthew, *Concio apologetica adversus Campianum*. Copies of Matthew's sermons against Campion are included in , Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, 843, Bod., Tanner Mss., 169, Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5. BL., Add. Mss., 18203. SJ., Mss., 318.

⁹⁴ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 12v. For Campion's closeness to Sidney and Leicester see C. Lennon, 'Edmund Campion's *Histories of Ireland* and Reform in Tudor England' and K. Duncan Jones, 'Sidney's debt to Campion', in McCoog (ed.), *The reckoned expense*, 67-83, 85-102. Lake and Questier, 'Puritans, Papists and the "Public Sphere"', pp. 616-18.

apologetica adversus Edmund Campianum de usu patrum'.⁹⁵ Questier has demonstrated that polemical texts did not, and were not intended to, effect conversion, and in this sermon Matthew prioritised the polemical over the regenerative. Thus, he employed references to scholarly and theological debates, used humour and his concluding application was an injunction to the scholars of Oxford to continue in their work of discovering the different manifestations of the true church.⁹⁶

The homiletic form was, many reformers argued, incapable of meeting the demands of polemic. Writing at the end of the century, Thomas Holland wrote of the need to oppose the polemical texts of the Catholics who were, 'armed in the studies of divinity, furnished with skill of touns, labouriously exercised in the scriptures...[and] practised in ready writing'. While Holland celebrated the number of preachers in the realm, he argued that fifty preachers should retire from the pulpit and dedicate themselves to writing polemic. This distinction between the 'gift of soule-saving preaching' and polemical response reflected an awareness that where preaching converted and was morally regenerative, polemic was not.⁹⁷ Where the sermon, therefore, was most effective when it was applicable to the immediate congregation, the polemical text operated in a different sphere, and was most successful when it reached the largest number possible.

The tensions between the different means of engaging public opinion and frictions about the wisdom of doing so, were reflected in simultaneous, yet separate, conversations in print, from the pulpit and in manuscript on the same topic. Leicester and Sidney's campaign to prevent the Anjou marriage evinced the diverse audiences within the public sphere and the connections between them. Philip Sidney and Philip Stubbs both opposed the marriage, and both

⁹⁵ Matthew, *Concio apologetica adversus Campianum*. This was the title under which the sermon circulated in manuscript, for example SJ. Mss., 318, Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, ff. 7-15.

⁹⁶ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, f. 14v. M. C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, c. 1590-1625* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 58-63.

⁹⁷ T. Holland, *A Sermon Preached at Paul's in London the 17 of November Ann. Dom. 1599* (Oxford, 1601), sig. C1v-C2r, YML XXXI. H. 23

received support from Leicester, their works however engaged in different spheres. Sidney's circulated in manuscript, while the *Gaping Gulph* was printed and widely disseminated.⁹⁸ Leicester wanted to engage, and manipulate the different audiences, believing that popular resentment against the match would be as important as the disquiet of the smaller, godly coterie. Leicester also employed the sermon in the campaign against the marriage. In 1585, the author of the French addition to *Leycester's Commonwealth* argued that while Leicester professed support for Anjou, he had scuppered the marriage because 'his instruments and fuelers (the puritans and others) murmured and grudges, scattering infamous libels and babbling and preaching in open pulpit against his Highness'.⁹⁹

Preaching and Magistracy in the Godly Commonwealth

Reform in the polity depended as much on those magistrates who were charged with executing the Queen's justice, as the Queen herself. In June 1581, Matthew preached two sermons at an Oxfordshire assizes in which he emphasised the need for the Judges to reform themselves, and then the commonwealth, stressing that moral regeneration was the basis of political stability.¹⁰⁰

Matthew had acquired a sermon preached by his friend and brother-in-law, William Overton, to the Sussex assizes in 1579. Overton took for his text a biblical defence of counsel, 'where much counsayle is, there is health and safetie', and defended the use of a sermon to press for political and judicial action. 'You would answer me', he told the judges, 'that my text is not for this place, nor pertinent to these kinde of businesses and affaires now in hand, but doeth rather belong to Scholemen and Divines'.¹⁰¹ Overton did not agree, but

⁹⁸ Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony* pp. 159-80. Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 218-21. Duncan-Jones, *Philip Sidney*, pp. 162-64.

⁹⁹ The 1585 Addition to *Discours de la vie abominable...le my Lorde de Lecestre* is translated and printed in Peck ed., *Leicester's Commonwealth* pp.229-244, this quotation from p.232.

¹⁰⁰ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, pp. 179-80, 181-85.

¹⁰¹ W. Overton, *A Godlye and Pithie Exhortation, made to the iudges and iustices of Sussex..at the generall assises* (London, 1579), sig. A1r, A5v. YML XVI. F. 36. The copy is not annotated.

stressed the connection between personal regeneration and public reform, asking: 'whom came you to serve, came you not to serve Christ?'. Arguing that there were no distinctions between religious and political activity in the godly commonwealth, he continued, 'I do not see how you can well serve the commonwealth, except you first serve the church'. He urged the judges to act for the health of the commonwealth, and to also have: 'speciall care for your spirituall state, which is the healthe of your soules and for your spirituall commonwealth whiche is the Churche of Christ'. Private regeneration through the sermon would, Overton hoped, be reflected in public action, and the scribe and publisher of Overton's sermon, 'M.M', argued that following this exhortation the judges had urged justices and jurymen to: 'looke more narrowly to matters of religion and to act against 'Papistry, Anabaptistry, Atheisme and Puritannisme' in the church.¹⁰²

Matthew also tried to move the judges to act against Oxfordshire Catholicism by first making them aware of the need to regenerate themselves. He did this by taking for his text an injunction by the godly Old Testament monarch, Solomon, which stressed the importance of executing godly laws.¹⁰³ Old Testament imagery was often used in discussions of magistracy and the godly commonwealth, offering potent images of rule and tyranny for reformers to use in their own discussions about the polity. Elizabeth I, for example, was cast variously as Hester, Judith and Deborah as well as the godly monarchs Solomon and David, while England was likened to Israel or Jerusalem. The Old Testament images were not mere similes, but charged with reforming urgency. Reformers argued that the example of a godly people of the Old Testament would be realised in contemporary society, and drew parallels between England and Israel, both as a godly community and as a fallen nation. These parallels charged the process of reform in England with urgency, as reformers like Matthew warned that England would suffer the same fate as Israel if she did not reform herself.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Overton, *A Godlye and Pithie Exhortation*, sig. A3r, A7r, A8r, D4r.

¹⁰³ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273, p. 181. Proverbs 24: 21-24.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth I was frequently cast as an Old Testament monarch, examples may be seen in discussions about the providential nature of her rule prompted by the

These images, however, carried no fixed meaning. A discussion of Israel was above all a discussion of the elect nation, but what that image could mean in Elizabethan England was malleable. It was used in many ways: to explore ideas of the elect, the church and nationhood. Its flexibility rested on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Matthew reminded a congregation that Moses and the law prefigured Christ: the Old Testament condemned where the New Testament redeemed, the former was full of signs which were realised in the latter.¹⁰⁵ These signs were called 'types' and were described by the humanist scholar Matthias Flacius Illyricus as images which foreshadowed the New Testament, and which were either realised in the New Testament or had yet to be realised. Thus the Pascal lamb prefigured communion; circumcision prefigured baptism. In 1581, Matthew urged his congregation of the importance of frequent observation of the sacraments: 'not of baptism only as children doe: but of the holy communion also as men we should doe: for who was ever circumcised beinge a childe, but he that did eate of the paschall lamb being a man?'¹⁰⁶

As Israel was an 'elect nation', historians have seen the Elizabethan use of that image to explore the English polity as reflecting a belief that England was also an elect nation, arguing that preachers believed that England was the fulfilment of the 'type'. Later work, however, has challenged this assumption. Collinson has shown that the Protestant martyrologist, John Foxe, did not claim for England the status of an elect nation, while Morrissey's work on the Jacobean Jeremiad demonstrated that the the image of Israel was invoked as an 'example' of an elect nation, not as a 'type'. Furthermore, she demonstrated that preachers

Queen's Day celebrations. For example see, I. Colfe, *A Sermon Preached on the Queenes Day being the 17 November* (London, 1588), T. Holland *A Sermon preached..the 17 November Ann. Dom 1599* (Oxford, 1601) Matthew frequently employed this imagery to discuss England and Elizabeth I, referring in 1572 to Elizabeth I, as 'a goode olde mother in Israel'. Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 49.

¹⁰⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, pp. 161-62.

¹⁰⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 181. M. Morrissey, 'Elect nations and prophetic preaching: *types* and *examples* in the Paul's Cross Jeremiad' in L. A. Ferrel and P. McCullough (eds.) *The English Sermon Revised*, p. 48

tended to concentrate of the image of Israel as a fallen nation, rather than as an elect one.¹⁰⁷

In his influential work on rhetoric, *Clavis Scripturae*, Matthias Flacius Illyricus drew a distinction between 'types' and 'examples' in scriptural interpretation. Matthew owned this monumental tool of humanist scholarship and considered it necessary for youthful education, donating a copy to Christ Church library in 1583. His own copy was an earlier one, read carefully. In it Matthew saw that where a 'type' prefigured the saving nature of Christ in the New Testament, an 'example' had no such realisation.¹⁰⁸ 'Examples', however, could be used to persuade a congregation, as rhetorical proofs. Discussions of Israel should therefore be read strictly as 'examples'. The potency, however, of the image as an 'example' lay in the confusion of the distinction between 'type' and 'example'. Matthew's use of Old Testament imagery stressed the parallels between the godly of Israel and England. He reminded a London audience in 1581 that: 'where the bloud of the paschall lambe was sprinkled, there all the Inhabitants were saved from the Smyting angel: so he that eateth the flesh and drinketh the bloud of Jesu Christ hath eternall life.'¹⁰⁹

When Matthew explored questions of magistracy and rule in terms of Israel, he invoked the image as a threat of what might befall a fallen nation. Matthew warned the judges, 'have nothing to doe with the ungodly for all men are not as Abraham in Ilur,.. Moeses in Aegypt or Daniel and the 3 children in Babilon, the Bretherene in the Maccabees our Christ amongst the Jewes, ther [the ungodly] destruction shall come quicly and who knowethe the ruine of the[m] bothe that is eyther of the wicked or the seditiouse or of the[m] that feare not God or obaye

¹⁰⁷ Morrissey, 'Elect nations and prophetic preaching:', in Ferrel and McCullough (eds.) *The English Sermon Revised*, pp.47-50; P. Collinson, 'Truth and Legend: the veracity of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Minor: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1985), 31-54.

¹⁰⁸ Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis Scripturae* (Basle, 1567), YML X. J. 13 Matthew gave a copy of this humanist summa of rhetoric to Christ Church library in 1583 when he left the college: Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Clavis Scripturae S. feu de sermone sacrarum literarum* (Basel, 1567) Christ Church Library Hyp. I. 3. Matthew himself owed works by Flacius Illyricus.

¹⁰⁹ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.216.

ther King'.¹¹⁰ The emotive effectiveness of the Old Testament imagery relied on a conflation in the minds of his congregation between the status of Israel as an elect nation, and England. The sermon structure which Matthew chose for this sermon further clouded the distinction between the use of the image of Israel as an 'example' or as a 'type' of the corrupted godly nation.

Instead of his usual 'plain style', the form which Matthew used for this sermon was much closer to a scholastic form of exegesis which had been criticised by reformers from Tyndale to Perkins. That structure was the Quadriga form, a four fold method of interpretation which addressed the literal, allegorical, analogical and moral sense of scripture. Glossed by Luther and Lefèvre d'Étaples, this scholastic form had been expanded to allow an exploration of, and emphasis upon, both the 'literal prophetic' and 'literal historic' meanings of scripture.¹¹¹ Within this scheme, Matthew could introduce the *exempla* of Old Testament salvation and damnation, addressing both the prophetic and historical meaning of the image. This relation reflected that conflation between the Israel as an example and as a type to be fulfilled.

In this sermon, Matthew's divisions were four-fold:

The generall charge is 1. an appellation: my sonne 2. a commandment: feare the Lorde and the Kinge 3. A prohibition and medle not with those that are seditious 4. A reason for ther destruction shall ryse sodenly and who knowethe the ruine of the bothe¹¹²

This general charge was developed through historical *exempla* and applied. Discussing the meaning of 'sonne', Matthew argued that: 'father is taken many ways...as our master...as the ministers...as our parentes..of body and soule as God almighty'. The ancient was realised and applied through contemporary *exempla*. Matthew's examples of communal damnation through the sins of a few were charged by their applicability to the question of native Catholicism. He warned that the sins of a few, of Jonah, David and Adam had threatened the

¹¹⁰ Bod. Rawl., Mss., D, 273 p.179

¹¹¹ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, pp. 147-49.

¹¹² Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 273 p.178

communities in which they lived and, quoting Chrysostom, Matthew concluded: 'if you have a unity you shall have a people, if not a unity...discorde'.¹¹³

The end of the sermon was to offer guidance for personal and, therefore, public regeneration. Following his discussion of biblical discord and dissension, Matthew ended with a charge to the judges: '[David] sayeth be wyse now therfore the Kinges be learned the iudges of the earth serve the Lorde in feare and reioyce in trembling'. Matthew also reminded the judges that the commonwealth bore the same duties of constant edification as the individual, warning that 'he that punisheth not sin is the committer of sin.' By suggesting that England was a godly nation like Israel, Matthew opened up the possibility that England, like Israel, would suffer terrible punishments if she failed to reform. Matthew's godly counsel was, therefore, made more effective and moving by the spectre of imminent damnation implied by his use of Judaic imagery.¹¹⁴

Matthew's sermons before the Queen in 1572, his attack on Edmund Campion and the assize sermons, all of which were from 1581, demonstrate that there was indeed a connection between form and function in the sermon, and also that it was not the doctrinally-based connection suggested by earlier works. Matthew's ecclesiological and soteriological thought reflected the importance of tempering the media of salvation to the particular needs of the congregation, and this concern guided his selection of homiletic style. This concern with applicability was reflected in godly preaching manuals, and though Matthew often rejected the simple sermon form prescribed by those manuals, he did so because of his appreciation of the different contexts within which the sermon could operate. All of these sermons, with the possible exception of the Campion sermon, were designed to effect internal regeneration, which would, naturally lead to public action. The preaching manuals stressed that the end of the sermon was its applicability, and the discussion of illocutionary intent and uptake in the sermon illustrated how the success of the sermon rested on the auditors' acceptance and application of the regenerative message. Thus Matthew argued in 1581:

¹¹³ Bod. Rawl., Mss. D., 273 pp.179-180

¹¹⁴ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 273, p. 180.

'blessed is he who hereth the word *and* kepeth it'. ¹¹⁵ He urged the courtly congregation in 1581, 'let us drawe nere to God by the hearing of his worde, he that hath an eare let him here... this one thing is necessarie, other things we maie doe, but this ye must doe. '¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 225. My italics.

¹¹⁶ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p.181.

By 1583, Matthew had refined and developed his ideas about the establishment of the true church in England and the godly commonwealth. This challenges work by Lake which argues that from the mid-1570s godly conformity reflected a compromise of a commitment to total and constant edification.¹¹⁷ Instead, it is evident that within the English church there was a community which was committed to re-evaluating and developing the programme of reform promoted by the generation of Marian exiles like Thomas Sampson in light of the demands of the Elizabethan polity. Matthew was at the heart of this circle whose influence was felt at court, in the church, and of course in Oxford. The significance of these developments were reflected in Edmund Campion's and Robert Parsons' English mission. It was this circle at Oxford, not the moderate puritans at Cambridge, which the Catholic community in exile believed to be the most vibrant, and therefore most threatening, future of English Protestantism.¹¹⁸

Matthew's commitment to preaching reflected his beliefs about the contextual operation of the holy spirit and the need to realise anew fixed scriptural precepts in each generation. As different congregations needed different homiletic styles to ensure that the message was applicable, so different communities required different ecclesiastical forms to achieve private and communal regeneration. In England the polity was essential in defining the peculiar nature of the church. After the conflicts of the mid-1570s had confirmed godly fears about the Queen's obduracy in the face of calls for further reform, Matthew and his allies developed and refined their work on the polity as a tool of moral regeneration. This work was reflected in their promotion of the godly commonwealth, a concept of public reform which would be guided by godly oratory and effected by all those who were involved in the polity, from the Queen to her provincial magistrates. This was a vision of reform particularly suited to the north, and in 1583 Matthew moved to Durham, supported by Leicester, Cecil and

¹¹⁷ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 48. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans*, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ Campion, *Campion Englished*, pp 108-09. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 843, 12r-14v.

Walsingham who considered him '*both* for the advancement of Religion *and* the Majesties service, I cannot but think most fitt'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ BL. Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 425v. My Italics.

PART II

Tobie Matthew and the Establishment of the Godly Commonwealth in Durham: 1583-1606

When Matthew moved north in 1583, he took with him a vision of reform which would be achieved through the godly commonwealth. Earlier in Elizabeth I's reign, the diocese of Durham, which included the counties of Durham and Northumberland, had been torn apart by Catholicism and conservatism; when Matthew arrived, it continued to show little attachment to either Tudor rule or religion. Matthew was charged by his patrons, Cecil, Leicester and the earl of Huntingdon to introduce both. Matthew saw no conflict between his religious and political activity; as reform and regeneration were achieved through the Tudor polity, then the process of extending that polity was inherently religious.

Matthew's move to Durham, and his career there reflected the constant patronage of the reforming politicians: Leicester and Leicester's kinsman, the Lord President of the Council of the North, the Earl of Huntingdon. With them he shared a vision of the true church which rested on constant preaching, and the proper administration of the sacraments, and he worked to reform the structure and personnel of the church while in Durham. Matthew was also committed to establishing Elizabethan rule, which he did through the extraordinary civil powers of the dean and bishop in the former palatinate, and by acting as an agent for Burghley, Cecil, Walsingham and Huntingdon in the diocese.

At the heart of Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth was the belief that the polity bore the same demands of edification as the individual. The continued existence of Catholicism in the diocese undermined the unity, and therefore the safety, of the kingdom. Matthew used occasions like the Queen's Day to publicise the danger of Catholicism, warning that a continued attachment to the faith would reverse divine favour, and the popularity of this rhetoric demonstrated the potentially unifying and popular nature of Matthew's programme of reform. Matthew's stress, however, on the unity of the polity and the church was to prove one of the weaknesses in his programme of anti-

Catholicism. This vision worked to further alienate the rebels of 1569 and Matthew also failed to appreciate the potential for subversion by Catholics who were able to separate the political and religious demands of conformity, working to undermine his anti-Catholic programme.

Matthew's continuing sense of the relation between the polity and church, his stress on the need to reform both and his use of ecclesiastical and civil powers to reform, encouraged his allies in the north supported his promotions to the bishopric of Durham and the archiepiscopate of York. Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth had developed as a result of the struggles facing evangelical reformers in the 1560s and 1570s and was a unifying vision, promoting conformity and godliness. By the seventeenth century, however, the terms of the debate in the church had changed, and Matthew's vision of reform no longer had a broad unifying appeal. It continued, however, to have a relevance in the north, reflecting, Matthew thought, the fact that the dynamics within the northern church appeared to have changed little since the 1570s. While Matthew was successful in Durham in consolidating earlier evangelical activity in the diocese, his sense of the need for unity and total edification meant that he took a deeply pessimistic view of his achievements in the north.

CHAPTER FIVE

Politics, Patronage and the Reformation in Durham: 1581-1595

That man is fittest to be our deane, that wil be diligent and discrete in preaching: that will govern according to our statutes and will seeke to authoritie for our direcion...that doth stand with the weale of our church and with hir Majesities good leave: or els will submitt himselfe to any direcion that come from [the earl of] Huntingdon¹

Canon Ralph Lever to Privy Council, 1583

Godly patronage of Tobie Matthew

In 1581, following the death of the dean of Durham, Thomas Wilson, the question of his successor was keenly contested. The disputes, which were felt at court as well as in the north, reflected the prominence of the deanery and its importance in the reformation of the north. The divisions also reflected tensions which existed in the dean and chapter of Durham, between a reforming party heavily influenced by their experience of exile under Mary, and a less radical party headed by the Bishop of Durham, Richard Barnes. The godly earl of Huntingdon, the pre-eminent politician in the north, promoted Matthew as his candidate, demonstrating their shared vision of future reform and their common belief that the establishment of the polity was an essential part of that reform. Huntingdon's support also reflected his belief that Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth was necessary to meet the problems of the north.²

In England, the early 1580s had been coloured by an increased fear of Catholicism, following the public mission of Campion and Persons. In parliament, evangelicals pressed for a programme of further reform in the church, coupled with severe penalties for those who continued to practice their Catholicism. This anti-Catholicism reflected a fear that a failure to reform would lead to divine punishment, and was enhanced by an equation between

¹ PRO SP 12/162/48 f.156r

² DCD/T/YB f.67. BL., Add. Mss., 4460, f. 26r. D. Marcombe, 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham: 1589-1603' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1973), p.59

Catholicism and treason promoted through the governmental presses.³

Huntingdon, who had become Lord President of the Council of the North in 1572, had become convinced that 'popery' and sedition were natural bedfellows and thought that the continued existence of domestic Catholicism threatened the safety of the northern polity. By the early 1580s that connection seemed clear. In 1579, fear that a Spanish or French Catholic attack would come from Scotland prompted Elizabeth I to make Huntingdon's Lord Lieutenancy a permanent position. Again, in January of 1581 there were concerns about a Catholic invasion from Scotland, leading to the appointment of a commission of local politicians, including the dean and bishop of Durham, to survey the forts and castles of the Borders.⁴

Huntingdon had seen the potential of the major ecclesiastical figures of the north to assist him in the creation of the godly commonwealth. This reflected a sense of the indissoluble union between religion and politics, and it also reflected the prominence of figures like the bishop of Durham in the secular and ecclesiastical politics in the north. In 1580 Huntingdon ensured that the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle and the deans of York and Durham were appointed to the Council of the North, *ex officio*. The Council of the North, which was the main governmental body in the north, also became increasingly involved in questions of religious conformity, and the body developed close links to the ecclesiastical High Commission, based at York.⁵

³ Hartley, ed. *Proceedings in Parliament*, vol. i, pp.500-02. P. Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in R. Cust and A. Hughes, *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (London, 1989), pp. 76-78. C. Z. Weiner, 'The Beleagured Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and early Jacobean anti-Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), 27-62

⁴ *The Border Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the borders of England and Scotland*, ed., J. Bain (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894-96), vol. 1, no.83. S. J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire : Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester 1975), p.107. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (repr., London, 1975), p. 209.

⁵ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, High Commission Act Books 11 and 12, hereafter BIHR HC/AB. Matthew sat on the high commission in 1585, BIHR HC/AB/11, 16v. YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 7. C. Cross *The*

Henry Hastings, the Earl of Huntingdon, had benefited from the patronage of William Cecil who had recognised the importance of committed Protestant ally in such a politically important, yet vulnerable place. Huntingdon was also close to his kinsmen, Leicester and Sidney, and it may have been through them, or through godly friends like Thomas Sampson, that Huntingdon and Matthew met.⁶ Huntingdon and Leicester worked together to secure the deanery for Matthew, and in February 1582 they both wrote to Matthew to tell him that they had obtained the Queen's support for his removal north. Matthew wrote to Cecil, asking for confirmation of his promotion, addressing the wider role which he expected to play in Durham. He asked for a swift removal, urging Cecil that: 'it were a great pittie that a place of such importance as is that Deanerie: a foundation of such honor as is that college: a countree of such service as the North partes ought to be, should be otherwise then verie well provided for, least Religion, Justice and Peace mought there be decaied'.⁷

Huntingdon's support of Matthew reflected his desire for a pastor who shared a common evangelism and who would establish Tudor rule and religion. Despite the early presence of evangelical reformers in the chapter, the cause of reform had, in Durham, suffered in the previous decade. The chapter of Durham had been ripped apart by internecine battles and by conflicts between the chapter and the dean, the bishop of Durham, and the archbishop of York. The support of the Privy Council and Huntingdon for Matthew also reflected a desire to establish a non-partisan presence in the chapter, which would not only end the internal

Puritan Earl: The life of Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon 1536-1595 (London, 1966) p.166; R. Reid, *King's Council in the North*, p.211.

⁶ Cross, *The Puritan Earl*, pp. 33, 54-60, 156. Matthew also may have met Huntingdon through Cecil, with whom he had been in contact since the 1570s. BL., Add. Mss., 4460, f. 27r

⁷ BL., Lans. Mss., 34, f.37r

strife but repair some of the damage to the reforming cause that those disputes had caused.⁸

In the 1560s and 1570s, Durham was home to many evangelical reformers, overseen by the Marian exiles Bishop Pilkington and his dean, William Whittingham. However, from 1577, when Barnes became the bishop of Durham, he had found himself increasingly at odds with the radical chapter of his predecessor. The influence of both Leicester and Geneva had been felt in the chapter by the presence of Thomas and Ralph Lever; Adam Holiday; William Birche; William Whittingham; and John, Thomas and Leonard Pilkington. By the 1580s only some of these radicals were still in Durham, but their place had been taken by the second generation of reformers, men like Francis Bunny and Peter Shaw.⁹

When Barnes arrived in Durham in 1577, he found himself alienated by the radical chapter aligned with Whittingham and attempted to introduce clergy into the diocese who were less radical. His lack of enthusiasm for further reform, had increasingly divisive effects on the chapter, as Barnes worked to restrict its godly zeal. In 1577 Barnes excommunicated the chapter for their refusal to accept his powers of visitation, then compounded the dispute by allying himself with the archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, who had questioned the validity of Whittingham's Genevan orders.¹⁰ Following Whittingham's death, Barnes sought to establish his influence within the chapter, encouraging the appointment of another of Leicester's clients, the privy councillor, Thomas Wilson. However, the arrival of Wilson further exacerbated tensions within the chapter and the diocese. Wilson's chaplain, Henry Naunton, was accused of fraud, and in 1579, Bunny, Swift and the Pilkington brothers refused to allow him to be appointed treasurer for a second term. Disputes over leases, chapter

⁸ DCD/T/YB, f. 32, 59-62, 69, 70-77, 83-84. DCD. Misc. Ch. 424. DCD. Misc. Ch.6818. b. DCD. Misc. Ch.6818.c. DCD. Misc. Ch.6818.d. DCD. Misc. Ch.6818. e.

⁹ J. Freeman, 'The Parish Ministry in the diocese of Durham, c. 1570-1640', (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Durham, 1979), p. 287. Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham', pp. 213-34.

¹⁰ DCD/T/YB ff. 70v-77r.

corruption and claims of embezzlement heightened the temperature of the disputes within the chapter.¹¹

Following Wilson's death in 1581, Barnes and his allies sought someone who would consolidate their position in the Cathedral and, by implication, in the diocese. Ralph Lever, a vocal reformer, wrote to the Privy Council warning that the Bishop, and the 'graver and better sort of prebendaries (as that side do report) together with the most parte of the worshipfull justices of the peace in that shyre by the Bishoppes procurement have written for Dr Bellamie to be deane'.¹² In contrast, the reforming party within the chapter supported Huntingdon's choice of Matthew. Matthew shared patrons in the form of Leicester and Cecil with many of the chapter, and had previously met Holiday, Bunny and Browne.¹³

Their enthusiasm for Matthew reflected Matthew's godly credentials, and his commitment to reform through the tools of the church and the polity. It was known too that Matthew had some influence with Huntingdon, Cecil and Walsingham. Lever and his allies considered this to be one of the greater reasons for supporting him. Writing to the Privy Council in 1583, on behalf of Bunny, Swift and the Pilkingtons, Lever assured the Privy council of their support: 'hereing that certen of the Lords of hir Majesties most honorable prive counsell did commend to hir highness D Matthew'. The political presence and independence of the dean was thought to be vital, it was important, Lever wrote, that the chosen 'deane do seke to have the Lord President countenance and his Lord's Presence in that countrie sometimes, when neede shalbe neither is it

¹¹ DCD/T/YB ff45r-6v, 59r-61v, 69r-81v; Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham', pp.183-9, 198

¹² PRO SP 12/162/48 f. 152r

¹³ Adam Holiday had been Chaplain to William Cecil, Francis Bunny and John Browne had both been at Oxford at the same time as Matthew and both benefited from the patronage of Leicester and Huntingdon. Browne left a copy of Cicero to the library at Christ Church in 1582, after Matthew had been proposed as Wilson's successor. *In Omnes M. T Ciceronis orationes enarrationes* (Lyons 1554) Christ Church library shelf mark Aldrich C.2.13, Kerr 'The Provision of Books', p.506, Dent, *Protestant Reformers at Oxford*, p.132, see chapter one.

requisite that the deane sholde be greatly in the Bishoppes danger or that he sholde wholely relie upon his Lord'.¹⁴

Matthew's programme of further reform was particularly suited to the demands of Durham, and during his time in the diocese he refined and moderated the ecclesiological programme he had developed in Oxford. Though Matthew had clerical experience and experience of reform, the work which was to be done at Durham was at the forefront of the reformation.¹⁵ There, the ideas which Matthew and his friends had developed about the godly commonwealth were thrown into sharp relief. This application of Oxford godliness to the church in the provinces was evinced in the monumental Latin poem by Richard Edes, *Iter Boreale*.¹⁶

Matthew travelled north in August 1583, accompanied on the journey from Oxford by his close friend, Richard Edes. Edes recorded the journey north in *Iter Boreale*, which explored how their godly programme of reform would be applied in light of the demands of the unreformed northern church. The poem was a testament to Matthew's influence and an examination of the practical application of this Oxford Calvinism. It quickly became a popular addition to the manuscript collections of the conforming godly, reflecting the clerical end for which their vision was intended.¹⁷

Edes used the distance between Oxford and Durham to reflect the ecclesiastical and theological disparity between the two. The further north they went, the

¹⁴ PRO SP 12/162/48 ff.152v, 156r.

¹⁵ Writing in the preface to a printed collection of sermons he had preached in York in 1594, John King described his journey north from Oxford: 'as Ionah went to Ninevah to preach the preachings of the Lord..so I to deliver these ordinarie and weekly exercises amonst them'. This reflects the vision which godly reformers had of the northern reformation. J. King, *Lectures upon Ionas* (London 1618), p.4

¹⁶ BL., Add. Mss., 30352, ff.1r-8r.

¹⁷ Other copies can be found at BL., Add. Mss., 3052. DUL M&S Mss., 62. Bod. Rawl. Mss., B, 223, ff.1r-16r. The Bodleian copy includes a description of Matthew's farewell sermon at St Mary's Oxford, 12 July 1583. Other copies have been found in Corpus Christi College, and the Ashmolean, H.Gee, 'A Sixteenth Century Journey to Durham', *Archaeologica Aeliana*, 3rd ser, xiii, (1916) pp. 103-07.

bleaker the conditions; when they reached York, Edes complained of the 'inhospitable' and 'treacherous' north. He contrasted too the quality of ministry in the chapter of Durham with that of Oxford, Edes praised the learned 'Mr Bunny that loss of Magdelan Colledge' and John Browne, a former chaplain of Huntingdon who had taken his MA at Christ Church in 1577. He poked fun, however, at the limitations of other members of the chapter, criticising the preaching of Ralph Tunstall, 'Tall Dunce', Barnes' chaplain John Robson and Henry Ewbanck.¹⁸

Tobie Matthew's connections with court meant it was he, not Barnes, who had the greatest political significance in the diocese. In the month following his arrival in Durham, the need for governmental action in the north and the borders was highlighted, as was Matthew's suitability for such action. When Matthew arrived at the beginning of September, Huntingdon was presiding over a meeting of the high commission in Durham. While Bishop Barnes stayed in his episcopal palace in Stockton, some distance from Durham, Matthew entertained Huntingdon, preaching before the commissioners on 8 September. Matthew's closeness to Huntingdon and Walsingham was further demonstrated a couple of weeks later when Walsingham came to Durham, following his embassy to Scotland. He stayed with Matthew, not Barnes, for several days so that he could 'confer with my Lord president about Border Causes and some other Matters for her Majesty's services', and also apparently to set up a spy network between Scotland and Durham which was centred on the deanery.¹⁹

Though Matthew may have wielded less *ex officio* power than the Bishop in the diocese, the influence afforded by his contacts with godly politicians in London

¹⁸ BL Add Mss 30352 ff5r, 7r-8r. Edes' time at Christ Church seems to have coincided with Browne's Dent, *Protestant Reformers in Oxford*, p.132. Despite Ede's criticism, these men evince the evangelical nature of the chapter. Ralph Tunstall had been a chaplain to Grindal, and was a prebend in the cathedral. Henry Ewbanke was also a godly Reformer, he got his doctorate in Divinity from Basle, and later became Matthew's chaplain. John Robson was a preacher, and had been attracted to the diocese by the reputation of Gilpin. DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f. 125r. Marcombe, 'Dean and chapter of Durham', pp. 77, 319.

¹⁹ BL., Add. Mss., 30352, ff. 8r-v, 9v. YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 1. On Matthew's work with spies see Gavin, 'Elizabethan Bishop of Durham', pp. 85-104.

and in the north was greater. Matthew was expected to use that influence for the end of his patrons and his Queen. Writing to Cecil on 28 September, Matthew pledged his support, 'I cannot but acknowledge my self most bounden to your Lord for my placing here and for the sundrie letters your Lord wrott hither on my behalf', and assured his patron that he would, as promised, work in Durham in a manner, 'agreeable to that grave and godly counsaile it pleased you Lord to give me at my departure from the Courte'. Matthew was aware of his role as an assistant to Cecil, asking: 'if anie defect shall at anie tyme appeare, especially coming to your Lords eare, I shall most humbly beseech your Lordship to make me knowe it : and doe promise and desire to me reform by your authoritie and directed by your wisdome therin, and in all thinges els, even as by the Socrates or Soloman of our age'.²⁰

Tobie Matthew asserted his commitment to ending strife in the chapter and to further reform through the polity in his first sermon in Durham Cathedral. His first sermon as dean was in Durham cathedral, before Huntingdon, 'at the sitting of the Council'. Then he had chosen a text which reflected the godly work both he and his patrons expected to do, preaching on '*Primum querite Regnum Dei &c.*'²¹ Matthew later preached in Durham Cathedral before Walsingham on 22 September. Then he took his text from Ephesians, dwelling on the different vocations which the Lord had ordained for the: 'perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ'.²² His audience included politicians, diplomats, pastors and preachers, but all, Matthew urged, were enjoined to work together to build the godly kingdom. It was a fitting discussion for one who had been charged with establishing a unified, conforming and godly church and polity.

Matthew and the Reform of Durham Chapter

In 1583, Canon Ralph Lever had requested a dean who would: 'end by direction from auctorite all contention and stryffe, amongst us the said Resydensaries', and on his arrival Matthew worked to resolve some of the conflicts within the

²⁰ BL., Lans. Mss., 39, f. 24.

²¹ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 1. BL. Add. Mss., 30352, ff. 6v-7r, 8v.

²² BL. Add. Mss 30352 f.6r. YML Add. Mss 18 p.1. Ephesians 4: 12

chapter, and between the dioceses of York and Durham.²³ Matthew compiled a precedent book and a series of lengthy notes which would assist him in this process.²⁴ On Matthew's arrival, Ralph Lever drew up a schedule of complaints for Matthew to investigate. Matthew's secretary copied them out in his notebook as 'Mr Levers Notes for Mr Deane explained to him'. 'First', Lever thought, 'Mr Deane to be fully informed what decay of ancient rent hath been such the supplication and the mans advise to be had how it may be ravived and particulars made'. Then he thought that Matthew should explore the misuse of entry fines, the embezzlement of money and 'them that have sett paid in their booke and yet made no payment at all Holiday, Cliffe, Naunton, Tunstall &c.'. ²⁵

Matthew started his investigations by exploring the 'lottery leases' made by Dean Whittingham in 1571. Whittingham had used his position to preside over the distribution of a large number of chapter leases to favoured members of the chapter. Matthew drew up a list of: 'all such leases as weare granted and made out by lotterie in the cathedrale church of Durrem by Mr William Whittingham, later dean and the prebendaries'. He recorded who in the chapter had benefited from this distribution of leases, and the disparity between the rental value due to the chapter and the actual rent charged. The total value, he found, of those leases was £3568 13s 4d. ²⁶

Matthew worried about the loss of this capitular income and tried to reverse some of the leases. Through the lottery, Whittingham had acquired extensive lands in Durham which he had passed on to his wife, Katherine Whittingham, 'with other thynges belonging to the corps of the Deanerie'. Matthew attempted to regain those lands from Katherine Whittingham, but she appealed to Huntingdon and the Council of the North and Matthew failed to regain the

²³ PRO SP 12/162/48.I f.156v

²⁴ DCD/T/YB. DCD. Misc. Ch. 6919.b. DCD. Misc. Ch. 6919. c. DCD. Misc. Ch. 6919.d. DCD. Misc. Ch. 6919. e.

²⁵ DCD/T/YB f.45r. These accusations may have been coloured by personal animosity; all of these men had been Lever's enemies.

²⁶ DCD/T/YB ff.2r-11v. Matthew wrote to tell Burghley of his findings: 'they made in Dean Whittingham his daies a lotterie (as they terme it) of three scores leases at the leaset: and againe in Dean Wilsons time divided three score and twelve leases or therabout' BL, Lans Mss., 39 f.24

prosperous leases. In a more altruistically motivated attempt at reform, he also failed to recover another lease belonging the chapter, Pittington, which Cecil had charged him to reclaim only days after his arrival in the north.²⁷

These leases had wrecked the finances of the chapter, and so doing endangered the chapter's charitable and hospitable functions in the diocese. The lottery leases had also damaged the chapter's reputation, and though many tenants had been undercharged, few tenants found their prebendary landlords to be charitable. By 1585 Robert Bellamy claimed that he had: 'dealt with all the Tenementes of our Churche lett themselves make reporte therof, to whome sundrie errors in there leases made by the saide Lever and others in their loteries when havocke was made of townshipes and tenementes, and widdoews diposed by them'.²⁸ Matthew noted heavily his secretary's copy of the petition of a number of dean and chapter tenants who protested against Canon John Pilkington's attempts to eject them, and the response of the Privy Council who, in 1585, ordered that new leases should be issued to all ecclesiastical tenants within the palatinate.²⁹

Matthew tried to re-establish the finances of the chapter. As well as assessing the value of those leases held by members of the chapter, Matthew questioned and copied down the entry fines which had been received, and those which had not. He sought for discrepancies between them, investigating those canons that had claimed to have paid their fines to the chapter, yet failed to do so. Matthew copied out too the 'balances of Receiver's and Treasurer's accounts at the audits in November' from 1570 up until 1581. Matthew was not pleased with his results, discovering a huge deficit. As a result, he attempted to reform the chapters' finances, trying to recoup lost income and reallocate the relatively meagre resources of the chapter.³⁰

²⁷ BL., Lans. Mss 39 f. 24; DCD/T/YB ff.19v-31v. In 1596, Sir John Forster complained that the dean and chapter were trying to reclaim the Bywell parsonage in the archdeaconry of Northumberland. PRO SP 15/29/86

²⁸ DCD/T/YB ff.60r-v

²⁹ DCD/T/YB, ff. 32v-33r, 34r-36r

³⁰ DCD/T/YB ff. 12-13, 14v-18r. BL, Lans Mss., 39, f.24.

The poor state of the chapter's finances had a wider impact beyond the Cathedral, as it reduced the charitable activity of the chapter in the town and the diocese of Durham. Matthew's first priority was the Cathedral's charitable bequests to the county of Durham. Much of the money had been redirected to other uses, and Matthew was frustrated in his attempt to ensure it was used for charitable purposes. Disheartened, he wrote to his godly patron, Walsingham, and to his old friend and lawyer, Valentine Dale. 'Good Mr dean', Dale replied, 'did I not tell you that in the northe they could bite and whyne?'. He agreed with his friend that alms money should not be used for annual pensions, 'yt seemeth you[r] Statutes does all very little of that Almesmoney to be bestowed but within that countrie and that at your discretion'. Walsingham also agreed, promising to support Matthew in his struggle to ensure the chapter maintained the alms houses and thanking him for his past endeavours in the chapter. 'But I think', Walsingham counselled, 'you shall not hereafter be mucche or often troubled with the like suites nowe... Wherof I will cause a note to be taken [of the statutes] for your more quietness'.³¹

In the face of the chapter's failure to provide money alms money, Matthew had taken the burden on himself. Dale encouraged him, 'so long as you kepe so dew as accomptes appeareth by these three yeares last paste, yt will torne to your Creditor when soever it shall be called into question...it would prove your divinitye paceunce'. One creditor was indeed impressed, Walsingham wrote, 'I perceyve you had neede to kepe your cupp even in that place, and therefore I am glad to see your accompte yeare by yeare subscribed'. Matthew had, however, clearly found divine patience wanting sometimes; Dale teased him, 'as you maye I wisshe you to be good to these fellowes whose tongues be full of teeth: but not so as Rake hells should be incorushed by your liberality nor was ment them by the Kinges provision'. Despite Matthew's work, there continued to be problems with the distribution of Cathedral alms money with privy councillors intervening in cases in 1586 and 1591.³²

³¹ DCD/T/YB ff.31r-v

³² DCD/T/YB ff.31r-v. BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 427. *APC*, vol. 14, pp.237, 377, *APC*, vol. 21, p. 592.

Matthew also encouraged the canons to give money themselves. At Easter 1589, Leonard Pilkington wrote to a fellow canon, his 'very loving Friend Mr Holyday'. Pilkington warned Holiday: 'as you knowe that Mr Deane appoynteth that twenty nobles shall at this Easter be gyven unto ye poore and yey lykewyse looke ye rather for it'. While accepting that it was a large increase in charitable giving, Pilkington asked Holiday, 'to send so moche presently yt this daye it maye be gyven booth for ye discharge of consciences in yt behalfe and also for ye belt sleefs off ye poore'.³³

Matthew thought that hospitality and charity were an essential part of the proper working of the godly commonwealth, and were important in securing further reform. In late 1582 he worried that the deanery would have, 'no manner of provision whereith to kepe house, and so be the less hable to doe good in preaching or government. Where (they say) manie regard hospitalitie very mucche, who being loste at this first will hardly be wonn a good while after'. He also tried to ensure the availability of food and hospitality in the Cathedral. Under his note, 'Provision for the Poor', Matthew copied out Lever's suggestion that the Cathedral should ensure a daily distribution of food to made to the poor in the guest hall. Matthew, however, had only a limited success, and during the plagues and famines of the mid-1590s was again concerned by the lack of ecclesiastical hospitality.³⁴

Matthew was also involved in trying to resolve a political dispute about the relative jurisdiction of York and Durham. From the 1570s, the dean and chapter, and then the archbishop of York, had been asserting their authority to exercise episcopal jurisdiction *sede vacante* in Durham. In 1577 Archbishop Sandys had intended to make a visitation of Durham with the full backing of the Durham incumbent, Barnes. William Whittingham's and Leonard Pilkington's insistence on palatinate immunity was ignored by Sandys and Barnes, and on the arrival of the Archbishop's commissioners there was a confrontation between the chapter

³³ DCD. Misc Ch 3168

³⁴ BL., Lans. Mss., 36 f. 126. DCD. Misc Ch 3319. *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547-1603* ed., J. Bain and others (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1898-1969), vol. 12, p. 272.

and the visitors. Sandys excommunicated the chapter and a long legal battle started.³⁵

On his arrival in Durham, Thomas Wilson, Barnes' ally, had used his influence to settle the case without judgement, but the vacancy of the see following Barnes' death in 1587, once again raised the question of jurisdiction *sede vacante*. Matthew had been nominated by the chapter as guardian of the spiritualities and on the bishop's death started exercising episcopal jurisdiction.

³⁶ A few days later, Sandys issued his own commission, which was delivered to the chapter at Durham by Thomas Burton, formerly a Durham canon and by then a prebend at York. A fight broke out at the six o'clock morning service. Burton threatened to excommunicate the chapter, but instead Pilkington, as archdeacon of Durham, excommunicated Burton for his failure to attend visitations in Stanhope in the diocese. Eventually Burton was forcibly removed, but not before he had stabbed a minor canon.³⁷ This provoked a flurry of activity as Matthew worked to prove the independence of the diocese of Durham from York.

Matthew's attempt to assert the diocese's independence may have reflected a desire not only to maintain local privileges, but to avoid future conflicts between the relatively conservative Protestantism of the Archbishop and the godly chapter. In June 1588, Matthew secretly acquired a notebook from the Archbishop of York. Headed 'My L of York his book against the deane of Durham', Matthew himself wrote a quick note to an unknown clerk urging him to 'copi out this book and send it thither by tomorrow at noone'. This book formed the basis of Matthew's work to prove the palatine independence. His

³⁵ DCD/T/ YB, ff. 59-62, 69, 70r, 82-83. DCD. Misc Ch. 424. DCD. Misc Ch. 6818. b. DCD. Misc Ch. 6818. c. DCD. Misc Ch. 6818. d. DCD. Misc Ch. 6818.

³⁶ For an example of Matthew sitting as the bishop in the vacancy of the see, see *The Injunctions and other ecclesiastical proceedings of Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham from 1576-1587*, ed. J. R. Raine, (Surtees Soc., 22, 1850), p. 135.

³⁷ DCD. Misc Ch. 424 f.4; 30r-v; Marcombe, 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham', pp. 221- 37.

secretary compiled for him a booklet containing past accounts of hearings entitled 'A sentance agaisnt the deane and Chapter of Durham and against my Lord Archbishop', on which Matthew noted 'copies of the sentance against us in the court of delegates'. Matthew's secretary also compiled a collection of writings to prove that, 'in the vacancy of the bishoprick the jurisdiction falls upon the dean and chapter'. The progress of the case had also been followed by the lawyer Robert Swift, who copied out the 1588 'Instructions for him that followeth our suite against ye Lorde Grace of Yorke this Easter Tyme'. These he bound with collations dating from the 14th century and detailed accounts, signed by eye witnesses, of Burton's fight in Durham cathedral and his excommunication.³⁸

Matthew appealed for assistance from his patrons at court, writing in December of 1587 to Walsingham's secretary, Francis Mylles. Matthew confessed, 'all and every the members of this troubled bodie, doe acknowledge ourselves so gratefully bounden to your honour for the furtherance we have obtained by your several earnest and effectuall letters to my Lord Chancellour, but especially to my Lord Grace of Canterbury'.³⁹ In January 1588, Matthew asked Mylles to, 'further this bearer Francis Bunny with access to Mr Secretarie as well as for the delivery of Mr Colemores letter of thanks, and requests his honour as afterwards upon occasion of our suites in hande with the sea of Yorke for the jurisdiction sede vacante'.⁴⁰ In February, Matthew wrote once again to Mylles. Francis Bunny's meeting with Walsingham had brought only bad news for the dean and chapter; Matthew expressed, 'our great grief and astonishment...that all your care and favour towardes us cannot prevaile in the Suite between the sea of Yorke and this church' and begged Mylles and Walsingham to continue to

³⁸ DCD Misc Ch 424 f. 1-30, 195-7, 287, DCD Misc Ch 6818. b, 6818. c, 6818 d. Swift was also a godly ally of Matthew. He had been a student of Lever's at St. John's College, Cambridge, before studying law in exile at Louvain. He gave Matthew a book which reflected their common interest in the relation between English and European Reform. P. A. Patrizi, *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sive Sacrarum Cerimoniarum*, (Venice, 1516), with a dedication from Swift to Matthew, 'amicorum, 1585'. YML INC. XI. G. 1. Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham', p. 185.

³⁹ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, II, f.314

⁴⁰ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 425v

support the chapter's case, 'we are otherwise the more overlaid and overborne by so potent an adversaries and so partiall iudges together with such vaine and frivoulous delaies'.⁴¹

Those delays ensured that the case rumbled on for several years, and as late as 1592 Matthew travelled to York to confer with the Archbishop and his representatives about the jurisdiction in the diocese. Encouraged by Matthew, who was frustrated with the slow progress of the case and biassed judges, the chapter eventually employed Coke and Egerton to get their case moved from the ecclesiastical courts to the common law courts. There the Durham party found more success, and when the bishopric fell empty in 1596 the dean and chapter exercised jurisdiction *sede vacante*.⁴²

Tobie Matthew and the Politics of Reform, 1587-1595

Richard Barnes died in August 1587, and after his funeral, at which Matthew preached, the competition for the empty bishopric began.⁴³ Matthew discovered that despite local support for his attempts to introduce the godly commonwealth, courtly support was still essential in securing a promotion in the church. When he appealed for that support he found his particular style of evangelism out of favour in the increasingly conservative court. He received no support from Burghley, while his other patron, Leicester, was in the Netherlands. The reaction at court had been prompted by the changing character of the debates between 'conformists' and those who called for further reform. Matthew's failure to secure the bishopric reflected the extent to which his vision of reform was rooted in the particular experience of the 1560s and 1570s and was starting to have less relevance in the church outside Durham.

From 1585, while Leicester was fighting in the Netherlands, Burghley took advantage of his absence to secure his own political ascendancy, bringing men

⁴¹ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 316

⁴² Marcombe, 'The Dean and Chapter' p238.

⁴³ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 14. Matthew preached at the funeral held at Durham Cathedral on the 7 September. His choice of text was Psalm 103: 15-19, dwelling on God's righteousness and the need to keep Godly covenants.

into the privy council who supported neither intervention in the Netherlands, nor the godliness which had prompted it. In 1586, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst and Archbishop Whitgift were admitted into the privy council. Whitgift was the first, and only, cleric to sit on the Elizabethan council, and his inclusion reflected the increasingly 'conformist' tenor of the privy council. By 1587, Leicester's political defeat was secured and the godly political cause weakened, by the promotion of Whitgift's patron, the crypto-Catholic Sir Christopher Hatton, to the office of Lord Chancellor. This movement away from godliness was further accelerated in 1588 by the publication of the scurrilous anti-episcopate tracts written by 'Martin Marprelate'.⁴⁴ Therefore, during the discussions about the bishopric from 1587 to 1588, Matthew found both his godliness and his patrons out of favour in the new conservatism of the church and council.

Matthew, however, still campaigned eagerly for the bishopric. He was supported by his friend and colleague, Huntingdon. Their old enemy, Lord Hunsdon, wrote to Burghley to object to the alliance. In the winter of 1587, he warned: 'if hyr Majesti doo make a busshope byfor the yere be owte lett hyr make choyse of sum grave dyscrete man - for yf thys deane be busshope who gapes for ytt, by my Lord of Huntyngdones meanes, hyr Majesti wyll repent ytt and the cuntrey will smart for ytt. I assure your Lordshyp he ys not fytt for ytt.'⁴⁵

Matthew was supported by other godly allies in the diocese. Matthew wrote to Walsingham's secretary, Francis Mylles, to ask for his assistance in pursuing the suit. He had, he told his old friend Mylles, originally been reluctant to stay in the north, writing of: 'the night crowe that ever croaked in myne eare, for God's sake get us goen hence, why came we hither who but we wold longer tarry here. Which voyce you will tell me had the force of an enchantment.' Godly friends, however, persuaded him to stay. Matthew continued, 'these and the like did

⁴⁴ MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation*, p.45. S. Adams, 'Eliza Enthroned? The Court and its Politics' in C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), p. 67.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Bord. Pap.* vol. 1, p. 548

greatly dissuade me, untill of late I assure you, that diverse my frendes both here and elsewhere have put some harte into me, by answering and repluing to some of those obiections'.⁴⁶

Those friends not only persuaded Matthew of the value of promotion within the diocese, but encouraged him to reject an offer, made in the spring of 1588, of the bishopric of Salisbury. Matthew argued that his work at Durham, even at the deanery, was more important in the scheme of national reform. He wrote to Walsingham asking to be allowed to stay in Durham, claiming that the move would be demotion, 'not in the valew of the promotion, yet for the order of teaching and maner of living..I could not take it but for a disadvantage with a disgrace', instead he asked 'if this bishoprick maie not conveniently be obtained, yet I maie rest upon my Deanerie without offence.'⁴⁷

Though local support was useful, courtly support was essential. Matthew had discovered in 1576, when he secured the deanery of Christ Church, how important courtly connections were in securing clerical preferment and in 1587, he discovered that a lack of powerful courtly support could ruin his attempt to gain the bishopric. His patrons included Walsingham, who wrote to Matthew in 1587, promising, Matthew reported, 'to have me placed in my late Lord Bushopes roome here.'⁴⁸ Further support was promised by Matthew's old patron, Leicester, and eventually by Leicester's godly heir apparent, Essex. Burghley, however, did not offer his assistance. Matthew and Burghley's correspondence had diminished towards the end of the 1580s, and there is no evidence that Matthew did approach him for assistance. That lack of support reflected the contemporary shift in religious politics, as well as Burghley's

⁴⁶ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 284. Tobie Matthew did not say who these friends were, but it may have been godly reformers and friends like Francis Bunny and William Bowes. See below, chapter six.

⁴⁷ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 316. Matthew again chose to stay in the deanery at Durham rather than accept another position in 1595 during the episcopal chess game following the death of Archbishop Sandys. J. Strype, *The Life and Acts of John Whitgift* (3 vols., Oxford, 1822), vol. 2, pp. 332-33.

⁴⁸ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 284.

support for another candidate for the bishopric, the dean of York, Matthew Hutton.⁴⁹

Those to whom Matthew looked towards at court were religious allies, many were also old friends; he had benefited from Walsingham and Leicester's patronage for many years, and he had close personal ties to their secretaries, enhancing his access to their patronage. Matthew had been friendly with Leicester's secretary, Arthur Atye, since Oxford, and was an old friend of Walsingham's secretary, Francis Mylles. Matthew sent his former servant, and friend Harrison, to meet Mylles on his behalf. 'Howbeit', he asked Mylles, 'if Mr Harrison my friend (who sometymes of Corpus Christi College) your old acquaintance shall happen this terme to be in London and repaire unto you with him you maie partake the whole who hath meanes to advertise me whatsoever in more secret sort?'. Mylles had been active in securing the deanery of Durham for Matthew and Matthew asked him to act on his behalf again. After hearing that Walsingham intended to support his suit, Matthew asked Mylles 'that herto I maie have both your advise and assisstance, that it will please you to renewe the matter with Mr Secretarie'.⁵⁰

Matthew's reliance on his courtly friends was reflected in his concerns about his competitors, and he worried that his opponents: 'are nere to hand, I farr off...they will have many gentle agentes and instrumentes, I neither can nor will use any meanes but your master to her Majestie nor any but you in effecte to his honour'. On hearing rumours that Day would be moved to the bishopric, Matthew sneered that he had had 'the meanes and opportunities at courte'. Matthew, however, was reluctant to go to court to promote his own suit. In November 1588, Matthew refused to go south, and shuddered to remember, 'my verie hard passage as it was through the pykes for everie suite that ever I obtained in Courte'. In January, when it seemed that Matthew's opponents were closer to gaining the bishopric than he was, Matthew still refused Mylles' suggestion to come and preach at court: 'I wold not for anie thinge repair to the

⁴⁹ P. Lake, 'Matthew Hutton: A Puritan Bishop?', *History*, 64 (1979), p. 188.

⁵⁰ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, II, f. 314. BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, ff. 284v, 425v

Court, either at Lent or otherwise: Wher it but for that I must of necessitie be dryven if I were about to become a suppliant to so many'.⁵¹

Instead, Matthew was forced to rely on his godly patrons to further his cause, but they themselves were not influential. Matthew was pleased to learn of Leicester's return from the Netherlands, and held out hope for his help. Walsingham told Matthew that 'hearing that meanes were made to prefere unto that sea of Duresme some other before you..I sent thither Mr Lyndly unto thearle of Essex to procure a staye therin, untill my L of Leycesters retourne'. Matthew wrote repeatedly to Mylles seeking his advice in the courting of both Leicester and Essex's favour. He could, he thought, 'writ to his Lord [of Leicester] to gratulate him on his retourne', but was troubled by courtly intrigue: 'over this to writ thankes to thearle of Essex, who as it seemth hath well deserved them and to pass over thearle of Leycester with silence: what ielousys that mought breede if such a letter should come to light, I can conceave. *Hoc quo me vectam nescio* untill you leade me as out of a laberinth'.⁵²

At the end of December in 1587 Matthew was worried that Essex's sickness, which had led to his absence of court, would work badly for him, and was not sure that Leicester's support could be counted on. He had started to become aware that the politics of the court might work against him and his godliness. 'Fayne by you', he wrote to Mylles, 'I wold understand howe my Lord Steward [Leicester] beth or is likely to stand affected and for whome: also to whom my Lord Chancellor [Hatton] inclineth for my Lord Treasurers mynde is knowen'. Burghley of course, supported Matthew's rival, Matthew Hutton. As worrying as Burghley's lack of support was Whitgift's. Matthew admitted 'he seems well disposed to another', but asked Mylles if the Archbishop could be encouraged to reconsider Matthew: 'whom he knoweth to be neither so ambitious nor so covetous, no not in this particular as you may suggest to him'. Though Leicester did come to support Matthew, it was not enough and in October 1589,

⁵¹ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f.425r

⁵² BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, f. 425v.

the dean of York, Matthew Hutton moved into the episcopal palace at Bishop Auckland.⁵³

These shifts in courtly politics had taken place against an increasingly vocal campaign for further reform, reflected in calls for a presbyterian form of church government; this was a shift in the internal dynamics of the church away from the concerns which had dominated the thought of Matthew and his allies. Godly parliamentary campaigns of 1584 and 1587 had called for further reform, which men like Field, Cope and Wentworth argued would be achieved only through a presbyterian system. This was a programme of reform which, like the godly campaigns of the 1560s and 1570s, was dominated by a desire to import the Genevan example of the church. One of the presbyterians' most prominent opponents was Richard Bancroft, who preached a sermon against presbyterianism and in defence of *iure divino* episcopacy at Paul's Cross in February 1589. Matthew bought a copy of this sermon, underlining Bancroft's attack on the wholesale adoption of the Genevan example, 'it seemeth to me', Bancroft wrote, 'that whatsoever hath bin done herien abroad is labored for to be put into execution heer with us at home'.⁵⁴

Matthew did not support the unmediated adoption of the Swiss or German experience of reform in England. At the heart of the godly commonwealth was an acceptance of the role of the Queen in the church, and Matthew highlighted Bancroft's assertion that the 'doctrine of the church of England is pure and holie, the government therof both in respect of hir majesty and of our bishops is lawful and godlie'.⁵⁵ The debates between those who wanted further reform, and those who did not, had become increasingly crystallised around the question of presbytery; Bancroft's response, namely his promotion of *iure divino* episcopacy, and the increased prominence of unsympathetic 'conformists' in the

⁵³ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, VII, ff.316, 427r. Leicester originally supported Matthew's suite to be promoted to the bishopric of Durham but by 16 February 1588, Leicester had come to support Day and suggested that Matthew should instead take Piers' place at Salisbury. BL, Cott.Vespasian Mss., F, XII, f.198.

⁵⁴ R. Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached at St. Pauls Crosse the 9 Of Februarie being the first Sunday in the Parleament Anno 1588 [1589]*, (London, 1589), p. 80. YML XV. 0. 18(1). MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, pp. 54-56.

⁵⁵ Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached..1588*, p. 89

church forced reformers like Matthew to reassess their position on the polemical debates. 'Conformists' like Whitgift had secured the middle ground of the church, and when Bancroft developed a doctrinal justification which challenged the basis of the godly commonwealth, there was a sense that the broad godly coalition needed to redefine itself in relation to 'conformists' and 'presbyterians'. Though Matthew, however, engaged with these developments, the particular demands of the north prevented him from reevaluating his vision of reform in light of broader, ecclesiastical shifts.

Matthew was engaged, if tangentially, with the movement for further, presbyterian, reform. The presbyterian reformer and author of contentious tracts attacking the English church, John Udall, was in Newcastle during the years of hot debate. Udall had been employed as a preacher by Huntingdon, and he stayed in the north until 1590. Matthew and Udall shared friends and patrons. Udall dedicated his 1586 collection of sermons to Ambrose Dudley, the earl of Warwick; through his connections with Leicester, Matthew also knew Dudley. On his visit to London in the winter of 1588, during the controversy over the Marprelate tracts, Matthew noted that he had preached at 'my Lord of Warwick's house'. Udall also dedicated a later collection of sermons to Huntingdon, 'that I might shew some token of thankfulness...for your favour towards me'. Matthew also seems to have preached with Udall. Udall was based at St Nicholas' church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and in 1589, at the Queen's Day celebrations, Matthew was involved in preaching exercises there. To this audience, Matthew preached on a favoured, but highly critical topic: 'The want of the Word'. This was particularly relevant in 1589, when attacks by those who called for further reform, attacks including the Marprelate tracts, had once again highlighted the lack of preaching in the English church.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 18, ff. 20, 23. J. Udall, *The True Remedie Agaynst Famine and Warres* (London, 1586), dedicatory epistle. YML XV. 0. 13(5). J. Udall, *The Combat Betwene Christ and the Devil: Foure Sermons Upon the temptation of Christ in the Wilderness* (London, 1589), sig. A4, YML XV. 0. 13(4). Udall stayed in Newcastle until 1590 when he was summoned to London as the suspected author of the presbyterian controversial work *Demonstration of Discipline*. He was also suspected of involvement with the Marprelate tracts. K. D. Murray, 'Puritanism and Civic Life in York, Newcastle, Hull, Beverley and

Matthew read the heated debates of the late 1580s, as the conflicting sides sought to redefine the divisions between those who called for further reform and those who did not. In light of the parliamentary campaigns and the Marprelate tracts, that debate became increasingly focussed around the question of the church government. Udall's controversial tract in favour of presbyterianism, *The Demonstration of Discipline*, was one of the key texts in this debate, and Matthew bought it, as he did Udall's other works, reading it carefully. He underlined Udall's attack on, 'the supposed governors of the church of England', noting Udall's claim that: 'you are the cause of all ignorance, Atheism, Schismes, treasons, popoerie, and ungodlinesse that is to found in this land'. Matthew also highlighted Udall's attack on the structure of the English church, underlining his criticism of 'England, retaining that Popish hierarchy, first coyned in the midst of the misterie of iniquitie and that filthie sinck of canon law'. Matthew was conscious of the polemical debate within which this text operated. Matthew noted in the margins of Udall's text who were 'favourers of reform', he also noted 'adversaries', writing in the margin that they were both 'unlearned' and 'learned'. Next his note 'learned', Matthew highlighted the names of Whitgift and Bridges.⁵⁷

Matthew read these texts as dialectical discussions. He acquired Bancroft's sermon against presbyterianism and defending *iure divino* episcopacy, and in the margin of one of Bancroft's attacks, Matthew noted 'puritain' against Bancroft's claim that 'the Papists did never deal with more eagerness against us then these men do now'. Matthew read this sermon itself as a dialectic text. He underlined the arguments of Marprelate which Bancroft claimed to refute, and noted the

Leeds 1590-1640', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham, 1990), p. 62

⁵⁷ J. Udall. *A demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which Christe hath prescribed in his worde for the government of his church in all times and places untill the ende of the worlde* (East Molesey, 1588), sig. A3r, B3v, B4v-C2v. YML IX. Q. 16(2) In 1587, John Bridges had published an attack against presbyterianism which for the first time included a justification of the English church on the basis on *iure divino* episcopacy. Matthew also acquired this text. J. Bridges, *A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters* (London, 1587), YML. XI. L. 6.

presbyterian attacks on episcopacy, and Bancroft's response.⁵⁸ Matthew also acquired other texts in this discussion, buying for example the presbyterian attack on Bancroft by the Scottish reformer, Davidson, and Matthew Sutcliffe's response to Udall's *The Demonstration of Discipline*.⁵⁹

These works posited an apparently irreconcilable conflict between episcopacy and presbyterianism, based on doctrinal justifications of church government. Matthew, however, adopted neither. He read all the texts in light of his own views about the manifestation of the church in Tudor England. In Sutcliffe's response to Udall, Matthew underlined Sutcliffe's assertion that, 'these men turn doctrine into discipline, all into government'. Matthew did not, and his readings of Sutcliffe and Bancroft ignored their attempts to develop a doctrinal basis for the continued episcopacy of the church of England. Matthew believed that the true church was signified through its preaching and sacraments, and would be characterised by a government which was best able to effect regeneration in the hearts of its congregation. Thus Matthew was able to draw a resolution between these different standpoints. In Sutcliffe's text Matthew noted his claim that, 'all government consisteth not in the matter and maner onely, but in the efficient and final causes also'. In an alternative polemical text, written in defence of presbyterianism, Matthew underlined Davidson's discussion of 'Christian discipline...which chiefly is in controversie', and noted his claim that this was justified by 'this precept of Christe, feede my sheep'. This was a justification of matching the means to the end, and Matthew ignored Davidson's later extrapolation of this injunction when he argued that this implied the church and state should be kept apart.⁶⁰

Matthew's failure to be promoted to the bishopric of Durham in the 1580s reflected the ascendancy of Burghley, and a 'conformist' position at court and, therefore, in the church. As Matthew's reading demonstrated, the theological

⁵⁸ Bancroft, *A Sermon Preached..1588*, pp. 52, 89-90.

⁵⁹ 'I. D' [J. Davidson], *D. Bancrofts Rashness in rayling against the church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1590). YML IX. Q. 16(3). M. Sutcliffe, *A Remonstrance, or Plaine Detection of some of the faults...in a Boke entitle A Demonstration of Discipline* (London, 1590), YML V/2. K. 10

⁶⁰ Sutcliffe, *A Remonstrance*, p. 16. Davidson, *Bancrofts Rashness*, sig. B8r-v.

vibrancy in the church was by then a highly polarised debate between two extreme visions of government which rested on a different theological basis to Matthew's own vision of the church. The national cause of reformers who shared a vision of a godly commonwealth was increasingly threatened as the decade drew to a close. Leicester's death in 1588 left many of the godly, including Matthew, without their chief patron; although Matthew did receive some support from the earl of Essex, who considered adopting Leicester's godly mantle, it was slight compared to Leicester's patronage.⁶¹ In 1590, Walsingham, another patron who had become increasingly important to Tobie Matthew while he was at Durham, died. Following Walsingham's death, Matthew started to correspond again sporadically with his former patron, Burghley, as Burghley assumed some of Walsingham's Scottish work.⁶²

Matthew turned instead to Burghley's son, Robert Cecil, who from the early 1590s was acting as a secretary of state. Cecil's correspondence with Matthew reflected a common godliness, and an awareness of the importance of both securing the north against Catholic attacks, and developing a friendly relationship with the heir apparent, James VI. They shared a sense of the danger of domestic Catholicism, and corresponded about the state of the northern church and polity.⁶³

When Archbishop Piers of York died in 1594, there were rumours that Hutton would move to York, leaving the bishopric vacant again. Matthew started another campaign to gain the bishopric, and though he drew on Burghley's patronage, it was Robert Cecil who was the primary agent on Matthew's behalf. Matthew started his campaign to gain the bishopric in August 1594, writing to his old friend, Michael Hicke, with letters for Burghley and Cecil. He urged Hicke: 'I praie you to let me use your good friendshipp in the deliverie of

⁶¹ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, II, f. 314. BL., Lans. Mss., 78, f.42.

⁶² For example, see letters written by Matthew to Burghley on Scottish and Border affairs, BL., Lans. Mss., 77, ff. 28, 40, 78.

⁶³ For example, see PRO SP 15/33/20, 15/33/22, 15/33/25. *Cal Bord. Pap*, vol. 1, nos. 942, 950. Reid has argued that Cecil's interest in the north also demonstrated a concern to neuter Essex's attempt to garner support among the northern Catholics. Reid, *Council of the North*, p. 226.

these enclosed with such convenient expedicion and at such opportunity as you think meetest.' He also entreated Hickes to 'take good order that my letters come not to the vewe of any common eye', promising 'dewe consideracion of such furtherance as you shall please therin to give me'. Hickes promised Matthew that he would keep it from 'any common eye or any eye besides' and wrote that he 'was ready to holde the candell to geve light to the game, whilst others play it'.⁶⁴

Matthew had learnt his lessons about the importance of courtly support from 1587. He used Hickes as his representative at court and worried when Hickes warned Matthew that he would be absent from court. Matthew did not, however, this time have to rely on Hickes alone. In May of 1594 he had travelled south, preaching at St Mary's University Church in Oxford on 30 May. On June 16 he preached at 'Court at Theobolds', preaching 'at court at Greenwich' on the feast of Peter and Paul, and again at court on 7 July. Matthew was, therefore, well placed when news of Piers' death came. He remained in London throughout the summer and autumn of 1594, preaching three more times at court and once at Paul's Cross in October. Matthew also had the honour of preaching the Queen's day sermon at Westminster. He took as his text the safe and popular one of 1 Tim II, v.1, a verse frequently used to defend the practice of 'Crownation day' against its critics.⁶⁵

Matthew used his time at court to promote himself from the pulpit. He was also aware of the value of proximity to potential patrons. Matthew discovered that

⁶⁴ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f. 153r. Matthew's stress on the importance of secrecy may have reflected a promise of money which he later gave to Burghley in recognition of his thanks BL., Lans. Mss., 79, f. 108. See also BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f. 74. BL., Lans. Mss., 78, ff. 36, 40, 42, 147.

⁶⁵ YML Add. Mss., 18 ff.42-43. 'The form of prayer and thanksgiving, to be used every year, the 17th of November, being the day of the Queen's Majesty's entry into her reign' opened with the reading of 1 Tim II, v. 1. *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. W. Keatinge Clay (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847), p. 548. Thomas Holland drew on this verse when defending the practice from puritan and Catholic critics. T. Holland, *An Sermon Preached at Pauls in London the 17 of November Ann. Dom. 1599* (Oxford, 1601), sig. I3r.

once more Day had been offered the bishopric of Durham in October and accepted it, and that Burghley had supported Matthew's transfer to Worcester. At this moment, however, it appears that Robert Cecil intervened on Matthew's behalf. Discussing the matter later with Hickes, Robert Cecil asked Hickes to direct suspicion away from his role in securing the bishopric for Matthew, especially 'at one Tyme when it was iust in danger'. Arriving at court to preach on 17 November, Matthew wrote to Burghley to tell him that Elizabeth I supported his hopes for Durham, 'upon her own princelie consideracion rather than upon anie suite of myne or solicitation of my friendes'.⁶⁶

Cecil's support of Matthew reflected a common commitment to reform and a friendship which would endure throughout Matthew's time at Durham. In 1595 Cecil thought Matthew to be a 'worthy man and one of whom I ever wold be loth to be misiudged', writing that Matthew was 'content to inioy my trew friendship, which will be most honourable to him and most agreeable to my humour'. He stressed, however, that his role in Matthew's promotion must remain a secret, or 'it wyll disable me to do him pleasure hereafter if my access to her Majety's eare which now I so used as her Majesty cannot suspect yt I looked to anything but her service', rereading his note, he added 'to do him *or others* pleasure'.⁶⁷ It was Burghley, therefore, whom Matthew credited with his success. On 2 December, Whitgift wrote to tell Hutton that he and Matthew had been nominated to York and Durham respectively. Matthew wrote to Burghley to thank him, enclosing £100 in gold as a sign of his gratitude. Within the Cecil family, however, Matthew's patron was known. Writing to Robert Cecil a few months later, Lady Russell told her nephew that she thought he should have let Day move to Durham, criticising his support of Matthew, a cleric whom she thought was not 'an upright man'.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ BL. Lans. Mss., 77 f. 153. BL., Lans. Mss., 79, f. 108. YML., Add. Mss., 18, p.43.

⁶⁷ BL. Lans. Mss., 77, f. 192r.

⁶⁸ BL. Lans. Mss., 77 ff. 153, 192. BL., Lans. Mss., 79, f. 108. A. G. R. Smith *The Servants of the Cecils: The Life of Sir Michael Hickes 1543-1612* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1977), pp.74-7. *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9 (24 vols., London, 1883-1976), vol. 5, pp. 121-2. This has led historians, like Collinson, to see William

Matthew's career continued to reflect developments at court and at the universities, even though he was, in Durham, remote from both. He also continued to be engaged in theological developments and debates, both within the church and, increasingly as the 1590s progressed, in cross-confessional polemical writings. The theological debates, however, bore little relevance to his own thought or his northern experience, and in a political environment shaped by the conflict between presbyterianism and 'conformity', Matthew, like his patrons, found himself alienated. As the first generation of godly reformers passed away, Matthew found some sort of reconciliation at court through his shared concerns with temporal and religious unity, and as the threat of Catholicism later increased in Durham, Matthew increasingly found that his stress on unity in the godly commonwealth would prove a bond for disparate Protestants. The political background informed the pace of his career in Durham, but throughout his time in the diocese Matthew remained committed to the establishment of the true church, through ecclesiastical and political channels. It is Matthew's attempts to establish reform through the church with which the next chapter is concerned.

CHAPTER SIX

Pastor in the Pulpit: Tobie Matthew and the Proselytisation of Durham

least we should abuse others and beguile ourselves we have certain infallible tokens to try our love to God: as by hearing of his word for his sheep hear his voice and follow no stranger¹

Tobie Matthew, sermon before Huntingdon Durham 1592

Matthew worked to establish a reformed church in Durham through the clerical patronage that he enjoyed as dean and as bishop of Durham. He used that patronage to try and establish a reformed and educated clergy in the diocese, drawing on his connections with Oxford and the network of reformers already established in the diocese. He also tried to improve the quality of the existing ministry, encouraging preaching exercises and clerical synods in the diocese while working to eject Catholic ministers. The poverty, the size and the lay patrons of many of the parishes in the diocese meant that Matthew was not always successful in his aim, and he tried to remedy some of the deficits in the church through his own extensive preaching tours of the diocese.

Matthew's Personal Preaching

Shortly after Matthew had gone to Durham, his future patron, Robert Cecil, counselled the Queen on how to reduce domestic Catholicism. Cecil envisaged a programme of reform which rested on both conversion and compulsion, but which prized proselytisation over penalisation. 'Weakened they may be', Cecil argued, 'by two meanes the first wherof is by lessening their number, the second by taking away their force'. Cecil stressed the importance of conversion, arguing that, 'their number will be easily lessened by the meane of diligent and carefull Preachers in each parish to that end appoynted'. He also stressed the importance of education, arguing for, 'Good Scule Masters', to prevent Catholics 'bringing upp of their youth'. Matthew shared this vision of reform. He too would work to increase godly schooling in the diocese, but at the heart of his programme of

¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f.8v

conversion was a commitment to the preached word. In 1592 he told a congregation how the process of edification began, 'first', he argued, 'by hearing what and how we ought [to do] as it is written ...take heed what and how ye hear. And *Fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei*'.²

Throughout his time at Durham Matthew worked relentlessly to counter the lack of preaching in the diocese and was committed to an exhaustive schedule of preaching. Matthew kept a preaching diary during his time at Durham and at York, in which he noted the place, date and often the text of all the sermons he preached from 1583.³ The diary demonstrates that Matthew was engaged in an extensive round of preaching within the diocese, and on his journeys to London and Oxford. In 1585, for example, he preached seventy sermons within the diocese, in 1586 the figure was again seventy, and in 1587 it was seventy-five. As bishop of Durham, Matthew did substantially less preaching, but he still preached on average once a week.⁴ Matthew chose to visit places where there was a lack of preaching, and in Durham those places often reflected the twin problems facing the diocese: poverty and popery. Improperly beneficed, either in the hands of Catholic patrons or with meagre livings, meant that plurality was common, while the poverty of those livings and their distance from the universities ensured that few graduate preaching ministers came north. In Matthew's eyes, and in the eyes of his patrons, this lack of preaching exacerbated the problem of conservative and increasingly counter-reformed Catholicism.

Matthew was not alone in his attempts to increase the preaching provision in the north. The Earl of Huntingdon worked to increase preaching through his patronage, while there were several godly ministers in Durham who, like Matthew, were personally committed to frequent preaching. On his arrival in

² BL., Eg. Mss., 3378, f.43r. YML Add Mss 582 f.3v

³ A transcript of the diary may be found YML., Add. Mss., 18. For a discussion of Matthew's preaching schedule while he was at York see W. J. Sheils, 'An Archbishop in the Pulpit: Tobie Matthew's Preaching Diary 1606-1622', in D. Wood (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Northern Church, c. 1100-c. 1700: Essays in honour of Claire Cross* (Woodbridge, 1999), 381-406.

⁴ YML., Add. Mss., 18, ff. 8-17

Durham, Matthew was met by the Oxford graduate, Francis Bunny, 'a worthy preacher..now ripened for the pulpit', and by Henry Naunton, known as 'Tully of the North'.⁵ Both were prebends in the Cathedral. Their commitment to preaching was matched by that of other godly clerics. The most renowned was Bernard Gilpin, the minister of Houghton in county Durham. Known popularly as the 'apostle of the north', this graduate of Queen's College in Cambridge had refused to accept a canonry because he believed it would detract from his parochial preaching. On his death in 1589, Gilpin left money to his newly established school in Houghton, called Kepier school, designed to improve literacy rates and increase scriptural study.⁶

Throughout Elizabeth's reign there were, often through Huntingdon's intervention, godly preachers at work in Newcastle. Newcastle citizen, Humphrey Hancock, writing his will in 1579, left money to pay for a funeral sermon to be preached by either, 'Maister John Magbrey or else that Godly and learned man, Maister Francis Bunny', and specified the text on which he wished Magbray or Bunny to preach. A Marian exile, John Magbray had come to Newcastle in 1569, bringing with him the experience of establishing a church for Marian exiles in Lower Germany. He, with fellow godly reformers seems to have been involved in setting up a programme for increasing the preaching provision of Newcastle. Later writing about his youth in late-Elizabethan Newcastle, the Laudian Dr. Thomas Jackson attacked his godly opponents: 'since the liberty of prophesying was taken up - which came but lately into the northern parts (unless it were in the towns of Newcastle and Berwick wherin Knox, Mackbray and Udale had sown their tares) all things have gone so cross and backward in our church'.⁷ Huntingdon had introduced Udall to Newcastle, employing him to preach there during the plague of 1589. The godly provision was further supported by the preaching of Huntingdon's former chaplain,

⁵ BL., Add. Mss., 4460 f.25v. BL., Add. Mss., 30352, ff. 7v-8r.

⁶ R. Surtees, *The History of and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (4 vols., Durham, 1816-40), 1 vol, p. 160. *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 393-95. Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham', p. 271.

⁷ T. Jackson quoted in R. Welford (ed.), *History of Newcastle and Gateshead in the 16th and 17th centuries* (3 vols., London, 1884-87), vol. 3, p. 27. R. Howell, *Puritans and Radicals in the North of England: Essays on the English Revolution* (New York, 1984).

Richard Holdsworth, in Newcastle from 1585; later, in 1595, the corporation paid for two lecturers, one of whom was Holdsworth's son-in-law.⁸

There had been other drives for reform in the diocese before Matthew moved north, and these had reflected the lack of a preaching provision in the diocese. Bishop Barnes had drawn up a schedule of those places which sorely lacked preaching, charging each of the prebends to visit these places to preach. A chancellor's visitation of 1578 revealed that most prebends were expected to preach between eight and twelve sermons in the diocese between Michaelmas 1578 and Michaelmas 1579. They were sent to preach in parishes with either poor livings or strong Catholicism: often it was both. The churches of Bishop Auckland, Brancepath, Lanchester and the parish churches of Newcastle and Durham city, which were all home to large numbers of Catholic families, featured most heavily on the lists of prescribed pulpits.⁹

Despite the attempts to increase the preaching provision, there was little improvement by 1583. During his first few years in Durham, Matthew went to preach in those same parishes, and he was also involved in trying to resurrect Barnes' schedule for prebendal preaching.¹⁰ In January of 1585, Ralph Lever submitted to the dean and chapter a proposal for increasing the chapter's preaching in the diocese. Matthew copied out Lever's suggestion that prebendaries should each read the divinity lecture twice a week, and that: 'every residensarie shall preach (beside the sermones he is bound to take quarterly in this Cathedrall church) six other sermons or cause them to be made by some

⁸ Another preacher, John Knaresdale, was employed in 1604 in Newcastle, *Puritans and Radicals*, pp. 81-82 Welford *History of Newcastle*, vol. 3, p.57. Udall stayed in Newcastle until 1590. K. D. Murray, 'Puritanism and Civic Life in York, Newcastle, Hull, Beverley and Leeds 1590-1640' (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Durham, 1990) pp. 62-64.

⁹ *Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Barnes*, pp. 81-91. Surtees, *History Of Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 143-44, vol. 4, pp. 41-50. *Miscellanea Recusant Records*, ed., C. Talbot (Catholic Record Society, London, Liii, 1961), pp. 47-66

¹⁰ Matthew visited Brancepath, home to a large number of Catholics, frequently; for example he preached there three times in 1588, and visited the parish 3 or 4 times a year throughout the 1590s. Matthew visited St Oswald's church in Durham 4 times in 1585, 3 times in 1586, and 4 times in 1587. He also preached frequently at Bishop Auckland, where there was an episcopal palace from 1595 onwards. YML., Add. Mss., 18.

such preachers as the Dean and chapter shall like of: thre in Northumberland and thre within the Bishopric of Duresme: in such of ther churches impropriat as the Dean and chapter shall approve'. Lever thought that failure to comply should be met by a fine, in the margin of his precedent book, Matthew highlighted this suggestion, noting 'Reading and Preaching by Residentiaries upon Paine'.¹¹

The lack of preaching in a parish often reflected the poverty of the living, which meant that it was either held in plurality or by a non-preaching minister.

Matthew visited parishes like this frequently. He often visited Merrington in Durham, the vicarage of which was held in plurality by Thomas Burton. Burton, a Cambridge graduate had previously been a prebendary, then chancellor in Carlisle during Barnes' episcopacy there, and when Barnes moved to Durham, he appointed Burton to be his temporal chancellor. Merrington received little attention from Burton, who also held the rectory of Stanhope in the diocese, and from 1587 Burton was also a prebend of York Minister. He appointed a local, non graduate, Francis Brackenbury to perform his duties at Merrington.

Brackenbury, however, was also a pluralist, holding his curacy in Merrington with a curacy in Croxdale. Matthew's frequent visits to Merrington suggests that the large parish received little in the way of homiletic provision, especially troubling to Matthew when so many of its inhabitants were Catholic.¹²

Several of the Durham parishes had suffered following the dissolution of the monasteries, crown impropriation had ensured that some large parishes in the diocese had poor livings and suspect lay patrons. It seemed that a poor living and Catholicism often went together, as an uncommitted or absent minister made parishes more attractive for Catholics. Two parishes to which Matthew returned to throughout his time in Durham, Chester-le-Street and Lanchester, were, after the dissolution, in the gift of the laity. At Chester-le-Street a tiny stipend had been reserved for a minister and the curate there, Thomas Lydell, was unable to preach. Lanchester too, was served by a non graduate. That living, however, also brought with it the right to appoint to the curacy of Eshe.

¹¹ DCD/T/YB f.42r

¹² YML Add Mss 18; Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol 4., p. 59, Surtees, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 243, 278, 283.

Lanchester, Eshe and Chester-le-Street were frequent points on Matthew's preaching tours of the diocese.¹³

The conservatism of a minister often reflected the conservatism of the parish, and Matthew believed that his preaching was the only way of introducing an unreformed congregation to the saving and converting, word of God. In Chester-le-Street, the Hedworth family who held the living were later recorded as being part of the recusant community in Brancepath in 1595; in 1592, John Hedworth, a Justice in Durham, had claimed that he was too ill to take the oath confirming the Queen's supremacy. Both Chester-le-Street and Lanchester were home to several recusant families. Lanchester lay in the hands of the Hodgson family, members of which were repeatedly recorded as recusants from 1592 onwards, and the Hodgsons took advantage of their influence within the parish to establish Lanchester as one of the centres of recusant activity within the diocese.¹⁴

For Matthew, preaching was the primary tool of conversion, and Catholic parishes featured heavily in his preaching schedule. He argued that many Catholics in the diocese 'err of ignorance', these, he thought, would find instruction through the sermon. They would also, of course, be regenerated. In 1590, when Matthew preached at the imprisonment of seminary priests in Durham, he enjoined his audience to 'receive in meekness the word that is graffed in you which is able to save your soules'. Those following the text in their Geneva bibles would see the note which explained that this would be achieved through preaching.¹⁵ Matthew preached constantly at Catholic parishes: at Lanchester; Brancepath; Merrington; and Heighington. He preached too at the churches of Durham, St Oswald of Elvet and St Margaret's whose lack of minister had encouraged the establishment of a Catholic

¹³ YML., Add. Mss., 18. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 143-46, 312.

¹⁴ DCD/T/YB 96r. PRO SP 12/245/24. *Recusant Roll 1: 1592-3* ed., M.M.C. Calthrop (CRS., London, xviii, 1916), p.79. *Recusant Roll 3: 1594-5 and Recusant Roll 4: 1595-6* ed., H. Bowler (CRS., London, Lxi, 1970), pp. 252-5; 'A Book of Recusants in the Province of York' in *Miscellanea* ed. Talbot, pp. 15-45. Few Durham recusants feature in the York records, their inclusion demonstrates the confiscation of property.

¹⁵ James I: v. 21, YML. Add Mss 18, f.25

community.¹⁶ Matthew was aware, however, that he could not convert the diocese alone, and complemented his preaching with efforts to increase the overall level of preaching within the diocese.

Matthew and the Sacraments

Matthew's programme for regeneration through the church rested on the increase of preaching provision, but it was complemented by a stress on the importance of the sacraments. Matthew argued that as well as through preaching, 'we ought to draw high to God by his visible worde, to witt, the sacraments'. Matthew continued, 'not of baptism only as children doe; but of the holy communion also as men we should doe'.¹⁷

The emphasis on the sacraments reflected a Calvinist understanding of the nature of the Eucharist. Matthew had read Martyr and Jewel's assertion of the value of the Eucharist in effecting regeneration. In 1592, Matthew urged a congregation of the importance of communion, telling them that participation in the ceremony was to benefit not only from 'the merits of his doings and suffering for us, but of the very nature and substance of his body and blood: to wit a real and actual participation of himself, not an application only of the desert and effect therof'.¹⁸ Matthew had also read Calvin closely on the sacrament, and he had written in the margin of Calvin's work *De verae fideri natura locus* that '*carnis et spiritus repugnata*'.¹⁹ He warned his Durham congregation that though the Eucharist was more than a simple memorial, there was still a the distinction between the Catholic and Calvinist view of communion:

¹⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 18. BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f. 47. 'A Book of Recusants in the Province of York' in *Miscellanea* ed. Talbot, pp. 46, 48. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 303-11. vol. 3, pp. 278-83, 303-24, vol. 4, pp. 127-31.

¹⁷ Bod., Top. Oxon. Mss., E, 5, p. 181

¹⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 26v. Jewel, *A Defence of the Apologie*, p.73. Martyr, *Disputatione de Eucharistiae Sacramento*, sig, b2r, c1r-c5r, d1r-v, d5v, fr1-f3v, n2r, t7r.

¹⁹ J. Calvin, '*De Verae Fideri Natura Locus*' in Gervasius ed., *Panoplia Christiana*, p. 238.

of the manner there is great question between us and them, but of the matter received, not so great. For that which they say is to be received corporally we say is not to be received but spiritually and sacramentally²⁰

With preaching, therefore, the sacraments could play an important regenerative role, and Matthew also emphasised their importance as a tool of edification in that they united the congregation. He encouraged frequent communion.

'Methinks', he told the Durham congregation of 1592, 'a singular good sign of our love to Godward is the frequent use of this holy sacrament, whereby we show ourselves, even so many as receive of this bread, that we are one body, not so many Christians among us, but also with Christ at our head'. Preaching, however, continued to be at the heart of Matthew's thought about regeneration. He encouraged the 'celebration of communion', but warned, 'it is not so commendably performed without the gospel preached'.²¹

The Eucharist could be an identity giving sacrament through which members of the church pledged their continuing commitment to the church; increasingly it also became an important mark of conformity.²² Matthew and Huntingdon encouraged the observance of communion, and the two promoted general communions in the diocese. As dean, Matthew encouraged regular general communions in the cathedral. In 1588, after the escape from the Armada, the godly community in Durham celebrated their safety with a general communion held in Durham cathedral on 6 October. There were also general communions at 'midsomer' in 1589, 1591, and 1593. In 1592 there were receipts for bread and wine bought for the celebration of communions at various times throughout the year: on the feast of the annunciation; on Palm Sunday; on Easter day; at a

²⁰ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 26v.

²¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 8v, 26r.

²² Initially many Catholics felt able to attend Protestant services as long as they did not communicate, but by 1564 there was an increased drive by the Catholic leadership to promote total abstinence. However, in Durham it is clear that some Catholics continued to attend church, yet did not communicate (see below, chapter eight) and Huntingdon's and Matthew's enthusiasm for general communions may have been an attempt to identify Catholics among their ranks. Haigh has shown that in 1580 Catholics in York demonstrated their conversion to the English church by taking communion. C. Haigh, *The English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 260-63.

general communion held on the 25 June 'the Sunday next after the feast of St the Baptist'; 'on the Queenes majesties day'; at Christmas; and on New Year's Eve.²³

As bishop, Matthew promoted the related practice of confirmation. On the table of the contents of Whitgift's attack on Cartwright, Matthew wrote a note to himself, 'confirmation, 725 &c. 785-786'. On those pages Matthew read Thomas Cartwright's attack on the practice as unreformed, underscoring his claim that, 'this confirmation hath many dangerous points in it'. Matthew also underlined Whitgift's defence that, 'confirmation that is now used was never abused by the papistes, for they had it nor, neyther any similitude of it, but only the name'. Matthew then highlighted examples from Bucer which defended its practice. One of Cartwright's criticisms had been that it was performed only by a bishop, but this for Matthew was one of its advantages, offering a useful way of asserting episcopal authority and presence among the diocese. It was also a means of promoting an attachment to the church.²⁴

A year after Matthew received his *congé d'élire*, he began to confirm. These confirmations could be highly charged moments, offering conformists a means of asserting, publicly, their commitment to the church. The communion had been used as a sign of cross-confessional conversion, and its use now was to reflect a more positive commitment to the church, offering conformists an opportunity to stress their affection for the national church. The practice of confirmation was a rite of passage which acted as a public assertion of a commitment which was usually marked passively by compliance. At the first confirmation, Matthew drew on the parallels between this process and the cross confessional conversion. He chose to hold the high profile, and popular ceremony at St Oswald's church in Durham. There were Catholics within the parish and Matthew further highlighted the 'conversion' parallels through his

²³ DCD. Misc. Ch 3154. DCD. Misc. Ch 3163. DCD. Misc. Ch 3231.15. DCD. Misc. Ch 3240. DCD. Misc. Ch 3239. DCD. Misc. Ch 3248.2. DCD. Misc. Ch 3248.3. DCD. Misc. Ch 3278.2. DCD. Misc. Ch 3278.3. DCD. Misc. Ch 3305.3.

²⁴ Whitgift, *The defence of an Aunswere*, sig. b4v, pp. 725-26

choice of the former Catholic priest, Thomas Bell, to preach.²⁵ At other times, it is clear that Matthew used the rite of confirmation as a means of securing adherence to the Tudor regime as well as to the church. The practice of confirmation was a central part of the preaching tours which complemented his work trying to subdue the borders in 1596 and 1597.²⁶

Matthew's sense of the value of confirmation as a rite which promoted unity within, and conformity to, the English church was further reflected at the Hampton Court Conference. There Matthew supported the existing government of the church but was also involved in some of the refinements of the existing ecclesiastical practices. There is little evidence of Matthew's contribution to the conference, except on the question of confirmation. It was reported that Matthew had 'noted something out of St. Matthew to the imposition of hands on children' during the discussion on the value of conformity.²⁷

Matthew's Clerical Patronage

Matthew used his powers of patron as dean and as bishop to bring preachers to the north, and where preachers were in place he added their parish to his preaching itinerary strengthening the godly networks in the north, and supporting his godly allies in the fight against Catholicism. The parish of St Oswald in Elvet, a suburb of Durham, was noted for its recusancy and from 1583 had been a frequently visited spot on Matthew's itinerary. In 1593, the incumbent Thomas Pentland was deprived, and Matthew as dean held the right of appointment to the living. He appointed Charles Moberley, an usher in the Cathedral of Durham, who, with Robert Murray, had been a close godly ally of Dean Whittingham; as vicar of St Oswalds, Moberley prefaced the parish register with a prayer for Elizabeth I and her work against popery. Moberley,

²⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 48. 'A Book of Recusants in the Province of York' in *Miscellanea* ed. Talbot, p. 53. For an account of Bell's career as Catholic priest and Protestant polemicist see A. Walsham, 'Yielding to the Extremity of the Time', in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 228-30.

²⁶ Matthew continued to hold confirmation meetings throughout the diocese, and in 1597 confirmed people at Carlisle in the neighbouring diocese. YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 51, 54-9. See below, chapter eight.

²⁷ PRO SP 14/3/92, ff.205r-v. Fuller, *Church History*, vol. 5, p. 271.

however, died before the end of the year, and Matthew replaced him with a kinsman, James Calhill. Calhill had attended Christ Church while Matthew was dean there, taking a BA and an MA before his removal north.²⁸

Matthew continued to return to St Oswald's in Durham after the appointments of Moberley and Calhill, and he frequently preached at another parish, Pitlington, outside the city of Durham. Pitlington was also home to many of the rebels and their sympathisers from the 1569 rebellion. The church warden in 1584 had been responsible for setting up the altar in the church at the time of the rebellion, and the largest stall belonged to Mr Anderson, a councillor and one of the leading 'church papists' of Newcastle. In 1593, the vicar of Pitlington, Robert Murray, died. Part of the circle which had surrounded Whittingham he had found a godly ally in Matthew and the two had, apparently, been close. In his will Murray left Matthew a 'spur ryall for remembraunce'. Though apparently local, Murray's intellectual horizons were far from parochial; to Durham cathedral he gave a copy of *Chemmins de Examination Tridenti*, and left all his bookes, 'except my Geneva bible', to his nephew William Murray. Presumably William Murray had a Genevan bible of his own; in 1594 he followed his uncle to the living of Pitlington after a spell at another parish frequented by Matthew, St Giles in Durham.²⁹

Matthew also worked with godly laity to increase the preaching provision. Matthew was, with Walsingham, involved in the refoundation of Sherbourne hospital, reestablishing the position of master of the hospital as a preaching post. It had been a wealthy living, which both Thomas and Ralph Lever had held in supplement to their prebendaries, and it continued to be sought after its refoundation. In 1585, Valentine Dale took the position of master. His appointment reflected the influence of Walsingham and his friendship with

²⁸ DCD. Misc. Ch.3218. DCD. Misc. Ch. 3258. DCD. Misc. Ch. 3289. Surtees, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 74-94. *Churchwarden's Accounts of Pitlington and other parishes in the diocese of Durham from AD. 1580-1700*, ed. J. Barmby (Surtees Society, London, 84, 1850), p. 7.

²⁹ YML., Add. Mss., 18. DCD. Misc. Ch. 3218. DCD. Misc. Ch. 6698. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 1, p. 117. *Churchwarden's Accounts of Pitlington*, ed. Barmby, pp. 1-6.

Matthew. Dale's reluctance to stay in the north, however, meant that he often charged Matthew with fulfilling his duties. Writing from court in 1587, Dale beseeched Matthew, 'I praye you whill lett me find your frewnshipp to perswade you...to be good to the poore of Sherbourne House'.³⁰

On Dale's death in 1589, Matthew tried to secure the living for his cousin, Sir Julius Caesar, his commitment to his cousin outweighing his commitment to preaching.³¹ The new statutes, which placed the living in the gift of the bishop, had stipulated that not only was the master to hold no other living with the mastership, but that he was to be a preacher. Caesar was neither, nor was he successful. On hearing of Dale's death, Walsingham wrote to the bishop of Durham, Matthew Hutton, reminding him of the duties of the master. 'The Hospitall of Sherborne', Walsingham told Hutton, 'is fallen to your gyfte; which I wishe be bestowed by you uppon a learned preacher and good man that may by doctrine and hospitality do good'. Hutton eventually bestowed the living on his nephew, Robert Hutton, a fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, who later exchanged it for the livings of a local preacher, Robert Bellamy.³²

Matthew also drew on his own resources of patronage to try and increase the quality of the Durham ministry, and he used his powers of patronage to bring graduate clerics north, to encourage native godly ministers and to establish a network of preachers. Matthew's patronage as dean and later as bishop was in theory extensive, covering the livings of many of the parishes and chapels, as well as the schools and hospitals, of the diocese. As bishop, Matthew also had the gift of the prebendaries of the Cathedral as well as power to appoint men to a large number of offices within the bishop's household. In practice, however, the

³⁰ DCD/T/YB f. 31v, 53r. BL., Ch. Mss., 8089. Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 3., p.6. *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 115-17

³¹ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f.28. BL, Add. Mss.,12506, ff. 140, 271, 407. BL, Add. Mss., 12507, ff. 140, 191-92. In 1587 Matthew wrote to Cecil, requesting his support in Caesar's suite, stressing how much his cousin had done for him and his cause in the court of Admiralty.

³² Sir Francis Walsingham to Bishop Matthew Hutton, 18 November 1589. *The Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 17, London, 1843), p. 77.

poverty of the livings and the distance of the diocese from the universities dissuaded many clerics from coming north.³³

As dean of Durham, Matthew had two opportunities to appoint men to the vicarage at Heighington. South of Durham city, both Heighington and the neighbouring parish of Aycliffe, were home to many recusants and Matthew preached frequently at both. In 1584, he appointed Francis Keys to the vicarage at Heighington. Keys was also the headmaster of Durham grammar school, having returned there after receiving an MA from Christ's College in Cambridge which he had attended on an exhibition from Durham chapter. He did not take orders until his return to Durham, where he was ordained priest and deacon in 1584. The living was in the gift of dean and chapter, and Key's appointment may have reflected the enthusiasm of Matthew and the chapter to encourage local graduate reformers. When Keys resigned both livings, he did so to move to Northallerton in Yorkshire, where he was active in organising Preaching Exercises with Huntingdon.³⁴

Matthew, with the chapter, also appointed Key's successor. Giles Garthwaite was also a graduate, having attended Trinity College in Oxford while Matthew was President of St John's. Garthwaite was, like Keys, also a hot reformer, being prosecuted in 1598 for his failure to wear vestments. Another of Matthew's appointees as dean, the curate of Whitworth and Wallsend, Richard Dearhurst, was also presented for failure to wear a surplice. Though not a graduate, Dearhurst was a famed preacher in the diocese, and his appointment reflected the need for zealous reformers in parishes coloured by Catholicism.³⁵ Preaching and anti-Catholicism were the two areas in which all reformers in the diocese, of every all hue, could meet and establish common connections.

³³ DUL 'Officials of the Bishop of Durham', Asc Ref. A1 CHU. 'Survey of the Durham Bishopric Estates in County Durham, April 1588.', DUL Halmote Records Misc. M. 64. Surtees, *History of Durham*.

³⁴ 'A Book of Recusants in the Province of York' in *Miscellanea* ed. Talbot, p. 46. Marcombe. PRO SP 12/245/24. 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham' pp. 320, 333. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 3, pp. 303-06. *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 377-79.

³⁵ Marcombe, 'The Dean and Chapter in Durham', pp. 321, 333. *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, p. 377.

James Calfill, Matthew's kinsman, who took the living of St Oswald's in Durham in 1593, was one of the men who came to the diocese with no earlier connections (other than Matthew) to Durham. Matthew later also brought John Calfill to the diocese. He also attended Christ Church in Oxford, and seems to have been James Calfill's younger brother. As bishop, Matthew later appointed John Calfill to the rectory at Redmarshall in county Durham in 1599, and appointed him to a canonry in the cathedral in 1603. Matthew also used his influence to ensure that James Calfill became headmaster of Durham grammar school in 1593.³⁶

As dean, Matthew's powers of patronage were tempered by the fact that most of the livings were in the hands of the dean and the chapter. The majority of his appointments during his time as dean reflected local connections and the interest of the chapter, but this accorded with Matthew's own attempts to establish a native reform movement. Matthew's local appointments as dean with the chapter included Robert Prentise to the vicarage of Dinsdale and John Biers to the curacy at Jarrow. Both were old boys of Durham grammar school and had been choristers of the Cathedral. Prentise was already an established part of cathedral life when he took the vicarage in 1588. He was a petty canon in the cathedral, and from 1583 had been deputy to Henry Dethwick. Dethwick, official of the dean and chapter, and Prentise conducted visitations and held church courts in Durham city until the 1590s.³⁷ As dean, Matthew also appointed graduate Robert Throckmorton to the vicarage of Aycliffe in 1584, and in 1594 he appointed William Murray, nephew of the godly Robert Murray to his uncle's living in Pitlington. Both were on Matthew's preaching itinerary, and Throckmorton in particular seems to have been at the heart of the local godly network based at Durham. In 1601, when Elizabeth Jension and godly minister Gilbert Freville drew up statutes for the foundation of a grammar

³⁶ DCD Misc Ch. 3258. Surtees, *History*, vol. 4, p. 82. *VCH Durham*, vol.1, p. 378.

³⁷ DCD. Misc. Ch 3160. DCD/T/YB f. 95. Freeman, 'Parish ministry of Durham', p.356. Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham', p. 320

school in the neighbouring parish of Heighington, Throckmorton was one of those appointed as a trustee of the school.³⁸

As bishop, when Matthew had the right to appoint prebends, he showed a similar concern to encourage the indigenous reform movement. Despite Ede's criticism of his preaching, Henry Ewbank, rector of Washington and, from 1585, master of the Virgin Mary Hospital in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, became Matthew's chaplain. In 1593, Elizabeth I and Essex wrote to Matthew Hutton asking him, as bishop, to bestow a prebendary on Ewbank. It was not, however, until 1596, when Matthew was bishop, that Ewbank became a canon of the cathedral.³⁹ Matthew also appointed Ewbank to a number of other livings within the diocese. Contemporary gossip, however, suggested that it was not the bishop's enthusiasm for Ewbank's preaching, but for his wife, which prompted Matthew's generosity. After Matthew had bestowed the wealthy rectory of Elwick on Ewbank, the minister went to thank Frances Matthew whom he thought to have been influential in persuading her husband to give him the living. Frances Matthew did not accept his thanks graciously: 'she suddenly and angrily replied to him to this purpose that he might thank his hot arsed Queane his wife and not *her* for it'.⁴⁰

Other of Matthew's appointments reflected a concern to encourage a very different sort of local talent. In 1595 he appointed John Hutton, part of the Hutton dynasty established in county Durham by Matthew Hutton, to the living at Gateshead. Hutton's position there was later consolidated by receiving the living of master of the hospital of St Edmund the King, also in Gateshead.⁴¹ During Matthew's time as bishop, three prebendaries fell vacant. Matthew bestowed one on Ewbank, and the other two were also given to established local figures. In 1599, James Rande joined the chapter as canon of the first stall after spending twenty years as the vicar of Norton on the border of Durham and

³⁸ BL Eg Mss. 2877 f. 72 r. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 111-19.

³⁹ DCD/T/YB f. 95. W. Fordyce, *The History and Antiquities of the Palatine of Durham* (Newcastle, 1857), p. 253. Marcombe, 'Dean and Chapter of Durham'. p.77.

⁴⁰ DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f. 125r. My italics.

⁴¹ DCD/T/YB f. 116r

Yorkshire. Shortly after his arrival in Norton, he had worked to further the course of reform by establishing a school in the parish. Despite the distance of his parish from the cathedral, he had continued to be involved in the chapter, benefiting from Whittingham's lottery leases in 1571. Also in 1599, Marmaduke Blakiston, from a local family, took up the prebendary of the seventh stall. In 1585, Bishop Barnes had appointed him to the rectory of Redmarshall, and in 1597 and 1599 respectively Matthew appointed him to the vicarage of Woodhorn and the Rectory of Sedgefield.⁴²

The continuing struggle to attract able clergy to the diocese, meant that Matthew was willing to make multiple gifts of livings, reflecting the poverty of many of those livings. In 1586, Matthew bestowed the living of Bywell St Peter in county Durham on Thomas Mitford who had attended St Mary's Hall in Oxford. His time in Durham was, however, short and Matthew found it impossible to fill the vacancy until 1599. The living of St Margaret's in Durham city was so meagre that it also remained vacant for stretches of several years. Both parishes were home to increasing numbers of Catholics taking advantage of the vacant living, and also frequent hosts to Matthew on his preaching tours of the diocese. From 1599, Marmaduke Blakiston, for example, held the vicarage of Woodhorn with the Rectory of Sedgefield and his prebendary.⁴³

The doubling up of livings seemed to be one of the only methods of attracting and retaining able ministers and preachers; however, the policy had only a limited success. A survey of the diocese from 1601 revealed that there were only sixty-three preachers in the one hundred and thirty-five parishes of the diocese. The majority of these were in the relatively more wealthy county of Durham. In 1601 there were only four licensed preachers in Northumberland. Matthew undertook another survey of the bishopric in August 1603, which revealed that the situation had not improved. Then there were only sixty-one preachers, and

⁴² DCD/T/YB, ff. 1v, 2v-12. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 32, 70-71. Freeman, 'Parish ministry of Durham', p. 301.

⁴³ Matthew visited the parish several times during 1585 and 1586. YML., Add. Mss., 18, pp. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. PRO SP 12/263/86. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 4, p. 41. Freeman, 'Parish ministry of Durham', p. 323.

these figures rested on pluralism, with fourteen benefices being held in plurality.⁴⁴

In 1608, a minister from Northumberland, Thomas Oxley, criticised Matthew's failure to establish a preaching ministry in the diocese. In a sermon which he preached in Durham Cathedral, Oxley dwelt on the qualities of a godly minister, 'three things', he argued, 'inable a Shepheard in his office, *Learning*, *love* and *Providence*...the first was *Learning*. And the want of this is very plentiful amongst us'. Oxley attacked the lack of preaching ministers in the diocese, 'they are dumbe dogs, they cannot barke', and continued, 'if ever countrie was accursed in this kind, it is this of ours, being placed in the midst of a famous land, as the object of disgrace...how many blind seers may be seene here, foolish teachers, lame forerunners, negligent Pastors and dumbe cryers'. Oxley blamed the quality of the ministry on Matthew, 'if you aske me', Oxley said, 'how chance the flockes are no better looked unto? I answere: because the seers are blind'.⁴⁵

Oxley was from Northumberland, and Matthew had had even greater difficulty in persuading godly ministers to go there than to go to Durham. It is clear, however, that although he combined his policy of patronage with schemes to improve the quality of the ministry and penalties for those who did not preach, Matthew made little impact on the numbers of preachers in Northumberland. Though none of Matthew's episcopal visitation records survive, the act book of his archdeacon of Northumberland, John Pilkington, includes records of some archidiaconal visitations. Pilkington frequently prosecuted non-preaching ministers, taking action against ten ministers in eleven parishes for their failure to provide sufficient sermons. This reflected both a poor education, and pluralism arising from the poverty of livings. The rector of Simonburn in Northumberland, Robert Simpson, was one of those charged with insufficient preaching. He, however, was clearly capable of preaching, as he held a MA, but

⁴⁴ PRO SP 14/3/42. Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 177.

⁴⁵ T. Oxley, *The Shepheard Or a Sermon Preached at a synode in Durisme Minister* (London, 1609), sig. D3r-v. Fincham argues that this attack was aimed at Matthew, Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 177

blamed his insufficiency on the demands of his second living, the adjacent parish of Haltwhistle.⁴⁶

Matthew allowed the practice of pluralism to continue as one means of bringing educated ministers north, but he also worked to improve the quality of the existing clergy in the diocese. Central to this programme was the increase of the quality of preaching, which Matthew encouraged by preaching exercises, by synodal examination and through his own, instructive example.

Preaching and Education

When Matthew arrived in the Durham there were already a number of schemes to improve the quality of the clergy in the diocese. Barnes continued the programme of his predecessor, Pilkington, for regular meetings for the clergy of the diocese. He ordered that there should be 'two general chapters' a year, at which 'examynacyon shall be had of the progresse in learnynge and studyenge of the scriptures of the Parsons, Vicars and Curates, Ministers and Deacons, and exercise; and taskes shall be enjoyned to them'. These chapters continued during Matthew's time at Durham. Dr Thomas Jackson, in his memoirs, remembered the 'synods in that Diocese [Durham] where I was bred did constantly examine the licensed readers, how they profited in their learning, by their Exercises which they did as duly exhibit unto the Chancellor, Archdeacon &c'. Those who were able to preach on the appointed texts were then enjoined to preach quarterly.⁴⁷

These meetings were not solely occasions for examination, but ministers might also hear a sermon by a qualified preacher. It was a commonplace, that the best way to learn how to preach was to listen to a sermon, and this had originally been the function of the exercises and of the prophesyings which Jackson

⁴⁶ DUL DDR/A/ACD 58, 37. Freeman claims that there were the most presentations for non-preaching during Matthew's episcopate. This may reflect Matthew's concern to act against non-preachers, as well as poor levels of preaching. J. Freeman, 'The Parish Ministry in the Diocese of Durham c. 1570-1640', (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham, 1979), p. 267.

⁴⁷ DUL DDR/Vis/1 ff.2r-6v; T. Jackson, quoted in Welford, *Newcastle and Newcastle*, vol. 3, p. 27.

claimed took place throughout the 1570s and 1580s. In 1601, for example, Matthew recorded that he used the occasion of the October synod to preach in Durham cathedral. Matthew also took the opportunity of other clerical gatherings to preach to, and thereby instruct, the diocesan clergy. Matthew took the opportunity afforded by his episcopal visitations to preach, preaching at local centres of Newcastle, Darlington and Durham in 1595, 1598 and 1601.⁴⁸

Matthew was also involved in encouraging preaching exercises in the diocese, which benefited both the clergy and godly laity. In 1592, Matthew noted that Robert Dobson and Nicholas Taylor had preached in opposition, apparently at a preaching exercise in Durham Cathedral.⁴⁹ Matthew's godly friends also encouraged preaching exercises, the Bowes, who held the patronage to the chapel of Barnard Castle, established it as a centre of preaching exercises throughout Matthew's time in Durham. On the feast of St James in 1593, Matthew preached at Barnard Castle, 'at the Exercise'. There was a break of several years, but in 1596 Matthew preached at Barnard Castle again, 'at the exercise revived there'. Then he spoke of the need to establish the true church through the preached word, reminding his audience that in Antioch the early Christians had: 'preached the Lord Jesus...and a great number believed and turned to the Lord'. These exercises were popular among the godly laity as occasions to gather and to hear sermons, as well as acting a preaching 'workshop' for the clergy of the diocese.⁵⁰

The sermon was a tool of instruction and of regeneration. Matthew's belief in the efficacy of learning through example was reflected in his statutes for Durham grammar school, which Matthew drew up as dean in 1593. Matthew stressed the importance of rhetorical skills for the future clerics and magistrates of the godly commonwealth, and decreed that students' oratorical skills were to be tested weekly in a structure similar to that which was employed at the Exercises. Matthew ordered that 'the schoolmaster shall propound a theme or

⁴⁸ YML Add Mss. 18 pp. 46, 54-5, 63.

⁴⁹ YML., Add. Mss., 18, f. 32. Though the Queen had banned prophesyings and exercises in 1576, the ban extended only to the southern province. Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp.191-5, 210-11.

⁵⁰ YML., Add. Mss., 18, f.48. Acts 21: 20-24.

argument ... two schollers shall be appointed, the one shall take the first part, the other the second'. The students were to learn their orations by heart, and to pronounce them: 'publiquely in the face of the whole schoole and this ... to contynue weekly throughout the whole yeare among the best schollers'.

Preachers learned through listening as well as through practice; John Rogers' notebook reflected the practice of noting down sermons as an aid to learning. Matthew thought that as well as listening to the students on a Saturday morning, the students should listen 'and note the sermons which [the] schoolemaister shall apopose them on a Frydaie'.⁵¹

The sermon was also a tool of regeneration, private and public. It was, therefore, at the heart of the godly response to divine punishment, usually manifested through plague or famine, which the godly believed was visited upon them to secure further reform. Matthew read his godly ally, John Udall's, defence of fasts as a response to godly affliction. Reading how the sermon might be an effective tool against 'famine and warres', Matthew wrote, 'to what ende all this, to whit that they might crie unto the Lord'. Matthew then noted that the regenerative nature of the sermon would mean that the audience would be more 'effectually drawne unto the felling of their sinnes and the deficits therof, that so they might powre out their prayers more effectually unto the lord for the remission of sins'.⁵²

From the start of Matthew's episcopate, the fast became a common tool in response to the various plagues and famines of the late 1590s. On 6 February 1596, Matthew preached at a fast in Berwick, on March 1 he delivered a sermon to the fast in Darlington. The plague returned the next year, and on 16 June 1597 Matthew 'removed from Auckland to Stockton, *quia pestis*'. The next sermon Matthew preached was at a fast in Sedgefield, followed a few days later by another fast in Darlington.⁵³ In 1603, the diocese was again gripped by the

⁵¹ Matthew's statutes of 1593 for Durham Grammar School are reprinted in *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, p.337-8. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D. 273.

⁵² See, for example, the commonplace book of godly minister Gilbert Freville, BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, ff. 84-88. Udall, *True Remedie against Famine and Warres*, sig. M1v.

⁵³ YML Add Mss. 18 pp. .48, 50, 52.

plague. On 18 September, shortly after Matthew returned from accompanying Queen Anne to London, he noted '*tempore Pestis*'. That day there was a fast at Barnard Castle, 10 days later Matthew recorded that he had preached at a fast in Darnton with 'Mr Tomlinson' and 'Mr Tonstall'. On 12 October there was another fast, this time in the parish of Stanhope attended, Matthew recorded, by 'Mr Craddock, Dr Barnes and myself'. The plague continued through the winter, and Matthew noted that he had preached at four more fasts, before leaving Durham shortly after Christmas to go to the Hampton Court Conference.⁵⁴

Godly Education

The provision of reformed schoolmasters had been an important part of Robert Cecil's plans for the proselytisation of the country. Matthew agreed, and when Francis Keys left his job as headmaster of the grammar school in Durham, Matthew took the opportunities to introduce new statutes for the school.⁵⁵ The revised statutes reflected Matthew's commitment to a humanist education and his emphasis on the oratorical nature of preaching. They reflected too Matthew's own education. In his copy of Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, Matthew had read carefully those sections which emphasised the importance of linguistic skills, underscoring the observation that, 'even the best translation is...but an evil impeded wing to a flie withal'. He noted too the importance of reading authors in the original, and learning from their style and their content. In particular he wrote down which '*vera scriptores*' to read and copy: '*Ciceronis libri de oratore scripti ad imitationem Aristotelis Rhet.*'⁵⁶

These precepts were reflected in the revised statutes for Durham grammar school. Matthew wrote on 'The religion and habilitie of the schoolemaister', and decreed that 'an unlearned schoolmaister cannot make a learned scoler'. The master, he thought, should be fluent in Greek and Latin, be able to teach and to

⁵⁴ YML Add Mss. 18 pp, 64, 71-73. Matthew also preached twice with Robert Dixon, one of his appointees as dean.

⁵⁵ BL., Egerton Mss., 3378, f.43r. Matthew also took the opportunity to establish his kinsman, James Calhill, as the headmaster there. DCD. Misc. Ch 3258. *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, p. 377.

⁵⁶ R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, (London, 1570), sig. O4v, P3v, Q4v, YML VII. M. 4

preach and 'a zealous and a sound professor of true religion abhorring all papistrie'. His programme for the scholars was designed to create a classically trained and humanist theologian or academic, able to engage in oratorical debate and put his learning to good use, namely 'the planting of true religion'. Thus an emphasis on linguistic ability was reflected in Matthew's injunction that the boys should study the 'principles of Erasmus or Ludovicus Vives', and make 'epistles, theames, orations, verses, Latin and Greek'. He insisted too that the schoolboys should read 'the books of Cicero ad Heremium', learning, 'to frame and make an oration according to the precepts of Rhetorick'. Matthew included too an exhaustive list of required authors, covering the canon of humanist works and reformed literature, including Homer, Ovid, Livy and Erasmus as well as 'Mr Nowell's Catechism' and 'the epistles of Mr. Acham'.⁵⁷

From 1593, the school reflected some of the intentions and foundations of the Oxford circle of conforming and classical Calvinists. From 1593, the school was also peopled by men who shared Matthew's commitment to a godly church, and frequently a background too. Calfhill was educated at Christ Church as was his successor, Peter Smart. Smart was appointed by Dean William James, also from Christ Church, and he stayed at the school until 1609 when the James as bishop collated him to a prebendary. A godly minister, Smart was called before the High Commission in 1628 and imprisoned, after a sermon attacking the Arminians in the cathedral. Smart's replacement in 1609 was another godly minister from Oxford, Thomas Igmenthorpe, who lost the living in 1612 after a sermon critical of Marian priest, Ralph Tunstall.⁵⁸

Godly reformers, lay and clerical, worked together to increase the provision of reformed and reforming education. The statutes of Bernard Gilpin's school at Houghton, founded with the godly gentleman, John Heath, and those of Elizabeth Jenison's school in Heighington, shared much in common with Matthew's statutes. Both emphasised the importance of literacy for the faith and of the need for inculcating godly behaviour at an early age. In the preamble to the statutes of her school, drawn up in 1601, Elizabeth Jenison claimed to have

⁵⁷ *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 377-78.

⁵⁸ *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 378-79; Fordyce, *History of Durham*, p. 253

been motivated by 'her godly and free disposition , for the great affection she beareth to learning, and the regard she hath to the bringing up in youth in good literature and education and especially to be catechised. and instructed in the principle of Christian religion and the feare of God'.⁵⁹ All three schools were concerned to prepare their students for engagement in the world outside Durham, the emphasis on classical learning and humanist precepts stressing the universal rather than the particular. They reflected too the international work of scholars and theologians which underpinned the ecclesiastical beliefs of reformers like Matthew, and reflected the experiences of fellow graduates like Gilpin. Matthew was involved in drawing up the statutes for Heighington school, and the list of prescribed authors was similar to that at Durham, including 'Cato, Esops fables, Terence, Ovides Metamorphis, Virgill, Tullies Offices, Tullies familliar epistles...the Greeke Grammar, Greeke Testament and Isocrates'.⁶⁰ Like Matthew and James, Gilpin also used his school to encourage contacts between Durham diocese and the universities. Through his connections with his old college, Queens in Oxford, Gilpin brought George Carlton and Henry Airey to the diocese. Gilpin also provided for future masters to be supplied by Queen's, and established exhibitions at the college for students of Kepier school.⁶¹

These schools were an important part of the programme to reform the diocese; the existing schools in the diocese tended towards conservatism rather than reformation. Darlington school had been refounded by Henry Neville in 1563. The schoolmaster there, Robert Ovrington, was a Catholic, and was not deprived until a clerical investigation of 1579. In Newcastle, the schoolmaster Humphrey Gray, who died in 1586, was close to Henry Anderson and William Jenison, both of whom were leading Catholics. Henry Anderson clashed with Matthew over his choice of a replacement for Gray, and he launched an attack on behalf of the town against the new godly schoolmaster, Mr Burrowes. The appointment of Burrowes was apparently only a temporary setback in the provision of

⁵⁹ BL. Mss. Eg 2877. f.72r. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 3, pp. 303-06.

⁶⁰ BL. Mss. Eg. 2877, f. 74r. *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 377-78.

⁶¹ *VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp.393-94. *Dent Protestant Reformers*, p. 31

Catholic education; men were presented in 1601 and 1603 for teaching without a licence.⁶²

Godly Networks

Much of the reform in the diocese rested on lay patronage as well as clerical intervention. Tobie and Frances Matthew were part of a godly network in the north, which included laity and clergy, and which was important in effecting further reform. Both Tobie and Frances Matthew soon established a close friendship with Francis Bunny. Matthew and Bunny had met before, at Oxford and both counted Huntingdon as a close friend and protector.⁶³ Francis Bunny was a prebend and the archdeacon of Northumberland, and had appointed a curate, James Neilson, to fulfill his pastoral duties in the parish of Ryton. On those occasions when the demands of his different positions clashed, Matthew fulfilled Bunny's preaching commitments in the cathedral. At his friend's request, Matthew went too to the parish of Ryton to preach. In February 1590, Matthew preached at the baptism of Bunny's son, 'Mathei Bunny'.⁶⁴

Matthew also preached at the baptism of another child of a godly family who, it appears was both named after Matthew and for whom Matthew was a godparent. On 15 February 1596, Matthew preached 'In Bapt. Tobiae Bowes. My partners being Sir W. Hylton and Mr Henry Bowes'.⁶⁵ This company was both exalted and godly. Matthew's friendship with the Bowes family was furthered through his political activity, in 1588 he and Sir William Bowes held a muster together, and they frequently both sat as justices. The Bowes lived at Barnard Castle, and

⁶² BL., Lans. Mss., 89, f. 104. Welford, *Newcastle* vol. 3, pp. 120, 150

⁶³ Francis Bunny's brother, Edmund, had also been part of the godly crowd at Oxford, elected preacher of Merton, and fellow of the Reformist Queen's college from 1568. Edmund Bunny had also come north, from 1570 he was sub dean of York, working regularly on the Ecclesiastical High Commission in York, occasionally with Huntingdon. BIHR HC/AB 11, HC/AB/12. Dent, *Protestant Reformers*, p. 23.

⁶⁴ On average Matthew preached for Bunny 2 or 3 times a year. YML Add Mss. 18, pp. 3,5,6,14,15, 17, 24

⁶⁵ YML Add. Mss 18 p.38

held the living to the chapel there, and it was their influence which established Barnard Castle as a centre for preaching exercises.⁶⁶

Frances Matthew, as much as her husband, contributed to the creation and continuation of these networks. Where Matthew acted as a god parent, Frances took a more direct involvement in the bringing up of godly children. Frances drew on the example of the household of the countess of Huntingdon, who in both Leicestershire and Yorkshire had used her household as something of a godly seminary. As well as bringing up her own children, Frances Matthew took in girls and offered them a godly household education. One Durham author noted that, 'those that had a desire to bestow good breeding upon their daughters thought themselves happy and that they had more than halfe bred their Daughters if they could get them entertained into Mrs Matthew's service'. Frances Matthew consolidated other relationships which were vital to her husband. In 1587 Walsingham praised Matthew for his hospitality, and this sociability at the deanery, and later in the episcopal palaces, were important in fomenting these godly friendships.⁶⁷

Frances Matthew was remembered in the will of the godly reformer, John Heath. He and his wife Elizabeth were part of the godly community which worked so hard to establish the reformed faith. In his will of 1589 he left Matthew Hutton and Tobie Matthew '10 angell nobles' each to make 'a ring with death's head', and Matthew and Clement Colemore, then Hutton's vicar general, were appointed overseers of the will. The Heaths had supported Gilpin's Keping school, and held the living of another church frequently patronised by Matthew, St Nicholas's in Durham, where they installed Robert Dobson, a Cambridge graduate in the 1580s.⁶⁸ The promoters of reform in the diocese seem to have formed an increasingly tight group and friendships between Matthew, Bunny and men like the reforming vicar, Robert Murray, or the lay patron, John Heath, underpinned much of the drive for reform in the

⁶⁶ DCD/T/YB f.95. PRO SP 15/28/90. YML., Add. Mss., 18, pp. 37, 48.

⁶⁷ DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f.125r. DCD/T/YB f. 31r. DCD. Misc. Ch. 3329. Cross, *A Puritan Earl*, pp.26-27.

⁶⁸ Heath's will is reprinted in the *VCH. VCH Durham*, vol. 1, pp. 393-95.

north: the sharing of resources and contacts was a central part in the process of reformation.

The process of reform, however, was rarely integral to the diocese: the men, and often the means, came from outside Durham. Even those initiatives designed to sow the seeds of Protestantism in Durham soil, Heath and Gilpin's school at Houghton and Matthew's schools at Durham and at Sedgefield, relied upon the import of scholars, drawing on Oxford, not local, connections; Gilpin's scheme to ensure a traffic in scholars between Durham and Oxford withered quietly after his death. The challenge to those, like Matthew, who strove to establish the church, was to push the tendrils of godliness into every parish in the diocese, and ensure that his work would continue after him. The poverty of the church, however, and the continued Catholic lay influence meant that Matthew, like his predecessors struggled to create a ministry which would meet his own high standards. Frustrated by reform through ecclesiastical structures, Matthew turned to the other tool of a reformer in the godly commonwealth, the law.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Pastor as Politician: Tobie Matthew and the Godly Commonwealth in Durham: 1583-1606

upon occasion of the froward obstinancy of untoward adversaries, severity may well stand with the gospel, and the gospel can hardly stand without it...this is the severity which all governors do hold may be used *Reipublicae causa* for the commonwealths behoof and how much more *Ecclesiae causa*, for the churchs sake¹

Tobie Matthew, sermon before the Earl of Huntingdon, 1592

Matthew's vision of reform stressed the symbiotic relationship between church and polity. As the polity was often the structure through which reform would be achieved, the process of establishing Tudor rule could be regenerative. In Durham, the dean and particularly the bishop had, *ex officio*, extensive civil powers in the diocese. Matthew used these to encourage the establishment of a godly commonwealth, using his civil powers to effect reform in the church as well as in society. Threats to the church, he argued, were threats to the safety of the commonwealth, and therefore Catholicism should be met with the tools of both. Matthew also worked as an agent for his political patrons at court, sending news of Anglo-Scottish relations to Walsingham and Cecil, and acting, in 1596 as a border commissioner. This blurring of boundaries reflected Matthew's vision of reform in Tudor society. He promoted that vision through the celebration of the Queen's Day. This festival demonstrated the unifying possibilities of placing godly rhetoric about constant edification and divine punishment in the context of Elizabethan conformity.

Tobie Matthew and the Celebration of Queen's Day

Matthew and Huntingdon promoted their vision of the godly commonwealth through the celebration of the Queen's Day. Matthew's concept of the 'religious polity' had been developed to resolve the conflict between demands for further

¹ YML., Add. Mss., 18, f.13v.

reform and a commitment to the Queen, and the festivities of the 17 November reflected the summation of that process. The popularity of the festival, underpinned by a popular enthusiasm for the concept of providence, reflected the extent to which Matthew's vision was a force for unity and stability within the Elizabethan church.

The commemoration of Elizabeth I's accession on the 17 November, the 'Queen's Day' or 'Crownation Day', was a celebration of the providential delivery of England from the Catholic regime of Mary I. It was, as Thomas Holland told a congregation in his Queen's Day sermon, a celebration of the time 'when our nation received a new light after a fearfull and bloody eclipse'. The practice of celebrating Elizabeth I's accession as the return of the word seems to have started in London in the late 1560s, spreading to other parts of the country following the papal bull *in Regnans* in 1570.² The festival was marked by bonfires, bells and church services. Preaching in Lidd in Kent in 1587, Isaac Colfe enjoined his audience, 'let us testifye unto the whole world this our reioycing: let the cherefulness of our countenances, the decency of our garentes, the songs of our lippes, the clapping of our hands our melody on the instruments of musike, the making of bonfires, the ringing of belles, the sounding of trum pettes, the displaying of banners, the shooting of gunnes: yea and whatsoever meanes have been used, or may be used as testemonies of reioycing'.³ Holland defended the: 'bonfires, ringing of bels, discharging of ordinance at the Tower of London in the honour of the Queene, and other signes of ioy' as 'laudable..in a Christian Commonwealth'. He defended bellringing arguing that, 'bels have both a ceremonious and civill use, as the trumpets prescribed to Moyses by God's hed', which is why they were used to celebrate a festival of, 'church and commonwealth'.⁴

² T. Holland, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls in London the 17 of November Ann. Dom 1599* (Oxford, 1601), sig. O2f. D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989) pp.50-52. R. Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 (1958), 86-103

³ I. Colfe, *A sermon preached on the Queenes day* (London, 1588), sig. C5f

⁴ T. Holland, *A sermon preached at Pauls*, sig. H3f, Q4f

The Queen's Day festival was a celebration of the religious character and duties of the polity. Reformers claimed that Elizabeth I's accession marked the arrival of the true church in England and that Elizabeth I was a sign, and an instrument, of divine care. In 1578 Sandys reminded a congregation in York Minster that the Queen's Day was a time of celebrating when 'the Lord in his mercie, remembering us when wee had little hoped and less deserved, delivered us from the state of miserable servitude and gave us our gracious Sovereigne, his owne elect, Elizabeth, by his grace our prince and our governor, restorer of our religion and libertie'.⁵ God's blessing on the kingdom was, therefore, manifested through the polity; Colfe thought that Elizabeth 'came not to governe this kingdom in her owne name, but in the name of the Lord: she obtayned not the crown by her power but by the power of the lord'.⁶

For Matthew the Queen, who was at the heart of the polity, was an integral part of the edification of the 'living body' of the polity. In 1584, Matthew preached in Durham cathedral on 17th November, '*Rege Honorate*'. Taking his text from the New Testament, he spoke of 'a living stone, disallowed of men, but chosen of God and precious.'⁷ The godly commonwealth was bounded by the polity and expressed through it, and it was through this polity which the process of edification would take place. In 1591 Matthew cried from the pulpit: 'Blessed be the Lord god of our fathers which hath so put in the Queene's hart and in the heds of hir Council and in the handes of hir faithfull subiectes both to build up and to beautify his holy temple in the realme of England'.⁸

The celebration of Queen's Day promoted the concept of the polity as a forum for piety. By drawing on popular ideas about providence, it also gave a wider currency to Calvinist notions of the meaning of edification, in both personal and public spheres. Godly reformers in the north promoted its observance. Edmund Bunny, a canon of York Minster and brother of Francis, wrote a collection of prayers for Queen's Day, published in 1585. In his dedication to Whitgift,

⁵ E. Sandys, *Sermons Made by the most reverende father, Edwin, Archbishop of York.* (London, 1588), STC 217.3 p.45

⁶ Colfe, *Sermon preached on Queenes day*, sig. d5r

⁷ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p.3

⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 582 f. 14v

Bunny voiced his support for the Queen's Day celebrations and referred to Grindal's support of the festival. He claimed that his collection was prompted by a desire that, 'order should be taken for the continuance of the exercise begun in your grace's predecessors time: for the better accomplishment wherof, especially in these parts where I am resident I thought it my duetie to make some triall of myself to see how farr it would please the Lord'.⁹

Underpinning the Queen's Day festivities was a reading of providential history, which stressed that signs of divine favour or anger could be read in the daily experience of the individual and the community. Many reformers celebrated the continued 'quietness' of the real, and the failure of the Spanish Armada, as a sign of continued divine care. However, at the time those threats were read as a sign of divine anger, and reformers continued to stress that divine care could easily be withdrawn.¹⁰ The Queen's Day, therefore, in its providential examination of history was as much about seeking the future safety of the kingdom through continued reform, as celebrating past glories.

Godly clerics stressed that moral reform, of self and society, was the only means to ensure that God's favour stayed with the kingdom. Preachers found the warning signs of moral turpitude in their surveys of the state of the kingdom. John King told his congregation in York that the instrument of God's wrath would be 'the sword of a forreine foe, bands and captivity', warning that troubles in 'the utmost skirt of our land', Ireland and Cornwall 'no doubt was some warning from God'. King knew too what that warning was about 'our clockes are not well kept, nor our chimneys good', plague and famine had been caused by engrossing, high rents and a lack of poor relief. The godly commonwealth was troubled within by human sin, sin which endangered the

⁹ E. Bunny, *Certaine Prayers and Other Godly Exercise for the seventeenth of November* (London, 1585), dedicatory preface.

¹⁰ Colfe stressed the peace of Elizabeth I's reign in comparison to the strife of her sister's reign. '.Queene Mary left it [England] vexed with the insolency of the Spanish nation whom she brought in. Queen Elizabeth hath cased it, Mary left it in warre, Elizabeth hath governed it in peace...Mary banished true religion, Elizabeth hath restored it'. Colfe, *A Sermon Preached on the Queenes Day*, sig. b8r.

very safety of the community. King exhorted his audience: 'Pray for the peace of Ierusalem. Pray for the peace of England. Let not our sins reigne , that Elizabeth might reigne'.¹¹

Matthew warned that the continuing practice of Catholicism threatened the salvation of the kingdom, and might prompt the withdrawal of the word and divine punishment. In 1592, as the wars of religion raged in France, Matthew warned of 'a precedent to us in these garboils executed in other nations. For as France and Flanders be, so should we be if we had out deserts; and so ere long may we be, if we amend not our amisses'. The only defence lay in the reformation of the self and society. Matthew urged that safety and salvation lay with God: 'not onely in the spiritual combat between Satan and the soul, but in the corporall conflict also between Saul and David, yea between great Goliath and little David. For when God fighteth for a people, specially his own people, a silly sling and a few little stones of the river maye prevail against the habergeon of whatever weight...rely us wholly and solely upon the providence and protecion of his mightie arme; plying him with oure praiers'.¹² Sandys also spoke of the fragile nature of divine care, drawing on a common image of the fallen nation of Israel, he warned: 'if with Israel we lust after flesh, and despise Angel's foode, if we hunger after poperie, and thirst not after the water of life..if we despise government and speak evile of them that be in authoritie.. Then shall the godlie blessings of God turn into cursings.'¹³

The Queen's Day showed how dependent men and women were on God's favour, and how they needed to continue to work for further reform to retain his essential protection. At Berwick, a song was composed as, 'a prayer of thanksgiving to god for ye blessed prosperous and peaceable raigne of that gracious and famous Q Elizabeth' and 'sung there in triumphe ye 17 November 1586' which demonstrated this:

If every nation under Sunne, had cause to magnify
Gods holie name for gracious giftes bestowed abundiantly

¹¹ J. King, *Lectures upon Ionas delivered at Yorke in the yeare of our Lorde, 1594* (2nd edn., London, 1611), pp.703-05

¹² YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 29v, 30 r-v

¹³ Sandys, *Sermons*, p.51.

Then England they ought most of all to laude and praise his name
 and wilt that thou then unthankfull be, no fye, be not for shame....
First Lord we thanke thee for because, thou hast so bounteous been
 in giving us a gracious prince, a good and godlie Queene.
 Whome thou hast sett in royall seate, to worke this holie will
 wherin she reigneth triumphantly God keep her therin still...
We thanke thee that thou hast preserved our Queene from all annoy
 and lent her manie a hapie yeare to reigne in perfect ioy.
 And hast not only brought her foes continually to shame
 but also in eight and twenty yeares kept her in royall fame.
 And therwith also all the while, in spite of forraine foe
 and traytrous practices at home, which sought to worke our woe.
 Thou hast our little nation blest, with such tranquillity
 with such great plenty and such peace, that non possess but we¹⁴

The rhetoric of the Queen's Day celebrations was based on a godly sense of the urgency of edification in the individual and in the commonwealth, based on the dependency of man on God. Reformers also argued that success of that process could be read in divine signs, drawing on providential imagery to charge their calls for reform with a broadly appealing sense of urgency. The Queen's Day celebrations reflected the extent to which the union between godly reform and conformity could be a unifying and popular force within the Elizabethan kingdom.¹⁵ Official prayers and homilies evinced the broad-based appeal of that union. In 1560, a 'short form and order for seasonable weather and good success of the Common affairs of the Realm' was 'In print commonly to be seen'. The preface to this reminded the congregations of the Tudor kingdom that:

we be taught by many and sundry examples of holy Scriptures that, upon occasion of particular punishments, afflictions and perils which God of his most just judgements hath sometimes sent among his people to shew his wrath against sin and to call his people to repentance and to the redress of their lives, the Godly hath been provoked and stirred up, to more fervency and diligency in prayer, fasting and alms-deeds¹⁶

¹⁴ BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, f.105r.

¹⁵ For the different providential readings of history, in particular the effect of Foxe on English providential thought see further, K. R. Frith, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 80-110.

¹⁶ 'A Short Form and Order to be used in Common Prayer thrice a week for seasonable weather and good success of the Common affairs of the Realme' in *Liturgical Services: Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed., W. Keatinge Clay (Cambridge, 1847), p. 475

These official prayers and forms of service as a response to national events were issued throughout the reign. The form of prayer to be used as a public fast during the plague, published in 1563 and reissued in 1593 and 1603, drew on the example of both divine favour and displeasure with Israel, using the images of David, Judith and Hester to explain and promote Elizabeth I's support of the public fasts.¹⁷ By these means, ideas about providential punishment, godly care and communal edification became common currency. The diocese of Durham responded to plague and famine with mid-week fasts, many of which Matthew preached at from 1596. For fasts held at churches with a non-preaching minister, a form of prayer was issued with a 'Homily Concerning the Justice of God' composed by the godly minister Alexander Nowell. This homily explored the role of God in protecting and damning those nations in which his true word had been manifested, equating plagues and rebellions with private and public sin.¹⁸

In 1576 a 'Fourme of Prayer with Thankes geuying to be used every yeere the 17. of Nouemeber' was printed by the royal printer, Richard Jugge; it was reissued in 1578 with the addition on the title page, 'set forth by authoritie'. This drew on the same images as the godly. The public prayer opened with a reference to the biblical text I Tim 2: 1, a passage which Holland called upon as a justification of the Queen's Day celebrations. Matthew too used this extract, preaching on that text on 17 November in 1587 in Durham Cathedral, and later

This 1560 preface was reprinted in the 1563 'Form to be used in Common prayer...and an order of public fast', *ibid.*, pp. 478-90.

¹⁷ 'Form to be used in Common prayer...and an order of public fast' (1563), in *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth*, pp. 478-90. For other examples of prayers and homilies see *ibid.*, pp. 476-502. Walsham explores the role of an animistic reading of disasters as portrayed in popular pamphlets in spread Calvinist ideas about providentialism. A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 76-96.

¹⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 46. 'An Homily Concerning the Justice of God in punishing of impenitent sinners and of his mercies towards all such as in their afflictions unfeignedly turn unto him. Appointed to be read in the time of sickness' (1563), in *Liturgical services of Elizabeth*, pp. 491-502

in 1594 at court.¹⁹ On different occasions Matthew took other elements of the approved service as his material, preaching on Psalm 21 for his Queen's Day sermon in Durham Cathedral of 1593, a text ordained by the official form of service. On those occasions when Matthew left the official prayer service, he did so consciously, choosing texts in 1589 and 1592 which allowed him to be critical, rather than supportive, of the regime.²⁰

The similarity between these official productions, and the thought patterns of extreme godliness can be seen by comparing these texts with the notebook of the northern, godly minister, Gilbert Freville. He collected prayers and sermons by puritan luminaries like Stephen Egerton and Edward Dering, and he also had a collection of 'Godly precepts' which he gathered for those moments when the path of the godly seemed lonely indeed. These were biblical passages to turn to when, 'thou canst not beare with ye ignorance or dulnes of thy brother when he should conceyve any thyng', and passages to comfort the puritan if, 'thy find thie selfe cold, and fainting in praier and weary therof'. Freville's response to the threatened Spanish Armada of 1588 was to search for signs of the commonwealth's sinfulness, and for comfort in case of Spanish success. Freville concluded with passages that the godly could use: 'if you hear men framing of of ye cause, why ye span[ish] come, eyther for some iniury offerd by Drake, or through ye malice of ye pope and c., thinke thou that God hath sent them, that he hath called them to punish ye sinns of this land.' He elaborated: 'they come to revenge our sinnes, and to bring us to repentance, for yt is godes purpose, they come for our syn, god sende them for our sinnes, ergo, the only defence is for us to leave our sins'.²¹

This stress on the potential for punishment meant that the Queen's Day celebrations were not necessarily inflexible panegyrics of Queen and country.

¹⁹ YML Add Mss 18 pp. 15, 43; Holland, *Sermon Preached at Pauls*, sig.I3 r. 'A Form of prayer with thanksgiving, to be used every year, the 17th of November, being the day of the Queen's Majesty's entry to her reign' (1576), *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth*, pp. 548-61

²⁰ YML Add Mss 18 pp. 36, 39, 92. For the potential subversion of the Queen's Day celebrations see below.

²¹ BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, ff.84-8.

Rather, the occasion was a prompt for introspection as well as celebration and, therefore, open to inversion. In 1584, when petitions in protest against Whitgift's curtailment of preaching were sent from Essex, Warwickshire and Lincolnshire, Elizabeth I continued to support the Archbishop. That year on the 17th November Matthew preached in Durham cathedral on the need for the 'sincere milk of the word'. Later in 1589, he preached at the height of the Marprelate controversy, shortly after Bancroft's attack on the godly calls for preaching. Then Matthew preached on the Queen's Day at St Nicholas's church in Newcastle-upon-Tyne with John Udall, who was later imprisoned for his role in the Marprelate controversy. To this godly audience, Matthew preached on a favoured, but highly critical topic: 'The want of the Word'.²²

Queen's Day Celebrations in the Diocese of Durham

Huntingdon was known to be a keen supporter of this festival, and the relative early observance of the Queen's Day in the north may have reflected his influence. In 1578, the authorities of York ordered that men should attend Queen's Day services 'decently apparelled in praise of the Queen's government' or face a fine.²³ In 1598, John King reflected that Huntingdon, the 'light of England', had commissioned him to preach in York Minster in Queen's Day, finding the 'subject so agreeable to his most faithful and untainted heart'.²⁴ Further north, the practice seems to have taken longer to have become widespread. The parishioners in the St Oswald's church of Durham bought a 'tar barrel' for 'coronation day' in 1580, but the church wardens' accounts of neighbouring Pitlington do not record any payments made to ringers on the Queen's Day until 1590.²⁵

²² YML., Add. Mss., 18, ff. 20, 23. Murray, 'Puritanism in York, Newcastle, Hull, Beverley and Leeds', p. 62

²³ Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day', pp. 89-91. Cressy has argued that the north was slower than the south of the kingdom in its observance of the Queen's Day, but that by the late 1570s Yorkshire parishes were ringing on the Queen's day. Cressy, *Bonfire and Bells*, pp. 52-55.

²⁴ J. King, *Lectures upon Ionas delivered at York in the yeare of our Lorde 1594* (London, 1611), p.8.

²⁵ *Churchwarden's Accounts of Pitlington and other Parishes*, ed. Barmby, pp. 118-22, 29-30.

On his arrival in north, Matthew encouraged the observance of the festival. Following his appointment to the deanery, the chapter recorded its first payments for ringing on 'coronation day', as well as receipts for an increased number of candles suggesting an accompanying evening service. While at Durham, Matthew worked with Huntingdon to ensure that these Queen's Day services in the cathedral became events for the local gentry to gather in Durham, usually Matthew preached at the Cathedral and often a general communion was held.²⁶ Matthew also encouraged the observance of Queen's Day throughout the diocese, assisted by godly clerics and allies. In 1586, hymns of thankfulness for Elizabeth I were sung in Berwick on 17th November and by 1593 all the important churches in Newcastle-upon-Tyne were ringing on Queen's Day, while guns were let off in the port.²⁷

While Matthew was at Durham, the cathedral became the focus of the annual celebrations of the diocese. While he was dean and bishop of Durham, Matthew was in the diocese for sixteen Queen's Day celebrations. On fourteen of those occasions he preached in Durham cathedral. He also encouraged the ringing of bells in the cathedral, and by 1591 the chief bell ringers referred to ringing 'upon the day of the coronation of the Queenes majestie..as the custom is upon the same'. Matthew also ensured that the ringing was unusually impressive; on Queen's Day the Cathedral's bellringers were forced to hire twelve men to help ring all the bells in the tower. The usual ringers 'are of themselves able to ring but one bell', so 'the best ringers in the towne' were called in to make up the deficit.²⁸

Matthew and Huntingdon supported the holding of general communions and meetings of the Council of the North at this politically sensitive moment. On 13

²⁶ For example see DCD. Misc Ch. 3154, 3211.1, 7104, 3219, 3278.2, 3270 An absence of receipt does not, of course, necessarily reflect a lack of bellringers. It may have been that previous bell ringers had been willing to ring for free. The sort of guild operation evinced by the petitions of bellringers in 1592 and 1593 is unusually early for bell ringers and non-payment for bell ringers in the 16th century was not unusual.

²⁷ BL., Eg. Mss., 2877, f.78. *Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Records of Early English Drama*, ed., J. J. Anderson, (Manchester, 1982), p.94

²⁸ DCD. Misc. Ch 3328.1, 3328.2, 3219, 3278.2, 3270, 3154, 3211.1, 7104

November 1586, Matthew preached before Huntingdon in Durham cathedral as the Earl made his way north. On the 16 November Huntingdon arrived in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 'to meet Lord Scrope to celebrate her Majesty's happy day - happy for us and all that fear God both at home and abroad'.²⁹ That year Huntingdon and Tobie Matthew took the opportunity of the Queen's Day to gather the gentry of 'the Bishopric, of Northumberland' at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Cuthbert, Lord Ogle, recalled that, 'the high sheriff of Northumberland, with many other gentlemen were called to Newcastle to attend the Lord President of the North in Her Majesty's affairs, and celebrated her ascension and gave God thanks for delivering her and the realm from the wicked conspiracies of their traitorous enemies'. The festival was celebrated with two sermons by Matthew and a general communion, and Matthew reminded men of the value of the sacrament as a channel of grace and a commitment to further reform.³⁰ On Queen's Day, overseen by the Lord Lieutenant and the Dean of Durham, the partaking of communion was a sign of commitment to further reform not just of oneself, but of godly polity of England.

The emphasis of the polity as a tool of reform was reflected in the godly duties which Matthew placed on the magistrates of the diocese. He argued that 'all power [is] granted to edification and not to destruction', stressing that politicians and magistrates either worked to make the godly community of the Tudor kingdom purer, or they damned themselves and the community. Matthew reminded magistrates that: 'the Apostle [Paul] doth liken the Church to a house or a temple saying *Vos Dei aedificatio estis* ...all the gifts which Christ after his ascension gave unto men were for the building up of this body...for albeit God hath given every man charge of his neighbour, yet the chief charge of our souls must lie on ourselves... so must ourselves edify ourselves if we will be saved'.³¹ This resolution of godly regeneration and political conformity was at the heart

²⁹ PRO SP 15/29/157. PRO SP 15/29/159

³⁰ PRO SP 15/30/33: Unfortunately the assembly of northern gentry proved too incendiary, and an old feud between the Collingwoods and Selby resulted in the killing of William Clavinger outside Newcastle-upon-Tyne. YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 32. The sermons survive in full manuscript form, YML., Add. Mss., 582.

³¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 3r.

of Matthew's thought about the godly commonwealth, and this unity was promoted through occasions like Queen's Day.

The success of Matthew's promotion of this vision was reflected in the extent to which the language of the godly commonwealth and the imagery used to promote it came to inform cross-confessional conflict within the diocese.³² This vision of the godly polity was informed by Matthew's belief in the power of the law to reform, and the concept of the godly magistrate. In Durham Matthew could act as a magistrate as well as a minister, he did so, demonstrating his commitment to the establishment of the godly commonwealth.

Political Counsel from the Pulpit

Matthew emphasised conversion rather than compulsion, but he was always aware of the potential of the law to effect reform. In the notebook which Matthew compiled in his first few years after arriving in the deanery of Durham, he made notes on ministry and magistracy in the English Church. Matthew thought that, 'all magistrates ought to have skill in the word', below which he noted Ralph Lever's assertion that, 'all Humayne officers and magistrates ought dayly to meditate upon holy scripture'. Matthew did not think that private meditation alone provided enough direction for those charged with the safety of the commonwealth. He elaborated, deciding that, 'councell ought to be asked of God in all weightie affaires', and he copied out examples of the Israelite kings who:

when they were at warrfarre: or did enterprise any mater of great importance used alwaies furst and aske councall of god, by such profettes and prieste as were knowne by experience to have been brought upp in the studie of holy scripture...By which example all Christian princes, magistrates and people ought to be putt in mynde, how necessarie it weare for them to seake for the like Councell when they assemble to make Lawes or doe meete together to consell about weighties and publique affaires. For then dothe god stand in the congregation of princes³³

That God should 'stand in the congregation of princes' was, in this godly commonwealth, imperative and guided Matthew's engagement with the polity.

³² BL., Lans Mss., 89, f. 104. PRO SP 12/264/117. See below, chapter eight.

³³ DCD/T/YB f. 38r

While he was active as a magistrate while dean and bishop, he also counselled magistrates. The pulpit offered a powerful platform and Matthew frequently took the opportunity, preaching at: assizes in Durham; at gaol deliveries; at meetings of the council of the north; at meetings of the commission for border affairs; and in front of eminent politicians and ambassadors who passed through the diocese of Durham as they travelled between the Scottish and English courts.

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In 1587, Matthew preached in Richmond, before the Earl of Huntingdon. Then he spoke to his audience of their duties as individuals, and as part of the commonwealth, to reform. Matthew reminded the congregation of God's protection and also of his power: he had punished the Egyptians but had protected the Israelites: 'he brought forth his people with joy and his chosen with gladness...that they might observe his statutes and keep his laws'. The adjacent gloss in the Genevan bible stated that 'this is the end why God preserveth his Church, because they shuld worship and call upon him'.³⁵

Matthew warned that this special care was dependent on godly observance. In 1590, he opened a session of the Durham assizes with a sermon in the Cathedral, warning that 'God standeth in the congregation, he judgeth among the gods. How long will you judge unjustly and accept the persons of the wicked?'³⁶ He returned to the text on the next day urging the judges to 'defend the poor and fatherless', and to, 'deliver the poor and needy'. Matthew had used this text before, in his sermon before the city fathers of London in 1576. Private charity and public justice was used to the same end, the building of the commonwealth. All powers were, he told one assizes, 'ordained by God', and they had, he believed, been bestowed with one purpose: in 1592, he urged the assize judges

³⁴ In 1583 Matthew preached before Walsingham after his embassy to Scotland, in the following October Matthew preached in Newcastle 'Before the L[ord] L[ieutenant] of Scotland Angus Marre Glarnes &c.'. On June 21 and 23 June 1586 Matthew preached before the English and Scottish ambassadors, including the earl of Rutland, the earl of Bothwell and Lord Eure.. YML., Add. Mss., pp. 1, 3, 9.

³⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 16. *The Geneva Bible: A facsimile of the 1560 edition*, ed. L. Berry, (London, 1969) Ps. CV: 43-45.

³⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 18 p. 26. Psalm 82

of Durham to effect 'godly edifying which is in faith'.³⁷ That year Matthew made his beliefs about the godly commonwealth and the duties of the magistrates explicit. An ecclesiastical commission had been sitting in Durham in 1591 and 1592, and had discovered an extensive attachment to Catholicism in the diocese. During the Easter break, Huntingdon brought the gentry of the diocese together for a general communion at Durham Cathedral, organised with Matthew for Palm Sunday. As the extent of the challenges facing the commonwealth in Durham became clear, Matthew and Huntingdon outlined their future vision of the godly commonwealth in Durham.³⁸

This communion was a great gathering of the luminaries of Durham. At the Christmas communion in 1591, the dean and chapter had spent two pence on bread and six shillings and eight pence on 'fyve pottles of wyne'. On Palm Sunday 1592 they bought twenty two bottles at the same price, and spent seven pence on bread.³⁹ Men were paid to clean the lectern, the church clothes were washed and Matthew employed two men 'for making a fourme to sett wyne at ye communion table and mending the former'. The Cathedral did not have enough seats for all those who were expected to attend; two labourers were hired to carry benches from the town into the Cathedral, while eight pence was spent on 'a new matt for the gentlewomen'. It was a great occasion indeed, both for the Cathedral, for Huntingdon and most of all for Matthew. He noted in his preaching diary for that Palm Sunday that he had preached '*coram H. comite Huntingdon. Magno communitio feliciter DEO gratias!*'⁴⁰

Matthew preached at the general communion on Palm Sunday and also on the following day, 20 March. Huntingdon was present on both occasions, and it seems possible that so were many of those who had travelled to Durham for the

³⁷ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 35. 1 Tim 1.4

³⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 582. The sermons were preached on 19 and 20 March 1592. For the ecclesiastical commission see chapter eight.

³⁹ DCD Misc. Ch 3231.15; DCD.Misc. Ch 3239

⁴⁰ YML Add Mss 18 f. 32. DCD. Misc. Ch 3240. There is no evidence that Hutton was actively involved in this celebration. As it was held at Durham cathedral, however, it would have been Matthew who was primarily involved in organising it. There is not, however, any other tangential evidence of Hutton attending other Queen's Day celebrations in the diocese.

general communion. The sacrament of communion was a highly communal moment, when, as Matthew reminded his audience, 'because we all eat one body we are at unity in Christ'⁴¹. It was, therefore, a moment of definition, and an opportunity to reflect on the nature of the community, its constitution, its offices and obligations. It was also a moment for Matthew and Huntingdon to project the image which they envisaged of the godly commonwealth.

The godly commonwealth was, Matthew thought, the product of a union between polity and piety. We are, he told his congregation on Sunday, 'a royal priesthood, the holy nation'. That nation was founded upon Christ, he was 'the corner stone...in whom we are also built together to be an habitation of God by the Spirit'. It was an organic building process, one which required constant work to ensure the purity of the building. Attacking English Catholics, Matthew argued that his congregation must work for the: 'building up of ourselves in our most holy faith, and pulling down of them and their false incredulity...say unto them, it is not for you, but for us to build the house unto our God, for we ourselves together will build it, not as King Cyrus of Persia, but as the Lord God of Israel..hath commanded'. It was a community which required constant, communal, reform: Matthew urged the congregation: 'edify yourselves in your most holy faith..that Jerusalem may be builded as a city that is at unity in itself'⁴²

The sermon on Sunday addressed the question of the commonwealth and the troubling element in it, on Monday Matthew told his audience that, 'we may see what kinde of men many of them are that were spoken of and most by St Jude the apostle yesterday'. Those men were Catholics, and Matthew did not only describe them but promoted a programme of action against them. Those who did not work on behalf of the commonwealth worked against it, and Matthew found their presence troubling indeed. He warned 'a little leaven soureth the whole lump', reminding them of God's commandment to: 'get ye oute of Babylon and separate youreselvs, and touche no unclene thinge, and I will receive you and be a father unto you, and ye shall by my sons and

⁴¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f.8v

⁴² YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 3r-4r, 6r, 10v.

daughters'.⁴³ This purifying unity would be achieved by converting Catholics through the regenerative word, or failing that securing conformity through force. Either way, Matthew was sure that the need for action had become urgent: 'it is time to take heed to ourselves, lest doing them [Catholics] no good, neither by our compassion towards them, nor our terror against them, we do ourselves and our brethren great harm by touching their *garment defiled with the flesh*, that is having society and familiarity with them. For what hath chaff to do with corn?'⁴⁴

The recent ecclesiastical commission had revealed the continuing popularity of Catholicism, and in the face of continued Catholicism, Matthew increasingly stressed the role of the law to reform. 'Albeit we are commanded to be merciful as our father is merciful', Matthew told his congregation, yet: 'wise Solon made two pillars of the commonweal *Praemium and Poenum*....and Christ himself by pouring both oil and water into the wounds of the Samaritan showed the necessity not only of the Law and the gospel, but of sharpness as well as softness'.⁴⁵ Matthew argued that, 'gentleness toward the transgressors of the laws of God and the godly statutes of this realm, especially in matter of religion hath been long used by the State and long abused by the froward'. He, like Augustine, had come to believe that *poenum* was necessary now. Augustine, Matthew recalled, had believed, 'that no man should be compelled to the unity of Christ, but that he must with words be dealt with, by disputation contended with, overcome by reason'. Experience had, however, changed both their minds, and Matthew quoted Augustine later '*Distingue tempora, et concordibus*

⁴³ YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 16v, 17r.

⁴⁴ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 16v

⁴⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 14r. Conformity could be the first step towards regeneration, Matthew believed that the church, in particular the parish sermon, was a powerful tool of proselytisation and later, in 1592, claimed that the potency of the Protestant structures had prompted recusancy. He shared this sense of the reforming potential of compulsion with Udall. In 1588, Udall argued for the use of the law, stressing that the 'magistrate' must 'compell all yea even the obstinat to the exercises of religion, for by that meanes it may please God to work their conversion'. Matthew highlighted this in his text. Udall, *The Ammendment of Life*, sig. A6v.

Scripturas, 'not', Matthew thought, 'of the Common-weal only but of the church'.⁴⁶

Matthew's increasing emphasis on the effectiveness of law rather than the word, took place against the national struggle against Catholicism, in particular the troubles on the 'skirt of the Kingdom' in Ireland, where, like Durham, men worked to establish Tudor rule and religion. Matthew's former friend, Campion, had written a history of that place for their patron, Leicester, and another of Leicester's early clients, Spenser produced a work in the 1590s addressing the politics of conformity, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Matthew read the gloss on Campion's work which was published as part of Holinshed's chronicles.⁴⁷ He was also in correspondence with one of those charged with reforming Ireland, Ussher. Ussher had drawn on Spenser's humanist debate, and had a manuscript copy of the *View* in his library. That work reflected the debate about the nature of the human will, whether the will or reason were predominant, which was prompted by the failure of reformers to effect reform in areas like Durham and Ireland through the pulpit alone. Matthew did not own a copy of the *View*, which was not published until 1633, but the similarities in Spenser and Matthew's thought show that the two men who grappled with the problem of establishing Tudor rule and religion to communities where Catholicism had become a mark of local identity, both turned to their Augustine in seeking guidance. This demonstrated their belief that they were working to establish a new Protestant polity. Citing Augustine, Matthew reminded his congregation, 'set your subjects in unity and you shall have a people of them, but suffer division among them and you bring confusion upon them...better one should perish than all miscarry'.⁴⁸

The Minister as a Magistrate

⁴⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 15v.

⁴⁷ R. Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of chronicles comprising 1. England 2. Ireland. 3. Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1585-1587), YML V/1. B. 4-5.

⁴⁸ YML Add Mss 582 f. 15v. Bod., Tan. Mss., 461, f. 20. E. Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. A. Hadfield and W. Maley, (Oxford, 1997), pp. v-xxvi

The bishop of Durham had exercised criminal jurisdiction in the pre-reformation palatinate of Durham. In 1536, Henry VIII ended that practice, but the bishop still continued to exercise extensive judicial powers in the diocese. The bishop, or his representative, continued to act as *custos rotulorum*, and both he and his chancellor, usually a member of the chapter, were *ex officio* justices of the peace.⁴⁹ This offered the senior clerics of Durham an opportunity to influence the government of the diocese at a senior level, and it was an opportunity which Matthew embraced. Matthew had continued to be in close contact with his Oxford friends, and was engaged with the dispute between John Rainolds and Alberico Gentili over the question of the moral properties of the law. Matthew had also read attacks written by godly reformers like Cartwright which criticised judicial activity by the preacher.⁵⁰ Matthew, however, came to the conclusion that the godly preacher could not just counsel the magistrates, but act as a magistrate. In his notes on godly magistracy, Matthew concluded that ‘a preacher may bare office’, writing that

a man may beare office in christian society, and yet be a preacher of the word, especially where his office is no hindrance but a futherance to his ministrye . There is good precedent for this in many places of holy scripture and chiefly where st Paule sayeth thus. They that govern well are worthe of double honour: but cheefley they labour in the work and in doctrine⁵¹

⁴⁹ The bishop and chancellor were appointed as *ex officio* justices by the 1536 act of parliament, 27 Henry c.24. K. Emsley and C. M. Fraser, *The Courts of the County Palatine of Durham* (Durham, 1984) pp.1, 46. For the relation between the courts of Westminster and the palatinate see, C. Kitching, ‘The Durham Palatinate and the Courts of Westminster under the Tudors’, in D. Marcombe, *The Last Principality: politics, religion and society in the diocese of Durham, 1494 -1660*, (Nottingham, 1987), 49-69.

⁵⁰ See for example the debate between Whitgift and Cartwright on the non-preaching duties of bishops which Matthew highlighted, Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunswere*, pp. 220-29. Matthew owned copies of Gentili’s work exploring the role of the law in religious matters, A. Gentili, *De Iure Belli* (London, 1589) YML III. L. 27. A. Gentili, *De Iure Interpretibus dialogi sex* (London, 1587), YML III. L. 28. In particular Matthew’s annotations on Gentili’s discussion of the Reforming potential of the law, A. Gentili, *De Legationibus libri tres* (London, 1585), sig. A3r, H3r-H4v, P1r-Q3v. YML III. K. 14. The dispute between Gentili and Rainolds was later published as an appendix to J. Rainolds, *Th’Overthrow of Stage Playes: By way of controversie between D. Gager and D. Rainoldes* (Oxford, 1599). The godly party of Oxford sent a copy of this work to Matthew in 1599 in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade him to move against his friend Gentili.

⁵¹ DCD/T/YB f. 38r

This was reflected in Matthew's work as a justice, and later as a bishop, as a judge. His engagement in the processes of law and government in the diocese reflected, however, some of the problems which dogged every aspect of reform, namely the lack of an indigenous movement for reform, and prominent local reformed gentlemen. There are no surviving records for the Durham quarter sessions from 1557 until 1596, so the only evidence for the justices selected by Richard Barnes and Matthew Hutton are references to justices of the peace in 1585 and later in 1592. The first, a general muster of the horse in Durham, showed that of the nine justices, five were clerics and the others were attached to the cathedral. The clerics Tobie Matthew, Clement Colemore, Leonard Pilkington and Francis Bunny were all justices. They were joined by Thomas Calverley, the temporal chancellor of the bishop and Christopher Chaytor, later Matthew's diocesan chancellor.⁵² In Barnes' selection of justices, loyalty to the established Church in Durham, rather than local prominence was the quality most frequently evinced. The clerical pattern was repeated in 1592, with most of the lay members showing some connection with the Cathedral. There were a number of prominent lay justices, many of whom did not live within Durham. This reliance on men like the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Eure and Sir William Bowes as justices may have reflected both the desire of the Burghley and Cecil to ensure godly influence within the county, and the lack of prominent godly members of the laity within the diocese.⁵³

At a sessions of the peace held in Durham on 22 November 1592, the justices took 'the oathes of her majesties Supremacies and of the commission of the peace'. Then Matthew Hutton, Tobie Matthew, Leonard Pilkington, Robert Tailboys and Sir William Hilton were the commissioners charged with ensuring

⁵² Thomas Calverley was the first, but not the only member of the family, to make a living by working for the episcopal government. John Calverly was the bishop's bailiff of Bedlington Michael Calverley was the bishop's clerk of the great receipt from 1589. DUL Ref A1 Chu. Matthew was friendly with Chaytor, and gave him a portrait book as a New Year's gift in 1588, P. Giovio, *Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrum* (Basle, 1577), inscription on the title page. This copy is now in Durham Cathedral library, Chapter library shelfmark, M. II 12/1.

⁵³ DCD/T/YB f.95. *Cal. Bord. Pap.* vol. 1, p.162.

that the oaths of supremacy were sworn. Leonard Pilkington was one of the godly Pilkington brothers, both canons, who had been part of the godly circle surrounding Whittingham. Tailboy, though a member of the laity, was closely connected to diocesan government. In 1584 he became the attorney general of the bishop, and perhaps more significantly Barnes' son-in-law. From 1577 until 1589, Sir William Hilton had been a sheriff of the bishop and he and his brother, Thomas Hilton, continued to be active in palatine government, working in particular against domestic Catholicism.⁵⁴

Those who had assembled to take the oath were all resident in the palatinate, and of the nineteen men present, eight were clerics.⁵⁵ Many were also connected with episcopal government. Thomas Calverley, the temporal chancellor of the bishop, and Henry Dethwicke, the official to the dean and chapter were both present. The sheriff and justice was John Conyers whose brother, Simon, was appointed receiver general to the bishop in 1594, later appointed by Matthew as his auditor in 1597. Robert Bowes had been one of the bishop's sheriffs until 1577, and with his brother, Sir William Bowes, was active in the government of the palatinate until the end of the century. The Bowes also interested themselves in the ecclesiastical reform of the palatinate, they had close links with Matthew and the northern godly community and sponsored exercises at their seat at Barnard Castle. Other members of the Durham godly network were present. John Heath, another close friend of Matthew's, was a justice, as was George Freville, who was closely connected with several members of the chapter.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ DCD/T/YB f.95r; DUL Asc Ref A1 Chu. In his will, Barnes remembered Tailboys, who he had clearly helped, 'I do forgive and remitte and giue and bequeth unto my sonne in lawes, Robert Tailboyes, Esquier, all such debts and sommes of money as I have paide for him att London'. *Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Bishop Barnes*, p. xv.

⁵⁵ These were Matthew Hutton, Tobie Matthew, Leonard Pilkington, Clement Colemore, Thomas Burton, Robert Swift. There were 2 other lay justices who absented themselves claiming illness, John Hedworth and John Clopton. Others did not present themselves, but there is no record of who they were. The clerical representation might therefore be unrealistically high, but probably reflects those who were active on the bench. DCD/T/YB f.95r

⁵⁶ DCD/T/YB f.95r-96v. DUL Asc Ref A1 Chu. YML Add Mss 18 pp. 37, 48. George Freville was active in putting down the 1569 rebellion. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 2, p. 299. He was related to Gilbert Freville, the godly minister who compiled the notebook BL., Eg. Mss., 2877.

As bishop, Matthew demonstrated the same concern to draw on clerics and on laity who were connected to the cathedral or to episcopal government. He made few innovations in the make up of the bench, reflecting the lack of prominent, local Protestants in the diocese. Matthew's patronage was reflected in the attendance records for the quarter sessions from 1596 to 1606 and his pattern of appointments differed little from his predecessors. Many men sat for Matthew and Hutton. Thomas Calverley, the temporal chancellor of the bishop until 1605, and two prebends, Leonard Pilkington and Clement Colemore were justices under Barnes, Hutton and Matthew. In addition, four further men served as justices under Hutton and Matthew. These were the clerics Henry Dethwicke and Robert Swift, and the lay members, Henry Anderson of Newcastle, and John Heath of Kepier near Durham.⁵⁷

Like his predecessor, Matthew employed a range of clerics and the quarter sessions, became another tool of episcopal government, ensuring that the terrestrial, temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions of the bishop were often elided. In Durham, where there were a wide range of different episcopal, capitular and crown courts covering different areas of the diocese and wielding different powers of correction, the choice of court reflected the prosecutor's hopes for a settlement. There was also some overlap between the different spheres that the bishop operated in. During Matthew's episcopate these usually reflected problems with episcopal lands, and often involved assault. In January 1597, Henry Marley was summoned before the justices, including Matthew, because in December he had 'assaulted William Stobbes, collector of fines, rents and amercements of the bishop in Wolsingham while he was distraining on a shovel for a fine of 6d. levied at the halmote court of the bishop at Wolsingham on 29 October last for talking in court, and recovered the shovel'.⁵⁸ To Henry

⁵⁷ DCD/T/YB f84, 95r-96v. *HMC Sal. Mss.*, vol 16, p. 330. Emsley and Fraser, *The Courts of Durham*, p. 96. The Indictment rolls of the Durham Quarter session from 1596-1613 are reprinted in *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls 1471-1625*, ed. C. M. Fraser (Surtees Society, 199, London, 1991). They can also be found at Durham County Record Office, Q/S/1 and Q/S/2.

⁵⁸ *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, p.100. The Halmote court was a parochial court which governed the different parcels of the bishop's land, and

Marley it must have seemed that the bishop's authority was indeed all-encompassing. There was not, however, any evidence that the quarter sessions were employed in the fight against recusancy until 1605. Then William Marshall of Elvet, in the parish of St Oswald in Durham, was presented as a recusant who, after his release from prison, had failed to present himself either to the gaol, or to the minister or the curate of his church. The justices also examined the case from the Catholic stronghold of Brancepath of a number of men who 'spoke slighting words of the sacraments and advised others to do so', thereby interrupting the Easter day service.⁵⁹

Matthew himself was enthusiastic in attending the quarter sessions, sitting at seventeen sessions during his episcopate. His dean, William James, was also an assiduous attender of the quarter sessions, and, if Matthew was absent, frequently took his place. Matthew, was therefore intimate with the workings of the justices. He chose as justices those men who, through their calling as clerics, would promote godly reform through the courts. The evangelical Leonard Pilkington was a stalwart of the quarter sessions. Though old age meant that he became increasingly infirm as the 1590s progressed, he still sat as a commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in 1597 and at the quarter sessions in 1598. Robert Swift, another ally of Whittingham and friend of Matthew's, was also active as a justice. His place may have reflected both his godly commitments and his legal expertise, he had graduated BCL. He sat at the quarter sessions from 1597 until 1600. The only innovation Matthew made, therefore, among the clerical justices, was the introduction of William James, which as dean of Durham, was the usual practice.⁶⁰

Matthew encouraged men with legal expertise to sit regularly. Clement Colemore, who had been appointed as the spiritual chancellor of the bishop and

concerned with matters of tenancy. For its operation see D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560-1765* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 6-8. These authors also explore the different courts operating in the diocese under the bishop's aegis, *ibid.*, pp. 6-23, 32-39, 48-53.

⁵⁹ *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, pp. 144-45

⁶⁰ Matthew was justice in 1584 and 1592. PRO SP 15/28/98. DCD/T/YB f. 95. James sat as a justice 21 times before becoming bishop of Durham in 1606. *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, pp. 97-150.

granted a prebendary in the Cathedral in 1590 by Matthew Hutton, was chosen repeatedly by Matthew. Colemore, a lawyer, was active as a justice, attending on average three or four sessions a year. His work on behalf of the godly commonwealth was recognised, when he was appointed a border commissioner in 1596, and an ecclesiastical commissioner in 1601. Thomas Calverley, through his position as temporal chancellor naturally continued to attend every quarter session during Matthew's episcopate. Two other legal specialists attached to the chapter and the bishop also sat as justices. Henry Dethwicke, who took the oath in 1592 as a justice, was a bachelor in both laws. He was an 'official' of the dean and chapter, overseeing the administration of capitular justice, and from 1598 sat as a justice at two or three sessions a year, in 1601 he was one of those loyal men chosen as an ecclesiastical commissioner.⁶¹

Matthew showed no inclination to innovate where the character of the bench was concerned. It may have been that to remove someone from the bench would have been so potentially disruptive that it would have been counter effective, but Matthew did not introduce new clerics, or episcopal or capitular staff. This may have reflected a belief that the current system was working, or a lack of suitable new candidates.

Connections between Matthew and members of the godly laity were reflected in his choice of justices; he tried to encourage the second generation of the godly laity. Again, Matthew drew on the precedent set by Matthew Hutton. George Freville was active as a justice throughout Matthew's episcopate, sitting at an average of two sessions a year. So was John Fetherstonehaugh and both were Hutton appointees.⁶² As many of those men whom Hutton and Barnes had drawn on died, Matthew turned to the second generation of reformers.

Christopher Chaytor been a justice in 1584, and had sat at a special brewster's session in 1589. He was a close friend of Matthew's, they swapped books and Matthew also preached his funeral sermon in May 1592. Matthew appointed his

⁶¹ DCD/T/YB ff. 95. DUL Asc Ref A1 Chu. *Cal. Scot. Pap.* vol. 12, no. 272. PRO SP 12/278/53. *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, pp. 47-150.

⁶² DCD/T/YB f.84, 95, 114. PRO SP 12/257/80, f. 125r BL. Eg. Mss 2877. *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, pp. 47-150.

son, Thomas Chaytor, as a justice, which was one of the only new appointments that he made. Matthew supported the son of another old friend, John Heath, also called John Heath. John Heath the younger continued his parents' work in trying to establish a godly commonwealth in the north. From 1597, he was active as a justice, attending fourteen quarter sessions between 1597 and 1606. Chaytor and Heath represented, therefore, the new generation of godly reformers, employed by a friend of their fathers' to continue his godly work. They were also joined by Anthony Hutton, who also represented the second generation of immigrant godly into the diocese. He was also a justice in 1592, and continued to be active throughout Matthew's episcopate.⁶³

The similarities between Matthew's and Hutton's patronage of justices reflected one of the main problems facing Matthew as he tried to encourage the establishment of the godly commonwealth in the diocese. The slow progress of the reformation meant that there was no native network of reformers who Matthew could draw on. Instead he was forced to rely on godly families who had come from outside of the diocese, thus enhancing the potentially alienating nature of the godly commonwealth in Durham. Catholicism had been a mark of local identity and, like his predecessors, Matthew had limited success in creating a Durham Protestant identity.

Matthew as a Political Agent in the North

Walsingham had supported Matthew's promotion to the bishopric in 1587, arguing that 'both for thadvancement of Religion and for Majesties service I cannot but think moste fitte'. Matthew had not been successful then, but he had continued to work for Tudor rule and religion, and in his support of him in 1595, Cecil reflected some of the same concerns as Walsingham. Their shared concern with the threat of Catholicism and Scottish intervention for the safety of the north, prompted Cecil to support Matthew's selection as one of the Border Commissioners, appointed in 1596 to secure peace along the borders and to negotiate a new Anglo-Scottish treaty. Matthew's work along the borders

⁶³ DCD/T/YB f. 95. PRO SP 12/257/80, f. 125r. YML Add Mss 18 pp.22, 26, 33. *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*, ed. Fraser, pp. 27-28, 47-150.

highlighted the process by which he believed the godly commonwealth would be established. The commissioners were charged with reforming the society, and introducing law and order. Matthew did this through the tools of conversion and conformity, he preached and he promoted the use of the sacraments. Matthew was also engaged in the political activity of the commissioners, he acted as a godly counsellor and was involved in legislative reforms. This blend of political and ecclesiastical activity reflected the union which Matthew believed underpinned the establishment of the godly commonwealth.⁶⁴

In 1596 Burghley wrote to Robert Bowes seeking his opinion on the who should be appointed as border commissioners. Bowes replied, 'I have thought it my duty to commend to your good consideration some especial qualities needful to be employed that they may with due respects concur with the commissioners for Scotland here'. The role of the commissioners, Bowes argued, was to execute justice on the borders, achieving some sort of redress for past crimes, and to establish new means of 'the administration of future justice'. He argued that his brother, William Bowes, ought to be included for his knowledge of the borders, and recommended the inclusion of 'two civilians', the civil lawyers Dr Gibson and Dr Colemore, with whom the commissioners could confer. Following his letter from Bowes, Burghley seemed to have decided on the inclusion of Gibson and Colemore, yet at the end of the month instructions were sent to Matthew, Bowes, Slingsby and Colemore.⁶⁵

There were criticisms after Huntingdon's death in 1595, that he had allowed the borders to decay by failing to fill several key positions of office. There were complaints too that the aging Sir John Forster was not only incapable of governing the marches, but responsible for much of the lawlessness along the borders. Sir Robert Cecil eventually secured his dismissal, replacing him as warden of the middle march with his own ally, Lord Eure. In spring of 1596, the Council of the North ordered an enquiry into the decay of the border's defences,

⁶⁴ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B. VII. f. 425v.

⁶⁵ In the margin next to Bowes's letter of 5 September Burghley wrote the names 'B. Duresme, Robert Bowes, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Mallory, Sir Wm Fayrfax, D. Gibson, D. Colemore', *Cal. Scot. Pap.* vol. 12, nos. 257, 272.

the livings of the borderers, absent landlords, and the crimes committed and prisoners taken by the Scots. The detailed response of the fifteen jurors was delivered before members of the council of the north and the Durham justices at Bishop Auckland in May 1596. By September of 1596 a commission had been issued, charging Matthew and his fellow commissioners to ensure that, 'the country [was] reformed to its former self'.⁶⁶

As early as 1587 Matthew had complained about the condition of the borders, writing that, 'the Diocese manely in Northumberland and specially around the borders most weakened and miserable...so small assistance for the publicke services of the Religion and the state both Ecclesiastical and Civil as where no less I think in this Realme or the next: the place exceedingly chargeable in peace and in war double dangerous which is more than likely in this broken world between us and our neighoures.'⁶⁷ The perception of the threat from Scotland and fears over the vulnerability of the border were still at the forefront of mens' minds a decade later. In January 1597, while the border commission was under way, William James wrote to Robert Cecil to warn him of the agrarian troubles

⁶⁶ PRO SP 12/272/80 ff. 125r-129v. *Cal. Scot. Papers.*, vol 12, no. 272; Reid, *Council of the North*, p. 229. Gavin has addressed the question of the decay of the borders in some detail and provides a full account of the Scottish commissioners, of border lawlessness and of the movements of the border commissioners between 1596 and 1597. He fails to address Matthew's particular role in the commission, believing him to have been appointed the 'primary magistrate' among the commissioners. I can find no evidence of this, Sir William Bowes was charged with the most regular correspondence with both William and Robert Cecil, and seems to have had a position of seniority, conducting some of negotiations alone. BL Mss Harley 292 ff. 85-6. *Cal Scot Pap.*, vol. 12, p. 404. Gavin also fails to draw any conclusions from Matthew's time as a Border commissioner, other than it convinced him that religious and 'political' trouble was related. I believe that Matthew, like his godly allies, had come to this conclusion 30 years earlier. In light of Gavin's fulsome account of the negotiations, I have decided to concentrate solely on Matthew's particular role in the negotiations of 1596-97, using sources ignored by Gavin. Gavin, 'An Elizabethan Bishop'. pp. 105-194. For a discussion of the decay of the borders see S. J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire : Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester, 1975), pp. 20, 39-49.

⁶⁷ BL., Cott. Titus B Mss., VII f.284r

in the borders. '500 ploughs have decayed within 50 yeares: in Northumberland great villages are dispeopled and no manne stop the enemies attempte'.⁶⁸

The worries about the 'state Ecclesiastical' reflected a concern that domestic Catholics would assist an invasion by the Catholic forces of France or Spain. It reflected too a belief that a lack of godliness would be manifested through temporal struggles. Rebellion, invasion, plague and famine, all of which threatened to, or did, devastate Northumberland society during the 1580s and 1590s were, the godly knew, signs of divine displeasure. Godly instruction would reduce those threats. The reform of society, of 'the state both Ecclesiastical and Civil', would not only mean an end to those temporal trials but meant, reformers hoped, that God would desist from sending any more.⁶⁹

Matthew was chosen as a border commissioner because of his local influence, and his work on the border commission reflected that which he had been working for in Durham since his arrival in 1583, namely the foundation of a godly commonwealth through God's word and Elizabeth's laws. As the bishop of Durham, Matthew yielded both those tools. He and Sir William Bowes were the two most distinguished commissioners, and while Bowes was primarily concerned judicial reform where Matthew concentrated on ecclesiastical reform, both were involved the temporal and spiritual demands of their commission. It seems that Bowes was charged by the Cecils to lead the commission, handling much of the official correspondence and travelling to London and Scotland.⁷⁰ In the diocese, however, he still relied on Matthew's local authority and contacts; Robert Cecil's secretary urged Bowes to turn to Matthew for, 'help from him in all times and occasions'. Matthew was also in correspondence with the Cecils. He kept Burghley intermittently informed of the progress of the commission, telling Robert Cecil that 'we have written a ioynt letter to my singular good lord the Lord treasurer conteyning the scene of our whole negociacions and sent his Lord a cotype of that Treatie, proposing to adresse a speciall messenger to his Lord with the Originall'. With Robert Cecil, 'his assured frend', Matthew

⁶⁸ PRO SP 12/262/11.

⁶⁹ BL., Egerton Mss. 2877 f.87r

⁷⁰ *Cal. Scot. Pap*, vol. 12, nos. 272, 404.

maintained more frequent correspondence, writing detailed accounts to Cecil to accompany copies of resolutions which he sent to Burghley.⁷¹

The border commissioners were engaged intermittently in negotiations between autumn 1596 and spring 1597. At the beginning of January 1597, Matthew travelled north to the borders, '*interversus Scotiam in Legatione*' he noted. Matthew stayed in the borders for the next few months, returning in March and at Easter to preach in his churches at Auckland. While he was in the borders, Matthew took the opportunity of visiting those places in furthest Northumberland which he rarely attended, preaching at Morpeth, Holy Island, and Dalton. Matthew also visited the godly community at Berwick, to which he had been only once before, preaching there five times between 9 January and 13 February. This preaching was not divorced from his work as a commissioner, but deeply reflective of what he was trying to do. In the instructions for the commissioners issued on 5 September 1596, Matthew was charged with special duties: 'you the Bishop shall understand that her Majesty has been diversely and credibly informed of a general defection of divers of her subjects within the countries of those frontiers from their duties by abstaining from coming to the church or divine service'. The reason, it seemed was clear: 'this corruption and defection grown partly by the sufferance of professed papists to wander up and down in that country and to haunt men's houses secretly without restraint and partly for that divers benefices with cures have not their parsons and vicars resident upon their cures'.⁷²

During his time on the borders, Matthew tried to establish the message of the reformed faith. He was aware of the logistical importance of Berwick, and in 1594 had written to Burghley to warn him that 'they talke mucche in Scotland of the weak provisions in Berwick'.⁷³ Matthew brought his vision of the godly commonwealth to the borders, infusing the problems of famine, lawlessness and godlessness with the urgency of godly reform. Matthew encouraged fasting as a response to some of those problems. In February, Matthew preached at Berwick,

⁷¹ BL., Harleian Mss., 292 f. 86r. *Cal Scot Pap*, vol. 12, nos. 404, 432.

⁷² *Cal. Scot. Pap*, vol. 12, no. 272, p. 332.

⁷³ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f. 28

'In solemni Jejuno.' He preached on the constant need for reform, especially in this 'troubled world', taking as his text, 'bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance'. The fast focussed godly minds on the need for constant reform of self, and more urgently, society. That reform was to be conducted through the established church, which Matthew saw as a central to the reform of northern society. Matthew encouraged an attachment to that church through his promotion of the sacraments, when he returned Berwick a few days later, he noted that he had preached at Berwick, *'ubi multos confirmavit. Reversus domum'*.⁷⁴

Matthew preached at Penrith in the borders in March 9, 'by the day of the commission differed by the Scots Commissioners'. Then he preached on Corinthians, taking for his text a Pauline injunction to the Corinthians urging the end of disunity and the creation of Christian peace. Shortly after Easter, when the meetings of the commissioners were resumed, Matthew preached before them again. His text demonstrated his belief that spiritual reform, and the need for constant edification underpinned the work of the commissioners. Matthew reminded his audience 'he said unto them, these are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets and in the psalms concerning me...repentance and remission should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem'.⁷⁵

The negotiations between the English and the Scottish commissioners continued until May, and Matthew stayed in the border town of Carlisle preaching there every Sunday. On 5 May, Ascension day, a new treaty of peace between Elizabeth I and James VI was concluded at Carlisle, and signed there by the Scottish and English Commissioners. Matthew celebrated the end of negotiations with a general communion in Carlisle. Once again he preached, rejecting the prescribed text of the day in favour of an Old Testament extract full of imagery of communal edification. Matthew dwelt on the establishment of the

⁷⁴ YML., Add. Mss., 18, pp. 48-50. Matthew III: v.8

⁷⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 51. 1 Corinthians 12, (Matthew does not provide the reference to the verses from chapter 12 on which he preached). Luke 24 v.45-48

nation of Israel under Solomon, examining the building of the house of the Lord by the King. Redolent with imagery of edification, the need for constant reform, and rich with ideas about the inauguration of a new godly society, it reflected the hopes of Matthew and his patrons for the future of the north.⁷⁶

The audience for this sermon did not just include the border commissioners, but men who were charged with continuing the godly work which the commissioners had started. Matthew wrote to tell Robert Cecil that the commissioners had summoned the three wardens of the marches, Lord Scrope, Lord Eure and Sir Robert Carey to meet with the commissioners at Carlisle on 5 May, and they were present at the general communion. Matthew reported that, 'we imported unto them her Majesties most christian and princely admonician to accomadat themselves mutually and the gentlemen under ther severall charges respectively to such any able concord and unitie as best might please the god of peace and most as further her Majesties service upon the Borders.' That failure to maintain unity had been to the 'displeasure of Almightye God', and reflected in, 'the pittiful outrages of men, women and children wydowes and orphans spoyled fyred and murdered almost in their owne sightes'. The call to unity, and the vision of the godly commonwealth which underpinned it, was, Matthew hoped, to be realised through a continuing commitment to the unifying sacrament of communion within the Elizabethan church. He preached again on Sunday 8 May, and stayed in Carlisle on Monday to confirm newly inspired believers as he had at Berwick. His hopes were, however, confounded. He noted that it was at Carlisle '*ubi confirmavi non nullus*'.⁷⁷

Matthew had been chosen for the commission because of his prominence as the bishop of Durham and because of his commitment to the creation of the godly commonwealth. In his draft of the 1596 Instructions to the Commissioners Robert Cecil told Matthew that: 'it is thought most necessary by her Majesty that you, being the ordinary ecclesiastical and one of the principal persons authorised by the Commission Ecclesiastical, besides the authority which you

⁷⁶ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p.15, 2 Chron. v 8: *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, vol. 12, no. 432

⁷⁷ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 51: Luke 24 45-48; BL., Harleian Mss., 292, ff.85r-86r

have as justice of the peace in those parts, should proceed (wherunto her Majesty knows very well how sincerely you are disposed) to the speedy reformation of all such dangerous persons as shall be found sowers and spreaders of false doctrine and power and also manifest recusants.' At the end of this instruction, Cecil had added, in his own hand, a note to Matthew, 'and of the success of this special service to advertise her Majesty to the intent that she may see some hope of amendment or otherwise may seriously cause sharper remedies to avoid the general danger that must needs ensue if such defection should continue'.⁷⁸

Matthew's vision of reform in the diocese rested on the use of ecclesiastical tools, preaching and the sacraments to effect regeneration, and the law to secure reform and conformity. As Matthew realised the limits of church-based conversion, he began to place more emphasis on compulsion. His beliefs about the relationship between the polity and the church did not change, but as Matthew had argued that each community would be regenerated in different ways, he tempered his vision about the relationship between the word and the sword in light of the Catholicism of Durham

⁷⁸ *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, vol. 12., no. 272, p. 333.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Tobie Matthew and the Catholicism of the diocese of Durham: 1583-1606

This poor country and citie....is in religion very backwardes, many recusants both esqueres and gentlemen of good place ther families, besides divers others of meaner calling stand indicted at this time as I here 200 at the last...I fear they expect that which it wer beste if they wer not one of them lefte in England then they should ever see¹

William James, dean of Durham, to Lord Burghley, 1597

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the diocese of Durham, which consisted of county Durham and Northumberland, was home to a large number of Catholics. Elizabethan Catholicism, like its pre-reformation forebear was characterised primarily by its social nature, and the different manifestations of Catholicism throughout the diocese reflected the different communities in which Catholicism was practised. The arrival of priests from the 1580s onwards reinvigorated all those communities, but only those Catholics in Durham who already felt themselves alienated by a Protestant government adopted the rhetoric of separation and latterly rebellion which these priests offered. In Newcastle, where the Catholics used their economic and political strength to protect domestic Catholicism, the community did not adopt this rhetoric.² Instead, many key members of the community separated the political and religious implications of conformity, and through limited conformity were able to secure a voice in the Tudor kingdom and the safety of the Catholic population. Though Matthew was aware of this practice, he did not distinguish between the different threats offered to commonwealth by these distinct communities. The union between church and polity underpinned his conception of the godly commonwealth, and the extent to which that vision precluded a nuanced reading of the differences in Catholicism was reflected in his, and his allies', rhetoric and action against domestic Catholicism.

¹ PRO SP 12/262/11, f. 18r.

² Levine and Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society*, p.84

This work on the flexibility and continuing vitality of post-reformation Catholicism in the diocese, challenges Bossy's descriptions of a primarily sociable form of Elizabethan Catholicism as 'survivalism', of which the 'bastard-feudal Catholicism' of the 1569 rising was 'doomed to incoherence and failure'.³ The nature of these communities also raises questions about the terms of the subsequent debate about the nature of post-reformation Catholicism. Rather than concentrating on 'survivalism' as opposed to 'seminarism', it is necessary to address the common, and the contrasting features of the practice of Catholicism in these different groups.⁴ While the different communities adopted different positions on the political and religious implications of conformity, they were united by a common experience of Catholicism as a sociable faith. Duffy has stressed that in pre-reformation England, Catholicism operated at a fraternal level and that this was one of its greatest attractions and strengths.⁵ In the post-reformation diocese of Durham, it continued to be a sociable faith, and its different permutations reflected the different communities in which it operated. This moves the debate away from questions about whether Elizabethan Catholicism was conservative or counter-reformed, and instead demands the examination of the practice of the faith in its wider social, political and economic contexts, stressing that in Durham, Catholicism was an inclusive, flexible faith. This work also demonstrates that the 'seignorial' Catholicism of the county Durham community was, through its engagement with

³ This view is expressed most succinctly in J. Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *Past and Present*, 21 (1962), 39-59, in particular pp. 39-40.

⁴ The response to Bossy's article, which stressed the 'discontinuities' in post-Reformation Catholicism was offered by Haigh, C. Haigh, 'Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93 (1981), 37-69. For fuller treatments of these different positions see C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993). J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London, 1975) A more recent gloss on this debate is provided by Questier, M. C. Questier, 'What Happened to English Catholicism after the English Reformation?', *History*, 85 (2000), 28-47, in particular see the historiographical discussion, pp. 28-32.

⁵ E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 190-252. See also, E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven and London, 2001), pp. 27-64 for the sociable operation of pre-Reformation Catholicism. For a discussion of sociability in its European context, see J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700*, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 57-75.

international Catholic politics, far from the conservative force described in earlier works on northern Catholicism, but imbued with political radicalism.⁶

Matthew failed to distinguish between the different dangers that these disparate communities held for the Protestant state.⁷ This reading reflected his argument that the godly commonwealth bore the same duties of purifying edification as the individual. The continuing presence of Catholicism in the diocese was worrying not just because of the documented links between Catholics in the diocese and those in France and Scotland, but because Matthew believed that a failure to eradicate Catholicism would mean that God would withdraw his divine favour and that the plots of domestic Catholics would, therefore, be allowed to succeed. In 1592 Matthew urged magistrates to act against all Catholics, arguing that 'the church and the commonwealth require us to show severity'. The arrival of priests in the diocese, and the increasingly Protestant nature of the church in Durham meant a rise in recusancy; Matthew argued that the law should correct where the church had failed, asserting that 'magistrates have been and may be allowed to ordain fearful laws in matters both of state and religion'.⁸ His characterisation, however, of Catholicism as inherently threatening to the state and his reliance on the tools of the polity to correct it, meant that when Catholicism engaged in the state, as it did in Newcastle, Matthew was not able to meet the demands of this new flexible Catholicism.

⁶ Bossy, 'Character of English Catholicism', pp. 39-42. J. A. Hilton, 'Catholic Recusancy in County Durham, 1559-1625', (unpublished Mphil. thesis, University of Leeds, 1974). Questier addresses this analysis of northern Catholicism in M. C. Questier, 'Practical Antipapistry during the Reign of Elizabeth I', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997), p. 379.

⁷ Questier argues that Matthew did distinguish between different 'papistical elements in northern society', in his 1592 sermon before Huntingdon, (which Questier mistakenly thought had been preached in 1591) and suggested that Matthew realised the different threats that each posed. While he did distinguish between different types of Catholic recusancy (with priest-harbours being the worst), he did not suggest that any one form of recusancy was less dangerous than others. While some recusants might be reconverted through instruction, all were to be subjected to compulsion and their nonconformity threatened the safety of the Tudor kingdom. Questier, 'Practical Antipapistry', p. 384. YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 14r.

⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 14r-v, 15r.

Catholicism in the County of Durham and the Revolt of the Northern Earls

The pre-reformation county of Durham had been a palatinate, and that peculiar status in the English kingdom meant that the bishop was an important secular figure, as landlord and lawgiver, as well as an influential cleric. The independent nature of the bishopric was an important part of local identity which was underpinned by Catholic observance, exercised through episcopal authority and justified by the presence of St. Cuthbert.⁹

Though Henry VIII had asserted his pre-eminence in Durham in 1536, the peculiar status of the bishopric continued to be a badge of local honour. The palatinate had been granted, one Catholic author recorded at the end of the sixteenth century, because King Alfred had believed that St Cuthbert's relics in Durham Cathedral had helped him 'win victory over the [Scottish] pagans'. As a result he gave the bishop and monks of Durham 'all the land between the Weer and Tine for ever to be his church', and 'by his royall charter freed the inhabitants of St Cuthberts land from tribute to the King'.¹⁰ Men and women had believed that St Cuthbert held the inhabitants of Durham in special care, and throughout the diocese there had been a popular attachment to the saint, focussed on his shrine. The banner of St Cuthbert, which represented the saint in local processions in the diocese and in battle with the Scots, had also assumed a potency and 'yt was thought to be one of the goodlyest Reliquies that was in England'.¹¹

⁹ For the episcopal estates see 'Survey of Durham Bishopric Estates in County Durham, April 1588', DUL Halmote Records, M. 64. There were later complaints about the number of leases which Matthew had given away. 'Bishop Cosin's Survey of the Bishopric of Durham, 1662', DUL Sharp Mss., 167, p. 5, 10, 42, 45, 55-56, 63, 128, 144, 153.

¹⁰ 'A History of St Cuthbert : the legend with a history of the church' BL., Sloane Mss., 1322 f.22.

¹¹ In 1513, writing to Wolsey, Bishop Ruthall attributed his success at Flodden to the intercession of St Cuthbert, whose banner had been carried into battle. *The Rites of Durham, being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs, belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression, written 1593*, ed. J. T. Fowler (Surtees Society, 103, Durham, 1903). J. J. R. Boyle, *The County of Durham: Its castles, churches and*

The Saint's protection and care was offered to the Durham community, and that community was reinvigorated by a shared devotion to and benefit from the saint. The image of St Cuthbert and his banner had become a forum through which sociability and a collective identity was developed and expressed in pre-reformation Durham, and the banner had been displayed at heightened moments of local unity. At the celebration of communal charity, Corpus Christi, the banner had processed through the town of Durham with 'all the Bannes of ye occupac'ons following it, & setting yt againe in ye church, euery man maiking his prayers to god'.¹²

The pre-reformation bishop, as minister and magistrate, strengthened the role of Catholicism as a system through which local relationships, social, economic and religious, were conducted. The bishop wielded extensive jurisdictional powers usually exercised by the monarch, and these continued to be far reaching even after the 1536 Act of Resumption. The bishop was also responsible for governing relationships between the diocese and the kingdom, he negotiated the collection of parliamentary subsidies and represented Durham, though not Newcastle, in parliament.¹³

The bishop also exercised extensive powers, *ex officio*, within the diocese, for example he regulated towns within the area, authorising the holding of markets and overseeing urban governance.¹⁴ The bishop was also the largest landowner in the bishopric and the diocese, and as well as giving him some of the patina of gentry dominance, it also offered another forum through which the bishop influenced internal relationships, namely the Halmote court. This court policed copyhold

manor-houses (London, 1892) p. 325. Emsley and Frasier, *Courts of Durham*, pp. 1-7, 32-39.

¹² *Rites of Durham*, ed., Fowler, pp. 94-5, 108.

¹³ G. T. Lapsley, *The County Palatinate of Durham: a study in constitutional history* (Harvard, 1924), p. 126-27, 196-98.

¹⁴ Matthew made notes on the petition made by the aldermen and burgess of Durham for the renewal and alteration of their borough charter, which was addressed to Pilkington and written in 1561. DCD/T/YB, f. 89. He later incorporated the city of Durham in 1602, DUL, M&S. Mss., 23, f. 125r. Emsley and Frasier, *Courts of Durham*, pp. 1-2, 46, 50.

leases, and was the focus of the community, the place where common obligations, breaches of trust or duty were examined and settled, and where collective interests such as the management of pastures were discussed. It also oversaw the appointment of local offices, and most importantly the confirmation of titles.

Tenants were unable to bequeath their land to heirs directly, rather heirs to a holding were recognised and installed by the jurors and the steward of the Halmote court following a tenant's death.¹⁵ The court was, therefore, a forum where the character of the community was developed and expressed through the collective working out of common problems and concerns, all of which were conducted under the aegis of episcopal rule.

The bishops's extensive lands in the diocese underpinned his temporal influence in both pre and post-reformation Durham. Land was one part of the double helix which perpetuated nobility, lineage the other. The chivalric element of noble landownership was heightened on episcopal lands, where tenants were required to do border service instead of paying tax. Sometimes the bishop fulfilled the military and political demands of his lands and at other times he delegated those tasks to others. It also allowed the bishop to assume an equality with other prominent members of the diocese. Though Lord Lumley and the Earl of Westmorland dominated the political scene in pre-reformation Durham, they were only able to gain national significance by drawing on the political resources of the bishop, in particular his lands.¹⁶

Thus, the bishop, at the apex of the relationship between social, economic and religious expressions of the community, was the 'moral guardian' of the bishopric. He was expected to defend the Catholic commonweal, and ensure the redress of imbalances within the community.¹⁷ The reformation, however, challenged this

¹⁵ Levine and Wright, *The Making of an Industrial Society*, pp. 92, 279

¹⁶ Watt, *Border to Middle Shire*, p.19. James, *Civil Society* pp.25, 48-50.

¹⁷ The bishop was expected to maintain order and balance in the commonwealth, and people appealed to him when the needs of those within the commonwealth were not met, and the weal was unbalanced. For a later operation of this social dynamic see E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past and Present*, L (1971), 76-136. A reading of this model which

sense of the local community, and the Catholic bishop was replaced with a Protestant minister who tried to establish the Tudor church and government in a community attached to Catholicism as the means through which their collective identity had been developed and expressed.

The image of Cuthbert had been a symbol of pre-reformation social relationships; a continued attachment to it represented a persistent affection for the traditional order, and in post-reformation Durham became a sign of opposition. Protestant reformers were aware of its significance and attacked the symbolism of the Catholic polity and destroyed the saintly icon which underpinned it. Edwardian visitors had broken up the shrine of St Cuthbert and their Elizabethan successors destroyed the banner. When the reformed dean, Whittingham, arrived in Durham, his wife, Catherine, took it upon herself to 'most iniuriously burne and consume ye same [banner] in hir fire in the notable contempt and disgrace of all auntyent and goodly Reliques'. The dean compounded his wife's attack, by destroying the remaining images of Cuthbert.¹⁸ St Cuthbert had been the defender and definer of the local community. Robbed of their faith, and it seemed their identity, the Catholics of Durham rose up behind the great northern earls in 1569, looking to them to restore the Catholicism which underpinned local society, and to assume the bishop's place as the moral guardian of the bishopric.

It was not to be. Charles Neville, the 6th earl of Westmorland, and a prominent local figure, led the rebels on their march south. The altar in Brancepath chapel, next to one of his castles, was taken out of hiding and restored. One of his priests, George

distinguishes between the economic and theoretical implications of the 'moral economy' J. Stevenson, 'The 'Moral Economy' of the English Crowd: Myth and Reality'. In A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985). The bishop was also expected to defend the diocese's position on the national stage, and this concept of council, as opposed to counsel, which Guy argues underpinned the noble involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace reflected the bishop's temporal power in the region. A rhetoric of noble council also underpinned the 1569 rebellion, reflecting the extent to which the Neville's assumed the bishop's position of 'moral guardian' of the region. J. Guy, 'The Rhetoric of Counsel' in D. Hoak (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995) pp. 292-310.

¹⁸ *Rites of Durham*, ed. Fowler, pp. 25-26, 68-69

Cliffe, said the mass in Durham Cathedral. The rebels marched, like the Pilgrims of Grace, behind a banner of the five wounds of Christ, calling for a restoration of the community underpinned by Catholic fraternal feeling. Like the Pilgrims, however, they were cut down. The collapse of the Northern rebellion devastated Durham society. The revolt was put down brutally and swiftly, the leaders captured or exiled. The land of the Nevilles was seized by the crown, and their followers were left leaderless. Charles, Earl of Westmorland, and Cuthbert and Christopher, his uncles, were all attainted for their involvement and later died in exile. Their downfall left a vacuum in the exercise of noble power. Their followers among the gentry retreated to what was left of attainted estates, to lick their wounds and plot for their rehabilitation. Their names were those of old Durham families, Blakiston, Trollope, Hodgson, Tempest and Collingwood, and they resurfaced in the decades following.¹⁹ Throughout the remainder of Elizabeth's reign these men used their land, their wealth and their friendships to sustain the network of loyalties which had driven them to rebellion. They shared an enduring commitment to the restoration of pre-reformation Durham society, underpinned by Catholicism. This was manifested in the continued practice of their faith in the social setting in which it had been conceived, and in an abiding support for Westmorland and his hopes of a new government.

That circle retained much of previous communal integrity, including the gentry followers of the Westmorlands as well as their servants. Brancepath, in county Durham, became the centre of this interest. Though Charles, the earl of Westmorland had been based at Raby Castle, his uncles, Cuthbert and Christopher Neville had both lived at Brancepath Castle. The influence that the Nevilles retained in the area, and the parishes' dense woods meant that Brancepath and neighbouring Lanchester, became the focus for this Catholic community. In Lanchester, the patronage of the living was in Lancelot Hodgson's hands, and he appointed a close

¹⁹ C. Sharp, (ed.), *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (London, 1840) pp.183-89, 290-304, 312-16. On the role of deference in the rebellion M. E. James, 'The concept of order and the northern rising, 1569' in his *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1994). Hilton, 'Recusancy in Durham', p. 39. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp.56-59.

friend, the Catholic Robert Milner, to the curacies of Lanchester and Eshe. The earl's daughter, Lady Anne, used her continuing influence in Brancepath to appoint the priest George Cliffe to the living there in 1571. Appointed to the second prebendary in Mary I's reign, it was he who had restored the mass in Durham cathedral in 1569. Cliffe retained both his prebendary and his living in Brancepath until his death in 1595, and seemed to have conducted Catholic services in the church there.²⁰

Catholicism in County Durham after 1569

The community at Brancepath had gathered to continue to practice their faith. Their commitment to that faith, however, also reflected their continuing commitment to the older structures of Durham society which were underpinned by the practice of that faith. In pre-reformation Durham, Catholicism had supported the pre-eminence of the Nevilles, and the independence of the palatinate from the crown. After the reformation, therefore, these continued to be a constant feature of the Catholic practice of this group. In Newcastle, however, which, though it bordered the bishopric was in Northumberland, the Catholic community was at the heart of the emerging coal industry, described as the 'nemesis of an older social community'.²¹ A rapidly evolving community with different socio-economic internal dynamics, and a different relationship with the crown, ensured that although there were similarities between the two groups, there were many differences. In the following account of Catholicism in Durham county, the similarities between the two groups, which reflected the communal nature of the faith will be highlighted. Some of the differences will be addressed in the following section.

In Elizabethan Durham an attachment to Cuthbert continued to be a form of expressing a Durham local identity. Men and women persisted in visiting the shrine, so many that in 1591 Matthew ordered that a key should be made for Cuthbert's

²⁰ BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f.47. *VCH: Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 303-12. 'Book of Recusants', *Miscellanea*, ed. Talbot, p. 50. Clark, *Memorials*, p. 252

²¹ Levine and Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society*, p.84.

Shrine.²² The interest in the image of Cuthbert as a defining element in Durham particularism also continued, and was an image through which opposition to the Protestant godly commonwealth was expressed. Several antiquarian works on the cult of St Cuthbert by Catholics were published in the late 16th and early 17th centuries with authors still speaking of the diocese as 'Cuthbert's patrimonie'. St Cuthbert's banner also continued to exist in popular memory as a container and defender of the local commonweal. Where once that banner had reflected the role of the bishop in creating and sustaining that local commonweal, it now became a form of opposition. At the end of 1587, when Matthew and Francis Mylles discussed the possibility of rebellion in the north, they agreed that it would take place under 'a banner of St Cuthbert'.²³

In the county of Durham, where the influence of the bishop as a definer of the local commonwealth had been the greatest, an oppositional form of Catholicism developed among the Neville community. For many former clients of Nevilles, the continued practice of Catholicism was a means of perpetuating structures and alliances which had existed before the 1569 rebellion. That commitment was reinvigorated by the arrival of seminary priests in the mid-1580s, and the strengthening of the internal networks needed to support them. The priest hunter, Anthony Atkinson, reported on the Catholic networks in the north in 1593. He told how the influence of a Mr Craike of Yorkshire, a 'great harbourer of prestes', had prompted, 'a thousand or moa...within the past two years convert[e]d unto popery and specially Westmorlands tenants and friends'.²⁴ The rebellion of 1569 had been predicated on the need for noble intervention to safeguard the commonweal of Durham expressed through its faith. Men and women sought for another intercessor

²² DCD. Misc. Ch. 3231.7

²³ BL., Cott. Titus Mss., B, vii f. 425r, The rites of Durham, which dwelt on role of St Cuthbert in shaping the diocese was written by a Catholic, and produced at the end of the 16th century. *Rites of Durham*, ed. Fowler. 'A History of St Cuthbert :the legend with a history of the church' BL., Sloane Mss., 1322.

²⁴ PRO SP 12/255/131 f.213r. Questier stresses that 'conversion' could be a cross confessional movement, or a strengthening of an existing commitment to the faith. Conversion, therefore, did not necessarily imply a conversion of Protestants, but a reinvigoration of faith. Reformers worried about these 'indifferent Protestants'. M. C. Questier, *Politics and Religion in England c. 1580-1623* (Cambridge, 1996), p.4.

to champion their cause, but while they waited for that day they continued in their commitment to the communal practice of the faith which had made it a term of definition.

Originally the communal nature had been asserted through the structure of the parish church, and lay Catholic patronage and a lack of reformed ministers meant that many parishes in the diocese continued to be served by a Catholic priest. On his arrival in Durham, Matthew focussed on ending this abuse of the Protestant church structure. He acquired a copy of Bishop Barnes' articles from an ecclesiastical commission of 1577 and copied out Barnes' articles for the Darlington ward of the diocese, a ward which contained many Catholic parishes and families from the 1569 rebellion. Barnes had concentrated on the different manifestations of Catholicism within the diocese. He wanted to know about those who practised, advanced or defended Catholicism or papal supremacy, especially those who had brought: 'papal bulls, pardons, agnus dei, dispensacions, pictures, beades, reconcilia from the pope the same and court of Rome'. He also focussed on more subtle forms of Catholicism, many of his articles were concerned with the secret practise of Catholicism under the cover of conformity. Matthew noted that he had asked, 'if anyone has asked a priest to say service contrary to the prayerbooke', 'whether any priest, minister, doctor has ministered service contrary to the prayerbooke', and, 'whether any person ecclesiastical of what degree has intermingled anie popishe and prohibited rites, ceremonies or other usages together with the orders in the saide bookes prescribed'.²⁵

Matthew found examples of this corruption throughout the diocese. The parishes of Aycliffe and Kelloe were home to many who had risen in the 1569 rebellion, and who continued in their adherence to Catholicism. The minister there was a conservative priest, William Bennet, whose conformity in 1582 was hard won and continued to be suspect. St Oswald's, in Durham city, was another parish dominated by families like the Salvins of Croxdale, the Tempests, the Blakistons

²⁵ DCD/T/YB f.90r-92v. DDR VIS/1 2r-6v.

and the Claxtons. The priest there, the Catholic Thomas Pentland, refused to take divine service, and Matthew was unable to secure his removal until 1593.²⁶

Matthew's early concern was with ending this practice through the reform of the clergy. His notes on the state of the diocese reflected his desire to combat this 'institutional' Catholicism, and in his letters to Cecil and Walsingham he frequently complained of the role of poor ministers and poor patronage in perpetuating an existing attachment to Catholicism. External priestly influence with a rhetoric of separation was slow to worry Durham authorities. In 1585 Barnes and Matthew returned a schedule of recusants pursued after information from the Privy Council; there were only eight names on the list of which two had conformed, two were in prison and four were dead or outlawed.²⁷

The limits of Matthew's reformation through ecclesiastical structures, and the increased vigour of Catholicism prompted by the priestly missions of the 1580s and 1590s, forced Matthew to reassess his characterisation of, and therefore his response to, Catholicism in the diocese. In his sermon of 1592, preached while an ecclesiastical commission was in operation in Durham, Matthew discussed the different types of Catholicism in the diocese. There were, Matthew thought, two types of Catholics, 'some err of ignorance, other[s] of wilfulness'. While the ignorant, Matthew thought, could be continue to be converted by an increasingly reformed ministry, 'they are more courteously... to be dealt with', he argued that those who called for separation should feel the full force of the law. He argued that newly invigorated Catholicism required the full force of compulsion. Matthew spoke of punishments: 'the least toothsome be the most wholesome' he told his audience, but 'to so be shorte and plaine, *Tempora mutantur et nos mutantur in illis*'.²⁸

²⁶ PRO SP 12/187/49. *Recusant Roll 1*, ed. Calthrop, pp. 77-79. *Recusant Roll 3 & Recusant Roll 4* ed. Bowler, pp.245-45. 'A Book of Recusants', *Miscellanea*, ed. Talbot, pp. 15-45. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 4, pp.82-83

²⁷ PRO SP 12/187/49 f.89r

²⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 14r.

Recusancy undermined Matthew's attempts to secure reformation through the church; the priestly attack on conformity demonstrated, Matthew argued, the potency of the reformed church to effect conversion. Matthew attacked the missionary priests, 'ministers of the old Serpent', who, 'persuade the people...not to suffer so much as one ear open to hear the word of God at the mouth of the preacher; not to hear any prayers at the mouth of the minister, specially in the congregation where it is likely to be most effectual.' Their unwillingness to come to church, Matthew argue, undermined the reformation in the north. 'Hereof grow so many recusants', Matthew complained, 'who be that charmed by some of us never so wisely, by others persuaded never so probably, by others preached unto never so learnedly...yet all cometh to nothing'. The forced attendance at church, and contact with the saving word was, Matthew argued, necessary to save; of 'willful' recusants he argued that, 'these are they whom compassion cannot save, but terror must pluck out of the fire'.²⁹

Priests had begun to arrive in Durham from the mid-1580s, landing at Newcastle or crossing the border from Scotland. John Boste, one of the most prominent of those priests had been harboured at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by the post master there before moving into the diocese, and by the mid-1580s there was a well established network in place.³⁰ Christopher Byers, captured in 1586, admitted in his confession before Matthew that he had landed at Newcastle, in 'a barque... of a merchant' with 'others that came from Rheims', including one Johnson and Bernard Pattison.³¹ The men dispersed into Durham, later in 1593 Bernard Pattison was recorded as 'one of the priests in the north' and in 1598 it was reported that he had been saying mass to

²⁹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 14r, 28r.

³⁰ In 1594, the postmaster of Newcastle, John Carr, was pardoned for his role in harbouring Boste. *CSP. Dom. ser., 1595-1597*, p. 439. PRO SP 12/245/24. PRO SP 15/29/62 Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, p. 30.

³¹ *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, vol. 9, pp. 39-42. 1593, a priest Cuthbert Johnson was reported to have resorted to the household of Lady Constable, of Upsall in Richmondshire. PRO SP 12/245/24 f.38r The Johnson family were notable local recusants, William Johnson went to Douai to study returning to England as a priest in 1603 and Cuthbert Johnson, his brother was charged in 1601 with failing to pay a recusancy fine PRO SP 12/270/36.

Lady Katherine Grey, daughter of the earl of Westmorland.³² From 1585 there were constant reports of foreign priests in the diocese. Three priests were reported to have travelled to Durham from Rheims in 1583, and in 1587 there were reports of Jesuit priests on the borders. In 1590 the Privy Council wrote to Bishop Hutton urging him to discover and act on the reports of four seminary priests within the diocese, issuing commissions against seminary priests and Jesuits in the diocese in 1591 and again in 1592. In 1593 one informant listed over twenty priests active in Durham or the north riding of Yorkshire, while Atkinson listed twenty-one priests which he knew to be active in the north, adding 'many more, I cannot name'.³³

The arrival of priests reinvigorated an existing attachment to Catholicism, allowing men and women to practice the rites of their faith. Many of the priests in the north claimed that they were concerned primarily with the execution of their priestly functions, focussing on communal celebrations of the faith. The priest George Dingley, captured in London in 1592, recalled that a Durham Catholic, James Jackson, had tried to encourage him to go to Durham 'and exercise his functions of a priest there it being a dangerous place', while Thomas Clarke claimed that during his time in Durham and Yorkshire he had said mass in many different households, 'heard the confessions of many mostly poor folks' yet has 'never reconciled any'.³⁴ Performing the priestly functions could reinvigorate dormant Catholicism. Writing to Huntingdon in 1592, Matthew complained that: 'Waterson the seminary priest has done much harm in Newcastle, and as is reported has said masses in the prison and the town'.³⁵

Catholicism was a sociable faith and the communal rite of the mass was at the heart of its observance. While priests were usually based in gentry households, the celebration of the mass extended the Catholic community to include those who were

³² PRO SP 12/245/24 f. 213 r. BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f.47

³³ PRO 15/30/61. PRO SP 12/230/104. PRO SP 12/242/121 PRO SP12/245/24. PRO SP 12/255/131 APC., new ser., vol. 19, p.70

³⁴ PRO SP 12/262/122 George Dingley was also known as James Young and Thomas Christopher; PRO SP 12/244/5 Clark seems to have been active in Durham from 1591-93

³⁵ *Historical Manuscript Commission: Report on the Manuscripts...[of] Hastings*, ed. F. Bickley (3 vols., London, 1928-34), p41. PRO SP 23/11/92

clustered around the gentry households, as well as the gentry themselves. Thomas Clark admitted that he had been sent to England by 'Mr Barnet, then president at Rheims' in order 'to reconcile the people to the Church of Rome, say mass & c.'. ³⁶ The mass was, of course, a deeply social rite, reconciling and confirming the community; it also required a priest, and so its practice was one of the primary duties of the foreign priests. This element of communal *caritas* was a central feature of the Catholicism in both Newcastle and Durham. Mass was reported to have been said at a number of different households throughout the diocese: at the homes of the Trollopes; the Hedworths; and at the houses of the earl of Westmorland's daughters and their former servants. ³⁷

The household was the focus for collective worship, it was not its limit, and the practice of the faith reflected the role of the gentry household at the heart of a wider, more inclusive community. The Trollope household in Thornley, close to Newcastle, was responsible for ten of the sixteen recusants recorded in Kelloe parish in 1598. John Trollope's household, of his wife and daughter, also supported a number of recusant friends and servants, and he maintained two Marian priests, John Thompson and John Stephenson. His half brother, Thomas Trollope, was arrested in 1597 with Lancelot Hodgson and Thomas Towers, and accused of smuggling priests into the area. John Trollope's house in Thornley eventually became the headquarters for Richard Holtby, in 1593 it was noted that Holtby had been in Thornley 'over a yeare'. The priests Francis Stafferton, John Rolleson and Francis Clayton also stayed with the Trollopes between 1591 and 1593. The other recusants recorded in the parish reflect the presence of another family, the Blakistons, who maintained households throughout the diocese of Durham. The head of that family, William Blakiston had married a daughter of William Claxton; his aunt had been a Trollope. ³⁸

³⁶ PRO SP12/264/5

³⁷ BL., Lans. Mss., 78, f. 47. PRO SP 12/255/131

³⁸ PRO SP 12/245/24 f.38v. PRO SP 12/99/55. J. Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic forefathers, related by themselves*, (3 vols., London, 1872-77) vol. 3., p. 167. *Recusant Roll 1*, ed. Calthrop, pp.76, 79. G. Anstruther *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850* (4 vols.,

At the heart of this presence was the sociable practice of the mass, which was accessible to all. The accessibility of the services meant that informers could infiltrate the masses. In 1596, Matthew wrote secretly to William Cecil requesting that one of his spies 'maie have securitie from me and I from your Lord that he maie repaire without danger of lawe to those masses and other services and ceremonies that such ill minded persons do frequent'.³⁹

The household could act as the provider of clerical services, and as a protector when other power relationships intruded. The Durham priest Thomas Clarke, recalled that a Mr Tockett in Guisborough in Cleveland maintained his household as a safe haven for Catholics, though he had conformed himself. Clarke claimed that he had said mass 'to some of his servants...divers of his servants never goes to church and others he has put away since the commission for Jesuits came'.⁴⁰ Other priest catchers complained of the difficulties in apprehending priests in private households. Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle March, wrote to Burghley in 1593 reporting that having heard that there were seminary priests in Edlingham, in Northumberland, he had 'sent my men with a commission to search the houses and lay fire to them...my servants searched Edlingham and other places and found great likeness of their being there, but there were such secret conveyances and close corners made in walls that, unless they hungered them out, they could do no good'.⁴¹ Anthony Atkinson agreed, after a description of those houses which harboured priests he complained that 'when any search as made in Yorkshire, busshoprick., [or] Northumberland..any papish priest then eyther they ar conveyed into caves in the ground or secrett place not possible to find them'. Atkinson noted too that priests were frequently smuggled across the country and taken to the Isle of Man.⁴² Matthew too was frustrated by gentry intervention. At the end of his list of the number of recusants in the diocese of Durham in 1603, Matthew noted: 'of all of

Great Wakering, 1968-77), vol 1, p.270. Surtees, *History of Durham* vol 1, p.83
Hilton, 'Catholic Recusancy', pp.126, 128

³⁹ PRO SP 12/256/83

⁴⁰ PRO SP 12/244/5

⁴¹ PRO SP 15/32/62

⁴² PRO SP 12/255/131 f. 212 v

the recusants above notified [526] only some 50 persons of any accompt are founde. All the rest are either tenants or servantes or otherwise dependantes upon those recusantes'.⁴³

The role of the household in perpetuating the social faith was reflected in the increased importance of Catholic women in post-reformation Catholicism. While many in Neville community were unwilling to conform, in Newcastle many prominent Catholics heightened their ability to protect other members of the community through limited conformity. Despite priestly counsel against it, therefore, by the 1590s several prominent men in the Catholic community had conformed, which allowed them to maintain Catholic households.⁴⁴ This troubled Protestant and Catholic alike. In 1592, Dingley recalled that Mush, a seminary priest in Durham had 'told him the gentlemen thereabouts had fallen off from the priests, but the gentlewomen stood steadfastly to them.'⁴⁵ Gentlewomen filled the ranks of those reported to be harbouring priests and to be charged with recusancy.⁴⁶ The ecclesiastical commission sitting in Durham in 1591 charged many wives with recusancy. Ralph Corby, a Catholic of Newcastle complained to his son that he had been 'before the High Commission diverse times' for his wife's not going to church. Corby was also a Catholic, though apparently conforming; his son, Gerard, was a priest serving the Countess of Kildare.⁴⁷

Matthew and Huntingdon were aware that Catholicism was a social faith, and that the continuing recusancy of wives allowed that sociable faith to thrive, and both were keen to penalise recusant wives. In this they were constantly frustrated by the intervention of others. In 1591 the Privy Council wrote to Bishop Hutton on behalf

⁴³ PRO SP 14/3/42

⁴⁴ In 1603, 148 of the recusants in Durham were women, while only 72 were men. In Northumberland the figure was a lot closer. There, 167 women were counted as recusants, and 139 men were. PRO SP 14/3/42. Walsham, 'Yielding to the Extremity of the Time', in Lake and Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, 212-34 for the rhetoric among the northern mission about the permissibility of church papistry.

⁴⁵ PRO SP 12/242/121

⁴⁶ PRO SP 12/263/81

⁴⁷ PRO SP 12/238/143. PRO SP 12/238/148. PRO SP 15/ 32/15.

of Nicholas Hedley, imprisoned for refusing to bring his own wife before Newcastle ecclesiastical commissioners 'fearing least she should be imprisoned'. Elizabeth Hedley had previously been imprisoned at York and was constant in her refusal to conform. The intervention of husbands, the Privy Council and occasionally Matthew Hutton undermined Matthew's action against the women, allowing the continuation of recusant households. In 1593, Matthew urged Burghley that 'this late commission of inquiry against the wives and servants of recusants, when returned to you, be not suppressed, or by respect of persons unevenly handled, but duly executed, yea- and as these times and the place require, - more severely prosecuted, without such interventions and mediations from above as have heretofore drawn on great inconveniences both to religion and the realm'. He was partially successful; in 1596 Matthew thanked Burghley for the 'resolutions and directions in some causes touching the Recusantes husbandes and their penalties', promising that if he were to receive the twenty pound fine, 'it shall be converted to pious usus'.⁴⁸

Despite Cecil's apparent support for Matthew's actions, higher intervention was sought, often successfully for leniency towards recusant women. Matthew Hutton intervened to defend Margaret Neville from charges following the capture of the priest Boste in whose company she had been. In 1597 Hutton also supported the wife of Nicholas Tempest of Stella, a woman who Matthew considered to be a 'great recusant', and in so doing frustrated Matthew's attempts to prosecute her. Later that year, Whitgift complained to Hutton that, 'your successor hath scarcely dealt brotherlie with mee in some lines latelie written concerning Tempests wife and Hedleys of Newcastle. But of such dealings I make small account'.⁴⁹

The household was an important focus for daily worship, it was also important in the ensuring the succession of the faith: this was a truly female sphere. In 1597 William James warned Burghley of the separation of many Catholic families from

⁴⁸ APC. New ser., vol. 20, pp.152-53. PRO SP 15/32/89. PRO SP 12/256/83

⁴⁹ Hutton to Burghley 11 December 1594, in *Hutton Correspondence*, ed. Raine, p. 92. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. 4, p. 198. BL Stowe Mss 1058 f. 236. Lambeth Palace Cod. Mss. Misc. 1141

the structures of a Protestant society. He was concerned that, 'many of them are married, if not by seminaries and Jesuits, but old mass priests, and the words of the mass book'. James worried too about the effects of allowing recusant women to remain free, concerned that the children of Catholics, 'are not christened in churches.. .their education is in the same way, not being brought up in common or good schools, but at home and in secret, and with their nurses milk they suck dislike and disloyalty and learn first to hate the truth.'⁵⁰

Matthew was also concerned about the effects of a limited male conformity but he took the opportunity to point to the gradual removal of the faith from the social sphere, highlighting the inversion of Catholicism as it gradually became an internal 'female' faith. He laughed at the seminary priests: 'who fretted off their beards by waters and such like unnatural and unmanly disguisings to pass for women... I thought good to advise them whose daughters or wives are become recusants that they take heed of such lusty fellows as no meet chaplains for their families which may be shrewdly abused by mockmaids, or such serving men, unfit either to wait on their daughters or to ride before their wives from place to place'.⁵¹

The arrival of seminary priests not only reinvigorated the faith, but in Durham where Catholicism was coloured with opposition to Tudor rule *and* religion, injected it with a renewed rhetoric of political opposition. Charles, Earl of Westmorland, in exile in France, used the priestly network to contact his followers in the north. In 1585, a spy in Paris wrote to Walsingham to tell him that Westmorland and 'the scotch Jesuits have ther letters conveyed from Scotland into England to one Boast [Boste], a priest in the north parts, who sends them hither by

⁵⁰ PRO SP 12/263/55. James returned to the theme, warning Robert Cecil of the need to act against Catholic household education. PRO SP 12/268/57

⁵¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 18v. For an example of female, household based, piety in the diocese see W. Palmes, *The Life of Mrs Dorothy Lawson of St. Anthony's near Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Northumberland*, (Newcastle, 1851). This limited familial conformity reflected the importance of the household in the logistics of post-reformation Catholicism, Bossy, 'English Catholic Community', pp. 38, 51. Huntingdon, like Matthew was eager to act against this household faith, for the numbers of recusant wives and children prosecuted at York in the same period see J. C. H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791* (St. Albans, 1970), pp. 65-68.

some that come from Newcastle to Dieppe'.⁵² In 1586 Huntingdon reported that Boste was promising Durham Catholics that 'the day of triumph will be on their side shortly', and he and Matthew sought his capture. In a letter from Newcastle to Walsingham a few days later, Huntingdon told the secretary, 'the chief cause of my coming hither from Durham was that I was informed that Davy Ingleby and Boast are together not far from this town'. Ingleby was from a prominent family in Netherdale (in Yorkshire), friendly with the Nevilles and known to be 'evilly affected to the state'.⁵³

Boste's arrival was influential in persuading many Catholics to embrace recusancy. While Huntingdon and Matthew were in Newcastle in 1592 they celebrated the Queen's Day with a general communion. Huntingdon reported to Walsingham that: 'here was yesterday a great assembly both at ye sermon and communion of the busshoprycke, Northumber[land] and of thys town, manye of the best callyng in all ye three placys besydes dyvers others dyd communicate'. Worryingly, however, the effects of the seminary priests could be felt. Huntingdon noted that: 'sum yt I know have of late recetyed [received] seminarye priests, made no deyntye to cum to ye communion as thys day it was tolde me, for indeede my self I did not see them at the table.'⁵⁴

The enduring strength of the Neville connection in the diocese was worrying, not just because it evinced the authorities' weakness in eradicating Catholicism, but because it was known that the Earl was alive, abroad and plotting for his return. In 1585, the spy Horatio Palavicino reported to Walsingham that the Duke of Guise had promised Westmorland ten thousand men and ten thousand crowns. It was known too that the Earl was in contact with his family and supporters, and Matthew and his patrons feared that even without French forces the earl would provoke some sort of domestic trouble. A large number of priests came to the diocese from France, bringing with them political glosses on religious persecution gleaned from the Earl,

⁵² PRO SP 15/29/62

⁵³ PRO SP 12/245/131 f.212. PRO SP 15/29/160. Ingleby was from an influential recusant family in Northumberland, PRO SP 15/32/64. *Recusant Roll 3 and Recusant Roll 4*, ed. Bowler, pp. 116, 120, 248.

⁵⁴ PRO SP 15/29/157, f. 239r.

his allies and the French wars of religion. This ensured that the Catholicism of Durham was highly politicised. In 1586, Biers confessed that he had met the Earl of Westmorland in France, who had asked him to carry letters to his daughters, telling him if you see 'any of our house, tell them I am well and in good health', while Boste was involved in invigorating the politics of the diocese, and the religious observance of its inhabitants, with the politics of Europe.⁵⁵

Priests, news and Catholic material came from the continent to the diocese via Newcastle. As a port, Newcastle-upon-Tyne had busy trading links with London, the Netherlands and, most worryingly, France, allowing Newcastle and her environs to become part of a European Catholic scene.⁵⁶ The men and the materials which landed in Newcastle were soon disseminated throughout the diocese, and it was the Catholics of county Durham rather than Newcastle, who were most influenced by this trade.

In 1584, copies of *Leycester's Commonwealth* were smuggled into the diocese, the Catholic George Errington admitting in 1585 that he had heard of the circulation of 'seditious books against my lord of Leicester'. Errington had been caught in an attempt to smuggle money and a young boy to priests in Rouen, eventually admitting that he and Miles White had collected the boy and that the two of them had escorted him 'to the water's side, about one mile and a half from Newcastle where the Frenchman lay and stayed for them'. Miles White escaped capture, he was 'a close dangerous fellow' of whom Matthew complained in 1596, 'still remains a singing man in Durham cathedral'. George Errington was a carrier for the priest Mush, and had become involved in the Neville network in county Durham. In his priest smuggling he must have relied upon his family connections

⁵⁵ *Cal. Scot. Pap.*, vol. 9, pp. 39-42. *Calendar of State Papers domestic series, of the reign of Elizabeth and James I. Addenda, 1580-1625* ed. M. A. Everett Green (London, 1872), p. 149.

⁵⁶ BL., Add. Mss., 12506 f.407-08. PRO SP 12/245/24. PRO SP 12/263/72. PRO SP 12/263/81. PRO SP 12/264/117. PRO SP 15/29/62. *APC.*, new ser., vol 21., p.40. *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, ed. W. Dendy (Surtees Soc., CV, 1901) pp. 19-20.

in shipping in Newcastle. Martin Errington was the Master of the ship 'Elline', while Christopher Errington was master and owner of the 'Grace of God'.⁵⁷

In 1591 James Watson was discovered importing 'seditious books' from the Catholic Leaguers in France which were taken via his brother 'William Watson in ...Sheelds and from thence carried covertly under fish to Newcastle'. The Watson brothers had Durham connections and were involved with a number of men imprisoned or suspected of treason, including a Mr Lawrence, 'a notable favourer of the worst affected in these parts'. It was reported too that Henry Dale, 'bailiff of a lordship, parcell of the Earl of Westmorland's possessions have of late given £14 to a man in south sheelds to make a ready a chamber secretly for two unknowen persons to be kept therin, and promised a large sum upon the arrival of those two persons'. The Privy Council urged Matthew to investigate the matter, noting 'it is vehemently suspected that these practices have dependencie one upon the other'. It was thought that Westmorland lay behind these mens' activities and shortly afterwards, the Privy Council rounded up those who it suspected had been in contact with Westmorland; there was only enough proof, however, to charge one, Richard Conyers.⁵⁸

The effect of the leaguer material was worrying indeed. Matthew, Walsingham and Huntingdon had worried about the return of Westmorland to prompt another rebellion, and continued to do so throughout the reign. The discovery of leaguer material, however, brought that other concern of these godly politicians even closer to home: the fear of another Catholic invasion attempt, and local reformers were aware that someone other than the Earl might lead the Catholics into revolt. The priest hunter Henry Sanderson noted that the, 'papistes .. lack but some Duke Amelack to carry the banner before them to attempt some mischief'.⁵⁹ In 1584,

⁵⁷ PRO SP 12/245/24. PRO SP 12/256/83. 'Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', in *Miscellanea* ed. J. H. Pollen, (Catholic Record Society, 2, London, 1906), pp. 261, 265. Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, pp.30-31, 45. Questier 'Practical Antipapistry', p. 385

⁵⁸ *APC* new ser., vol. 21, p. 91

⁵⁹ *HMC: Salisbury Mss.*, vol. 17, pp. 110, 138. 'Official lists of Catholic Prisoners', *Miscellanea*, ed. Pollen, pp. 260, 280.

Robert Cecil had delivered a speech to Elizabeth I about the dangers of Catholicism both within and outside of the realm. He warned that of ‘your forraine enemyes able to hurt you, accompt Scotland for his presence and neighbourhood and Spaine for his Religion and power’. The events of 1588 had certainly shown Spain to be a true threat, though for Matthew the ‘presence’ of Scotland was more worrying. The French interest in Scotland, and Westmorland’s interest in both, made Scotland a troubling neighbour indeed. Matthew responded to the influx of seditious material by purchasing French pamphlets about the Wars of Religion. There he found reports of the development, and application of new Catholic theories of resistance. It seemed to Matthew that those justifications of the deposition of Kings and Queens would be seized on by Catholics who were in contact with France.⁶⁰

In 1592 Matthew warned of Catholics, ‘that cast above the moon and build castles in the air, laying plots and complots, made acquainted with all manner intelligences and designments, as well foreign negotiations as domestical treasons’. He drew on the example of French Catholics to warn of the danger of allowing continuing Catholicism in Durham, warning:

They are venemous in fact and poisonous indeed, as well in practice as profession. How many princes have they wracked and ruined with their confections not Spanish only, but Italian also! ... Were not the late Prince of Conde the young Duke Bullion by the same meanes made away... was not the late noble Henry the Third, the French king, by the hand of a Jacobin scide, a

⁶⁰ Matthew collected texts from the French wars of religion. C. Palliot. *Les Ceremonies Observees a la solemnisation de la Paix, en l’eglise Notre Dame de Paris, le 21 Juin 1595* (Paris, 1598) YML I. N. 3. Henri IV, *Edict du Roy & Declaration sur les Precedents Edicts de Pacification* (Paris, 1599) YML II. O. 16. He also collected pamphlets about the wars, A. Colynet, *The True History of the Civill Warres of France, betweene the French Kinge Henry the 4 and the Leaguers, 1585..1591*, (London, 1591), YML. V/1. L. 16. F. de Bourbon, *Advice by a Catholic Gentleman to the nobilitie and Commons of France to the nobilitie and Commons of France to ioyne together agaynst robbers* tr., J. Eliot, (London, 1589) also included a declaration of the Duke de Montpellier for ‘reclaiming the clergy and nobility of Normandy’. YML. VIII. M. 9(1). M. Hurault, *True Causes of Wares in France and other countries...the conclusion containing noble admonitions to the clergy, nobles, magistrates, people and King of France* tr. anon. (London, 1589), YML VIII. M. 9(2). H. d’Orleans, *A True discourse of the discomforture of the Duke of Anmalle with his troupes of horsemen in Picardie* tr. anon. (London, 1589), YML VIII. M. 9(3). F. de Bonne, L. de Coligny, *Newes sent to the Ladie Princesse of Orenge* tr. J. Eliot, (London, 1589). YML. VIII. M. 9(4)

wretched elf pierced to death with a knife envenomed, and both poison and treason in trust committed upon the Lord's annointed?⁶¹

This reading of Catholicism, stressing its inherently political nature, reflected the polemical debates of the missionary priests and their Protestant respondents, as well as a providential reading of political and religious history. In 1595, Matthew's godly friend and ally in the diocese, Francis Bunny, published a response to the rhetoric of the Catholic mission. Dedicating his work to Huntingdon, Bunny offered a reading of William Allen's and Robert Parsons' works calling for the restoration of Catholicism which demonstrated the extent to which polemical discourse, as well as providential history, informed the reading of the political threat of Catholicism. Bunny considered the 'day [for] which they hoped, the rebellion in England, the troubles in Ireland, the Spanish fleete so long looked for and so much spoken of'. Despite the failure of these attacks however, Bunny argued:

Against such days of mischiefe they seeke to prepare men before by their reconciling... under the pretence of reconciling men to God they doe in deade by all means posible devote and tye them to serve the Pope and that insatiable tirant. Utter enemies to our estate and Prince⁶²

This view of Catholicism reflected the Protestant reading of providential punishment and Catholic polemic. That polemic, of course, was not a static force and it also influenced Catholicism in the diocese, confirming Matthew's characterisation of the faith. In 1593, the priest hunter, Anthony Atkinson reported that, 'Medcalf a priest said mass at the Waterhouse [in Lanchester] att one Claxtons house a recusant...and that weare present att the mass the 12 and 13 July 1593, George Errington...and many others'. Errington was friendly with David Ingleby and had been captured trying to smuggle letters to the Earl of Westmorland in 1585. Metcalf was the *alias* for Anthony Hebburn, a priest from another prominent

⁶¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, ff. 27v, 29v.

⁶² F. Bunny, *A Survey of the Pope's Supremacie*, (London, 1595), sig. A5r.

Catholic family in the diocese, who had trained at Rheims.⁶³ Atkinson recorded other occasions on which Boste, or Stapfourth, chaplain to Westmorland's daughter, Lady Katherine Gray, had said mass. Atkinson's coup, however, came on 10 September, when he took Boste, another of the Westmorland's daughters, Lady Margaret Neville, and Adeline and Grace Claxton. Waterhouse belonged to Grace Claxton's husband, and she was pardoned shortly afterwards. Margaret Neville was tried and convicted at Durham in 1594 for harbouring John Boste, and remained in prison until 1595. Though Hutton and Huntingdon persuaded her to conform and Hutton secured her release, in 1598 Matthew reported that Margaret had been 'pardoned in the hope of the continuance of her pretended conformity from which I hear she has relapsed since'.⁶⁴

Lady Katherine Gray avoided arrest and returned to Lanchester. In 1598, Matthew reported Gray's arrest and imprisonment to William Cecil:

This ladie was many yeares sought by the late Earle of Huntingdon and was detected for the receaving and releiving of sundrie seminarie Prietse, as Stafferton...Boste who since was executed, Musshe and Patteson, besydes some others which come not presently to mynde. She hath alwaies illuded the processes and messengers of the Ecclesiasticall High Commission by eloyving and withdrawing herself from all appearence⁶⁵

Katherine Gray had returned to her roots, renting a farmhouse in Lanchester from Mrs Hall, sister to Nicholas Tempest of Stella's wife, 'that great recusant'. Matthew suspected that a vigorous recusant community continued to exist in Lanchester, particularly steeped in affection for the earl. He noted that:

within half a myle of that house on this syde Lanchester dwelleth at the mannourhouse one William Hodgson, an olde servant and follower of the earl, whose son John is a special recusant and reported ...to have married this lady....In Lanchester town dwelleth Lancelot Hodgson, when he is at home, but he is nowe in prison for recusancie, a dangerous person and not unlearned who the last year was married as him self confesseth by an older popish Priest (but no seminarist) [possibly Cliffe] to Marie Lees, daughter to another of theles chef olde servauntes and officers in Brancepeth⁶⁶

⁶³ PRO SP 12/181/78.. PRO SP 12/195/30. PRO SP 12/195/32. PRO SP 12/245/24.

⁶⁴ BL., Lans. Mss., 78, f. 12. BL. Mss. 87, f. 47. Sharp, *Memorials*, p.312-14

⁶⁵ BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f. 47. PRO SP 12/59/77

⁶⁶ BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f. 47

From his reading of domestic Catholicism, the significance of these men and women on this place seemed clear to Matthew. He darkly considered the political implications of the community at Brancepath in a letter to Burghley: 'I thinke the Ladie Gray did there meane for the tyme to sett up her rest; so nighe her fathers alde tennantes: the house itselfe also (standing S'ward the felles and nighe a pretie woodde) strongly built of newe, and with manie shifting conveyances may yeld good opportunnities to interteyne and Lodge not only other ill gwestes, but percase thearle himselfe, *si et quatenus*.'⁶⁷

Burghley did not need the warning. He had a map, hurriedly composed for him in late 1569, of the bishopric of Durham. On it he had carefully marked the names of landowners, in particular those whose lands lay at the mouth of the Tees. His worry was the passage of men and money 'to the rebels of 1569 to oversea'. At the time of the rising he had sketched for himself the route from Brancepath to London, marking on his notes 'Measures to be taken on an emergency in the north', the rivers that must be crossed and fences breached if an army were to once again face the capital. They were maps over which he had poured, marking on secret places and passages which could become a theatre for treason. He knew how quickly Westmorland, hidden among his old followers, could rise and journey to London, or equally terrifying, Scotland.⁶⁸

The rebellion of prominent local Catholics, supported by French, Spanish or Scottish aid was what Matthew feared most. In 1594 he wrote gloomily to Burghley that 'we dwell in a place, where any man would be loath to be that could be anie where els in a reasonable and safe condicion'.⁶⁹ After the influx of material promoting rebellion, Matthew had become increasingly alert to the dangers of sedition as well as blasphemy. He believed that this sedition could be detected

⁶⁷ BL., Lans. Mss., 87. f.47.

⁶⁸ BL.Add Mss 62540. PRO SP 12/59/55 APC., new ser., vol. 22, p.91. R. A. Skelton and J. Summerson eds. *A Description of maps and architectural drawings in the collection made by Sir William Cecil ... at Hatfield House* (Oxford, 1971,) p. 56.

⁶⁹ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f.28. *Cal. Bord. Pap.*, vol. 1, p. 942

throughout the diocese and was sensitive to its occurrence. In 1591, a Catholic was put in the Newcastle stocks for pillorying the Queen. Thomas Trollope, Thomas Towers, and Lancelot Hodgson maintained a refusal to say amen at the end of prayers for the Queen under an examination of the dean and chapter of 1597. Three months later William James reported that 'the number of recusants is great, and increases, and as they are of good calling and wealth.... generally refuse to confer with any, or join in prayer for Her Majesty'.⁷⁰

Though the character of Catholicism in Durham and Newcastle was very different. the two communities were in contact. The logistics of Catholicism united the groups; however, only one family, the Hodgsons of Hebburn, were involved in both groups. Former Neville clients, their estates lay close to Newcastle and the coast. The founder of the estate at Hebburn, Richard Hodgson had been sheriff then repeatedly mayor of Newcastle from 1549 to 1580. A 'rank papist', he had unsuccessfully attempted to raise Newcastle in the rebellion. After his death in 1585, his son Richard Hodgson succeeded his father as the head of the family. Though Richard Hodgson was in hiding for recusancy in the 1590s, the Hodgsons continued to dominate Newcastle political life. One of Richard Hodgson's uncles, William, who had married into the Hillyards of Lanchester, farmed the royal estates at Manor House. William's son was in hiding in 1593, and in 1598 was captured with Lady Katherine Gray. His brother, James, was a merchant in Newcastle, and this branch of the family, with their cousins, made recusant marriages and sent their children to be educated as seminarians. Richard Hodgson's son sheltered the priests Richard Holtby and Thomas Jackson and it was as a harbourer, and provider, of priests that the Hodgsons cemented their family's position spanning the two groups.⁷¹

⁷⁰ PRO SP 12/257/11. PRO SP 12/262/25

⁷¹ BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f.47. PRO SP 12/99/55, 56. *Recusant Roll* 1, ed. Calthrop, pp. 76, 79. 'Book of Recusants', *Miscellanea*, ed. Talbot, pp. 52-53. Surtees, *History of Durham*, vol. 2, pp.74-75 Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, pp. 33-34. Hilton, 'Recusancy in Durham', p. 131

Catholicism in Newcastle

Catholicism underpinned the development of another community, informing the social and political dynamics of the Hostman's company of coal owners in Newcastle. This community of Catholics used their economic strength to establish a monopoly in the town to protect local Catholics. Unlike their neighbours in Durham, this Catholic community was not alienated from the Protestant nation, but confident enough to engage with it. Matthew and his godly allies, however, did not draw this distinction in their attempt to end local Catholicism, and the cross-confessional disputes of Newcastle in the 1590s were informed by the rhetoric of the godly commonwealth and the promise of divine punishment.

At the heart of the Catholic community in Newcastle-upon-Tyne was a company called the Hostman's Company, which owed its pre-eminence in the town to a lease of lands at Gateshead and Whickham, granted by Elizabeth I to the politicians Henry Anderson and William Selby, aldermen of Newcastle in 1583. Known as the Grand Lease, it allowed them to use the lands for 99 years. Anderson and Selby were members of the Hostman's Company, an increasingly influential fraternity of coalmine owners. The manors of Gateshead and Whickham were rich with coal, and Anderson and Selby apportioned the lease to the members of the Hostman's Company, thus establishing an effective monopoly of the coal trade in Newcastle.⁷² Frequent attempts were made to break their monopoly by optimistic miners on the Wear, whose efforts were hindered as much by poor geography as economies of scale. Attempts by gentry landlords to exploit the coal on their land were futile in the face of Hostman power, and eventually it became more economically sound to lease mines to the Company, thus furthering their hold on the trade.⁷³

⁷² For a lucid description of the benefits offered by the Grand lease see Levine and Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society*, p.83-106; the lease is reprinted in R. Welford, ed. *Newcastle*, iii, 62-4. This land was originally leased by Bishop Barnes to Elizabeth I in 1582. 'Cosin's Survey', DUL Sharpe Mss., 167, p. 170.

⁷³ Watt, *Border to Middle Shire*, p.51-54 The failure of the 9th Earl of Northumberland to break into the coal industry convincingly, illustrates both the strength of the Hostman's Company's monopoly and frequently prohibitive capital required for the initial investment. Though the wealthiest private owner of coal fields in the area, with the potentially lucrative mine at Newburn in his possession,

The Grand Lease of 1583 had confirmed and tightened the Hostman's Company's grip on the local coal trade. It had also crystallised the politics of the 1580s, so that by the 1590s the monopoly of trade was mirrored by a monopoly of government: the former supporting the continuance of the latter. The communal nature of Catholicism was reflected in this economic expansion. In 1599 the Grand Lessees 'and the brethren of the fraternity' received formal incorporation from Elizabeth I as 'one bodie corporate and politick'. The original Lessees had divided and shared their portions among family and friends, and the charter of 1599 offered an opportunity to crystallise formally a brotherhood redolent of its medieval predecessors.⁷⁴ This incorporation also reflected the Hostman's Company's willingness to engage with central structures of rule.

This Catholic network reflected years of marriage alliances, as the leading families in Newcastle-upon-Tyne strengthened their place on the political stage. In this time of secret faith, the choice of marriage partners had, of course, important religious, as well as political, implications: connections undergirded by the transference of portions of the Grand Lease. In 1587 the Catholic Richard Hodgson left his portion of the lease of Gateshead and Whickham to his son Lancelot, but left leases of other pits to his other sons, William and Richard. Richard Hodgson left money to other members of his family, and the Catholic families Hedleys, Tempests and Selbys were a few of the families to which the Hodgsons were connected through marriages.⁷⁵

The Catholic monopoly of government prompted complaints from the godly in the town who sought outside intervention from Matthew, Huntingdon, the Privy

he was unable to compete. Revoking his lease of these properties to members of the company in 1616, he struggled unprofitably for 2 years before leasing the mines to the Hostmen outright.

⁷⁴ Reprinted in Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, pp. 137-145. For the reaction of some members of the town to the incorporation, see 'Petition to James I against the abuses of the guild of Hoastmen, 1603', BL. Add. Mss., 41613, ff. 143-47.

⁷⁵ Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, pp. 33-34. 'Book of Recusants', *Miscellanea*, ed. Talbot, pp. 52-53, 62-63.

Council and the Council of the North in an attempt to break the monopoly. They employed Henry Sanderson, a priest hunter who had benefited from Huntingdon and Matthew's patronage, to seek assistance on their behalf. In 1597 Sanderson wrote to Burghley, complaining of the abuses of the town. He argued that those like 'Robert Dudley, soundlie affected to the State and without all suspicion of any affection to popery' and 'Christopher Lewen, and ancient Sherife, the most sufficient and wise man of that towne, soundlie affected to church and state' were prevented from taking office.⁷⁶ That monopoly had prevented the reform of the church and the town. Matthew had been frustrated his attempts to apprehend Nicholas Tempest of Stella, a leading recusant. Asking for the direct intervention of the council, Matthew complained that 'as diocesan I cannot reach to the height to enquire effectively into persons of that quality'. Nicholas Tempest seems to have been safe as long as he remained in Newcastle, where magistrates were reluctant to act against gentry recusants protected by Hostmen.⁷⁷

The godly argued that the Catholic government was an inversion of proper society, and argued for the same parallel between the health of the polity and the society within it, complaining that Catholic and low-born governors undermined both. They complained of the staffing of the corporation 'by persons, some of whom have been imprisoned for disaffection to religion and the state', while Lionel Maddison, a former godly mayor of Newcastle, and his ally, Robert Dudley, attacked councillors who were 'base fellows that drive the wheel-barrow for day wages and work at the bridge for 4d a tide'.⁷⁸ They also complained the monopoly established through the fraternity worked to 'the proffitt of the Oastmen and the preiudice of Towne and commonwealth', and argued that the results of this inversion could be seen through 'a partial and disorderly proceeding in course of justice', the decay of the river, the

⁷⁶ BL. Lans. Mss., 87, f. 104.

⁷⁷ *Historical Manuscript Commission: Calendar of the Salisbury Manuscripts... at Hatfield House*, eds., S. R. Scargill-Bird and R. A. Roberts (12 vols, London, 1883-1910), vol. 6, pp. 62-3, vol. 10., p. 204

⁷⁸ BL., Lans. Mss., 87, f. 104.

lack of corn reserves and the stock piling of corn to manipulate the price by some Hostmen.⁷⁹

Attempts by local godly figures had been constantly undermined by the Catholic government of the town. The earl of Huntingdon appointed a former servant of his to search out priests in Newcastle. John Chaytor, 'a lover of religion and one that hath taken great paynes for discovery of Seminaryes, fugitives and the like', received money 'for havinge an eye to landinge places for the apprehendinge of Seminaryes and other fugitives'. On becoming mayor, however, the conforming Catholic Henry Anderson dismissed him, giving the office instead to a Catholic friend. In 1594, Anderson further undermined Huntingdon's attempts at reform by ejecting the Protestant schoolmaster of Newcastle grammar school, who had been chosen by Sandys, Hutton and Huntingdon. Anderson ejected him apparently because of the schoolmaster's zeal for Protestant reform, replacing him with a schoolmaster who was better suited to the school's reputation for Catholicism.⁸⁰

In 1597 Matthew and the Council of the North were charged with investigating the corruption of the town, but the town council was unwilling to see the authorities intervene, and in 1598 had still failed to approve the list of commissioners for the reform of the town's abuses. James warned Burghley that 'there is such malice [in the town] that men who, with their wives and families, frequent church and receive the sacrament are traduced as dangerous and unfit for government'. Matthew also was eager to see the reform of the government, believing that the Catholicism of the council had led to abuses in government; however, his eagerness to act against Catholicism prompted the councillors' refusal to allow him on the commission.⁸¹

The operation of 'commonwealth' rhetoric was demonstrated by the connection which the godly petitioners made between the religious, economic and political state of the council and the town. This rhetoric was further imbued with the Elizabethan

⁷⁹ PRO SP 12/64/117. BL. Lans. Mss., 85, f. 53 for the response. Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 3, pp. 120-21.

⁸⁰ BL., Lans. Mss., 89, f. 104.

⁸¹ BL., Lans. Mss., 89, f. 104. BL., Lans. Mss., 85, f. 55. PRO SP 12/264/117, ff. 158, 159. PRO SP 12/268/57. PRO SP 12/267/60.

emphasis on the godly commonwealth as bearing the same duties of edification of the individual and working within a providential framework. This reflected the extent to which that vision of the godly commonwealth had spread: its use in cross-confessional conflicts further illustrated that Matthew's static reading of the Catholic threat was also increasingly widespread.⁸²

During the summer and winter of 1597, when the complainants first wrote to Burghley and the Privy Council, the diocese of Durham was in the grip of a frightening plague. In June, Matthew had withdrawn from his palace at Auckland to his palace at Stockton, some distance from Durham, and preached at fasts held in the nearby parishes of Sedgefield and Darlington for the plague. That July saw the cancellation of the assizes in Durham, too many Judges were absent, *tempore pestis*.⁸³ Other divine punishments for the continuation of Catholicism were envisaged, the petitioners spoke of the danger of the Armada and they feared that through their actions, political and moral, the Catholic counsellors would prompt some sort of divine vengeance, claiming that 'the least contributor amongst us paid more than Mr Anderson, and some other aldermen towards setting forth three ships a pinnace the year of the Spanish invasion, or the ship for Cadiz last year.'⁸⁴

If the salvation of the commonwealth rested on a godly union of polity and conformity, then the Catholicism of the Newcastle councillors was worrying indeed to those in the town. Lever had argued: 'that person which professing himself to be a loyall subeict to Queene Elizabeth: and yet beleveth that the church of England ...is not in deed nor ought to be taken for the true churche of God...is no lyvley member of this church of England or Ireland, because Jesus Christ saith, *he that is not with us is against us*'.⁸⁵ This echoed the language of edification, and was a dichotomy further propounded in Catholic polemics. The godly of Newcastle-upon-Tyne saw themselves as operating within this providential scheme of divine punishment and, like Matthew, applied the language of the Old Testament struggles

⁸² See below and PRO SP 12/264/11f, f. 159r.

⁸³ YML., Add. Mss., 18, ff. 51-52.

⁸⁴ PRO SP 12/ 263/732

⁸⁵ DCD/T/YB f.37r

to the polity. Writing to Burghley in September 1597, Lionel Maddison and Robert Dudley urged the secretary to use his influence to effect a quick reform of abuses: 'as wicked Ahab and his father's house troubled all Israell , so Mr Chapman (the chief counsaillor of the grand leasees) and his complices committing and maintening with a high hand noteable abuses, are perturbbers of this commonwealth'.⁸⁶

The imagery which the godly complainants used was that which Matthew used to urge the need for conformity, and the danger to the commonwealth of recusancy. In Newcastle, however, members of the Catholic community, most notably Henry Anderson, were able to separate the political and religious demands of conformity, and through their conformity engage in the polity. Unlike their counterparts in Durham, the Catholic councillors of Newcastle were willing and able to engage in the Tudor state directly, seeking the intercession of Burghley and Hickes and sending one of their number, Henry Chapman, to parliament. They were also able to divorce the rhetoric of conformity and commonwealth from the reality of power, as shown in the municipal celebrations of the Queen's Day. The four main churches in the town had been ringing regularly on the 17 November since the mid-1580s and services of celebration had been held in the parish church of St Nicholas.⁸⁷

In 1597 the civic records show a particularly lavish celebration of the Queen's Day, put on by the mayor and schoolmaster. Payments were recorded to 'Mr Anthoniyes children which was given them in rewarde by mr maiore for ther paines takeing in playenge of musike of the crounation daie' and 'to the company of mr maiores shipp for letting of gounnes of the crounation daie'. The mayor in November 1597 was Thomas Lyndley, one of those attacked as being a grand lessee. The schoolmaster, Mr Anthony, had been appointed by Anderson and Chapman in opposition to the candidate chosen by Huntingdon and Matthew.⁸⁸ The lavish celebrations of the

⁸⁶ PRO SP 12/264/117, f. 159r.

⁸⁷ YML., Add. Mss., 18, f. 23. *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle*, p. xxxiii.. Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, pp. 109-11.

⁸⁸ BL., Lans. Mss., 87 f.104. *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle*, p. 121.

Queen's Day might have been an attempt by the Hostmen to counter godly claims of disaffection to the Queen's government, but it also reflected their engagement with the Tudor government. The Catholic faction of Newcastle showed little active interest in fomenting rebellion, already holding the reins of power in their community, so the commitment to the continuation of Elizabeth I's government may not have been entirely disingenuous.

Ecclesiastical Commissions in the Diocese of Durham

Matthew did not temper his views on Catholicism in light of the commitment which these men displayed to the Tudor kingdom. Underpinning his anti-Catholicism was a belief that the non-edifying nature of the faith would threaten divine care. For Matthew the political threat of Catholicism reflected its potential as a divine tool of correction, and no Catholicism could be countenanced in a godly kingdom. Nor was Matthew fully aware of the subversive potential of limited conformity. He came to realise some of the limitations of the policy of compulsive conformity, asking 'what inveterate papist will forebeare to receave priestes or Jesuites, yf to come to churche *pro forma* maie serve the towne?'⁸⁹. Matthew did not, however, fully appreciate the extent to which Catholicism extended throughout society, and that conforming Catholics might also 'serve the towne' by preventing the working of the tools of Catholic repression, in particular the ecclesiastical commissions.

Matthew's enthusiasm for the ecclesiastical commission reflected the extensive powers invested in that body, which made it one of the most formidable and flexible weapons in the fight against Catholicism. The construction of the godly commonwealth was, Matthew thought, a process in which cleric and laity should

⁸⁹ *Cal. Bord, Pap.*, vol.1, p. 334. Henry Anderson for example took the oath of the Queen's supremacy in 1592, and had a stall in Pittington church. The rest of his family, however, seemed to be Catholics, in 1606, for example, Dorothy Anderson was presented for married to by a seminary priest. DCD/T/YB, f. 95. *Churchwarden's Accounts of Pittington*, ed. Barmby, p. 3. Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol.3, pp. 170-74

join, and the ecclesiastical commission offered such an opportunity.⁹⁰ Catholics, he argued, 'trouble our kingdom partly in religion and partly in government', and Matthew and Huntingdon used this partly religious, partly civil, tool to end that threat. There was criticism of the tool, the reformer Ralph Lever had complained that the powers of the commission were corrupting, and saw the awesome authority of the commission as its worst feature: 'no subiecte can appeale from any sentance geuen by her majesties delegates be it never so uniust'. Matthew, however, did not agree, seeing its might as its main attraction in the fight against Catholicism.⁹¹

The ecclesiastical commissions were tools of investigation and punishment. Administering royal justice and composed of the laity and clerics, they were powerful tools for ecclesiastical correction. A commission concerned primarily with recusants was sitting in Durham in the spring and winter of 1591, and in January 1592, further commissions were issued against Jesuits, priests and seminaries. A court of ecclesiastical commission was sitting in the diocese in 1591, 1592 and 1593, concerned with capturing and punishing lay Catholics as well as Catholic priests, this seems to have come to an end in 1593. The commission was again at work against recusancy in the summer of 1596, and in September of that year Matthew was still assumed to be invested with the authority of an ecclesiastical commissioner. He held several courts of enquiry and penalty during 1597 in Newcastle and Durham, but there are no further records of an Elizabethan ecclesiastical commission in the diocese until 1601, when the court met at again in Newcastle and again in 1602 when Matthew recorded that he had preached at an ecclesiastical commission at Barnard Castle.⁹²

⁹⁰ For the operation of the ecclesiastical commissions in Elizabethan England see R. B. Manning, 'The Elizabethan Recusancy Commissions', *Historical Journal*, 15 (1972), 23-36. R. G. Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, ed. and intro. P. Tyler (2nd edn., Oxford, 1968). Neither Tyler or Usher found any evidence of a commission sitting in Durham during Elizabeth's reign.

⁹¹ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 17r. DCD/T/YB f.39v. Lever's objections may also reflect his complaints about the continued use of 'papisticall' canon law in the English church, and his criticism of the commission predates later nonconformist attacks on the use of the commission to persecute them.

⁹² YML., Add. Mss., 18, pp. 31, 69. DCD. Misc. Ch. 3261. 3. PRO SP 12/238/143. PRO SP 12/238/148. PRO SP 12/238/143, f. 276r. PRO SP.12/262/11, f. 18r. PRO SP.12/262/25, f. 57r. PRO SP.12/262/69. PRO SP.12/263/81. PRO SP.12/278/53.

Ralph Corby was called before the commissioners in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in May 1591, his son reported that 'the persecution of ye Catholikes begyneth to be greate and is very lycley to be greater erre longe, dyverse gentlemen, many gentlewomen and other enfirior persons doe expecte the goinge to gaole dalye.'⁹³ Corby's pessimism, however, was unnecessary. The ecclesiastical commission proved to be unwieldy and ineffective as a court of enquiry and discipline. The reliance on local officials meant that the religious policies of correction were constantly undermined, as men colluded with their neighbours rather than execute the orders of commissioners. Nor was Matthew and Huntingdon's enthusiasm matched by those around them. Matthew Hutton was reluctant as bishop of Durham and archbishop of York to support Matthew's vigorous campaigns of anti-Catholicism and that reluctance was matched by that of the commissioners themselves and the court's officials. Throughout Matthew's time at Durham the courts constantly reported their failure to apprehend or convict Catholics.⁹⁴

In January 1592 the ecclesiastical commission was renewed for the diocese of Durham and was active throughout the summer and autumn. There is evidence of commissioners sitting in Newcastle in August, September and December, and in Alnwick in April and November. In 1592 the commissioners concentrated on the archdeaconry of Northumberland. Matthew was present at Alnwick on April 11, preaching before the commissioners and the audience of recusants. Matthew preached again before the commissioners in Newcastle in August, noting that Huntingdon and Sir John Forster were present. In September, Matthew went south,

PRO SP 15/32/59, f. 110. PRO SP 15/32/50. PRO SP 15/32/62, f. 118. PRO SP 15/32/60.1, f.120. PRO SP 15/32/89.APC. new ser., vol. 21., p. 40. APC., new ser., vol. 31, pp. 26-27. *Cal. State Papers*, dom. ser., vol. 3, pp.123, 171. *HMC Hastings*, vol. 2, p. 41. No ecclesiastical commission act books survive for sixteenth-century Durham

⁹³ PRO SP 12/238/143 f.276r. PRO SP 12/238/148.

⁹⁴ PRO SP.12/262/11. PRO SP.12/262/25, f. 57r. PRO SP.12/263/81. *HMC Hastings*, vol. 2, p. 41. For Hutton's reluctance see PRO SP 12/262/69, Reid, *Council of the North*, p 22 and below.

missing two further sessions of the ecclesiastical commission held in Newcastle and Alnwick that year.⁹⁵

The commissioners had a limited success. The commissioners sitting in Newcastle reported in September that five former recusants now attended divine service; however, 'all the rest of the Recusantes resant[sic] within the foresaid wardes [Castle Ward, Newcastle, Morpeth Ward and Tynedale Ward in Northumberland] not to be found by the sherif having had warrant to apprehend them, as his deputie informeth'. In November the commissioners met in Alnwick, to discipline 'dangerous persons in the wards of Cuckaldem Elendale, Bambdale, Norhamshire and the [Ferne] Islands' in Northumberland. They reported that Margaret Hebburn, wife of Michael Hebburn, had conformed; however, this was short-lived and in 1595 she was indicted again. However, the commissioners complained again that 'all the other recusants resident within the wards have absented themselves' and that the sheriff had been unable to force them to attend. Ralph Gray, the sheriff, reported that some recusants were ill, others had travelled to another county and in three parishes he had found 'the doors shut and none within to answer'. When Matthew returned to the diocese he was dismayed by the ecclesiastical commission's failure. Writing to Huntingdon on 23 November, Matthew worried about the commission: 'which is general throughout the land, yet in this country touches nobody'.⁹⁶

Matthew became involved in the commission again, and had no more success. On 16 December 1592 he, and three other commissioners who had been sitting at Newcastle wrote to Sir John Forster. Having arrived to examine Catholics, 'to us committed by the commission against seminarie priestes, notorious recusantes and other like dangerous and disobedient persons we find onelie ourselves deceved of our expectacion by reason there is no appearence of any offender made before us'. Matthew was furious, 'it would be better the commission withall humble submission referred the farther consideracions of the Lord of her highness muste

⁹⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 18, ff.33-6. PRO SP 15/32/50, 15/32/50., *Cal. State. Pap., dom ser.*, vol. 3, p. 171.

⁹⁶ PRO SP 15/32/50. PRO SP 15/32/59. 'Book of Recusants', *Miscellanea*, ed. Talbot, p. 58. *HMC, Hastings*, vol. 2, p. 41

privie counsell then either purposlie or at least negligentlie the same to be abused to the makinge therof utterly void end'. Sir John Forster agreed that the perceived threat of the commission was much less now among Catholics, undoing earlier work against recusancy. He told Burghley, 'of the encouragement the papistes take, thinking that such a commission cannot hurt them in life or living, they daily wax more and more obstinate and forward in the resetting of Jesuits and popish traitors.'⁹⁷

Matthew and the fellow commissioners were also reliant on higher ecclesiastical and political figures to support their work. Matthew received this support from Huntingdon, but not from Hutton. After the commission ended in the autumn of 1593, Matthew told Burghley of the importance of enforcing the existing laws against recusancy, and urged him to prevent courtly and clerical intervention. Earlier that month, Anthony Atkinson had launched a specific attack on Matthew Hutton, criticising his laxness in dealing with recusants.⁹⁸ Matthew later wrote to Burghley, ostensibly in defence of Hutton, but reflecting reforming frustration with his moderate line on Catholics and the need for courtly support:

for all my Lord Bushops care and diligence, which is much more then some holde have it seeme: for all my Lord Presidentes travile and charge, which is verie great and continuall: for all the direction and commandment of Lawe, which is as much as Wisdom and policie can devise: for all the exhortacions and executions therof from you Lord and other the lords of the her Majesties most honourable privie counsell which are as effectuall and precise as auctoritie in your selves or sovereigntie from her highness maie prescribe: yet these remote corners it will be harde to reduce to a egall conformitie with other countries and Dioceses nerer about the court and in the heart of Realme.⁹⁹

Matthew was continually frustrated by his bishop's laxness; writing to Burghley in April of 1594, Matthew warned that, 'the deliverie of notorious recusantes out of Prison almost hand over head, sithence the last statute made, hath doen and will doe great harme herabout'. In 1595 when Matthew's great patron and ally, Huntingdon, died, Matthew, citing Bernard, wrote in his diary '*Eheu vale, nobis boni deficiunt,*

⁹⁷ PRO SP 15/32/62 f.118v. PRO SP 15/32/62. I f. 120.

⁹⁸ PRO SP 12/32/89. M. Questier, 'Religious Conformity', p.21

⁹⁹ PRO SP 15/32/89

mali proficiunt'. That loss was not just a personal one, but was reflected in the changing policy of the Council of the North towards Catholicism. From Huntingdon's death until 1599, Matthew Hutton was the 'Head of the Council' and his leniency towards Catholics was reflected in his policies in the council and province.¹⁰⁰

Matthew was not alone in criticising Hutton's leniency and bemoaning Huntingdon's death. Preaching in York Minster in 1597, William Goodwin criticised Hutton, then archbishop of York, claiming that since the death of Huntingdon and Archbishop Piers 'the papistes have increased, manie indifferent Protestants being added unto them'. Sir John Ferne, secretary of the Council of the North, writing to Salisbury shortly after Hutton's death, noted that: 'I have observed here that there has been a defection from religion to popery immediately upon the Earl of Huntingdon's death, increased by the quiet and pacific government of this learned prelate now departed'.¹⁰¹

Matthew was in the first year of his episcopate when Huntingdon died. He continued to try and correct Catholicism through the courts, but increasingly without the support of the Council of the North, the Lord President, or indeed Lord Eure, the warden of the Middle March. In September 1596, the Privy Council assumed that Matthew was still an ecclesiastical commissioner, and asked him to exercise his authority to enquire into and correct any irreligious activities on the border, as well as conducting an ecclesiastical commission in the diocese.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f.28 YML., Add. Mss., f.47, 14 December 1595. Reid, *Council in the North*, p. 230 Hutton was appointed as Head of the council through Essex's intervention, a success which Robert Cecil tried to counter by preventing his receipt of the title of 'Lord President'.

¹⁰¹ *HMC Salisbury*, . vol. 18, p.21. M Questier, 'Religious Conformity', p. 21.

¹⁰² PRO SP 12/262/25, *Cal Scot Pap.*, xii 293. I can find no specific references to an ecclesiastical commission attached to work of the border commission. It may be that the commission sessions which William James refers to in January 1596 were convened to address some of the problems facing the border. PRO SP 12/262/11 f.18r. In the instructions of 1596 (see above), Matthew was ordered to work with Bishop Robinson of Carlisle, it may be, therefore that the courts of the commission, if they were held, were at Carlisle. Matthew however, makes no mention of any sessions of the ecclesiastical commission in his diary. YML Add Mss 18, pp. 48-53.

These commissions were not successful either, reflecting that not only did Matthew require assistance and support from political and ecclesiastical patrons, but that Catholics could, through conformity, undermine the workings of the civil powers of repression. Writing to Burghley in January 1596, William James reported that there were in the diocese: 'many recusants both esqueres and gentlemen of good place with ther families, besides divers others of meaner calling...that stande endicted at this time [but]...are not yet proceedeth aginst'. He noted too the inefficient operation of those secular tools of jurisdiction available to the bishop. He reported: 'since my coming my Lord hath thrise sitten in the high commission [in Durham] and divers hath here been convented before us...yet they all stande obstinant and wilfull, only one gentlewoman hath a great persuasion and reformed herself'. James also told Burghley gloomily that many had fled into other counties, leaving the bishop powerless.¹⁰³

Commissions sat in the diocese in 1597, again with limited success, and the ecclesiastical commissioners reported to Cecil that 'the number of recusants is great and increases'. In 1600, Matthew was still struggling to end Catholicism in the diocese, prompting the privy council to commiserate that 'that the number of such evill disposed subjects as the recusantes are, do so much increase in those partes and more sorie to understand that the help and remedie therof and the restraint of them is so much difficultie as it seemeth to be'. Another court of the ecclesiastical commission was established and sat in Newcastle in 1601 with, by then, predictably poor results.¹⁰⁴

The difficulty, especially in Newcastle, of apprehending or convicting Catholics reflected the number of Catholics or Catholic sympathisers who occupied positions in local government. At the commission held in September and November 1592, the commissioners blamed the non appearance of recusants on the sheriff's inability to apprehend those recusants who refused to attend the court of the ecclesiastical commissioners. The sheriff of Northumberland, Ralph Gray, was issued with new

¹⁰³ PRO SP 12/262/11 f.18r

¹⁰⁴ APC, new ser., vol.21, pp. 26-27

warrants. At a meeting of the commissioners in January 1593, there was, however, no improvement. Matthew complained that not only had no offenders appeared before the commissioners, but that they had: 'not so mutche as any retourne of the last precepte directed to the Sheriffe, executed unto us, nor any kind of minister present according to their bounden dueties to hir Majesty, a kinde of dealinge that to us seemeth verie strange'.¹⁰⁵

The sheriff of Northumberland, Ralph Gray, worked to protect his friends and family, rather than to execute the commissioners' demands. In 1594, hearing that Gray might replace his patron Sir John Forster as warden of the Middle March, Sir Robert Carey wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in protest:

He is an honest, wise gentleman but is unfit for the office. All his friends and kinsfolk are either papists or recusants. Two of his sisters have married notable recusants, Ratcliffe and Collingwood, and his brother Arthur is a recusant. Not a kinsman has he in the whole country but in heart are known to be papists. He is matched with a tribe known to be all recusants and the worst subjects the Queen has¹⁰⁶

Gray's wife, Carey reported, was embedded within this Catholic network, attached to the Neville interest: 'David Ingleby is her uncle, and was kept by her means many a day unknown, and she had never come to church since he married her'.¹⁰⁷

There were further reports that Gray's family interests prevented the proper execution of his work. Sir John Forster reported in June 1594, that when he had been forced to search the houses of Gray, Ratcliffe and Collingwood, 'who married his two sister for papsitry according to Her majesty's commission. I incurred Gray and the other's dislike for accomplishing my duty'. But, he claimed, 'I accounted littel of it, and would not have been negligent in the execution of her Majesty's servie, even against the nearest friend I have'.¹⁰⁸ Ralph Gray, however, clearly did not share Forster's views. Though he did not become warden of the middle march,

¹⁰⁵ PRO SP 15/32/62 f.120

¹⁰⁶ PRO SP 15/33/19

¹⁰⁷ PRO SP 15/33/19

¹⁰⁸ PRO SP 15/32/26

he retained his position as sheriff of Northumberland and continued to disrupt attempts to prosecute Catholics. In 1600 the Privy council wrote to Matthew:

although we have been certified that more than 150 of that sort [recusants] have been convicted at the last assizes for the countie of Northumberland and certified into the Exchequer, nevertheless we are likewise informed that there is no proceeding to any reformation, partly because the sheriff of Northumberland doth not accompt in the Exchequer or in front of some other auditor, and consequently there is no execution for their landes and goodes upon conviction as in other places, and partly because they are very hardley apprehended by the sheriff and his officers and brought before your Lordship or the ecclesiastical commissions there to be censured for their misdemeanours¹⁰⁹

The practice of one figure from a Catholic community making a sign of his loyalty to the Elizabethan regime seems to have been a relatively common practice in the diocese. It offered the Catholic communities a stake in the government of their towns and villages, and a measure of protection from the persecutions of the authorities. Anthony Atkinson reported that Catholics of the diocese fled to Derbyshire, there being there 'a justice of the peace...and many of his kynsmen that are recusantes geves warning when search is pretended'. He suspected a similar mole in the bishopric, on hearing of searches to be made Atkinson claimed that priests 'ar conveyed unto caves in the ground or secrett places'.¹¹⁰

These problems reflected the nature of Catholicism in the diocese. It was a sociable faith and deeply embedded in the social structures of the diocese. In some parts of Durham, that commitment to a nexus of traditions and values was politicised; the oppositional character highlighted by the rhetoric of Catholic priests and godly reformers which stressed the political implications of conformity. Matthew's rhetoric of the godly commonwealth, which through the Queen's Day celebrations had become widespread, could be exclusive and undermined his attempts to reform some of the Catholic communities in Durham. In Newcastle, however, where the Catholic community held a monopoly of government secured by limited conformity, there was a more complex manipulation of the relation between the

¹⁰⁹ *APC* new ser., vol. 21, pp. 26-27

¹¹⁰ PRO SP 12/255/131 f.212v

polity and the church. Able to engage in the polity, and to celebrate the Queen's Day, this Catholicism was in marked contrast to that of the Durham Catholics; however, both were underpinned by the emphasis on the communal celebration of the faith.

The Accession of James VI and I

Throughout the 1590s, as the prospect of James' succession grew, so did the confidence of those Catholics who thought that he would offer them some form of toleration. In 1594, Matthew wrote to tell Burghley of the celebrations of: 'Papistes, who stick not to rumour, that the King secretly hath Masses and is a Catholike'.¹¹¹ Writing of the links between Catholics in Durham and Scotland, Matthew had told him how: 'I must humbly upon my knees beseeche Almightye God, to averte not only the plague of the bodie out of the south but the more pernicious and contagious pestilence of mynde and conscience out of the northe'.¹¹²

Questier describes the willingness with which apparently confirmed Catholics like Sir Henry Constable, John Trollope and William Hodgson conformed on James' accession, expecting greater toleration at the hands of the Scottish king and demonstrating the extent to which Matthew had stressed Elizabeth's role in ushering in the new, reformed polity.¹¹³ It revealed the extent to which many Catholics had previously felt alienated from the political nation, and their belief that they now had an intercessor in that commonwealth. For many, it seemed that those hopes were confirmed as James processed to London in 1603. As he journeyed to take up his new crown, he stayed with figures prominent in both local politics and recusant circles. In Newcastle, the widely reported knighting of William Selby was taken by many as the monarch's blessing on the continuing Catholic political influence in the

¹¹¹ BL., Lans. Mss., 77, f.28

¹¹² PRO SP 12/262/11 f.18r

¹¹³ BL., Lans. Mss., 77 f.28. M. Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I', *Historical Research*, 174 (1998), 14-30

area. Catholics in the north saw the promise of a favourable reign, for Matthew and his allies they were signs that did not augur well.¹¹⁴

Tobie Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth had emphasised the role played by Elizabeth I as a sign of divine favour, and as a tool of further reform. He marked the death of this apparently unsympathetic Queen in his diary, '*Sereniss ELIZ. Regina Mort. At Whitehall. Eheu! Eheu!*'.¹¹⁵ On her death in 1603, Matthew was forced to assess the degree to which the Elizabethan church and polity had lived up to their promise, and to ask how a kingdom which had had divine blessing could still be only partly reformed. Shortly after Elizabeth I's death, Matthew wrote to Robert Cecil complaining about the increase in Catholic activity since the news of James' succession. Gloomily he concluded: *omnia in pejus*.¹¹⁶

On James' succession, therefore, Matthew had to reconfigure his vision of the godly commonwealth. Matthew, and his reforming contemporaries, had stressed the special nature of the Elizabethan church, and the divine favour shown by the return of the word. Elizabethan England, they argued, was uniquely blessed and charged with a duty to reform. On the accession of James I, therefore, the vision had to become less localised in the person of Elizabeth I, and developed to reflect the changed nature of the polity.

Matthew greeted James I on his arrival in Berwick in April 1603. He then travelled with the King, and later the Queen, to London, preaching before them along the way, and he took the opportunity to promote his new vision of the godly commonwealth. Matthew did not change the boundaries of the commonwealth to include Scotland, but rather stressed James' new role in the English commonwealth. He emphasised the connection between Elizabeth and James, asserting that James'

¹¹⁴ J. Nichols, *The Progresses and Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* (Vol. 4, London, 1973), vol. 1., pp. 69, 75, 77, 82, 163. Notable recusant families who entertained James I included the Jensions and the Inglebys from a former estate of the earl of Northumberland at Topcliffe near York. William Ingleby also received a knighthood in 1603.

¹¹⁵ YML., Add. Mss., 18, p. 70

¹¹⁶ HMC Salisbury, vol. 15, p. 256.

accession meant that the continuing succession of the English church was secure: he praised 'you majesties royall person...bourne in the same Isle, discended of the same royall bloud; speaking the same tounge, professing ye same faith adorned'.¹¹⁷ James was subsumed into the godly rhetoric of the special nature of England, on first meeting the King, Matthew exhorted, 'praise ye God in the assemblies, & the Lord, ye that are the fou[n]taine of Israel'. Matthew then preached at Newcastle, reminding the King, 'the Lord is with you, while ye be with him...if you forsake him, he wil forsake you'. James then stayed at Durham Castle with Matthew before they travelled south together.¹¹⁸

Despite Matthew's assertion that James would assume Elizabeth's mantle, many Catholics did not agree. Later, in 1603, Matthew sent Robert Cecil a schedule of all the recusants in Durham and Northumberland. There were sixty seven thousand, two hundred and seventy nine communicants in the diocese and five hundred and twenty six recusants. In Northumberland, there were thirty nine thousand, three hundred and twenty six communicants; sixty seven non communicants; and three hundred and six recusants. In Durham there were twenty seven thousand, nine hundred and fifty three communicants; fifty two non communicants; and two hundred and twenty recusants. These numbers reflected the extent to which Matthew had had some success in introducing the Protestant church in the diocese, but to Matthew they were worrying indeed. They reflected, if not an increase in Catholicism, an increase in recusancy. Matthew thought that many 'recusants very

¹¹⁷ BL. Egerton Mss., 2877, f. 179v. This sermon was also an olive branch. Matthew had spoken against James VI openly and had played a prominent part in the campaign to execute his mother. Shortly after the sermon in Berwick, the royal chaplain Dr. Henry Parry reported to John Manningham that 'the Bp of Durrham [sic] hath tendered his duty in all humility, craving pardon for his opposition heretofore, with promise of faythfull service'. *Diary of John Manningham*, ed. Sorlein, p. 245. Matthew was helped in his bid for rehabilitation by Robert Cecil, see below and PRO SP 14/4/92. Matthew also granted large leases to the King and his Scottish councillors, shortly after James' succession, 'to please certaine Scotchmen'. 'Cosin's Survey' DUL Sharp Mss., 167, p. 5. For the impact of the execution of Mary Stuart on Anglo-Scottish relations see S. Doran, 'Revenge her Foul and Most Unnatural Murder? The Impact of Mary Stewart's Execution on Anglo-Scottish Relations', *History*, 85 (2000), 589-612.

¹¹⁸ YML., Add. Mss., 18, pp. 70-71.

latelie and specialle since the decease of Queen Elizabeth have been seduced or after their conformitie revolted to papistrie'.¹¹⁹

Later Matthew wrote again to Robert Cecil, this time of the Catholics' attempt to prove that his figures were an underestimate, he worried about the:

increase in meetings and devises of Papistes...dangerous to be any longer suffered without signification of dislike. They send out their solicitours to persuade men and women yea and children...to subscribe their names to a supplicacion to be presented unto his Majestie on behalf of the Catholickes (falsely called) and withall by mustering as it were the numbers of them to deface the certificate that myself and other bishops have returned¹²⁰

This willingness on the part of Catholics to subscribe to both their faith and the monarch reflected a change in the political framework in which they were operating. It appeared as if the intercessor which they had hoped for had come, and the defining Catholic nexus of the diocese was once again restored to its national context: political and social. Matthew told Cecil how he had tried to restrain the spontaneous demonstrations of popular Catholicism: 'I can spake...as the occasion serveth the words of the proclomacion against the recusants and other subscribing Papistes, advising them in as good and faire manner as I can to beware...I tell them that besydes by the proclomacion, they are termed adverseries and that his majesties purpose was and resolution ever was and nowe is to preserve the state as well as Ecclesiasticall as Politicke in such forme as he founde it'. Matthew reported that he had had little success, the Catholics believing the proclamation to be directed against puritans not against themselves.¹²¹ The problem continued, Matthew preached several times in the diocese on the danger of Catholicism, and William James reported at the end of 1605 of an increase in the number of Catholics which Matthew had excommunicated.¹²²

At the end of 1603 Matthew wrote to Robert Cecil, thanking him for his 'high and rightly roiall comendacion you yelde his most excellent majestie...to my most

¹¹⁹ PRO SP 14/3/42

¹²⁰ PRO SP 14/3/92, f. 204.

¹²¹ PRO SP 14/4/92, f. 204

¹²² YML Add Mss 18 ff.79-80. PRO SP 114/16/123. PRO SP 14/16/124. PRO SP 14/17/20

singular comforte'.¹²³ They also discussed the forthcoming Hampton Court Conference which would address the question of further reform in the church. The conference reflected the extent to which the godly vision of reform, which Matthew held, had developed as a distinct concept from the programme of 'Swiss' reform, which many reformers continued to hold. Instead, Matthew continued to stress the peculiar nature of the polity, and the role of the monarch in effecting laws in the church and the state to best reform the commonwealth. Matthew argued that the English church 'that his Majestie founde established by the lawes true [is] agreeable to the word of God and forme of ye Primitive church', and proposed that James should play the same role as Elizabeth I in the church, describing James as: 'the light of this English Israel'.¹²⁴

Matthew attended the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604. Despite reports that Matthew would join the puritans he remained committed to his sense of the peculiar nature of the English church, and his belief that any reform should take place through the church and polity. He wrote an account of the conference to Matthew Hutton who had remained in York, and the circulation of this letter reflected his godly allies' concern to trace the reconfiguration of the godly commonwealth in light of a changing monarch, and new dynamics between crown, 'puritannes' and 'papists'.¹²⁵ Matthew rejoiced that James had recognised the importance of unity in the commonwealth, reporting his assertion that: 'Religion was the soule of a Kingdome, and *Unitie* the life of Religion'. In his own draft, Matthew added in the margin, 'as both amonge the Jewes and heathen', and Matthew also reported James' enthusiasm for establishing 'the true knowledge of God and civill true obedience' in Ireland, in Wales and 'upon the borders of England and Scotland'.¹²⁶

¹²³ PRO SP 14/4/92 f. 205r.

¹²⁴ PRO SP 14/4/92, ff. 204r, 204r-v.

¹²⁵ Matthew's draft is BL., Add. Mss., 4274, ff. 233-34. For example see the copy in Gilbert Freville's notebook, BL., Egerton Mss., 2877, f. 173.

¹²⁶ BL., Add. Mss., 4274, ff. 223r, 233v. Matthew's italics. 'Civill' was later crossed out and not in Greville's copy, BL., Egerton Mss., 2877, f. 173v.

Matthew's 'comforte and joye' at the outcome of the Hampton Court Conference was publicised, and in the account which circulated, Matthew concluded by stressing the unifying nature of the conference, suggesting that the limited concessions to the puritans had ended the danger of schism. He assured Hutton that there would now be: 'much more quiteness in all those that were before otherwise affected, wherof, there is good apparance given by manie of themselves'. In his original draft, however, Matthew was less circumspect. His corrections apparently reflected an awareness of the publicity of letter, and the rumours of his own sympathy for the puritan cause. He wrote that James' moderation 'hath rejoyced the heartes of all his humble and obedient clergy', later adding 'us' after 'all'. He also dwelt on the limited concessions offered by the conference, reporting 'some of another his clergy are departed not all together haply', this did not make the final version.¹²⁷ Matthew was committed to reform through the polity, and though he shared the commitment to constant edification which underpinned the demands of the puritan petitioners, he did not share their vision of how best to pursue constant edification in the English commonwealth.

Matthew continued to promote the concept of the godly commonwealth and the role of the polity in effecting reform, as well as requiring regeneration. It was a programme which had been developed in the peculiar demands of Elizabethan England as a response to the need to resolve the tensions between further reform and duty to the queen. That vision, Matthew found, was particularly suited to the north, and underpinned his continuation of earlier reformers' attempts to introduce Tudor rule and religion. Though that vision found itself increasingly challenged in the later Jacobean and Caroline churches, when the union between the church and godly monarch seemed sometimes to be in danger, it was a vision which continued to suit the north.

Following the death of Matthew Hutton in January 1606, Sir John Ferne, the secretary of the Council of the North, wrote to Robert Cecil to suggest Hutton's successor. He urged, 'I beseech God to bless the church with a zealous, painful and

¹²⁷ BL., Add. Mss., 4272, f. 423r. BL. Egerton Mss., 2877, f. 173r.

preaching successor' before warning Cecil that since the death of Huntingdon, 'this province of York [is] overpested with popery not "purinisme"'. He continued:

I beseech you such a one may succeed as is learned and zealous, and that will be industrious against papists, and attentive to his function both in preaching and government. Such a one I hold the Lord Bishop of Durham...[who] will be available both to religion and the King's service¹²⁸

Matthew was chosen as the next Archbishop of York by July of 1606, and his election was confirmed in August. Shortly after he had moved to York, Matthew received a letter from an old friend and contemporary of his, John Philips, the Bishop of Sodor and Man. It reflected the changing nature of the church and the new challenges for those within it: he wrote 'I congratulate you to our Reverende Mother *Oxforde*, that in this ungracious worlde some of her sonnes beecome so gracious honorablie and happlie blest'.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ *HMC Salisbury*, vol. 18, p. 21

¹²⁹ BIHR Abp.Mss., 3, f. 4. Matthew received his *congé d'élire* on 11 July, was elected on 26 July and received royal assent on 9 August. He was enthroned by proxy on 11 September, as he was attending parliament and preaching in London. Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae*, vol. 4, p. 2. YML., Add. Mss., pp. 81-83.

CONCLUSION

I embrace with all comfort the Doctrine and faith established in the Church of England as the true and sincere doctrine of Christ Jesus grounded upon the writing of his Apostles and prophetes in the scripture...Nothing doubting but that God, who hath enabled me to be a constant Preacher of this faith...will likewise so strengthen me to the End, that I shall power forth my last breath in the same¹

Tobie Matthew's Testimony of Faith, January 1627

This study of Tobie Matthew's theological, intellectual and ecclesiological development has engaged with scholarship about 'moderate puritans', those clerics who, though they were committed to further reform, were willing to conform in the unreformed English church. It is clear that these men underpinned the relative unity of the Elizabethan church, which ensured that though it witnessed internecine disputes, the church did not erupt, as it did later, into violent confessional conflict. This study has, however, questioned some of the attempts to categorise this group of reformers. Firstly, it has been demonstrated that the definitions used to describe 'moderate puritans' were too broad to be meaningful, and have led to a homogenisation of what were disparate opinions about the church in society and further reform. Connected to this, was the challenge to those historians who tried to posit a direct connection between soteriological statements, for example on predestination, and style of churchmanship, which has also blurred the lines between different Elizabethan reformers. Instead it has been demonstrated that underpinning *all* Elizabethan ecclesiastical styles was a Calvinist belief in the secondary, earthly regeneration process which accompanied predestination. The divisions between reformers can be regarded as different readings of how best to achieve that regeneration in Elizabethan society.²

This work has explored one influential vision of reform produced by reformers at Oxford. It has been demonstrated that this vision was the result of a very specific

¹ LAO, D&C Mss., A/4/10/5/. Matthew died in the following year.

² Tyacke, *Aspects of Protestantism*, p.11. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists* pp17-18. Lake, *Moderate Puritans*. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, pp.128-31.

time and context; produced by the struggles of the Oxford evangelicals with Elizabeth I in the 1560s and 1570s. Matthew, encouraged by Leicester, was at the heart of a circle which worked to reassess their Edwardian mentors' commitment to further evangelical reform within the constraints of the Elizabethan polity. The result was the godly commonwealth, a vision which reconciled the commitment to further reform with the duty owed to the Queen. Matthew stressed that England did not need to slavishly adopt the template of reform experienced by reformers in exile, drawing instead on the evangelical arguments for the primacy of preaching, making the Word applicable to the circumstances, and applying it to the church. Thus Matthew argued that different societies needed different churches, as 'manifold diseases' required 'many kinds of medicines'.³

This developing ecclesiology, traced through Matthew's reading, his sermons and letters challenges another assertion at heart of writing about 'moderate puritans' during this period. It demonstrates how reformers could reconcile a commitment to edification and to the English church, and that conformity was not necessary a compromise of godly ideals.⁴ Matthew believed that 'godly orders tending to edification and not to destruction to be cherished', and came to apply that commitment to the church and the polity.⁵ The polity, he argued, bore the same duties of edification as the individual, and therefore everything and everyone within it must work towards godly regeneration. The magistrate, as well as the minister, were charged with the duties of further reform. This modifies work on 'magistracy and ministry', in which Collinson argues that the puritan elevation of the magistrate reflected the Calvinist stress on godly magistrates. Where Calvin secularised the church, Matthew sacralised the polity. The model which this produced is much closer to the model of an inclusive monarchical republic posited

³ YML., Add. Mss., 582, f. 14r.

⁴ Lake, *Moderate Puritans*, p. 48. For puritan conformity in the church as a commitment to internal reform which meant they were able to compromise with the unreformed church structure see P. Collinson, 'The Jacobean Religious Settlement: the Hampton Court Conference', in H. Tomlinson, (ed.), *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government* (London, 1983), p. 29.

⁵ Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, f.59.

elsewhere by Collinson, and demonstrates how that vision could be underpinned by a peculiarly English reading of the role of the church in society.⁶

Matthew developed his vision as a result of the clashes of the 1560s and 1570s, through his engagement with the religious politics of the period and his reading of polemical texts. At the heart of his vision therefore was the image of unity. This was reflected in his attacks on separatism, on the Family of Love and all manifestations of domestic Catholicism. Disunity, he believed, challenged the process of edification in the polity, and increasingly he argued that the continued observance of Catholicism would tempt divine punishment for the polity's failure to edify. It was also reflected in his desire to establish a broad-based unity within the church. In 1562, he told Leicester that the demands of unity in the church should overcome disputes about vestments, and in 1581 he counselled magistrates 'when you have unity you shall have a people'.⁷

This emphasis on unity was reflected in his vision of the godly commonwealth which was designed to end some of the disunity within the Elizabethan church of the 1570s and 1580s. It could have a broad, unifying appeal, as reflected in the popularity of the Queen's Day celebrations and the increasingly widespread currency of its rhetoric in Durham. While it unified, however, that vision was developed in specific circumstances. As the terms of debate within the church changed, so Matthew's programme of reform seemed increasingly less relevant to the conflicts within the late Elizabethan and early Stuart church. The unifying nature of Matthew's vision in the 1570s and 1580s, and need for that vision to evolve to continue to unify, suggests that a more nuanced reading of the heritage and the resulting character of the Calvinist consensus could be fruitful.⁸

⁶ For an explicit statement of Collinson's view of magistracy, see P. Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry', in *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625: The Ford Lectures, 1979* (Oxford, 1984), 146-89. Collinson, 'Monarchical Republic', in Collinson, (ed.), *Elizabethan Essays*, 31-57.

⁷ Bod. Rawl. Mss. D, 273 pp.179-180. Bod., Rawl. Mss., D, 264, ff. 58r-59r.

⁸ See chapter five and chapter seven. For the comprehensive statement of the 'Calvinist consensus' see N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*.

Part two of this work addressed how this vision of the godly commonwealth underpinned Matthew's ecclesiastical activity in the north. There, where there was slight attachment to either Tudor rule or religion, Matthew worked to introduce both. He manipulated the tools of proselytisation, working to reform the church and engaging in an exhaustive round of preaching. When it seemed that church-based conversion was not as effective as he wished, Matthew stressed the value of the law in reforming and encouraged the use of regular ecclesiastical commissions in the diocese. Through the peculiar nature of the palatinate, Matthew was also active in more secular spheres, sitting with the Council of the North, as a justice and on the border commission. He also acted on behalf of his patrons, sending news to Walsingham, Burghley and Robert Cecil. The polity was the container of the true church, established through the accession of Elizabeth I; therefore, for Matthew advancing the polity was inherently divine.⁹

In 1603, however, on Elizabeth I's death Matthew did not feel that he had been successful. He saw a rise in Catholicism, and feared internal rebellion, and though the number of recusants were small, they were too large for Matthew. He feared that internal disunity would prompt divine punishment, while questioning how, if England had been as blessed as he believed, the reformation had been difficult to achieve and so limited in its success. Part of the continuing strength of Catholicism reflected Matthew's own anti-Catholic activity. His stress on the godly commonwealth, and the unity between Protestant rule and religion had further alienated those, like the Catholics at Brancepath, who were already ill disposed to both. His stress on this unity also prevented him from appreciating some of the differences in the disparate manifestations of Catholicism throughout the diocese, and diagnosing their disparate threats. Matthew's own stress on the unity between the polity and church meant that he failed to appreciate the extent to which the godly commonwealth could be undermined by those, like the Catholics at Newcastle, who

⁹ See chapters six and seven.

were able to separate the religious and political demands of conformity and use their position in local government to frustrate official anti-Catholic action.¹⁰

Matthew's vision of the godly commonwealth met the demands of the north, where the ongoing attempts to reform were matched with continued efforts to establish Tudor rule. His time there, and especially his encounters with Catholicism, prompted him to increasingly stress the civil aspect of religious reform and to appreciate close relations with the Lord President and Council of the North.

Matthew's vision of further reform through church and polity had underpinned his selection as dean of Durham in 1583, and though the politics and theological divisions of the church had changed by 1606, it appears that his continuing commitment to this vision prompted his election as archbishop of York.¹¹

Matthew's programme of reform reflected the evolution of evangelical thought in response to the challenges of the 1560s and 1570s. While that was increasingly unreflective of the debates of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart church, it continued to be relevant in the northern church, which many reformers thought still faced the challenges of the earlier period. In York, therefore, as in Durham, Matthew would work to establish a godly commonwealth.

¹⁰ In Northumberland there were 306 recusants and 39,326 communicants, in Durham there were 220 recusants and 27,953 communicants. PRO SP 14/2/42. See further chapter eight.

¹¹ See further chapter five. In 1606 Ferne stressed that as archbishop, Matthew would be close the Council of the North 'whereas by oppositions between those two jurisdictions in the times of Archbishops Younge and Sands, no good ensued'. *HMC., Salisbury*, vol. 18, pp. 37-38.

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