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THE IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION

ON THE TUDOR ROYAL HOUSEHOLD TO 1553

by

Elizabeth Ann Culling

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PhD Thesis

University of Durham

Department of Modern History

December 1986

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THE IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION ON THE TUDOR ROYAL HOUSEHOLD TO 1553

Elizabeth Ann Culling

Abstract

This study examines the religious life of the royal household in the first half of the sixteenth century. The primary objective is to examine the impact of the Reformation upon private devotional practices of individuals within the royal household. Since such a context was unique, the study begins with an outline of the structure and life-style of the court, highlighting a number of themes which recur throughout the following chapters.

The public face of worship at court is described because it provides a useful gauge of the religious climate at court, and also illustrates the need for private devotion. The search for privacy at court was an important factor influencing devotional habits. Closely related to this lack at court was the insecurity and ambition which led to a negative attitude towards life there on the part of many. On the other hand, the importance of setting an example was evident throughout the period, and in spite of the uncongenial atmosphere, there were those at court who took their piety seriously.

Focusing on the activities of the monarchs and their immediate entourage, chapters 2 to 6 trace the transition from late medieval religious practices of Henry VII's household to the overt Protestantism of that of Edward VI. The overall impression of change and continuity lying in an uneasy juxtaposition becomes more apparent. It will be seen that the reign of Edward VI is particularly important for understanding the nature and pace of the changes wrought by the Reformation in England. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 are more detailed examinations of three types of available evidence: courtier wills, sermons and the education of Edward VI and his companions respectively. The subsequent careers of Edward's peers offer interesting and informative comment on the impact of Reformation teaching and its relationship with other factors.

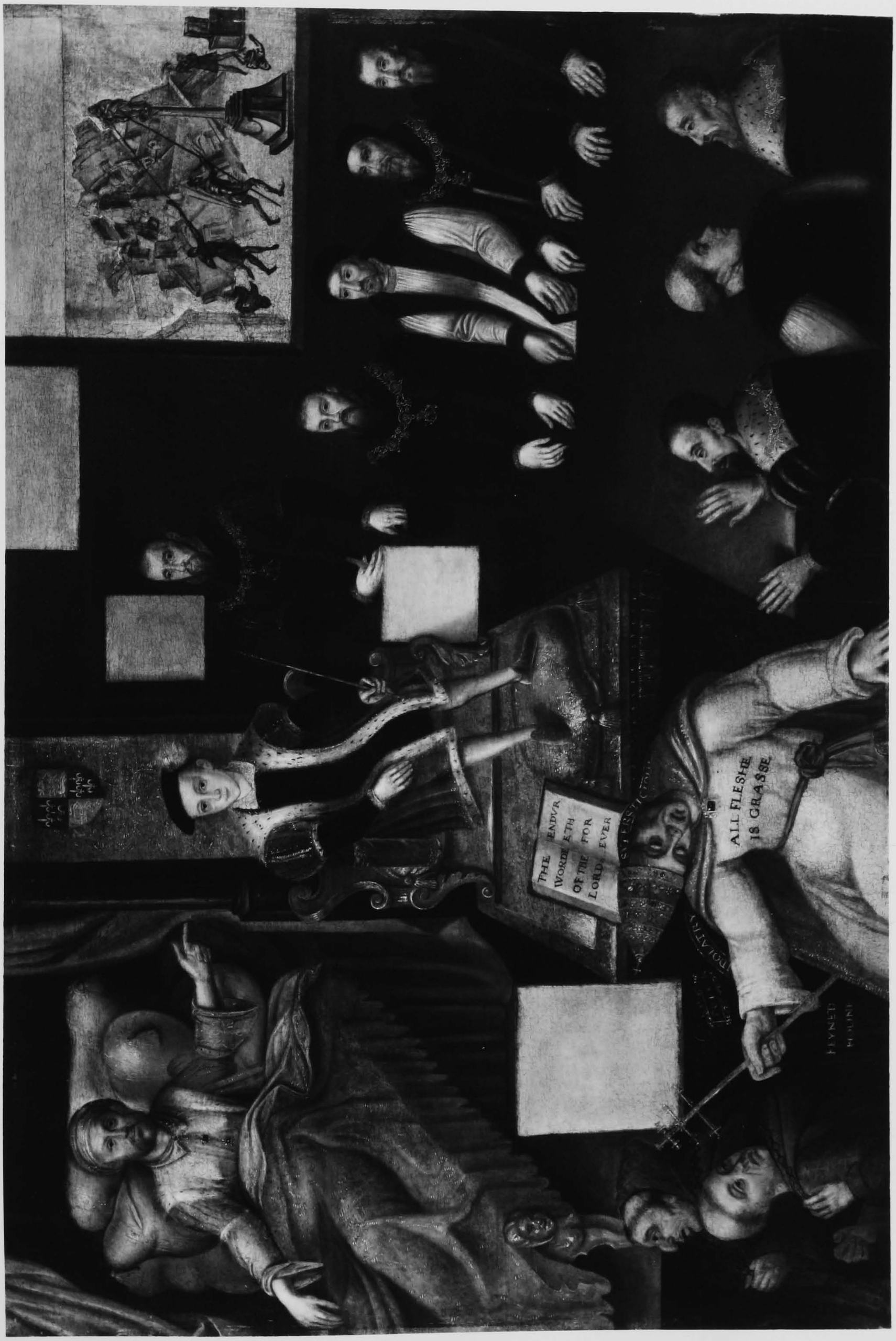


Figure I: 'Edward VI and The Pope'. Artist Unknown

This thesis is entirely my own work. None of the material has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations refer to works cited frequently in the footnotes. Further abbreviations will be given in the footnotes as appropriate.

A.P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council
A.V.	Authorised Version
B.L.	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
B.J.R.L.	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,
Cam.	Cambridge
C.H.J.	Cambridge Historical Journal
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Cal. S.P. Span.	Calendar of State Papers, Spanish
Cal. S.P. Ven.	Calendar of State Papers, Venetian
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
e.s.	extra series
G.E.C.	G.E. Cockayne: Complete Peerage
H.M.C.R.	Historical Manuscripts Commission Report
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
H.O.	Household Ordinances (see Society of Antiquaries)

Abbreviations (continued)

H.L.Q.	Huntington Library Quarterly
J.E.H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
J.H.I.	Journal of the History of Ideas
J.W.C.I.	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
L.	London
L.P.	Letters and Papers
MS	Manuscript
N.P.G.	National Portrait Gallery
n.s.	new series
N.Y.	New York
O.L.	Original Letters
o.s.	original series
Ox.	Oxford
P.S.	Parker Society
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
P.R.O.	Public Records Office
R.S.V.	Revised Standard Version
S.T.C.	Short Title Catalogue
S.P.	State Papers
T.R.H.S.	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
V.C.H.	Victoria County history
Z.L.	Zurich Letters

Abbreviations (continued)

The following abbreviations have been adopted for works published by the Parker Society. With the exception of Original Letters and Zurich Letters, they are in accordance with the Society's own abbreviations:

Bale	Bale: Select Works
1 Bec.	Becon: Early Works
2 Bec.	Becon: The Catechism with other pieces
3 Bec.	Becon: Prayers and other pieces
1 Cov.	Coverdale: Writings and Translations
2 Cov.	Coverdale: Remains
1, 2 Cran.	Cranmer: Works, 2 vols
Grin.	Grindal: Remains
1 Hoop.	Hooper: Early Writings
2 Hoop.	Hooper: Later Writings
1, 2, 3, 4, Jew.	Jewel: Works, 4 vols
1, 2, Lat.	Latimer: Works, 2 vols
Park.	Parker: Correspondence
Phil.	Philpot: Examinations and Writings
Pil.	Pilkington: Works
Rid.	Ridley: Works
1 Tyn.	Tyndale: Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions
2 Tyn.	Tyndale: Expositions and Notes
3 Tyn.	Tyndale: An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue

A Note on Dates and Quotations

All dates in the text have been brought into line with modern dating unless otherwise stated.

Quotations have been given in their original form, except that the letter 's' takes the modern form, and the letter 'u' has been modernised to 'v' where appropriate.

Authors mentioned or quoted from the period have been named in full in accordance with the S.T.C..

Other authors are cited by surname and initial.

Preface

My interest in the relationship between the English Reformation and the Tudor Court arose initially from an undergraduate study of the education of Edward VI. Trying to understand the reasons why Edward increasingly inclined towards a severely Protestant position, led to all kinds of other questions, often ones which appeared too obvious to ask: what did courtiers think of the practical consequences of the Break with Rome? What were the implications for a court soaked in ritual and symbolism which more often than not was rooted in the Catholic faith? How did the reformers gain access to the court and once there, how did they communicate to its members?

The rediscovery of the significance of the royal court for the history of sixteenth century England means that role of the Royal Household in the English Reformation cannot be ignored. It was therefore important first of all to examine the structure and nature of the court, the lifestyle of the courtiers, and the Tudor concept of monarchy.

The concept of the 'courtier' needs a word of explanation. Members of the royal household might or might not be permanent residents. They might be part of the monarch's immediate entourage, or they might be part of the vast support mechanism 'below stairs' which served the household. They might be members of the aristocracy with great households of their own or they might have secured a place at court from an anonymous background.

The thesis concentrates on the life of the household 'above stairs' and the activities of its more prominent members, usually referred to here as 'courtiers'. As will be seen, however, the court functioned as a whole, and examples have been given from 'above' and 'below stairs' to illustrate the relationship. The whole court existed to serve the monarch who was central to everything that occurred there.

In order to develop the scope of the thesis to include the Reformation, a further basic tenet had to be established: was there such a thing as court piety at all? To be able to give an affirmative answer, something much wider than the exceptional examples of individuals like Lady Margaret Beaufort had to be found. The study concentrates on religious practices, not as criteria for gauging the practitioners' sincerity, but because this is the only way to reconstruct the religious life of the Tudor Court. The role of preaching and of education provides evidence of religious change during the course of the sixteenth century, at least in theory if not always in practice.

It is not the historian's place to make moral judgements or to express an opinion concerning the rights and wrongs of religious belief. Fortunately, to a large extent, I have been spared the temptation, because it is impossible to 'make windows into men's souls' at this distance in time. The difficulty of discerning personal beliefs from the available material will be evident, but a detailed study of a sample of courtier wills, documents of a most personal nature, offers important insights into the forces of change at work

during the Reformation.

It will be seen that there was a great deal of continuity running alongside a few dramatic changes, and many subtle and more gradual ones. The numerous changes of policy under Henry VIII and the resulting confusion are well known to students of the English Reformation. To appreciate the transition from the traditional to the reformed faith is more difficult, and there remains much to be said, particularly about the reign of Edward VI.

The study builds on a great deal of existing scholarship without which a lifetime of groundwork would have been necessary. Pressure of space and time has forced me to leave out many fascinating aspects of the religious life of the court . In particular rites de passage have been mentioned only incidentally, and likewise royal ceremonies such as coronations.

It is hoped that what has been included in the following pages will show the value of posing new questions about familiar material, and trying to see it in a different light. If the result of reading is to feel that one still sees 'through a glass darkly', then we must continue to ask questions about the English Reformation.

Chapter One

Introduction: The Tudor Court in Context

... a household is as it were a little commonwealth by the good government whereof, God's glory may be advanced ...

Robert Cawdrey

Introduction

The rediscovery of the royal court by Tudor historians during the last two decades has led to the recognition of the significance of that part of the royal household which was directly concerned with service to the monarch. In an age of personal monarchy the ruler was the focus of the political and social system of the land; where the sovereign was, there was to be found power, influence and profit. It must follow, therefore, that when the crisis of the Reformation arose, the royal court could not but be at the centre of it. Consequently, to trace the impact of the Reformation on the royal court is to be given an insight into religious change at one of the most significant institutions in the land. To mix metaphors, the royal court is both a thermometer measuring the fever of heretical infection and a barometer measuring the moving pressure for religious change. The purpose of this thesis is to trace that impact during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

The best way to elaborate this new realisation of the importance of the royal court is to study its architecture, noting how it developed into a series of state apartments above stairs.[1] Its organisation followed its physical divisions, and by the Tudor period a formal distinction was made between the three main sections: the Great Hall, the Outer Chamber and the Privy Chamber.[2] The staff of the Great Hall performed the more public tasks connected with serving the meals (cup-bearers, carvers, sewers and so on), and entertainment, and could be called on for any other duties needing to be performed. The personnel of the Chamber and Privy Chamber were more closely connected

with the person of the monarch. Members of the Privy Chamber were intimately connected with the person of the monarch. The Privy Chamber was supervised by the Lord Chamberlain who was an important figure in the internal politics of the court because of his powers of patronage and his influence with the king.[3] Under Henry VII members of this department were privileged because of their proximity to the monarch but socially and politically they were unknown entities.[4] This changed under Henry VIII because he kept with him a specially chosen group of companions who were nobly born and familiar figures about the court.[5] This is what turned the Privy Chamber of Henry's reign into the political focus of the court.

The presence of such a large body of people at court, men and women, young and old, lords and peasants, helped to broaden its context, and make it more representative of society as a whole. To call it a 'perfect image in microcosm of the entire kingdom'[6] is to misrepresent its essential characteristics for it was a unique institution, but it was a world in miniature of a certain kind, encompassing the lives of all those who remained there for any length of time.

At the centre of this world was ceremony. The ceremonial life of the court was transmitted through Byzantium from the oriental concept of the ruler, and by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, western courts were developing elaborate codes of ceremony and ritual to govern every aspect of life there. It was most fully developed at the court of Burgundy which became so famous throughout Europe for its wealth, culture and lifestyle. The Burgundian court offered an ideal

for its contemporaries to emulate, and Edward IV of England was especially eager to develop his household along similar lines, going so far as to request Olivier de la Marche, the Burgundian Master of Ceremonies to lend his assistance.[7]

The outstanding feature of the court of Burgundy was its ritualisation of every part of life, no matter how trivial. Court etiquette was also a feature of the English royal household. Edward IV's Liber Niger laid down rules of behaviour for each category of royal servant and the same formalities were observed under the Tudors. Such a ritualised code of life both affirmed the united solidarity of the court behind the monarch, while distinguishing the superiority of the latter. Any act of service at court took on symbolic proportions because it involved the honour of the king and therefore was of more than mere utilitarian significance.[8] Since the Privy Chamber was most intimately connected with the king's person, what would elsewhere be an ordinary domestic action was there performed with elaborate formality. There could be no greater honour than to meet the personal needs of the monarch. Strict limitations were placed on the offices of the Privy Chamber so that each official knew his place and worked to a code of etiquette in harmony with his fellows. For example, when the king changed his clothes, the officers of the Wardrobe of Robes produced the garments and handed them to the grooms of the Privy Chamber without trespassing in its precincts. It was the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, however, who dressed the king, the grooms and ushers being warned not to

> approach or presume ... to lay hands upon his royal person, or intermeddle with preparing or dressing of the same. (9)

Such simple tasks, glorified by ritual, took on an even greater import when performed by members of the noble class who considered it an honour to serve the king in this way.[10]

Outside the Privy Chamber, court life was similarly ritualised in such a way that observers could be reminded that they were in the presence of royalty.[11] Meals were obvious occasions to exploit elaborate ceremony.[12] There were strict rules of presentation, and each official carried out his duties according to precise instructions, even down to which hand a carver must use when cutting up different pieces of meat. As for the lavishness of courtly feasts and general hospitality, these were expressions of the king's liberality. It was one of the means of expressing royal power in terms of wealth and the ability to spend.

A further expression of this was the royal reputation as a patron, not merely of political honours and payments in return for service of a military, administrative or legal kind, but also rewards and support for those contributing to the cultural life of the court. This was also an age-old concept and one in which the Burgundian court had excelled.[13] Like everything else at court patronage of the arts fulfilled a number of functions. It satisfied royal taste and contributed to the aesthetic image of court life, but by enhancing the royal image it also built royal power. By attracting scholars, artists, musicians and other such talent to court, the king could gain a reputation as a cultured and generous ruler, which would in turn encourage others to sue for patronage and flock to court.

The Court Personnel

The ethos of the royal household was aristocratic. Above stairs this was evident in the personnel, particularly of the Privy Chamber, and while members of the household belowstairs were drawn from a much broader spectrum of society, their raison d'ętre was to maintain the smooth day to day running of the monarch's most important prop.

It was the king's duty and privilege to stand at the centre of this aristocratic society, holding it together and exercising leadership. In the words of G.R. Elton:

> his rule, his mode of life and his policy depended entirely on co-operation with an order of society to which he himself belonged. (14)

The nobility were not encouraged to go to court merely for personal gain. The king not only had the right to command service, but they had the right to give it. The medieval nobility had seen that service in terms of military aid and counsel in government, but the influence of humanism began to change this concept.[15] The increasing spread of education and the change from a military to a civil society fostered this shift of emphasis. Increasingly stress was laid on an educated governing class with virtue gained through learning, replacing military prowess as the necessary criterion for the leaders of society. In the words of the great populariser of humanist thought, Sir Thomas Elyot, the knight should through

> learnying and witte assayle vice and errour ... havinge therunto for his sworde and speare his tunge and his penne. (16)

Elyot himself entered a life of public service through the patronage of Cardinal Wolsey and was appointed Senior Clerk of the King's

Council in 1523.[17] His most important work on the subject The boke named the governour[18] was based on a view of society wherein

> the best and most sure gouvernaunce is by one kynge or prince. (19)

Monarchy was recognised as the ideal form of government, as it represented the apex of a hierarchical order of society so dear to the thinking of the sixteenth century, and so clearly and symbolically expressed at court.[20] A corrupt monarchy on the other hand could lead to tyranny and so the king needed wise councillors around to guide him. The growing power and prestige of the secular ruler was reflected in the ceremonial life of courts throughout Europe, involving a shift from the former religious emphasis. There were important implications in Reformation thought which were not lost on rulers desirous of enhancing their prestige.[21]

With education and learning as the necessary qualifications for this task, the nobility had little choice but to acquire them if they were to retain their rightful place in society. In theory, anyone who was sufficiently well-educated qualified to serve the state and belong to the governing class, but in reality the belief in a structured and orderly society meant that the nobility continued to be regarded as most fit to govern. Castiglione's profoundly influential work Il Cortegiano, first published in 1528, had as its principal tenet that the primary raison d'être of the courtier was service to his prince.[22]

To qualify for their superior place in government, however, the nobility had to display virtue, thereby distinguishing themselves from the common crowd and setting a good example. To this end education became very important.[23] The boke named the governour which embodied

Elyot's faith in education set out educational principles gleaned from the classics. He stated that

> pre-eminence in degree shulde be amonge men according as they do excell in the pure influence of understandynge. (24)

The entire programme, however, was designed for gentlemen for Elyot was not advocating a general levelling of society. The court was considered to be a school of civilisation for the nobility.[25] It was customary for the gentry to send their children to noble households for their up-bringing, and in a similar manner the nobility came to court to imbibe the culture there.[26] Just as the emergence of the royal household from among other great establishments meant the centralisation of politics, so it led to the centralisation of culture.[27] With the growing awareness of intellectual values, court patronage of scholars and artists became increasingly important and the image of the monarch rested on his support and encouragement of learning as much as on his physical and military prowess. The importance of education in establishing Protestantism, and its patronage by the court is another important theme which is central to a study of the religious life of the Tudor royal household.[28]

The above considerations show that the culture of the aristocracy was of a different kind from that of the rest of society.[29] Certain pastimes, especially those which involved great cost were the exclusive preserve of the upper classes.[30] The world of chivalry, moreover, belonged to the knightly class of society. It gave scope to indulge in heraldic display, military exploits and the language of

courtly love, and thus helped to give a feeling of group identity.[31] The chivalric code which the English court adopted from Burgundy encompassed the whole lifestyle of the aristocracy, but focused especially on its courtly and military aspects.[32] By the early sixteenth century the world of chivalry had all but passed away except in literature, but its outward conventions remained in the ceremonial etiquette and the fêtes d'armes which formed part of court life.[33] The chivalric code was a compromise between military ideals and those of the Christian Church, although in its outward form, it presented a man of idealised virtue whose aim was the common good.[34] The chivalric model was gradually absorbed and taken over by the Renaissance concept of the omnicompetent man who was cultured and learned as well as handsome and valiant. Such all-round talent was still an ideal, however, and few could match up to its demands. Henry VIII was not daunted by the chivalric image, or the more sober learned ideal of the Renaissance. He took elements from both traditions to bolster his image, and sought to embody the all-round Renaissance prince who encompassed the chivalric ideal within his accomplishments. He sought, in other words, to present an image of monarchy on a scale hitherto unknown.

The Monarch

> The chronicler Chastellain declared that
>
> After the deeds and exploits of war, which are claims to glory, the household is the first thing that strikes the eye, and that which it is, therefore, most necessary to conduct and arrange well. (35)

The royal household was a statement of political theory conveying to

the world the meaning of majesty. The power to command service, in itself carried prestige. But the king was also a being set apart, divinely appointed to be the representative of his people. It was crucial that he should be seen to display his power and prestige to an extent that outstripped even his most powerful subjects. By crushing his rivals and gathering a following larger than any other lord, Henry VII had firmly established his position on the throne, but there was more to being king than brute force. The monarch, as Henry himself recognised, had to cultivate the aura of kingship, and give meaning and reality to the idea of majesty.[36] Thus, besides exercising powers and governing effectively, he had to maintain and extend the visible accoutrements of the monarchy and in both instances the royal household came to hand as the appropriate instrument. The splendour and wealth of the court was mediated through the visible trappings of culture, rich tapestries and furnishings, sumptuous feasts and entertainments, and of course the buildings themselves. Even Henry VII was a builder of palaces and between 1494 and 1509 he spent at least £28,000 on his principal residences.[37] His son built on a far grander scale than had hitherto been known. By his death Henry VIII had over 50 houses at his disposal, more than he could ever use, but all designed to accommodate a king of his stature.[38] Throughout the reign he undertook various alterations and repairs to improve his residences besides constructing new ones from scratch.[39]

The crucial feature of court ceremony and spectacle was the focusing of attention upon the monarch himself. The court can be likened to a theatre, and with a magnificent setting, abundant props

and a huge supporting cast, the monarch himself occupied the centre of the stage and all attention was directed towards him. The real image of the monarch was created here, and it was done at very close range. The monarch was expected to fulfil certain roles and to conform to certain conventional ideals, but for better or worse his own personality superimposed itself from time to time.

Henry VIII was fortunate in that he inherited, thanks to his father, a secure crown, a stable regime and well-plenished coffers. He also possessed the necessary personal attributes in that he was not only a physically imposing figure, every inch a king, but he was also intelligent and cultured. He thus began his reign on a wave of popularity, and the euphoria of the humanists and more sober admiration of foreign observers was not unfounded. The papal nuncio, Francisco Chieregato exclaimed:

> The wealth and civilisation of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and great politeness, and amongst other things there is this invincible King, whose acquirements and qualities are so many and excellent that I consider him to excel all who ever wore a crown. (40)

Chieregato noticed the wealth which was expressed through expenditure on banquets, festivals, jewels and the royal residences. As for civilisation, Henry VIII attracted men of cultural worth to his household, not to be mere names on his payroll but to actively contribute to the image of his court as a 'temple of the muses'.[41] His own known appreciation of music, theological debate, literature and scientific inventions was a psychological inducement in itself. One of the attractions of England to the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus

was the king's appreciation of learning and culture.[42] He believed that

> Aula Regis plus habet hominum eruditione praestantium quam ulla academia. (43)

The real extent of the king's delight in learning, at least in his more active youth, cannot be measured accurately, but there are sufficient comments of this kind to justify the assertion, and if Henry missed the finer points of learning and culture, he grasped the essentials for his own purposes, the results of which were evident in the following reign.[44] As for manners, decorum and politeness, these were components of court ceremonial which governed all aspects of procedure in the royal household. As far as Chieregato was concerned, they fulfilled their essential purpose in drawing his attention to the king himself at the centre of it all. Henry seemed to him the epitome of majesty in appearance and actuality, extracting from him this paeon of praise which was highly appropriate in its extravagance.

The nature of court politics was such that personal relationships, court intrigues and high politics were inextricably linked. This was inevitable given the personal and active role of the Tudor monarchs in government, and the political role of their personal servants. This was an aspect of court life which had important implications for the reception of the Reformation there. Any study of the people, politics and life of the Tudor court must take into account the role of faction, that is, the shifting groups of people, varying in size and composition, who came together to work for a specific objective.[45] Henry VIII's 'larger-than-life' personality has so imprinted itself upon his reign that, enhanced further by later

writers as well as by admiring contemporaries, it is easy to envisage him in absolute control of affairs. It is clear, however, that the royal policies were not all of the king's own making, and Henry was open to the persuasions of those who gained his confidence, for better or worse.[46] Henry's own character made it difficult to determine clearly whether or not policies originated with himself, or emanated from the suggestions of influential members of the household.[47] His capricious and enigmatic nature made it a difficult and dangerous business for even his most intimate companions to gauge accurately his thinking at any time.[48] His sensitivity to personal criticism, especially in matters of religion, did not make for the pursuit of stable policies with any great conviction. Henry was the pivot on which all factional manoeuvres turned, and he is therefore central to the notion, whether he is seen as dominating his courtiers or as their tool.[49] These two contradictory images of the king, manipulating or being manipulated, may be regarded as two sides of the same coin. The king was the fount of all honour, power and policy, and as such held firmly on to the reins of authority, but he was also open to the advice of councillors and courtiers, which might involve subtle manipulation on their part. Henry did not care to commit himself irrevocably in any one direction. Above all else, he was an opportunist and would:

> lead, follow, manipulate, assist, observe or ignore as it suited him. (50)

Such an interpretation of Henry would explain his apparent indecision on many occasions, his weighing up of alternative policies while delaying any move until the last possible moment, in order to retain

the initiative and gain the greatest advantage. It also explains how he laid himself open to manipulation and to the possibility of making a complete volte face as long as it appeared that Henry himself had initiated the move. The king was seen to make the moves, but the advanced planning was not always his own. Either a lazy mind or an inability to find his own solutions caused him to depend on the ideas of others.[51] Those who wanted to rise in power through the king's favour therefore had to compete to gain a place near his person and then to offer advice which was both sound and pleasing to the king's ear. Such was Thomas Wolsey, who, according to Cavendish, his servant and biographer:

> dayly attendyd uppon the kyng in the Court, beyng in his especyall grace & favour. (52)

He sought to monopolise the king and his government with his own person. He took on the immense task of running the day to day administration of the Council himself, and he excluded possible rivals from the Privy Chamber by removing them on the pretext of reform. Thus in 1519, following the institution the previous year of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, he got rid of Henry's youthful favourites. Again in 1526 when the coming of peace meant the return of rival courtiers to the Privy Chamber, the Eltham Ordinances were intended to serve as a purge. In between he made sure that potential threats were employed overseas in military and diplomatic affairs.[53]

Faction continued to play a political role in Edward VI's reign, but to a lesser degree.[54] This was particularly noticeable in the Privy Chamber where the king's youth meant that his personal attendants were unable to wield the kind of power exercised by those

of Henry VIII. Also, as Edward's court grew increasingly partisan there was less room for manoeuvre from opposing factions. There was still a good deal of mileage in securing personal influence over the young king, however, and so the Duke of Northumberland exploited Edward's impressionable nature to cultivate and project the image of a godly child prodigy.[55]

Behind the Public Facade of Order

From the above sketch of the royal household as home, organ of government and setting for majesty further aspects of court life may be highlighted.

The first is simply the reality of chaos, indiscipline and lack of organisation which lay below the facade. To the onlooker the court presented an image of wealth, splendour and order, but below the surface was a very different situation. This was caused partly by the piecemeal development of the household, partly by its multi-faceted purpose, and partly by the fluctuating nature of its personnel with constant coming and going at all levels. This permanent state of chaos and flux meant that the court provided an ideal setting for the ferment of ideas such as were found in the sixteenth century. There was every good reason for making a determined effort to infiltrate the court, although there were constant attempts to tighten up security and maintain discipline.

With so much movement it was difficult to determine who counted as persons authorised to be in the household. Security was a real problem, made worse because of the deliberate Tudor policy of refusing

to distance the royal person from the populace. There were porters at the gates with orders to keep out all

> boys, vagabonds and rascals ... (besides) all others resorting thither from time to time, as case shall require. (56)

and there were regular inspections at intervals during the day to deal with those who had evaded them. The closer to the monarch's person, the more vital became the question of security, and so while yeomen ushers were in attendance at the doors to the Outer Chamber, there were gentlemen ushers and esquires for the body at the Privy Chamber entrance. It might thus be expected that the king was wholly unfamiliar with the daily existence of the household below stairs, whose personnel were selected and over-seen by the Lord Steward and his officers. The Tudors, however, took a keen interest in their households. They took very seriously the personal loyalty of their servants, and did not allow themselves to become remote, so that even the lowliest could bring a suit before them if they could gain access. Henry VIII in particular maintained an air of familiarity with those around him, hence the notorious example of his card-playing with Richard Hill, Sergeant of the Wine Cellar.[57] There was probably less dignity at court than is often supposed, given the proliferation of rules and the elaborate forms of ceremonial and etiquette surrounding every action. There was a similar familiarity between the nobility and their household servants,[58] and though the monarch did not naturally look below stairs for intimacy, his accessibility was an essential factor in government and court politics. This naturally had implications for the reception of reformist ideas at court.[59] It was

difficult for example to regulate the servants of temporary residents who visited the court with great retinues. The court was a vast, amorphous meeting-point with constantly fluctuating numbers.[60] Intensified by frequent moves in the interests of hygiene, this made for instability and indiscipline.

The constant coming and going gave the court a cosmopolitan air which would be difficult to match anywhere else, except perhaps in the city of London which itself maintained close links with the court.[61] At one of the royal residences, Whitehall, which Henry acquired from Wolsey in 1529, there was a public highway effectively dividing the palace in two. The king turned this to his advantage by building two connecting galleries over the road, the Holbein Gate and the King Street Gate which became the palace showpieces, and presented the public with the splendour and power of the Tudor monarchy through the architecture and busts of Roman Emperors.[62]

Not only were there constant visitors from the City and from every corner of the realm besides, as one or another magnate or royal official presented himself at court, but there were foreign ambassadors, rulers, scholars and artists who came and spent varying lengths of time with the monarch. Ordinary household servants, resident in the precincts of the court came and went, and had contacts of their own in the City, and further afield.[63] Walter Crane was a court musician and a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, but he was also a water-bailiff, wool-exporter and wine-merchant.[64] One of the king's intimate companions, in the Privy Chamber, Anthony Knyvet, married Avicia Gibson, the widow of a grocer and sheriff.[65]

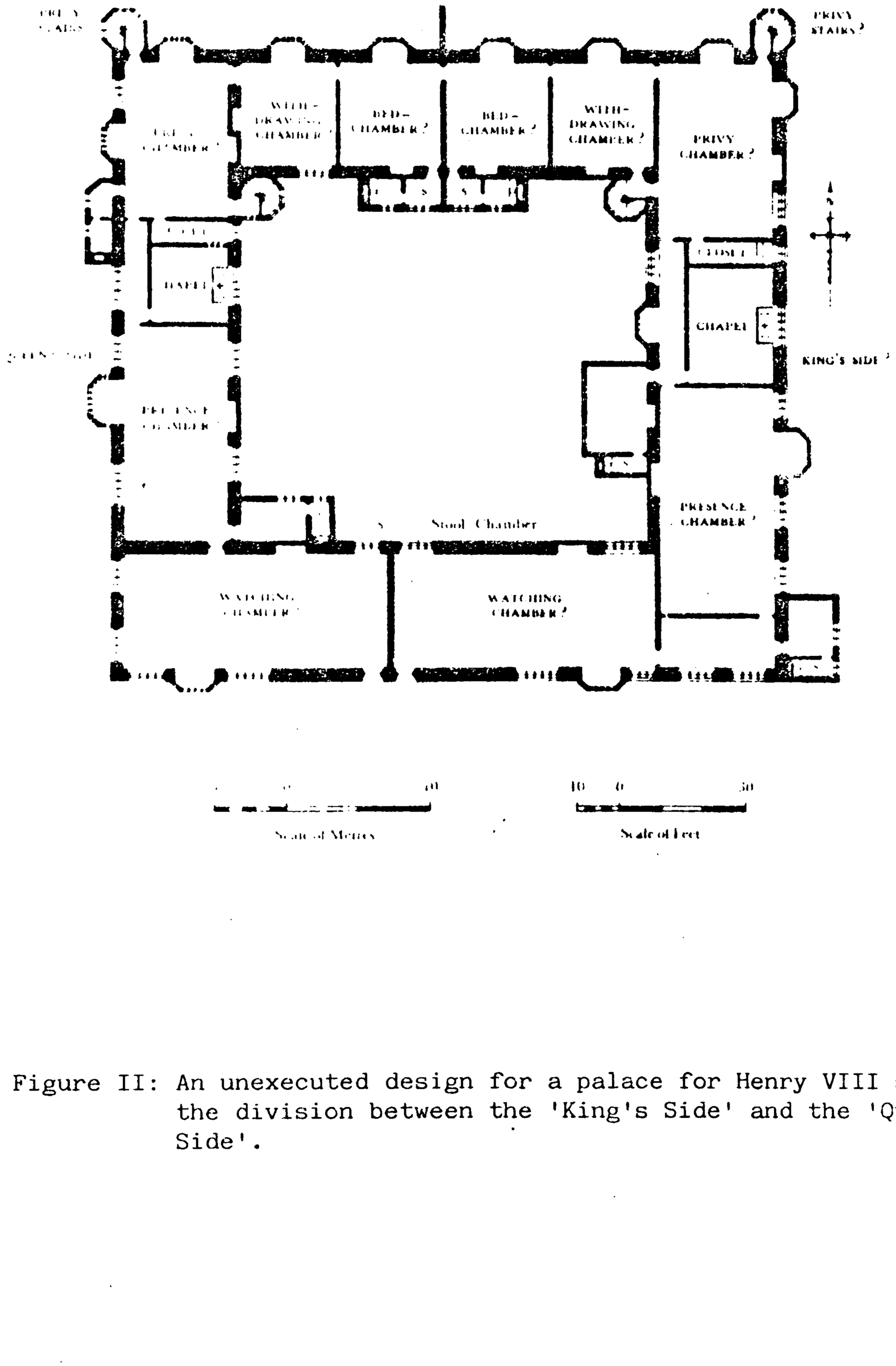


Figure II: An unexecuted design for a palace for Henry VIII showing the division between the 'King's Side' and the 'Queen's Side'.

Some of the king's servants were not resident at all, like Mistress Harris, the royal laundress who collected the linen each week, or Giles the king's beer-brewer, who belonged to the Red Lion in St Katherine's.[66] These contacts with the world at large emphasise that the court did not exist in a vacuum. Indeed the way was wide open for the passage to and fro of people, objects such as books and pamphlets, and ideas. All this was not lost on the reformers.

The example of Mistress Harris is illustrative of the paucity of women in residence below stairs. While the ratio between the sexes was balanced above stairs by the king's consort and her household of ladies, this was not the case below where the various departments, though well-staffed, were almost exclusively male. The tensions resulting from such a situation were all potentially present, and indeed were exacerbated by other peculiar circumstances. For example, none of the royal residences was large enough for Henry VIII's household until he obtained York Place from Wolsey. Much of the over-crowding at court sprang from the multiplication of personnel regardless of need, which in turn gave rise to under-employment and boredom, a fertile field for idle gossip and intrigue. These are features of court life which need to be borne in mind in the ensuing study, for they played their part in the life-style of the royal household. A bored court needed to be entertained, and so sports and pastimes provided activity as well as visual splendour. There were resident court entertainers such as fools, besides visiting players and musicians. Much court entertainment was self-made, such as dancing, sport and jousting.[67] References to gaming and card-playing

abound in the available records,[68] while there were numerous opportunities which provided an excuse for celebrations on a grand scale. Such events helped to keep a bored and potentially disruptive court occupied. The round of courtly jousts and masques helped to maintain order and stability among a largely redundant group of courtiers and household servants as much as the round of mystery plays and local fairs gave a structure to the more mundane lives of ordinary men and women.

Within the confines of the royal household almost every section of society was represented; men and women, clerical and lay, young and old, noble and menial, so that much of its culture was obviously shared. The addition of professional entertainers and artists contributed to its richness and brought a dimension from outside, but the majority of these were occasional visitors and few were maintained permanently on the royal pay-roll. Such activities still allowed plenty of time for more subdued pastimes like reading, and for some writing and poetic composition, pursuits which have a special bearing on the reception of the Reformation at court.

A further outstanding feature of the court was its artificiality. To live out the whole of one's life under the public glare and in such a way as to hide sordid reality beneath a dazzling facade could not but produce a world with an artificial ring. To many it was a 'life in a gilded cage',[69] where one knew

> well first/who so can seke to please
> Shall purchase frendes/whear trouthe shall but offend.
> (70)

The ritualisation of life served to intensify this atmosphere which

was continually subject to the necessity of keeping up appearances. This clearly had huge implications for religious practices, if not belief. Were pious actions carried out merely to create a certain impression? And could there be such a thing as private devotion? A concrete example designed to be the grandest fête d'armes the world had yet witnessed highlighted the problem of artificiality at its most intense.

The Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 was essentially a meeting between the rulers of France and England to establish an entente cordiale, but it presents a concentrated view of the royal household, albeit out of its normal context, working to create the most splendid setting imaginable for its formidable king. The event was a mixture of politics and diplomacy, feasting and festivity, athletics and fêtes d'armes. It involved the construction of a vast temporary palace to house the 5,172 men and women in the English party, and employed a multitude of artists and craftsmen.[71] This was a full-scale building, containing rich furnishings, tapestries and so on, all designed to show the ingenuity of the English. Above all, it provided the brilliant setting required by Henry, for whom the entire ethos of the occasion seemed to have been specially created. The Field of Cloth of Gold epitomised precisely the tone of Tudor kingship at this stage. The glittery display representing lavish expenditure and boundless luxury, spoke of Henry's showmanship, his external, public front which was designed to impress. There was symbolism everywhere, in the heraldry, the buildings, costumes and ceremonies of the tilt. The language of chivalry spoke of the disappearing world of knightly

culture which the participants sought to re-live through pageantry, symbolism and fêtes d'armes.[72] There was thus an artificial air, intensified by the outward bonhomie, which concealed deep rivalry between the French and English, and which found its expression in the competitive events of the ring. Indeed, the artificial nature of the constructions of canvas and painted wood were themselves symbolic and intended primarily for show. There was music and dancing, sumptuous banquets and two gilt pillars bearing statues of Cupid and Bacchus from which flowed malmsey and claret. Lavish generosity perhaps, but also a symptom of excess and a striving after novelty and sensational amusement which characterised the court. In the end the outcome of the affair provided its own concluding comment, for the aims of the treaty of friendship signed by France and England were never realised and within two years the two nations were once more at war. Neither the ideals of chivalry, nor of Renaissance splendour could supply genuine solutions to the aspirations of Europe's rulers.

Households Within the Household

Above stairs women were a constituent part of court life, and as such provision was made for them. The Liber Niger stated that:

> We fynde of old recordes and new both, that for the quene is servyse, wich must be nygh like unto the king. (73)

Physically, sociologically and culturally, women were part of the structure of the royal household.

The architectural design of the royal residences included a 'King's side' and a 'Queen's side',[74] a technical gesture towards a degree of privacy, at least, between the sexes. In practice this

division facilitated the gossip and intrigue prevalent at court and could prove a useful device in the personal and political manoeuvring both of individuals and factions. At a very simple level, it offered advancement to any noble family wishing to secure a place for their daughters among the queen's maids,[75] while at its most complex the separate establishment of the queen's household allowed situations like that of Catherine Howard in 1541 to arise.[76]

The women themselves were not of course competing for power in the same way as the men of the king's Privy Chamber, but nevertheless, their capacity for influence, both personal and political should not be underestimated. Their role in the religious life of the household in particular, was an important and often dominant one.[77] Women were closely involved in the development of lay piety and the rise of vernacular literature in the later Middle Ages.[78]

Within the great household they were often the co-ordinators of the educational and devotional activities of the family. While their role at court in these two areas was less than that of initiators or directors of policy, they continued to be closely involved. J.K. McConica has shown how Henry's queens provided important humanist and reform patronage,[79] and this affected private devotional life at court. In effect there existed households within households, mini-courts, often focusing on the queen, with their own spheres of influence. They also provided an alternative means of access to the court when more official channels were blocked or simply unavailable.

Finally, the presence of women at court affected its cultural life, and in the Middle Ages this was expressed supremely through the

conventions of courtly love. The development in the 16th century of the humanist notion of the perfect courtier did not neglect the place of women at court, especially in their cultural capacity, though Castiglione confessed that it was not an easy thing to define.[80] It was perhaps their participation in the social life of the court which was most conspicuous by its absence in the reign of Edward VI, and the lack of women in Edward's household both as prince and as king had notable repercussions.

The separate provision made for women above stairs does not detract from the fact that a general lack of privacy prevailed both above and below stairs. Private life was difficult, if not impossible to maintain and indeed, was not understood in the Middle Ages. By the beginning of the 16th century, however, a growing desire for privacy becomes evident and this in itself created further tension at court. To institute various means of privacy in a private household was one thing, but the life of the court was a public affair by nature and design. This feature had very important implications for the reception of the Protestant Reformation at court.

Criticisms of the Court

Such a situation was bound to invite negative reactions. The desire for glory in war went against the humanist principles of peace and good order, but the ruler was the product of his environment, and the aristocratic culture of the Tudor court fed Henry VIII's natural inclinations for action.[81]

Aside from humanist pleas for a Christian prince, however, there

were other deep-rooted causes for complaint. Lack of stability, indiscipline, false glamour and power-seeking all make for criticism and there was no shortage of this at the Tudor court.

Courts were traditionally places of vice and corruption and this should be borne in mind. At the same time different elements and emphases help to elucidate the concerns of the English reformers.

Stock criticisms of the courtly lifestyle could be found wherever courts existed, for there were always those who either refused to tolerate in silence the tensions inevitably found there, or who had a personal axe to grind on their own behalf.

It was generally thought that if a man wished to succeed at court he could not do so without tainting his moral character. All courts were corrupt and degenerate so those who rose to power and fortune there must be the same. The court was criticised for its values which seemed wholly devoted to material gain. This led to greed and ruthless ambition, which seemed to be the prevailing attitude among courtiers. Unscrupulous seeking for promotion and preferment seemed to be the aim of those who went to court. There was a lack of trust and a reluctance to display personal loyalties or commitments. The fickleness of fortune and friendship was another theme returned to again and again:

> When Fortune gave good wynde unto my saile
> That tyme I had of frendes no lytle nomber
> But a perrier rose, and fortune gan to faile
> Adversitie blewe, my Frendes and me a sonder (82)

Many courtiers felt themselves caught in a kaleidoscope of constantly shifting relationships, from which they longed to escape. Much of the poetry written in the context of the court dealt with these themes, and the poets of the 16th century continued to employ

the stock criticisms of their medieval forebears.[83]

John Skelton, for example, was favoured by Henry VII, and was employed in the education of the royal princes, but in spite of continued recognition in the succeeding reign,[84] he was dissatisfied with life at court. In Skelton's case, the reasons seem to have been largely personal, since he harboured an intense dislike for Cardinal Wolsey. This received expression in poems such as 'Speke parrot' and 'Why come ye not to court?'[85] For Skelton, as for many others, Wolsey epitomised all that was wrong with the court: its flattery, competitiveness, insincerity and artificiality.

Thomas Wyatt was also writing in Henry VIII's reign, and although he wrote verses in praise of the court, his work also reflected that distaste for a false, unstable world. Explaining why he preferred retirement in the country to 'the press of courts', he pointed to the deceit and ambition evident through constant favour-seeking.[86] He was at his most outspoken in his 'Third Satire' addressed to Sir Francis Bryan, outwardly a typical, successful courtier. Wyatt, however, warned him that his personal honesty would be his downfall.[87]

The poets were an important body of critics. Their poetry was intended to resemble the image which the court desired to project.[88] Thus, except for the occasional examples where the author allowed his own experience to break through as above, poetic style was itself full of ornamental artifices and deceptive verbal tricks. This was the result of the rhetorical training promoted by the humanists which was intended to be used for political purposes. The exemplary courtier should be able to win the confidence of his ruler and so promote

policies of benefit to the state. Although the underlying motive was supposed to spring from personal disinterest, humanist theory did not release courts anywhere from the indictment of deception and self-seeking gain.[89] Nowhere do the Tudor court poets commend the life of a courtier. The humanists did not have much to say in favour of court life either. Their dilemma was their conviction that they had a duty to be there as advisers to princes. Such was the position of Thomas More who felt this dilemma acutely.[90] While he accepted public service, he was under no illusion concerning either the king or his court. He acknowledged that it was

> hard for any person eyther man or woman, in great worldly welth & rich prosperitie, so to withstand the suggestions of the devill & occasions given by the world, that they kepe them selfe from the desier of ambiciouse glorye /wheruppon there foloweth (yf a man fall therto) an whole floode of all unhappy mischief, arrogant maner/high soleyne solempne port/overlokyng the pore/in word & countenaunce displeasaunt disdaynouse behaviour/ravyn/ extorcion/oppression/hatred and crueltie. (91)

More was regarded as exceptional because he maintained his integrity. Erasmus took courage from his example,

> Ac talis Morus est etiam in aula. Et postea sunt qui putent Christianos non inveniri nisi in monasteriis. (92)

Even Erasmus conceded that More was unusual in this, as was Catherine of Aragon. He did not know how she managed to remain a model of piety while living continually at court.[93] For all his praise of Henry VIII he had to confess that rare indeed was the court which was entirely free from ambition, deceit and luxury.[94] The belief that the court was inherently corrupt made it a perilous place for the pious. Jane Dormer, wife of Sir Robert, the treasurer of Henry VIII's army, was

shocked when she learned of her brother's intention to reside there, and sought to warn him against its evil influence.[95]

With indictments such as this, one might legitimately ask where religion fitted into the picture. Was it equally artificial, devoid of vitality and spontaneity?

Was it simply another facet of monarchy, a tool in the hands of calculating propagandists and image-makers?

Did the mechanics of religion constitute the whole or was there something more?

If private life was virtually non-existent could there be such a thing as private devotion?

Could genuine piety survive the vice and corruption of the court?

Finally, did the Christian faith have anything to say to the court and was there anyone willing to take the risk of presenting a 'better way'?[96]

The Evidence for a History of the Reformation at Court

Such questions are difficult, but worth asking and fortunately there is a rich range of material available for a study of the Reformation in the royal household. Although much of this is not novel, and most documents have been read and re-read by many competent historians already, they can be made to yield new answers to new questions. Questions about the personal beliefs of past generations are, however, difficult. In the first place, the sources rarely reveal private thoughts and beliefs. Further, the inner lives of men and women during the 16th century were far removed from our own and it is

increasingly difficult not to impose modern psychological patterns of thought onto the past. Where evidence is written down, it must be decided whether or not it was for public consumption. Elizabeth's private prayers are a good example.[97] How personal and private were they intended to be? And how far was she projecting, perhaps unconsciously, a particular self-image? Such questions should make the researcher exercise caution when considering any evidence dealing with the realm of the intimately personal.

Where direct personal evidence is lacking much can be surmised from the associations of individuals and activities. Relationships between individuals should not be pushed too far. Religion broke some, but not all allegiances.[98] Actions are more certain indicators of where sympathies lie. Hence the relevance of patronage and association with reformist literature and education, while use of devotional objects offer clues in other directions.[99]

The most valuable sources for this thesis are those which come nearest to revealing the personal lives of members of the royal household. Any private documents whether wills, letters, devotional tracts and books, prayers and poems are of the greatest importance, always bearing in mind the circumstances in which they were produced.

Poems and prayers are by their nature unusual and the clues they offer to personal feelings are likely to be out of the ordinary. Wills, however, are the most personal documents left by any large numbers of people. In view of the light they could shed on individual lives they have been substantially investigated and an entire chapter has been based on a sample study of courtier officials. As evidence,

wills have their own peculiar difficulties and these are dealt with at length below.[100] Besides wills, letters offer insight into the thoughts of individuals and a considerable amount of private correspondence associated with the court survives from the period. Where a large number survive from one writer, such as William Gardiner, or Roger Ascham, many useful insights may be gleaned.[101]

Where we cannot tell what people actually thought and believed, we can sometimes discover what others intended, and occasionally tried to influence or cajole them to believe. The pulpit and the schoolroom were very important here and there is a wealth of sermon and educational material available for study. Sermons reveal the religious ideal set before the people of the Reformation and where the preacher resorted to shame and rebuke we see also something of the reality. The importance of preaching and the evidence concerning its role and content also deserves a chapter of its own.[102]

Education is also treated in a separate chapter.[103] The importance of education, highlighted by the humanists and fostered by the religious reformers may be studied through a variety of sources. Treatises on education, private correspondence, book dedications, primers, book inventories and university registers are all fruitful fields of research. As far as Edward VI is personally concerned, we are fortunate to have many of his personal compositions extant: manuscript books, exercises, letters and his journal. These are crucial pieces of first hand evidence but as with all such evidence, they should not be taken at face value. Contemporary and near contemporary sources are not always what they seem and it is important

to place them in context and read them in the light of what else is known of the author, circumstances and so on. Knowledge that Edward's letters, for example, were written as classroom exercises in grammar and handwriting puts them in a completely different light than if they were spontaneous, private greetings.

There are a number of useful narrative sources of the period of the Reformation. General chronicles of the period provide snippets of information relevant for this study, that of Edward Hall being by far the most important because his nationalistic motive caused him to focus attention on the person of the monarch.[104] The identity, bias and motive of any author are of the greatest importance wherever they can be discovered, as is information concerning who he/she was addressing and the extent of his/her involvement in events. John Foxe has been consulted as an important source for this thesis and may serve as an example. His works have been used because they provide a full account of many events involving courtiers or the court itself as well as providing general background. Foxe and his works, however, have themselves been the subject of much research and debate following charges of bias and inaccuracy. Foxe was indeed biased, but once his anti-Catholic position and his purpose of writing a providential Protestant history of the English Reformation are understood, charges of inaccuracy appear less likely, especially when it is realised that much of his material was gathered first hand.[105]

Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, is another example. An enemy of Elizabeth and all she stood for, he wrote from one perspective as George Wyatt wrote a defence of Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, from

another. John Bale, like Foxe wrote a providential account of the Reformation, fired by nationalism, while George Cavendish wrote the life of Cardinal Wolsey from the point of view of the personal valet rather than the political correspondent, and John Fisher's paean of praise for Lady Margaret Beaufort, his patroness and daughter in the Faith reads something like hagiography. Henry Clifford's Life of Jane Dormer[106] is also hagiographical, written some time later when the life of the recusants coloured Catholic perspective.

These narrative accounts of events and individuals help to build up an overall picture which must continually be seen within the context of the general political and religious climate. Reference to political events and official religious changes during the period call for recourse to the State Papers, and numerous original manuscripts deposited in the Public Records Office and British Library have been consulted. The Calendar of Letters and papers has also been relied upon considerably, though because of errors, abbreviation of documents and omissions the originals have been checked where possible. There is a good deal of information about the royal household in the public records, although unfortunately much of it is incomplete. We do not have complete lists of officials for the period for example, while some lists are misdated.[107] I have relied on the reconstructions of others for my structure of the royal households, especially D.R. Starkey's unpublished thesis, 'The King's Privy Chamber 1485-1547', and D.E. Hoak: The king's council in the reign of Edward VI. Chapter One of the latter outlines the problems concerning sources for Edward's Privy Chamber.

Of course, England's experimental approach to religion under Henry and the lack of a sustained and systematic heresy hunt mean that there is no body of evidence such as that left by the Sorbonne. Information concerning the spasmodic official inquiries may be found in the State Papers. Ambassadorial reports provide a further source of information for despite their tendency to exaggerate, deceive and misconstrue events, they are full of interesting side-lights. The interests and concerns of the ambassadors and their personal comments are important in themselves, even if they are not always an accurate representation of the facts. Appearances as well as reality offer valuable comment upon the questions asked about the Reformation in the royal household. Public propaganda is another useful source which tells us what people were meant to think, and an understanding of the machinery behind it offers further information.[108] The world of politics and religious affairs was reflected in the drama and pageantry of the period, while poetry, music and art illuminate the picture further. Since so much of the cultural life of the nation emanated from, and was the preserve of people who frequented the court it has special relevance for this thesis.

Nowhere is this more true than the realm of books and patronage of literature. An important body of source material used here is 16th century literature from which we may learn not only the interests and concerns of contemporaries, but through book dedications and book inventories we may detect who sponsored and who read the material. Since Protestantism is a religion of the book, this is of paramount importance, although as with other forms of evidence, there are a

number of cautions to be exercised. While publication dates are generally easy to ascertain,[109] it is often not possible to be certain who read the books published. Book dedications also beg questions: was the dedication made because of sympathy with the author, or was it mere flattery, or a form of bribery?[110]

Many documents of the nature of those mentioned above have been collected together and edited, especially by writers of the 17th and 18th centuries. Some added narratives based on their own interpretation of the original documents. These can be useful, but often there are serious drawbacks. Sometimes documents are incomplete or inaccurately quoted. A number of early historians claimed to be presenting an unbiased account of the Reformation by selecting and publishing collections of documents. Unfortunately they ignored problems of source selection and the inevitable bias created by selecting some documents while rejecting others. One writer of this kind who is nevertheless of great importance to modern history and who has been used in this study is John Strype.[111] His work consists of documentary sources with a supporting historical narrative. Despite inaccuracies and questionable interpretation on Strype's part, his view of men like Cheke and his interpretation of the English Reformation are worthy of consideration.

Gilbert Burnet also wrote a history of the Reformation designed to be a well-documented account. Concerned to authenticate his facts, Burnet also ignored problems of selection, and like Strype, had a personal point of view. Both Strype and Burnet looked at the Reformation through the eyes of the establishment of their day and

while the court may be said to have been at the very heart of the establishment, such a vantage point does not bring us any closer to the personal lives of the participants in the drama.

The collection of documents on Edward VI edited by J.G. Nichols[112] does offer more personal insight into the young king and his life at court, as well as providing a wealth of biographical and background information for the period. Most of the documents can be checked and Nichols quotes them fully and, by and large, accurately. It is a varied and wide-ranging collection with little interpretation by the editor to obscure their interpretation. They offer a rich mine of information for further research.

The final source used with any frequency in this study is that of architecture in view of the fact that it forms visible evidence of a great deal of theory. A visit to Henry VIII's Nonsuch palace, had it survived, would have explained far more graphically the mind and spirit of the king than a reading of Edward Hall's Chronicle. Of course much Tudor building no longer survives, but there are numerous architectural plans, drawings and descriptions to be consulted. I am much indebted here to the work of the editors of The History of the King's Works[113] who have collated a vast amount of material which repays careful analysis. The drawback of it all is that we often have to imagine the theory behind the building, and here as elsewhere, there is room for dispute. Indeed, rarely is a piece of evidence above dispute, or not open to different interpretations. The wealth of secondary literature bears testimony to this. Building on the fundamental works of such as A.G. Dickens and G.R. Elton, more recent

scholarship has continued to elucidate our understanding of the 16th century. In particular the renewal of interest in the court has led to an important body of scholarship including not only focal studies of the structure of the household, namely the work of D.R. Starkey,[114] but also its lifestyle and culture.

While the breadth of interest in the court has facilitated the placing of the present thesis within a wider context, the scattered nature of references to the Reformation in the royal household has often proved frustratingly inadequate. A history of music at court, for example, must take the Reformation into account, but will not necessarily pose any questions concerning the uniqueness of the situation.

It is maintained throughout this study that the royal household was unique and therefore aspects of the Reformation which have been well studied outside the court need to be examined again within its context. For, recalling the mixed metaphors of thermometer and barometer, the court, as the focus of the nation, offers important insights into the fever of heretical infection and the moving pressure for religious change which occurred in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Footnotes

1. Cf. H.M. Colvin, (gen. ed.): The History of the King's Works, 6 vols, LHMSO, 1963-82 (hereafter cited as Colvin); see also M. Girouard: Life in the English Country House, Yale, 1978, ch.3 for the architectural development of the great household in general. The changes are summarised by David Starkey: 'Court and government' in C. Coleman and D.R. Starkey, (eds): Revolution reassessed, Ox., 1986, ch.3, p.30.

2. A.R. Myers (ed.): The household of Edward IV, the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478, Manchester 1959, p.14, (hereafter cited as Myers); R.C.Braddock: 'The royal household 1540-1560. A study of office holding in Tudor England', unpublished thesis, North-western University, 1971, p.16, (hereafter cited as Braddock). D.R. Starkey argues that the Privy Chamber may only be deemed an autonomous household structure after 1519, D.R. Starkey: 'The king's privy chamber', unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge, 1973, pp.122 ff.

3. The Tudor royal household underwent major reforms while Thomas Cromwell was in power. For a full examination cf. G.R. Elton: The Tudor revolution in government, Cam., 1953. See also, however, Coleman and Starkey: Revolution reassessed, passim, esp. ch.2.

4. Cf. Robert C. Braddock: 'The Royal Household, 1540-1560. A study of office holding in Tudor England', unpublished thesis, University of Illinois, 1921, Ch.2, for fuller account, (hereafter cited as Braddock).

5. Cf. Starkey: 'The king's privy chamber', passim.

6. L. Baldwin Smith: Henry VIII. The Mask of Royalty, L.1971, p.80.

7. In response he wrote L'Etat de la Maison du Duc Charles de Bourgongne Memoires, 3 vols, (ed. H. Baume and J. d'Arbaumont), Librarie Renouard, 1885.

8. Most rituals originated from practical motives, cf. O. Cartellieri: The Court of Burgundy, L.1929, p.68.

9. Society of Antiquaries: A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household, L.1790, p.156, (hereafter cited as HO).

10. Cf. for example Mr Brooke: 'The ceremonial of the making of the king's bed, temp. Henry VIII', Archeologia, 4, 1777, pp.311-14.

11. The ritualisation of punishments at court were a sharp reminder of this. Cf. for example, Raphael Holinshed: Chronicles, 6 vols, L.1808, 3, p.953.

12. Cf. J.F. Furnivall (ed.) Early English Meals and Manners, (EETS, o.s. 32), 1868; J.Huizinga: The waning of the Middle Ages,

L.1924, pp.32 ff; Girouard: Life in the English Country House, pp.47 ff.

13. Cf. D.Javitch: Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England, Princeton 1978; G. Kipling: Triumph of Honour, The Hague, 1977; G. Mathew: The Court of Richard II, L.1968; J.A. Burrow (ed.): English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, Colston Research Society Symposium, 1981; F.R.Green: Poets and Princepleasers. Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages, Toronto, 1980.

14. G.R. Elton: Reform and Reformation, England 1509-1558, L.1977, p.23.

15. There is a great deal of literature on this subject, but see especially F.Caspari: Humanism and the Social Order, Chicago, 1954; R.Kelso: The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1964; A.B.Ferguson: The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance, Durham, North Carolina, 1965; J.K. McConica: English Humanists and Reformation Politics, Oxford, 1965, (hereafter cited as McConica); H.A. Mason: Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period, L.1959; J.H. Hexter: 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance' in his Reappraisals in History, Aberdeen, 1961, pp.45-70; P.N. Siegal: 'English Humanism and the New Tudor Aristocracy', JHI, 13, 1952, pp.450-68.

16. Thomas Elyot: A preservative agaynste deth, STC, 7674, Berthelet, 1545, f.AIIv.

17. B.L. Cott, MS, Titus BI, ff. 376-7; cf. the comment on Elyot by A.B. Ferguson in The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: studies in the decline and transformation of chivalric idealism, Durham, North Carolina, 1960, pp.219-20.

18. STC, 7635, Berthelet, 1531.

19. Thomas Elyot: The boke named the governour, ed. H.H.S. Croft, L.1880, 2 vols, bk 1, ch.2, p.11.

20. On the hierarchical structure of sixteenth century society see A.O. Lovejoy: The Great Chain of Being: a study of the history of an idea, Cam. Mass, 1942; E.M.W.Tillyard: The Elizabethan World Picture, L.1943.

21. This theme is developed below, ch.3, but cf. esp A.G.Dickens: The courts of Europe, L.1977.

22. Baldesar Castiglione: Il cortegiano, 1528. First translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, STC 4778, 1561. There is a brief and useful analysis of Il Cortegiano in Dickens: The Courts of Europe, ch.2. See also Caspari: Humanism and the Social Order,

pp.80 ff.

23. Cf. Kelso: Doctrine of the English Gentleman, pp.70 ff. The change from the belief that virtue was innate to emphasising the importance of education for its development was the most important influence which renewed interest in the classics had on the ideal of the perfect man. For the relationship between education and godliness cf. ch.9 below.

24. Elyot: The Governour, bk 2, ch.XXIX, p.369. Elyot himself believed that virtue was innate, cf. L.Einstein: Tudor Ideals, L.1921, ch.9, on the renaissance theory of aristocracy.

25. Cf. J. Fortescue: De laudibus legum Angliae, ed. S.B. Chrimes, Cam., 1932, p.110: 'The king's household is the chief academy for the nobility of England'.

26. The Liber Niger instructed the master of the royal henchmen to 'show the scoolez of urbanitie and nourture of Ingland', Myers, p.126.

27. Cf. D.R. Starkey: 'The Age of the Household', in S.Medcalf (ed.): The Later Middle Ages, L.1981, pp.225 ff on this theme.

28. Cf. below, ch.9.

29. N. Orme, 'The education of the courtier' in V.J. Scattergood and J.W. Sherborne (eds): English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, L.1983, ch.4.

30. Eg, tournaments and disguisings. G. Wickham: Early English Stages, 1300-1600, 2 vols, L.1980, 2nd ed., 1, p.10.

31. There is a vast field of literature covering these subjects. R. Lull, Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, trans. Caxton, ed. A.T.P.Byles, L.1926 and A.Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love, trans. J.J. Parry, N.Y., 1941 are useful introductory texts. See also R. Barber: The Knight and Chivalry, L.1970, C.S.Lewis: The Allegory of Love, Ox., 1936.

32. Cf. Cartellieri: The Court of Burgundy, passim.

33. Huizinga: Waning, ch.4.

34. The Church came to terms with the chivalric code by seeking to incorporate it within its own system of values. Thus, certain chivalric notions were acceptable if they were for a just cause and the Crusades thereby became the supreme example of a knightly ideal adapted for a Christian purpose.

The Catholic Church acceded to the divorce between nature and perfection but Protestants would recognise no such division. To a committed Protestant, religion must dictate the entire pattern of

life and the individual was responsible for his own actions. This was an area of conflict especially acute for the nobility, whose values were rooted in a code essentially framed in this world.

For a discussion of the religious character of chivalry and courtly love cf. J. Leclerq, F. Vandenbroucke, L. Bouyer: A History of Christian Spirituality, 3 vols, English trans., L.1968, 2. See also M.E. James: 'English politics and the concept of honour', Past and Present, suppl. No.3, Ox., 1978.

35. Quoted by Huizinga: Waning, p.31.

36. S. Anglo: Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy, Ox., 1969, discusses this at length. See also Kipling: The Triumph of Honour; F. Le Van Baumer: The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship, New Haven, 1940; G. Zeeveld: Foundations of Tudor Policy, Cam., Massachusetts, 1948.

37. Colvin: King's Works, 4, p.1.

38. Cf. ibid., loc.cit., for a brief account of how he acquired these.

39. Ibid, loc.cit., table 1 for record of works.

40. N. Williams, Henry VIII and his Court, L.1973, p.13.

41. P.S. and H.M. Allen (eds.): Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, 12 vols, 1906-58, 3, 855, pp.356 f (hereafter cited as Allen).

42. Eg Allen, 3, 966, p.585.

43. Ibid, 3, 970, p.596.

44. N. Coldstream, 'Art and Architecture' in Medcalf, The Later Middle Ages, argues Henry's interest in culture was not profound, so that he only dimly appreciated, for example, the talent of Holbein, (pp.220 ff). But if Holbein's paintings were 'iconic, bombastic and empty' (Ibid., p.222), the symbolism behind was no less of very real significance, and had the desired effect upon those who beheld the royal image. See below, ch.6, for the effects upon Edward.

45. On faction at the Tudor court cf. E.W. Ives: 'Faction in Tudor England', H.A. 1979; idem: 'Faction at the Court of Henry VIII: the fall of Anne Boleyn', History, 57, 1972, pp.169-188. J.A. Guy, The Public Career of Sir Thomas More, Brighton, 1980. The word faction was first used in the Tudor period by John Fisher in his sermon for the funeral of Lady Margaret Beaufort where he commended her for refusing to tolerate any in her household. J Fisher, The English Works of John Fisher, ed. J.E.B. Mayor (EETS es 27), 1876, p.296.

46. J. Foxe considered that 'as his council was about him, so was he led'. J. Foxe: The Acts and Monuments, ed. J. Pratt and G. Townsend, 8 vols in 16, L.1852, 5, p.606. (Hereafter cited as Foxe).

47. Cf. for example, Elton: 'King or Minister? The man behind the Henrician Reformation', History, n.s., 39, 1954, p.216-34.

48. In an incident involving the loyalty of his servant Sir Henry Bulmer, Henry remarked: '...we wil not that our subjectes repine or grudge at suche as wee favoure, for our pleasure we will have in that cace as us liketh, for one we wil favor now and another at such tyme as us shall like.' Edward Hall: The union of the two noble and illustre families of Lancaster and York, ed. H.Ellis, L.1809, p.600. (Hereafter cited as Hall).

49. J.J. Scarisbrick: Henry VIII, L.1968, and L.B. Smith: Mask of Royalty, portray Henry as holding on firmly to the reins of power; while Elton gives a different impression cf. above n.47, (but see also Elton: Reform and Reformation, p.332.

50. Ives: 'Faction at the Court of Henry VIII', p.177.

51. This interpretation would account for the lack of direction in policy after 1540. Cf. Elton: 'Thomas Cromwell's decline and fall', C.H.J., 10, 1951, pp.150-185.

52. Cavendish, pp.11-12.

53. Starkey: The King's Privy Chamber, pp.122 ff; Braddock, pp.26 ff; Elton: Tudor Revolution, pp.375 ff. For the text of the Eltham Ordinances cf. H.O., pp.137 ff.

54. Cf. D.E. Hoak: The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI, Cam., 1976; Ives: 'Faction in Tudor England', pp.11, 20; Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.337-8. For a specific study of faction in operation in this reign, cf. A.J. Slavin: 'The Fall of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley: a study in the politics of conspiracy', Albion, 7, 1975, pp.265-86.

55. This theme is developed in ch.6 below.

56. H.O., pp.239-40.

57. The king frequently lost! N.H. Nicolas: The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII, L.1827, pp.32, 113, 115, 216, 278.

58. Cf. for example, P.Jones: The Household of a Tudor Nobleman, Urbana, 1918, pp.62-3.

59. Cf. below, chs 2ff.

60. The problem of hangers-on arose time after time in proposals for reforms in the royal household.

61. There are numerous references to the interaction between the court and the city of London of relevance to this thesis in S Brigden: 'The reformation in London', unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge, 1974; also P.M. Took: 'Government and the printing trade, 1540-1560', unpublished thesis, University of London, 1978.

62. Colvin, 4, pp.301 ff.

63. Citizens of London were occasionally allowed into the precincts of the court, even into the Great chamber to watch feasts from the gallery, Williams, Henry VIII and his Court, p.47.

64. J. Stevens: Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor court, L.1961, P. 315.

65. John Stow: A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols, Ox., 1908, 1, p.116.

66. H.O., p.215; Foxe, 5, p.451.

67. The Liber Niger commanded that esquires were 'wynter and somer, in after nonys and in evenynges, to drawe to lordes chambrez within courte, there to kepe honest company after theyre cunyng, in talkyng of cronycles of kinges and of other polycyez or in pypyng, or harpyng, synging, other actez marciablez, to help occupy the court and accompany straungers, tyll the tym require of departing.' Myers, p.129.

68. Nicolas, Privy Purse Expenses, passim. This habit became an object of attack by the reformers at court. Cf. below, ch.8.

69. Thomas Wyatt. Quoted from R. Tottell, Tottell's Miscellany (1557-1587), 2 vols, ed. H.E. Rollins, Cam., Mass., 1965 (rev. ed.), 1, no.119, p.81, (hereafter cited as Totell's Miscellany).

70. Wyatt in a satirical poem addressed to Sir Francis Bryan. Quoted from R. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry, 2 vols, Ohio, 1960, 1, no.141, p.171.

71. Bodl. Ashmole MS, 1116, ff 95-99^{v}. Reprinted in J G Russell: The Field of Cloth of Gold; men and manners in 1520, L.1969, App. A, pp.191 ff.

72. The proceedings are calendared in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gardner, and R.H. Brodie, XXI vols, 1862-1910, III, 1, (hereafter cited as L.P.). See also Russell: The Field of Cloth of Gold, chs 5 ff.

73. Myers, p.92.

74. See Fig.II.

75. See for example the efforts of Lady Lisle to secure a place for Anne Bassett, M.St Clare Byrne (ed.): The Lisle Letters, 6 vols, Chicago 1981, 4, no.887.

76. Cf. for example, L.B. Smith: A Tudor Tragedy, L.1961.

77. Cf. for example C.A.J. Armstrong: 'The piety of Cecily, duchess of York: a study in late medieval culture', in D. Woodruff (ed.) For Hilaire Belloc, L., 1942, pp.93-94.

78. Women frequently inherited and bequeathed devotional literature for example, cf. S.G. Bell: 'Medieval women book owners: arbiters of lay piety and ambassadors of culture', Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 7, 1980, pp.742 ff.

79. McConica: p.7, et passim.

80. Castiglione: Il cortegiano Bk 3. It is interesting that Sir Thomas Hoby translated Book 3 first, (Hoby: The Courtyer, dedication, f.B I). See also Byrne: Lisle Letters, for a 'complete picture of the life, interests and character of a noble lady in the first half of the sixteenth century' (No.1, p.27) as exemplified by Honor Lisle.

81. Elton: Reform and Reformation, ch.2, gives a clear exposition of this theme. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester was also unimpressed by the Field of Cloth of Gold and contrasted 'these great syghtes' with the 'Joyes of Hevyn', (Here after ensueth two fruytfill sermons), STC, 10909, 1532, printed in Russell, The Field of Cloth of Gold, App. D, pp.216 ff.

82. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry, no.61, p.104. Nos 24-63 come under the title of 'dyvers sentences' and include many on the theme of fortune and friendship.

83. There was also a wide range of medieval prose criticising the court and its lifestyle, eg John of Salisbury: Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers, trans. J.B. Pike, L.1938.

84. He continued to write not only with the king's approval, but even at his bidding and after 1512 was appending his poems with Orator regius, I.A. Gordon: John Skelton, poet laureate, Melbourne and London, 1943. Cf. ch.5 for Skelton's role in education at court.

85. Cf. P. Henderson (ed.): John Skelton's Complete Poems, 1460-1529, L.1966, (first published 1931), pp.288 ff, 308 ff. Skelton in his turn was regarded with suspicion by other courtiers, Gordon:

Skelton, p.191. He was later taken up by the reformers because of his criticisms of the clergy, cf. J. Bale: Index Britaniae Scriptorum, eds R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Ox., 1902, p.253.

86. Wyatt: 'Of the courtier's life', Totell's Miscellany, no.125, p.85.

87. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry, no.141, p.172, cf. Medcalf, The Later Middle Ages, p.282.

88. R.F. Green: Poets and Princepleasers, p.177, points out that the poetry of Lydgate and Hawes came to be seen as part of the ostentatious public front which the court wished to display to the world, and which was reflected in the cultivation of a pompous and grandiloquent style.

89. Cf. Medcalf: The Later Middle Ages, pp.280 ff.

90. Cf. McConica: 'The Patrimony of Thomas More' in H.L. Jones, V. Pearl & B. Warden (eds): History and Imagination. Essays Presented to Hugh Trevor Roper, L.1981, pp.56 ff.

91. Thomas More: The Complete Works, 14 vols, Yale, 12, ed. L.B. Martz and F Manley, 1976, pp.160-1.

92. Allen, 4, 999, p.21.

93. Allen, 3, 855, p.356; cf. 3, 964; pp.581 f.

94. Allen, 3, 964, pp.581 f.

95. H. Clifford: The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, transcribed by E.E. Estcourt, ed. J. Stevenson, L.1887, pp.19 ff.

96. 1 Corinthians ch.13, (RSV).

97. Elizabeth: A book of devotions composed by Her Majesty Elizabeth, with translations by A. Fox and a foreword by J.P. Hodges, Gerrards Cross 1970.

98. The truth of this is brought out in the study of Edward's school companions, ch.9 below.

99. Although cf. caution offered through the example of rosaries, below, pp.158ff.

100. Cf. ch.7 below.

101. In using the correspondence of writers like Gardiner and Ascham I have relied on the published versions which have been edited.

102. Cf. ch.8 below.

103. Cf. ch.9 below.

104. Cf. bibliography, section C, under Edward Hall.

105. The debate on Foxe is usefully summarised by O'Day: The debate on the English Reformation, pp.16 ff. Cf. also J.F. Mozley: John Foxe and his book, L.1940.

106. Clifford: The life of Jane Dormer.

107. Concerning the latter problem, cf. for example: Braddock, p. 261.

108. This is one of the many areas where I have been able to rely on the groundwork of others. Cf. for example, J.W. King: English Reformation literature. The Tudor origins of the Protestant tradition, Princeton, 1982.

109. The STC has been an invaluable tool of research in this area.

110. E. Rosenberg: Leicester, patron of letters, L.1955, examines this issue extensively.

111. For an analysis of Strype and his work cf. O'Day: The debate on the English Reformation, pp.43 ff.

112. J.G. Nichols (ed.): The literary remains of King Edward Sixth, 2 vols, (Roxburghe Club), L.1857.

113. See bibliography under H.M. Colvin (gen. ed.).

114. Cf. bibliography under Starkey. See also Coleman and Starkey: Revolution reassessed.

Chapter Two

The Traditional Religious Life of the Court and the Initial Impact of Reform

(God) hathe set princes, as representours of his Image unto men.

Stephen Gardiner,
Bishop of Winchester

Introduction: The General Religious Background

When Henry VIII succeeded to the English throne in 1509 there was no hint of the coming storm which was to hit England. His father's reign was a period of harmony where both Anglo-Papal and Church-State relations were concerned. There were 8 years to go before Luther denounced indulgences in his 95 theses and in England, though there were Lollard heretics, apparently in increasing numbers, the Church seemed as it had ever been. A study of Church life on the eve of the Reformation, however, produces negative as well as positive aspects, many of which are discernible in the courts of kings as well as in remote country parishes.[1]

One means of going some way towards establishing the inward thoughts and attitudes of the personnel of the royal household is to examine the outward religious life of the court. Bearing in mind from the outset, that most of the evidence dealing with religious practices do not necessarily reveal inner convictions, it must also be said that the rare glimpses offered by personal confessions of faith through prayers, writings, death-bed scenes and so on must be subject to the contradictions of human behaviour. Few people live up to their inner convictions with unswerving consistency. The inquiry is rendered more difficult still because the entire culture of the period was saturated with religious overtones.[2] The relationship between Church and state, sacred and secular, was an expression of this unity. It may be a truism to state that this period was a religious age, but nevertheless, the Church permeated every aspect of society, and touched the lives of every member of it. It must be constantly borne in mind that

religious devotion finds its expression in keeping with the spirit of the age. The forms of culture which can be studied cannot properly be understood without first understanding that spirit which lies behind them. There was great unity of culture in the Middle Ages which makes it not only difficult to study its religious life in a vacuum, but would present a false picture if such an attempt was made. Religious terminology was used freely in everyday life, and its conventions were accepted at every level of society. The Church imposed its mores on the whole of society, encompassing every stage of life from the cradle to the grave. There was a good deal of common ground in the way in which piety was expressed in the late Middle Ages. The outward observances which dominated the Church before the Reformation had their appeal for the uneducated peasants and the more sophisticated upper classes alike. Everyday life was permeated with its influence.[3] Festivals, recreation, the seasons of the year all carried religious overtones, and the English in general were thought to be very religious.[4]

The reformers looked at all this thriving activity and for the most part condemned it out of hand.[5] They saw the religion of their day as reduced to nothing more than a series of deeds by which men sought to appease God's wrath.[6] Piety was measured in terms of deeds, and in an age which measured everything quantitavely, the more deeds, the greater was the assurance of God's favour. In other words, just as the medieval period 'knew only applied art', so in many ways did it know only applied religion.[7] The substitution of pious deeds in place of the Church's moral teaching, however, did not exclude all sincerity

from their performance. What seemed to some critics to be a mechanical form of religion may seem even more so to 20th century eyes, but such an assumption cannot be made every time. What may be seen is that, whether genuine or mechanical, medieval piety was conspicuous among all classes. The devotional author Richard Whitford wrote A werke for housholders/or them yt have the gudyng or governaunce of any company as a practical manual of devotion for the ordinary person living in the world in a deliberate attempt to extend an older type of piety to new conditions,[8] but it was the aristocracy who had led the way in late medieval lay piety, fostering the tradition through their patronage and attempting to fulfil its ideals in their own lives.[9]

Piety Among the Upper Classes

Caution must be exercised before claiming that late medieval religion was becoming more personal, because the evidence concerning individuals in general is more readily available than for earlier periods.[10] Personal records such as correspondence and commonplace books have survived in greater numbers which reveal details of individual predilections more than ever before.[11] Yet it does seem that there was a growing emphasis upon the human personality and private introspection.[12] Since religion was such an integral part of life, this consciousness also affected private religious devotion. The growth of individualism was a product of renaissance humanism which pointed to the moral worth and dignity of mankind, and these ideas first reached England via the court where humanist scholars found a welcome and support.[13] The nobility were thus well-placed to imbibe

such ideas. They were already in a position whereby they were expected to set an example to the rest of society, in religion, as in everything else. Their wealth and status, however, which set them apart from the rest of society in every way, could not but affect the character of their religious devotion. When the nobility returned to their own households, their responsibilities there left them with little choice but to conform to the expected conventions.

Grandiose acts of piety were the norm among the nobility. They were accustomed to making substantial endowments to churches, monasteries and hospitals. They could provide for as many masses as they chose, and in the era of the crusades, they could equip a small army to fight the Infidel. They could also commission books of a religious nature, thereby providing themselves with devotional treatises and aids to godly living while at the same time enabling others to benefit from their patronage. The evidence suggests that the nobility took full advantage of their privileged position to pursue these and other pious activities with vigorous enthusiasm.

The spasmodic character of piety among the nobility has been noticed, however, presenting a picture of

> an almost inconceivable mixture of devotion and debauchery. (14)

Wealth and status, leisure and education are factors which afford some means of reconciling the two pictures, but the contradictions are also themselves expressions of the age.

Grandiose display in religion was roundly condemned by the reformers who called for an inward response to the Gospel which would result in faith not works. The nobility found themselves in an acute

dilemma in the face of this demand. For them, as for others, many religious practices which had been intended as aids to the moral teaching of the church, had become alternatives. But the demands of their social position almost forced on them a conspicuous brand of piety in proportion to it. It follows from this that a monarch found himself in the most difficult position of all. He could not, for example, go on a pilgrimage without the external trappings of majesty which accompanied him everywhere.[15]

The required standards of piety and right living were high. When bishop John Fisher enjoined a life of discipline and abstinence upon every Christian, he added that

> it is moche more to be praysed in the nobles, havyng this worldly lyberte. (16)

It was recognised by leaders of Christian spirituality that the ordering of one's personal devotional life demanded time and congenial circumstances. Despite the particular temptations to which the aristocracy were open, they had more time than most in which to organise set times for prayer and read devotional books besides the means to give alms and make generous endowments. A dyurnall for devoute soules to ordre them selfe therafter,[17] a work most likely written for a court audience, reminded the aristocracy that they should be thankful that they had time to pray while others worked on their behalf.[18]

The Chapel Royal

The focus of the religious life of any great household was the chapel. The Chapel Royal was a royal peculiar and therefore

distinctive by definition. It denoted primarily the group of personnel specially maintained by the monarch for the purpose of ordering and performing divine service for the royal household. It was not understood as a building as such, and until Henry VIII's reign, followed the king wherever he went.[19] The growth and development of the Chapel Royal reflects that of the court as a whole in that it gradually became more elaborate and complex.

Every royal residence had its own chapel, and they were an essential feature, from the great palaces to the small, infrequently used hunting lodges. The Chapel Royal at Richmond for example was 'a fair and large structure'. It contained

> handsome Cathedral Seates and Pewes, a removeable Pulpit, and a fayr Case of Carved Work for a Payr of Organs. (20)

The walls were hung with cloth of gold while the altar was set with 'many relics, jewels, and full rich plate'.[21]

The religious life of the great noble households reflected that of the court on a lesser scale. Household chapels and expecially those of the royal household were elaborately equipped, and the items which furnished them were of great value, often worthy of special mention in bequests. They had their own personnel, and in the household of the fifth earl of Northumberland there were nine gentlemen and six children of the chapel maintained to conduct services, besides a Dean, sub-Dean, Almoner, Gospeller, Lady Mass priest and a riding chaplain for the earl, and a chaplain for his son and heir.[22] The household chapel carried with it a strong element of social prestige, and the rules governing the ordering of the Chapel Royal were set out with meticulous care.[23] Henry VIII's jealousy of Wolsey's chapel involved

more than just the quality of singing produced by its choir boys and the number of personnel. The visual impact was stunning. The Cardinal's servant, George Cavendish, declared that

> to speke of the ffurniture of [Wolsey's] Chappell/ passithe my Capacitie to declare the nomber of the costly ornamentes And riche Ioyelles that ware occupied in the same contynually/ (24)

and adds

> I have seen there in a procession worne xliiij^{ti} Coopes of oon sewte very riche besides the Somptious Crossis, Candyllstykes, and other necessary orname^{tes} to the comly furnature of the same/. (25)

As for Wolsey's chapel personnel at Hampton Court, it has been commented that they were worthy of a cathedral.[26] The impression given by the Dean, Sub-Dean, Precentor, Gospeller, Epistler, 12 singing priests, 12 singing children and 16 singing laymen, not to mention the 60 priests in copes who attended the services on great festivals and walked before Wolsey in procession, was not lost upon contemporaries either.[27]

Cavendish described the Cardinal's chapel in the same way that Hall would describe a court spectacle, quantifying and minuting detail in order to impress. The chapel stood in all its splendour to be seen and noticed. With its ostentatious ceremony it was an eloquent tool by which the monarch could express his piety, wealth and resources. Such resources included the musical and dramatic talent of the court for the Chapel personnel contributed to both. In the field of music especially, the Chapel Royal led the way both in performance and composition thereby helping to foster its contribution to worship and to culture in general.[28] Since music symbolised order and harmony, it

had an important part to play in the wider life of the court. It was no coincidence that under Henry VIII the musical element of the royal household increased in number and also improved in quality.[29] As far as Henry himself was concerned, his personal appreciation of music, coupled with his liking for impressive display, presented a formidable combination against any reformist doubts concerning the prominence of music in worship.[30] Indeed, the music of the Chapel Royal flourished under all the Tudors, and was not seriously disrupted by the major liturgical reversals of the mid century.[31]

Together with the Great Hall, the Chapel Royal represented the corporate life of the household and it was therefore appropriate that

> at all such tymes of keeping the said hall, the King's noble chappel to be kept in the same place. (32)

It was thus to be expected that the chapel, like the Great Hall, should be built to impress onlookers with its magnificence. The Household Ordinances also gave the reminder that it had a spiritual purpose: it was

> goodly and honourable that there should be allwayes some divine service in the court, whereby men might be elected unto the devotion. (33)

The chapel had a symbolic nature in representing the community of the household at prayer. It was an extension of the Church itself in its regular performance of the divine service, but because this was conducted in so public a manner it could not accurately portray the devotional life of the nation as a whole. It was not, moreover, truly representative of the 'body of Christ', for the vast majority of the household below-stairs were excluded from its environs. It existed for the monarch and his immediate associates, for whom it was important to be seen participating in the divine service.

Kingship and the Sacred

Huizinga noted 'the marked tendency of thought to embody itself in images' in the late Middle Ages.[34] Religious metaphors were thus frequently borrowed to express secular ideas and nowhere is this more apparent than in connection with the monarch. Royalty was sacrosanct. It involved a very special relationship between the monarch and God, which in practical terms was expressed in the dealings between Church and State. In political terms the question of defining the limits of each had been fraught with difficulty from the start, and was compounded by the blurring of sacred and secular images. Thus:

> Mutual borrowings and exchanges of insignia, political symbols, prerogatives and rights of honor had been carried on perpetually between the spiritual and secular leaders of Christian society. (35)

Royalty could be, and was, vividly expressed in christological terms, and if the authority of the Church with regard to the coronation rite had diminished by the sixteenth century, the sacrosanct nature of monarchy had not. [36] The relationship between God and the king was of the greatest importance, and men were accustomed to look for signs of divine approval. The notion of Majestas was charged with religious significance, one aspect of which was the belief that the king was the divine appointee, the Lord's anointed leader; and another aspect was the king as symbolic representative of his people. The monarch's success or failure was therefore tied up with divine approval and his behaviour was an essential factor in the health and well-being of the whole community which he represented and led. It was important for Henry VII to firmly establish his dynasty on the throne, and his very success merited general acceptance because it seemed that God was on

his side. For a government which relied on consent for its existence, this was a crucial aspect of Tudor kingship.[37] Edmund Dudley wrote that

> The root of the love of God, which is to know him with good works must chiefly grow by our sovereign lord the king,

and therefore it had to be seen that such a love of God was the king's own 'principal delight and affection.'[38] The sacred image of the monarch had to be translated into real terms and this was greatly facilitated by the ceremonial life of the court. This partly took the form of courtly rituals not directly related to pious deeds but with religious overtones, and partly directly pious acts. When every activity at court was surrounded by elaborate ritual, the visible expression of the relationship between the monarch and God could hardly be otherwise. It was also in keeping with the public nature of court life: the king's religious life had to be conspicuous to his subjects and was therefore externalised by ritual. Pious deeds were magnified through ritualisation and attention was drawn to them by loud and colourful ceremonial. All this was in keeping with the nature of the court as was the grand scale on which religious acts were performed. The role of the Church in the lives of kings was magnified to a degree which exceeded that of all their subjects.[39] It was more than a safety precaution which made Henry VII provide for 'x. M. masses peculeer to be sayd for hym'.[40] From the birth of an heir, through royal marriage, to the death of the reigning monarch, the Church was assigned a central role in regal pomp and celebration. A king who showed himself to be a faithful and pious member of the

Church was remembered for his piety long afterwards.[41] The Tudors were deeply aware of the value of religious symbolism as an aid to emphasising the sanctity of kingship, and practical piety was an essential part of their public lives. Whatever the monarch chose to believe inwardly, or however much he might wish to seek solitude for the practice of private devotions, he was compelled to display his relationship with God in public religious ceremonies. Henry VII was careful to project a pious image of himself but it would seem that he also had a genuine commitment to religion.[42] John Fisher commended him on a number of points concluding that his priorities were spiritual, and worldly pleasures held little joy for him.[43]

Henry VIII's attitude towards religion was true to his general character. He was never content to sit on the side-lines and watch others perform the action. He participated in religion as in everything else, with vigour and relish, and therefore a religion which consisted primarily of actions had its own appeal. Frequent hearing of masses and going on pilgrimage was more attractive than long hours spent in private prayer, and since it was the duty of the true renaissance prince to demonstrate his devotion to the Christian Church, Henry seized every opportunity to do so. Good relations with the Pope during the early years of the reign were expressed by the public exchange of gifts. Leo X nominated the king to be the recipient of the Holy Sword and Cap of Maintenance which was brought into London

> with a great compaignye of nobles and gentlemen, [and] was presented to the kyng on the Sonday then next ensuyng with great solempnytie in the Cathedrall church of sainct Paul. (44)

The cap, which was full of symbolism, was a band of pearls and gold

with the Holy Spirit as a dove embroidered in silver and precious stones.[45] It signified that its wearer had his head veiled in obedience and possessed candour.

Henry's relationship with God and the Church was continually expressed to the world in ritualistic terms, but there may have been a more personal element involved of which there remain but few glimpses.

It is interesting that despite his choice of companions for jousting and court revels, some of the friends he thought of most highly were among the deeply pious people of the age. Besides Catherine of Aragon, there was Thomas More in whose company he took such delight.[46] It was also said that he held no one more dear than the godly and ascetic Reginald Pole.[47] It is also interesting to speculate how much influence his pious but formidable grandmother exercised over him.[48]

Religious Practices

Early in his reign, Henry exhibited a piety which was both commendable and in keeping with the expression of the times. Erasmus claimed that

> Some people don't think they're Christians unless they hear Mass, as they call it, every day. (49)

Henry would hear five masses every day, except when he was out hunting and they were reduced to three.[50] He was thus demonstrating that he was a good son of the Church. As king he was caught up in the theories surrounding kingship, and yet his personality took to these naturally and with great enthusiasm. Mass was the first activity of the royal day. In the early days of the reign Wolsey

> repayred to the kyng at his first commyng out of his graces bedchamber toward his closett to here masse. (51)

Wolsey himself began the day in a similar fashion:

> ffirst before hys commying owt of hys pryvy chamber he hard most comenly every day ij massis in his privye closett. (52)

Mass in the Chapel Royal could never be a wholly devotional affair, for the king at divine service was a further expression of his relationship with God, and an opportunity for publicity. The king was escorted to mass fully attended with the pomp and ceremony due to his estate which the ritual of the mass duly reiterated and re-emphasised. It was more of an occasion than a devotional experience and was frequently utilised as such. Foreign ambassadors were invited to attend in order to be impressed, as in 1531 when Henry went to mass

> in great triumph, accompanied by nearly all the nobility [and] La Guiche [the French ambassador] . (53)

The intermingling of sacred and secular ceremonial was patently obvious in the splendid mass on Whitsunday 1522 during the visit of the Emperor. Hall carefully enumerated the details of the ritual which took place, even to the point of noting the Spanish disdain:

> the emperor and the kyng with great honor both apparelled in cloth of silver reysed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white except their bonettes, roade to the Churche of saint paule & there heard high Masse whiche was song by the Cardinal which had his travers & cupborde, and before Masse 11 Barons gave him water & after the Gospell 11 Erles, and at the last lavatory 11 Dukes whiche pride the Spanyards sore disdayned. (54)

As the mass was itself a symbol of peace it was an appropriate accompaniment to the signing of peace treaties. When Henry received the Order of St Michael from the French king

> the Graund m^r^ of Fraunce, the cheafe Ambassitore that represented the kyng his m^r^s person kneled by the kynges ma^tie^/bytwen whome my lord devyded the sacrament as a firme oathe & assuraunce of this perpetuall peace/. (55)

When he received the long sought after title of fideii defensor, he went to the Chapel Royal

> accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundry princes, the Cardinall beyng revested to syng masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gave theassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. (56)

Thus the mass could easily become part of what was in essence a secular display of court ceremonial, and could even be mixed up in the political intrigues of the court, such was the easy mergence of sacred and secular. The creation of Anne Boleyn as Marchioness of Pembroke took place just before the celebration of mass after which Henry and the French ambassador approached the altar to sign certain articles.[57]

The relationship between sacred and secular so vividly portrayed on these occasions was taken for granted by many devout persons. Richard Whitford, for example, used the comparison between the elaborate etiquette of a great household and the ceremonial exercises of the religious life as an instructive image in his Pype or tonne of the lyfe of perfection.[58]

The elements of ritual and drama present in the mass and in court life in general were full of symbolism and they thus complemented each other.[59] This aspect of court life, however, emphasised the need for private devotion amidst the regular round of public worship. Those seeking to take their piety seriously could not be content with observing religion from a distance like a theatre audience. The mass

itself came under vigorous attack from the reformers from the point of view of both doctrine and practice. Concerning the latter, there were numerous complaints of inattention and irreverence at the masses of ordinary parish churches. This was largely because the services were in Latin and few could read the service books if they had them. Stress was laid on the visual aspect of the service and the elevation of the host became more and more central, so that people sometimes remained outside the church building until the sanctus bell rang, when they rushed inside to see the elevation.[60] If ordinary folk were to be excused on the pretext of ignorance, the nobility might be expected to know better. However, the fifteenth century work Instructions for a devout and literate layman addressed to someone who was clearly educated, had to be reminded that conversation during mass was forbidden. He was advised to 'look at the books of the church' instead.[61]

Whitford also reminded his readers that the Church was

> a place of prayer/not of clateryngе & talkyngе. (62)

He advised those with servants and children in their charge to make sure

> to kepe theyr syght in the chirche cloce upon theyr bokes or bedes ... and never to walke in y^{e} chirche. (63)

Court habits were no better, in spite of the formal gloss and public nature of the event. Henry VIII frequently used the mass time to conduct routine as well as important business afairs, and it was generally known that this was a good time to catch his attention. Sir Ralph Sadler reported to Cromwell upon one such occasion:

> I thinke also hit wolbe herde to gett any billes signed at thys tyme seeying that I have missed to have them done at Masse tyme. (64)

If hearing mass was a regular part of religious life, the act of communion itself continued to be infrequent down to the Reformation. The majority partook of the Sacrament once a year only, at Easter, and they made their confession at the same time.[65] At court it was the members of the royal family who were the exceptions to the rule. Henry VIII was 'houselled' at Christmas and Easter , but the Lady Margaret received the Holy Sacrament twelve times a year, and as for her confessions, they were

> dyvers and many, & at many seasons in the yere lyghtly every thyrde daye. (66)

Catherine of Aragon was said to have received the Sacrament on Sundays, and confession was an important part of her devotional life.[67] At the start of the Divorce proceedings, she and her ladies were visited 'at divers feasts' by friars Observant to be confessed.[68] The friars Observant were especially popular as confessors, and because they served female religious houses like Sion, they came into close contact with the aristocracy. One of Henry VIII's confessors was Friar Stephen Baron, who became an Observant and a Provincial Minister.[69]

Henry VII was praised for a notable confession made the year before he died which he made 'with all dylygence & great repentaunce', promising to reform his officers of Justice, to promote virtuous men in the Church and grant a general pardon.[70] The development of personal confession, stimulated by the friars in the thirteenth century had increased the importance of the confessor in great households from that time, and they could wield great influence.[71] The king's confessor was an important figure at court because of his

relationship with the monarch. Edward IV's household regulations listed the king's confessor, along with the chamberlain, above the secretary.[72] Henry VIII first raised the matter of the Divorce with one of his confessors, John Longland and had his support throughout, although Longland found his position a very difficult one, and once wished he could be the poorest man in the world rather than the king's confessor.[73] Catherine of Aragon leaned heavily on the Spanish Observant friar, Diego Fernandez when he became her confessor in 1507.[74] She discussed Martin Luther with another of her confessors, Alphonso de Villa Sancta, also a Spanish Observant and prompted him to write against the German Reformer.[75] Clearly, the confessor was the best authority for the private lives of those they served and were highly valued.

Sir Thomas More advised those who were rich in this world's goods to confess often to 'some vertuouse goostly father'[76] while Richard Whitford went so far as to claim that there was no salvation without confession.[77] Erasmus, who was quick to attack so many of the traditional practices of the Church wrote A lytle treatise of the maner and forme of confession in its support when it came under fire from the reformers.[78] The appointing of one's personal confessor went hand in hand with the growing stress on personal religion which characterised late medieval Christianity. This private aspect of faith and devotion was by its very nature set apart from the conventional acts of corporate worship enumerated so far.

It seems that even the deeply personal practice of auricular confession was not immune from prying ears at court. It could be a

dangerous factor in the spread of rumours and accusations which were already rife there. In 1535 the situation was grave enough at Sion for a recommendation to be made that the place where outsiders' confessions were heard should be walled up. Friar John Forest admitted to using confession to tell people to maintain the old religion.[79]

Attitudes to auricular confession among the reformers were mixed. Despite the anti-confessional stance of the Lollards some of the English reformers like Ridley, Coverdale and Latimer were willing to allow it, though there was a general feeling that it was not necessary.[80] On the Catholic side, however, Richard Whitford firmly stated that without confession, there could be no salvation.[81] The Ten Articles endorsed the practice 'if it may be had',[82] but the Six Articles of 1539 stated that it was 'expedient and necessary to be retained and continued'.[83] It is interesting that Thomas Becon, in his work A potation or drinkynge for this holi time of Lent, re-affirmed the practice and exhorted his readers not to disdain it.[84]

Henry retained his confessors until his death, and it is well known that he sent for Cranmer on his death-bed to make his last confession.[85] Anne Boleyn had a confessor besides her household chaplains, and of these latter, Shaxton and Latimer were 'exhorted and incoraged' to admonish her in private.[86] There are signs that other intimates of the king were less insistent on the need. Although Sir Peter Carew, one of Henry's gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and well-liked by the king, was said to be much given to prayer and confession, one of the accusations brought against another favourite, Sir George Blagge, was his failure to confess.[87]

The reformers regarded confession either as a private affair between the individual and God, or as a public acknowledgement of one's faults. When Anne Askew said that men ought to confess their faults to one another, she was putting forward the sacramentarian view.[88] If her influence on the ladies of the court in the 1540s is accepted as real, it may help to explain the absence of any confessor mentioned in connection with Queen Katherine Parr. In her work The Lamentacion of a sinner Katherine expressed her desire that

> al, (when occasion doeth serve) confesse our faultes to the world, al respectes of our owne commoditie layed aparte, (89)

but there is no reference to a priest. Indeed the first three chapters of the treatise form, albeit in general terms, Katherine's personal confession of sinfulness and how she obtained divine forgiveness.

The Search for Privacy

When he advised the rich of this world to confess often, Sir Thomas More also advised them to find a quiet place alone where they could kneel or prostrate themselves before an altar or image of the crucified Christ in penitential prayer.[90]

This recalled Christ's own words to his disciples:

> But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut they door, pray to the Father which is in secret; (91)

The royal palaces abounded in closets of one kind or another, but it does not follow that the privacy sought by those desiring to pursue their devotions was easily found. The story of Cromwell

> leanying in the great wyndowe w^{t} prymer in his hand sayeng of our lady mattens (92)

was probably making a virtue out of necessity. More than once Wolsey went out into a garden to say evensong.[93]

Details of closets are occasionally mentioned in the king's Works, usually in connection with repairs or alterations to the household chapel, for they were generally situated in close proximity.[94] In some cases there seems to have been little difference between a closet, an oratory, and a private pew.[95] Henry VII's rebuilding of Greenwich in 1500-01 included a new chapel with enclosed pews or closets for the king and queen.[96] Greenwich was one of the principal royal residences and the setting for many royal ceremonial occasions. It was imperative that the chapel met the requirements of the annual chapters of the Order of the Garter held there, and in 1519 Henry VIII undertook more work there.[97] On such occasions the king heard mass 'in his robes' sung in the chapel.[98] On ordinary days, however, he heard it in his closet. The closet on the king's side at The More contained an altar, although no mention is made of one in the corresponding queen's closet.[99] It seems that the closet was the normal place for the king to hear mass. Wolsey's advantage at court was that he had

> Iust occasion to be in present sight of the kyng dayle by reason he attendyd and seyd Masse byfore his grace in his privye closett. (100)

It was 1540, however, before Henry had a closet built for the purpose at Ampthill which he acquired in 1524.[101] When alterations were made to the royal lodgings at the Tower from 1532 onwards, 'a desk for his grace to knelle upon' and

> an awlter wrought rownde abowte the hedgys with antyk and a coffer with tylles therto for the preste to say masse on

were provided for the closet.[102]

The Lady Margaret's routine was such that she had already begun her devotions and said the matins of Our Lady in her bed-chamber before retiring to her closet. Here she said matins of the day with her chaplain, and heard four or five masses. In the evening, however, she resorted to her chapel for her final devotions before bed.[103] Wolsey also heard mass in his closet and sometimes said it there himself. He also said the daily office there and made his confession.[104] The closet was normally close to the chapel and easily accessible from the royal privy lodgings. The plan for the Exchequer of Calais as arranged for a meeting between the kings of France and England shows six closets.[105] The king's closet bordered on a chapel for his own use, entered directly from his Great Chamber, while the closet on the Queen's side formed a recess which could be reached from her dining chamber. The French king had a closet leading off his 'praying chamber' but he was also provided with a privy gallery in which to hear mass. There was a household chapel for general use centrally situated, which had three more closets on the south side, one each for the English and French kings and another in between. There was also a chamber beyond these 'For Gentlemen to Hear Mass'.[106] The household at Calais was thus well provided for, but this was no exception. An unexecuted design for a house for Henry VIII at Waltham-in-the-Forest shows a similar arrangement. As in so many of the royal residences there were parallel suites of rooms for the king and queen, and each was provided with a chapel and a closet, in between the privy and the presence chambers.[107] At Eltham the new

chapel, built between 1519 and 1522 had two closets or royal pews from which two staircases descended to the body of the chapel.[108] At Richmond there were closets for the king, queen and queen mother,[109] while at Greenwich and Hampton Court the king and queen not only had their ordinary closets, but also 'holyday closets'.[110] The king's privy closet at Richmond was 'richely hangid with silke and travasse carpet and cusshions',[111] while the 'holyday closets' at Hampton Court had bay windows which were decorated with the royal arms.[112] During the alterations at Hampton Court in 1529, Henry supervised some of this work personally, for the joiners were

> working by the king's devyese in his privey closett over the warderobe uppon all suche privey conceyts wiche were dyvysed ther by his grace. (113)

It seems that the royal closets could be as much of a showpiece as the household chapel itself. There was a certain amount of furniture in the closet, altars and chests have already been noted. The clerk of the closet who was usually a bishop was held responsible for its contents and was charged with preparing 'all things for the stuf of the aultrez'.[114] Thus torches, tapers, wax, altar cloths and so on were kept in the closet for the purpose. When the King's Works record the making of doors for the royal closets at Hunsdon and also for the king's closet at the Tower, it is unclear whether the underlying purpose was privacy or security.[115]

Resorting to a chamber or closet to pray and building side-chapels for the same purpose illustrates the general search for privacy as an aid to personal prayer and devotion. The use of closets for private religious purposes was still normal practice at the end of

Henry's reign. A surviving bill of expenditure from William Harper, Clerk of the Closet to Queen Katherine Parr, shows that she was following the traditional practices of the Church in her closet. Items procured included a primer in English and Latin, a breviary and 'synging breades'.[116] Although the queen was 'howssulyed' in traditional fashion,[117] this did not preclude her from listening to the unorthodox views of Anne Askew on the Sacrament along with certain other ladies of the court.[118] Anne also 'brought or sent' books to Katherine's closet according to the account of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, the implication being that they were of a heretical nature.[119] Search was made for heretical books in Katherine's closet during the court heresy scare of 1546, and this further illustrates the total lack of privacy in the royal household.[120] Likewise earlier, in the attempts to expose the Windsor heretics in 1543, spies were sent to the chapel to

> hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation time. (121)

The Court and the Religious Houses

When a closet did not suffice, there was an alternative means of escape from the worldly atmosphere and general melee of court life. This was afforded by a visit to a religious establishment. The aristocracy were accustomed to seek refuge in such places from time to time and certain houses came to have close connections with the upper classes in general and with the court in particular. The taste for devotional literature stimulated the desire to imitate the devotional habits of the religious. The best way to do this was to seek

instruction from the religious themselves, to procure their services as confessors, and to maintain close links with their foundations. Although the fourteenth century was a period of greatly increased literacy among laymen, accompanied by an increase in vernacular literature, the authors were still by and large members of religious communities. Along with their leading role in literary patronage, the nobility played an important part in founding and supporting religious communities. They provided a ready market for devotional literature on the one hand, while on the other, they provided numerous recruits for the religious orders, thereby strengthening the association through family ties.[122] The Carthusian order was especially attractive to the devout because of its strictness and adherence to its original ideals. The last Charterhouse to be founded was at Sheen, close to the royal palace of Richmond.[123] It was the largest and wealthiest of the order and maintained close ties with notable individuals who frequented the court. Across the river was Sion, the only house of the Bridgettines in England.[124] Like Sheen, Sion was distinguished by its strict observance and faithful devotional life. The two houses were in close contact and together formed

> a group without parallel in Tudor England, men who combined personal austerity of life with theological or devotional competence, and who by their books, by their direction of a fervent and aristocratic nunnery, and by their influence as counsellors and confessors of leading laymen, were a power to be reckoned with ... (125)

Both houses had firm royal ties, and English monarchs had sustained an interest since their foundation by Henry V. At the end of the fifteenth century the prioress of Sion was Anne, daughter of Cecily Duchess of York and sister of Edward IV. The Lady Margaret left a

bequest to Sion in her will and Henry VII made an indenture to procure the prayers of Sion's nuns.[126] One of the most familiar figures of the royal household to actively support Sion and Sheen was Catherine of Aragon. She frequently visited Sion to pray and introduced her daughter Mary to the convent at an early age.[127] Catherine indeed was a generous benefactress to all the religious houses associated with the court, especially Sion, Sheen and the Observant Franciscans.[128] Her ladies followed her example and fostered links of their own with the religious. Maud Parr, for example, made provision for her body to be buried in the church at Blackfriars, London, where her husband already lay, while Gertrude, Lady Exeter, daughter of Catherine's Chamberlain and wife of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was an intimate friend of Agnes Jordan, the Abbess of Sion.[129] Other religious houses were also patronised. Lady Sandys for example visited the priory at Worcester in 1523[130] and in 1526 Princess Mary was taken there by the Countess of Salisbury.[131] The latter was a staunch adherent both of Catherine of Aragon and of the traditional ways of religious devotion. When she was questioned concerning the abbeys in November 1538 she admitted her distress at the destruction of the religious houses.[132] Her words must have echoed the sorrowful hearts of many of her contemporaries.

There were many aristocratic families represented among the sisters, a pattern which continued into the sixteenth century when Margaret Windsor was prioress.[133] The 'Martilogue' used at Sion listed many names in the obits revealing that the benefactors of the abbey also included important families. Edward Courtenay for example donated

£40 each year.[134] John Hussey gave a gift of land to Pembroke College Cambridge which had strong links with Sion.[135] This is to be expected given the ties of kinship and friendship with the nuns, but Sion's influence went deeper than this. The impression of 'an exclusive and tightly-knit spiritual aristocracy'[136] suggests that the community helped to foster a genuine piety among its associates which was more than nominal. The tradition of learning among both Bridgettines and Carthusians was an important factor in a court circle where learning was valued both for its own sake and as an aid to devotion. A number of influential benefactors donated books to the monastic library, and it is not surprising that Henry VIII should have given a copy of his Assertio Septem Sacramentorum.[137] There were other recent books there by learned men connected with the court, including Fisher, Colet and More, and the library was probably used for lending purposes.[138] Besides making their literature available, the brethren connected with Sion acted as confessors to the influential. Whitford has already been mentioned in this capacity.[139] Also in the early sixteenth century Alexander Bell acted as confessor to Sir Richard Sutton, while John Fewterer was the confidant of Fisher and More.[140] Contact between the religious orders and the laity was sometimes more sustained. Lady Kingston had a chamber in the precincts.[141] Dean Colet was allowed to build lodgings in the precincts of Sheen, where he died in 1519.[142] Richard Pace retired from public life to the peace of Sion and was reported to be living 'a blessed life in that beautiful place'.[143] There was a grammar school attached to Sheen where Reginald Pole spent two years before going on to Oxford.[144]

The close links maintained by Sir Thomas More with the London Charterhouse at Smithfield lasted throughout his life. From about 1500 he

> gave himselfe to devotion and prayer in the Charter house of London, religiously lyvinge there, without vowe, about iiij^{er} yeares. (145)

He may have considered entering the order at one time but though he decided to marry and remain in the world, his associations with the monastics remained close.[146]

More was not a member of the noble class, nor was he brought up at court, and he had no taste for the life there. The peaceful situation and faithful observance of the Charterhouse were attractive not only to More but also to others who found the court atmosphere stifling and uncongenial. While some were content to seek occasional relief others found a more permanent escape. Thus Sebastian Newdigate, who came from a noteworthy family, received a court education and became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, entered the Charterhouse in 1524.[147]

Like the Bridgettines of Sion and the Carthusian order, the Franciscan Observants were very attractive to the spiritual elite. They were patronised by the royal family and enjoyed excellent relations with them. According to his will, Henry VII had

> speciall confidence and truste, in the devoute praiers of the Freres Observants (148)

during his life, so he made generous bequests to them to encourage their continued remembrance of his soul in death.[149]

In April 1510 the Observants at Greenwich received £8 6s 8d for 500 masses and £13 6s 8d for 2 masses daily from Easter 24 Henry VII

to Easter 1 Henry VIII.[150] The latter payment was also made to the Observants at Canterbury, Southampton and Newcastle.[151]

Henry VII founded the friary at Richmond and erected the conventual buildings at his own expense.[152] He was also a benefactor of Greenwich, built by his ancestor Edward IV.[153] These two foundations were deliberately built close to the royal palaces of Richmond and Greenwich.[154]

Before the question of the royal Divorce aroused the opposition of the friars Henry VIII and his family enjoyed an excellent relationship with the two foundations. The king himself was born at Greenwich and baptised in the church of the Observants there. Soon after his succession he and Catherine of Aragon were married there.[155] Both Mary and Elizabeth were baptised at Greenwich, though by the time of the latter ceremony, relations were sorely strained.[156] Henry was very impressed by the piety he observed among the Observants. In 1513 he wrote to Pope Leo X highly commending their behaviour,

> in qua christiane paupertatis, sinceritatis et charitatis exemplum nostra sententia maxime elucet ... (157)

Henry at this time was still under the influence of Catherine and sharing in her devotional life. She was a member of the Third Order of Saint Francis and when the court was at Greenwich she used

> to rise at midnight to the Divine Office and be present in the Franciscan church at Greenwich during the time that the friars were reading or singing their Matins and Lauds. (158)

Catherine's confessor, John Forest, became Warden of Greenwich and she chose William Peto, the Provincial, as confessor for her daughter Mary.[159] The Bridgettines, the Carthusians and the Friars

Observants were all characterised by their strict adherence to the rules and ideals of their orders, their devout piety and their academic excellence. When studied together a network of relationships may be discerned in which the court played a significant role. That role stemmed from the interest of members of the royal household in learning and in the quest for spiritual satisfaction, both of which they found among these orders.

The Dissolution of the monasteries inevitably had very real implications for the pious court aristocracy since it affected so many aspects of their devotional life: almsgiving, spiritual direction, pilgrimage and other related practices.[160] Once they were gone substitutes had to be found to compensate for the loss. The failure of Henry VIII to re-channel the wealth of the monasteries into education, hospitals and poor-relief has frequently been highlighted, but this is to focus on only one aspect of the Dissolution.

The sixteenth century had already begun to move towards assisting the ordinary layman to live a life of piety in the world, but with writers like William Bonde and Richard Whitford still teaching that the religious life was superior, those who could maintain close links with a religious house did so. Even the reformers were ambivalent. Hugh Latimer, for example, initially thought that the monasteries should be reformed rather than destroyed, because he believed their original purpose was for good.[161] Officially, feeling was weighted against the monasteries. The reformers said they had been founded through fear of Purgatory and were enriched by 'mass-mongers'[162] Their outward show of holiness had nothing to substantiate it within and was

mere hypocrisy.[163] The preaching of the monks was vain while their prayers were worthless.[164] Since every individual was responsible for his own salvation, it was obviously futile to rely on the prayers and guidance of the monks, from whom the aristocracy drew many of their chaplains and confessors. Again, since all Christians were pilgrims,[165] there was no special merit in making a pilgrimage to a monastic shrine, and as for the shrines themselves, and the relics housed there, these were abominations.[166]

Pilgrimage and Almsgiving

Going on pilgrimage was a popular religious practice among the nobility during the Middle Ages to the extent that it became 'a recognised mark of aristocratic piety'.[167] It was of course frequently undertaken for motives which were not altogether sincere, for a pilgrimage provided a great opportunity for ostentatious display. The numbers of nobles who went on pilgrimage, however, were out of all proportion to the numerical importance of the nobility in the population as a whole.[168]

Pilgrimage reinforced the cult of saints in which the nobility participated along with the rest of society. The upper classes were as familiar with the Legenda aurea as anyone.[169] It was one of the books suggested by the author of the 'Instructions to a devout and literate layman', and it was on Cicely, Duchess of York's reading list for meal-times.[170] Every day, after dinner, Catherine of Aragon read the life of that day's saint to her maids.[171]

The veneration of relics also reinforced the cult of saints and the nobility possessed such items on which they placed great value.

The Duchess of York bequeathed a number of them, including a piece of the True Cross. Henry VII bequeathed his piece of the Holy Cross and one of the legs of St George to adorn the altar of his tomb.[172] Other holy objects owned by members of the nobility included rosaries, images and crucifixes.[173] Henry VIII made payment for 'a glasse of Relike Water frō Wyndesor to Hamptoncourte'.[174] The cult of saints has shown preferences for different saints at different times in its history. Although Henry VII's efforts to obtain the canonisation of Henry VI came to nothing, for example, the cult of that pious monarch was flourishing at the end of the fifteenth century such that over three hundred miracles were recorded in connection with his tomb at Windsor.[175] The royal family and Henry VII in particular, were in the vanguard of his venerators, though perhaps not for wholly disinterested motives, since there was great political value in having such a saintly ancestor.[176] New shrines continued to come into being in the later Middle Ages, and while traditional saints like Thomas a Becket held their own, the period witnessed a growth in devotion to Christ and his Mother.[177] Marian shrines were especially popular in the early sixteenth century and Walsingham soon ranked with Canterbury as a place of pilgrimage.[178] The offerings and patronage of the upper classes show them to have helped to foster the Marian emphasis in devotion. The abbey of Sion, for example, dedicated to Our Saviour, the Virgin Mary and Saint Bridget had widespread influence in noble and courtly circles, and the chief objects of the particular devotions prescribed there were the Passion of Christ and the honour of his Holy Mother.[179] Henry VII was said to have had a special devotion to the

Virgin and he willed that the greatest image of her should be transferred from the Jewel House to the altar of his tomb.[180] His mother, the Lady Margaret

> faylled not to say the crowne of our lady whiche after the manere of Rome conteyneth. 1x. and thre aves, and at every ave to make a knelynge. (181)

Henry VIII made numerous offerings to different shrines dedicated to Our Lady, including one occasion when he made a gift to 'oure lady of [Boulogne] ' and 'o^{r} lady in the walle at Calays'.[182]

The political side to Tudor pilgrimage-going is not difficult to discern. In his will Henry VII made provision for a silver-gilt statue of himself to be placed by Becket's shrine at Canterbury, which would have the added benefit of reminding pilgrims to pray for him as well as St Thomas.[183] There was an equally blatant piece of Tudor propaganda in the kneeling effigy of himself which was placed on St Edward's shrine.[184] Henry's own tomb at Windsor was an intended shrine through which he could associate himself with his venerated ancestor king Henry VI. His will provided for a road to be built between Windsor and Canterbury for the benefit of pilgrims.[185] Henry's queen, Elizabeth of York, visited the shrine of Our Lady of Ipswich in 1502, and this tradition of devotion to the Virgin was carried on by Catherine of Aragon. She visited Walsingham in 1513 to pray for her husband's safe return from war.[186] Later, during her time of personal sorrow she prayed at the shrine of Our Lady of Caversham, and in her will she provided for a pilgrimage to Walsingham and twenty nobles to be distributed in alms along the way.[187]

Henry VIII was equally diligent in his patronage of holy places until the very eve of their destruction. Walsingham figured largely in

his devotion and he is said to have walked the two miles from Barsham manor to the shrine barefoot in order to make his offering.[188] The king paid for the glazing of the chapel at Walsingham,[189] and from the beginning of his reign the King's Candle burned there continually at 46s 8d per annum.[190] He maintained a singing priest there and did not neglect to make regular offerings to the shrine.[191] After the birth of his son in 1511, he visited the shrine himself and renewed his offerings there after the baby's death.[192] Hugh Latimer remarked that 'you would wonder to see how they come by flocks ...'[193] and the multitudes who visited the shrines clearly included emperors and kings as well as peasants.

Many of Henry's courtiers went on pilgrimage from time to time. In 1505 Sir Richard Wingfield, then an esquire for the body to Henry VII, had gone to Rome on pilgrimage.[194] Wingfield was one of the four 'sad and auncient knights' placed in the Privy Chamber in 1519 as a counter-balance to the younger, frivolous set who were about the king.[195] Wingfield's standing with the king was high and he was a man to be respected.[196] His brother Sir Robert was under a vow to go on a nobles' pilgrimage in 1517.[197] The Duke of Buckingham, one of the most powerful and wealthy members of the court, spread his devotions to Our Lady around various shrines in the country. In 1508 he provided an oblation at Our Lady of Pewe, and in 1519 he sent an offering to Our Lady of Walsingham.[198] Shortly before his death he made an offering 'to Our Lady of Eyton near Windsor'.[199] Walsingham, however, seems to have been the most popular shrine with courtiers as well as with the royal family. When Erasmus went there after his vow in 1512, he

remarked that it was 'the most celebrated place through out all England'.[200]

In 1512, when his ship was wrecked during the campaign against France, Lord Lisle called upon Our Lady of Walsingham for help and

> comfort and made a vow than an' it pleased God and her to deliver him out of that pe [ril he wou] ld never eat flesh till he had seen her. (201)

In 1517 Wolsey decided to make a pilgrimage to Walsingham to seek for a stomach cure.[202]

Pilgrimage then, was thriving on the eve of the Reformation among the upper as well as the lower classes. Erasmus wrote his Peregrinatio religionis ergo attacking the superstitious character of pilgrimage in 1519,[203] and nineteen years later an official attack was launched upon the English shrines, although preachers had been attacking their abuse during the intervening years. Henry, however, kept his candle burning at Walsingham, Windsor and Doncaster until the last possible moment.[204] Even when he finally discontinued the practice he maintained his regular offerings on the appropriate saints' days, and when he left Windsor in August 1541, he made his offering to St George and to the high alter 'at his ... comȳg away from thence'.[205]

The pilgrimages of Henry's youth were not continued once the king was no longer under the influence of Catherine of Aragon. The Observant Franciscans, the Bridgettines and the Carthusians who had enjoyed the patronage of the Crown and the special favour of the Queen, repaid their debt by outstanding loyalty to Catherine during her troubles, for which they suffered. Henry therefore had special reason to vent his wrath against them, but as Knowles pointed out in

the case of Sion, the government on the whole proved to be curiously indulgent.[206]

Ignoring official legislation, the king refounded Chertsey Abbey at Bisham in Berkshire in 1537

> to secure prayers for his good estate during his lifetime and for the soul of Jane, his late queen; (207)

The nunnery at Stixwold was also refounded to pray for the royal family.[208] Although the refoundation of Chertsey Abbey may well have been for the benefit of the royal economy,[209] the purpose of both these foundations offer a clue to the motive behind the king's glaring inconsistency. In the light of Henry's affection for the mother of his legitimate heir, and Jane Seymour's own devout nature,[210] there must have been a serious sense of omission in the minds of these two traditionalists that there was no religious foundation to commemorate the soul of England's Queen. Henry made no pilgrimage on Jane's behalf after her death to pray for her soul at a religious shrine, but he did make three pilgrimages of sorts to the Seymour home of Wulfhall in Savernake, twice in 1539 and again in 1543.[211]

In 1534 when Sir John Gage found the tensions at court too great he turned his mind to the London Charterhouse, and was able to distance himself by retreating there.[212] Once dissolved, however, the monasteries could no longer be used as retreats from the pressures of the world. Catherine Howard spent a period of time at Sion in 1541, but it was as a prisoner in disgrace.[213] She would have found little comfort for her soul there, for the community had been expelled after a long struggle. Sion's lands and possessions were surrendered to the king who kept the abbey buildings and demesne at Isleworth, disbursing

the rest.[214] Ironically, the abbey still had a spiritual service to render the king, for his body lay there before removal to Windsor for his funeral.

It was usually held that to go on pilgrimage without making an offering was a worthless exercise. Charity and almsgiving were significant expressions of the responsibility borne by the nobility towards the rest of society, and were taken as a matter of course.[215] Generous almsgiving was a normal part of the expenditure of every great household and careful provision was also made for regular offerings. The Earl of Northumberland, for example, one of the wealthiest nobles of the time, offered 1s or 3d when he heard mass, depending on the occasion.[216] The royal household was equally meticulous in its regular offerings and alms. The Liber Niger provided for offerings on feast days, besides daily offerings and a sum for St Thomas' shrine at Canterbury.[217] The major festivals provided an opportunity for extra-ordinary gifts. At Easter in 1511, for example, expenses were as follows:

Good Friday offering	20s
20 almsmen at the King's maundy	20d each
Two doz. purses for the maundy	8d
Alms to poor folks, in groats	£11
in half groats	£40
Offerings on Easter Day	13s 4d

(218)

Regular offerings on Sundays and saints' days stood at 6s 8d each, while the daily alms amounted to 37s 11d per week.[219] Pilgrimages were also budgeted for, and the king's footman was allotted some money to 'dispose in Almesse by the way' on one such occasion.[220]

Since the court moved around so much, offerings were made to the shrine in the locality where the king was currently residing, and sometimes he would pay it a visit in person. In August 1510 offerings were made on arrival in Reading 'at the meeting of the procession'; and the same at 'Rumsey and at Southampton'.[221] A further offering was made at Southampton 'At Our Lady of Grace'.[222]

Alms distributed in this manner were meant to appear as spontaneous acts of generosity and, despite the element of calculation which made the money available in the first place, there were many occasions when the monarch made a gift on impulse to someone who had pleased him:

> Item to a Woman that brought Capons 6s 8d
> Item to a man that apples to the kynge grace 6s 8d
> (223)

Besides doling out charity to individuals while the court was in progress, the poor in general benefitted from the extravagance of the royal household. In addition to the daily alms the left-overs from each royal servant's prescribed 'mess of meat' were ordered to be distributed among

> such poore people as shall attend at the gate for the king's almes. (224)

There were rules for taking up 'broaken meate for the almes' to try to prevent embezzlement and punishments for those caught breaking them.[225] 'Bouge of court' expressed the king's special concern with his own household and his role as <u>pater familias</u>. The rules and regulations surrounding 'bouge of court', though frequently broken were there to protect the royal servants. Their basic needs were

supplied, and if they pleased the king, they could expect to reap further rewards from the royal generosity.[226] It was essential that the royal household should be well-ordered, for this was seen as the first step towards a godly household. The Lady Margaret was commended for the 'mervayllous dylygence & wysdome' with which she ordered her household which enabled her to show hospitality, help suitors and relieve the poor and needy.[227] She kept twelve 'Poore folkes' in her house and was always ready to entertain strangers.[228]

Almsgiving to the religious was of great importance, and mention has been made of royal patronage of religious houses. Henry VII erected a number of buildings as expressions of piety. The Savoy Hospital was intended to maintain:

> oon hundred bedds garnished to receive and lodge nightly
> oon hundreth pouer folks. (229)

He also had an almshouse at Westminster to support thirteen poor men, including one priest.[230] Though Henry VIII did not erect any such works from scratch, he gave money for the maintenance of existing religious buildings as at Walsingham or to the Carmelites 'for reparation of their house at Northampton' £13 6s 8d.[231] Henry VIII seems to have favoured the religious through his extra-ordinary giving:

> Itm ... paied in Almes to an hermyte upon the waye ... iiijs viijd.
> ... to a friar that came to the King from jerusalem £10
> (232)

One of the main complaints of the reformers against the monasteries was that they abused their great wealth. Resources which should have been used for charitable purposes were merely enriching

the religious within.[233] The reformers were naturally disappointed by the failure of the government to use the wealth of the monasteries to endow schools and hospitals, and alleviate the plight of the poor.[234] Henry VIII seems to have had little intention of dissolving the religious houses for this purpose, but his own deeds of charity nonetheless appeared exemplary. The king excelled in the practicalities of religion and his almsgiving was no exception. There are regular entries in the King's Book of Payments for offerings on saints' days and festivals, besides the weekly alms which amounted to 37s 11d. In the year 1538, for example, the year when there was so much unrest and confusion concerning images and religious observances, the king's offerings were recorded as if nothing at all was amiss:

Feb: Candlemas offering	46s 8d
March: 'for the king's candle burning before King Henry of Windsor' for the year ended Michaelmas last	13s 4d
and for that 'before our Lady of Doncaster'	20s
the warden of the Friars of Greenwich for their relief	£25
the King's candle before Our Lady of Walsingham	43s 4d
to the prior there 'for the King's salary before Our Lady'	100s

(235)

Likewise, the full Easter offerings were made that year. Saints' days and festivals were kept as usual, but in September there was an entry hinting that all was not well:

sonndry sn̄nte and labourers traveling abowte the disgarnishyng of a shryne and other thingē there	£23 16s

(236)

At the entry of the Half Year's wages at Michaelmas, 1538, the amount paid to the prior of Walsingham for the King's candle read 'nil'.[237] Nor was any payment made to the warden of the Grey Friars,

and though offerings, weekly alms and saints' days offerings continue thereafter as usual, gifts to the religious, and to shrines with the exception of St George's at Windsor, came to an end.[238]

The king's spontaneous acts of generosity to individuals who brought him gifts were naturally not affected by the religious legislation of the period.[239] Nor did he neglect the customary generosity shown by the wealthy at death. He left 100 marks for the poor, plus alms to be given out in his name and support for thirteen poor knights.[240] The king's almsgiving then, remained as traditional as ever it had been, but there was a growing concern over the motives behind this, as behind other deeds of Christian piety.

While the reformers railed against a religion of dead works, they regarded the practice of almsgiving as a Christian duty laid down in scripture.[241] Latimer, for example, commended the practice to his hearers on a number of occasions.[242] There was some concern over the use to which alms were put. Latimer called on gentlemen to give as much support for poor scholars as they would previously have given for masses, pardons and 'purgatory matters'.[243] Some occasionally did so, such as Sir Thomas Audley, who urged Cromwell to reconstitute two priories in Essex for poor relief in 1538, and helped to establish a school in Colchester in 1539.[244] Sir Anthony Denny's support of the school at Sedburgh in Yorkshire which belonged to St John's College, Cambridge, was fully consistent with his reformist sympathies.[245] The humanist writers associated with the court as well as the preachers drew attention to the Christian's duty to give alms. Thomas Lupset in his treatise Of dyenge well[246] warned against covetousness and

reminded his readers that Christ commanded almsgiving, while Sir Thomas Elyot commended the practice in his treatise on right living.[247]

As the century progressed, the Protestant concern for educational provision became more widespread, with far-reaching effects on society, the beginnings of which may be discerned here at court.[248] Nor were the female members of the royal household to be outdone. Among the generation which succeeded the devout circle of Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn was also said to have been very generous.[249] It was said that her almsgiving amounted to £1500 per annum 'in ordinarie', and her care for the poor was one of the features to which her admirers drew attention.[250] William Latimer recorded an address to her almoners, where she gave instructions for the disposal of her goods,[251] and one of two recorded dedications to her was The forme and maner of subvētion for pore people practysed ī Hypres, translated by William Marshall.[252]

Anne did not make donations to religious shrines, but she generously maintained scholars at the universities, and supported reformist preachers including Latimer and the notorious Edward Crome.[253] Her almoners were Nicholas Shaxton and John Skip who supported reform at the start of their careers.[254] Katherine Parr, some time later, was similarly looked upon as favourable towards reform and therefore likely to be benevolent towards scholarship and learning, but she also continued to follow the traditional practice of making an offering, separate from that of the king, on saints' days, and on the day that she was 'howssulyd'.[255] Her almoner was the

conservative scholar and humanist George Day, Bishop of Chichester.[256] Princess Mary, unlike Anne Boleyn or Katherine Parr, remained firmly within the traditional Catholic fold. Though later criticised for her failure to do anything towards supporting education, particularly of the clergy, she was nevertheless an extremely generous woman.[257] Her spontaneous giving to her servants and to ordinary individuals who presented her with gifts are a reminder of the wider implications of charity.[258]

Piety and the Patronage of Literature

The study of devotional literature in the late medieval period is a vast field and has been examined in various aspects. The majority of books still extant are service books, Biblical literature, commentaries, homilies and related works. The Primer provided a comprehensive devotional aid to the layman and contained certain fixed elements, but there were also prayers for special occasions making for choice and variety of usage.[259] It was much in evidence at court and Lady Margaret Beaufort, for example, had been bequeathed a Primer 'with clasps of silver gilt covered with purple velvet' by Ann, Duchess of Buckingham.[260]

Another favourite devotional aid especially in the late 15th century was the Book of Hours, collections of offices and prayers for personal use. It was more flexible than the Primer and considerable freedom was allowed in both composition and contents. There is a lady's Book of Hours in the British Library containing the autographs of Henry VII and his Queen, Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon and

Princess Margaret. A copy of 'The Prayer of St Thomas of Aquine' translated by Mary in 1527 is at the end.[261]

Primers, Books of Hours and also the Psalter continued to provide inspiration for personal devotion down to the Reformation and were regular features of inventories and wills.[262] Books were often among the bequests listed in the wills of aristocratic women connected with the court and therefore place Lady Margaret Beaufort within a well-established tradition.[263] Her importance in the changing trends of literature and patronage lies in her recognition of the role of the first printers. Her relations with Caxton and with Wynkin De Worde initiated a series of associations between printers and the court which had a critical effect during the Reformation.

Caxton deliberately settled near Westminster on his return from Burgundy in order to seek aristocratic patronage for his work.[264] The nobility provided financial support, official requests for books and sometimes even the texts for printing.[265] One of Caxton's biographers has commented that

> some form of recommendation from a member of the nobility ... guaranteed the courtliness of the contents, (266)

and when it is considered that of the 102 works or editions printed by him at least 62 must be classed in the category of religious publications, some of the significance of court piety becomes immediately obvious.[267]

It was probably Lady Margaret along with Catherine of Aragon who commissioned a book of prayers from De Worde,[268] but perhaps the most important pietistic work with which she was associated was Thomas à Kempis' De imitatione Christi. She requested Pynson, later Henry VII's

printer,[269] to publish the work in an English translation. This was Atkinson's version and the fourth book was translated by Margaret herself.[270] Since there had been only one other English translation of this work its influence and circulation had hitherto been restricted.[271] By 1531 Sir Thomas More was recommending this work for devotional reading.[272] Lady Margaret contributed a further piece of her own work, an English version of Dionysius a Leewis' Speculum aureum peccatorum.[273] Along with these classic works of devotion she requested John Fisher to publish a treatise on the Seven Penitential Psalms, thus not forgetting the contribution to be made by contemporary leaders of spirituality.[274]

The advent of printing did not alter the distinct preference for religious works. Studies of the output of printing presses show that of 349 editions, excluding reprints, between 1468 and 1530, 176 were of a religious character.[275] The clergy were the most frequent book owners and devotional literature was usually addressed to the religious and written by them.[276] Nevertheless, laymen showed great eagerness to read such works and follow their teaching as best they could. Devotional writers, sensing the need, began to address their works not exclusively to the religious, but to 'symple soulles and the unlerned'.[277] Books patronised by the aristocracy and dedicated to them indicate the kind of literature in which they were interested, and besides romance and chivalry, which we should expect to be favoured by a courtly audience, classic works of piety figure largely. These include Walter Hilton's Scala perfectionis which was commissioned by Lady Margaret, who, along with Elizabeth, Duchess of

York, owned a copy of it.[278] This was a work later recommended by More as a 'devoute contemplative book'.[279]

In some ways the works of Richard Whitford bridge the social gap and bear out the Christian assertion held in theory at least, that where the soul was concerned God had no favourites. Whitford moved easily in court circles, and was a familiar figure to the aristocracy despite the popular appeal of most of his writings. Early on in his career he came to the notice of the Mountjoy family whose members were key figures among the aristocratic patrons of learning at court.[280] He was appointed tutor, confessor and chaplain to Charles Blount in March 1498 and accompanied him abroad until the following year when they returned with Erasmus.[281] Around 1507 he entered Sion thus joining a community whose chaplains, confessors and spiritual directors were drawn from 'an élite of learning and sanctity'.[282] Yet Whitford was not unaware of the spiritual aspirations of the ordinary man in the world at large and sought to impart some of his own insights to the general public as well as the close-knit circles of court and monastery. He was a prolific writer, and while the majority of his works were produced for the nuns at Sion, he had a wider popular appeal. The title of his earliest work to be printed: A werke for housholders/ or for them y^{t} have the gydynge or governaunce of any company, illustrates his concern for ordinary Christians struggling with difficulties in their search for piety.[283] Whitford tried to be practical for the benefit of the general reader, for though he believed that the 'life of perfection' was never 'so surely kepte of any sorte: as of religious persones' he maintained that it could be

lived by many kinds of people.[284]

Men, Women and Piety

The evidence provided by literary patronage is important for a study of court piety not only because it reveals the direction which was given in the practice of private devotion but also because it shows to some extent who was involved. It is thus a valuable corrective to the picture of aristocratic piety as being the exclusive preserve of the women. That the piety of great households seems at first glance to have centred primarily upon its female members is not perhaps surprising given the traditional responsibility of women for the spiritual welfare of the family, but it was not the whole picture. Men of wealth and high rank played a vital part in the patronage of literature of all kinds, including religious and devotional works. Although Caxton enjoyed a close relationship with Lady Margaret, for example, his court connections began when he met Earl Rivers.[285] The latter provided Caxton with texts, some of which he had translated himself.[286] By 1509 Caxton was styling himself 'Prynter unto the moost excellent Pryncesse my lady the Kynges mother',[287] but Richard Pynson had already become the king's printer three years previously in 1506.[288] The devotions of the king himself should be sufficient to avoid taking as a broad generalisation the attitude expressed later by Lord Lisle who left religious devotion to this wife.[289]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century women had a narrowly defined role. Learned women were a rarity and women active in public affairs rarer still, but this situation did not exclude a more subtle

and indirect influence behind the scenes, and women at the Tudor court certainly exercised a determining influence upon the direction of court piety by personal example and through patronage.[290] Lady Margaret Beaufort was one of the most devout women of her day, and much of the courtly piety then in evidence found its touchstone in her. She was praised for having 'A redy wytte [and being] right studyous ... in bokes.'[291] If she had any direct influence on political affairs the evidence for it has been lost, but her spirituality, her godly household and her patronage of learning at court and in the universities are well-known. The indirect influence of all this was a great deal more subtle, but perhaps no less significant than if she had occupied the centre of the political stage. Henry VII, moreover, seems to have had great respect for his mother and sought to emulate her piety. Catherine of Aragon exercised a similar kind of indirect influence over Henry VIII in his youth.

Lady Margaret followed a routine which a reigning monarch could not hope to emulate since it seems to have left her with little time for anything else. Rising soon after 5 am she began 'certayne devocyons', and from there moved through matins of Our Lady and of the day, then four or five masses besides other prayers until it was time for dinner.[292] She subsequently 'wolde go her stacyons to thre aulters' and say many other prayers before ending the day in the chapel.[293] Somehow she still found time for works of charity and scholarship as well as maintaining a godly household and living out her role at court as a senior figure of royalty. Lady Margaret was apparently one of a minority who could match up to the demands of the

religious literature which offered advice on living the religious life in the world.[294] It was a frequent complaint that these demands were much too exacting for someone living in the world. It might have been added that they were impossible for a courtier to follow. Yet Lady Margaret lived a life of self-discipline and abstinence. She fasted regularly, despite her age and infirmities and wore 'shertes & gyrdyls of heere'.[295] Catherine of Aragon lived a similar life-style. She spent long hours in prayer even when racked with pain.[296]

In the early part of his reign Catherine was Henry's closest confidante and he constantly turned to her for encouragement.[297] Together they shared books like Whitford's devotional guide, The pype or tonne of the lyfe of perfection[298] and heard the Daily Office in the Queen's chamber.[299] Like all devout persons of this period Catherine placed great importance upon hearing mass and saying the daily office. She was said to have read the Office of the Virgin Mary every day and spent most of the morning in church.[300] Under her robes she wore the habit of St Francis. She fasted regularly and prayed at length without the comfort of cushions.[301] Catherine of Aragon's successor was of a different style altogether and she chose new personnel to share and propagate her interests. It will be seen, however, there was a continuous thread of patronage and support from the women of the household throughout the period.

Conclusion

Such practices did not fit easily into the context of the court, but they supplied a counter-balance which was needed. They drew around

them groups of like-minded people and so extended their influence in important avenues of the court. The public life of the monarch and his court militated against a life of piety and abstinence, and the ritualised life-style further aggravated the situation.[302] A few succeeded in living what appears to have been a life apart from the court, some in the most inconspicuous manner, but they were the exceptions.[303] The court represented a world dedicated to appearances, and, by and large, its members found themselves caught up in its way of life. The implications of the reformers' teachings for such a lifestyle were revolutionary. How would the court adapt its ways to the Reformation?

Footnotes

1. Among the numerous accounts of the Church immediately before the Reformation see for example, H.C. Cross: Church and People 1450-1660, L.1976, chs 1ff.

2. Huizinga writes of 'a culture overcharged with religious images and concepts', Waning, p.148.

3. Wickham: Early English Stages, 1; K. Young: The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols, Ox., 1933; O.B. Hardison: Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, Baltimore, 1965; E.K. Chambers: The Medieval Stage, 2 vols, Ox., 1903 and ibid: The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols, Ox., 1923; R. Withington: English Pageantry, 2 vols, L.1918-20.

4. See for example the oft-quoted Venetian observer on England in about 1500, C.Sneyd (trans. and ed.): A Relation or Rather a True Account of the Island of England, Around 1500, (Camden society o.s. 37), 1847.

5. J.J. Scarisbrick: The Reformation and the English People, Ox., 1984, makes the point that evidence showing support for the traditional religious order does not prove that all was well, pp.12 ff, and cf. A.G. Dickens: The English Reformation, L.1964, ch.1.

6. The reformers were forever fond of listing such deeds which they condemned as superstitious; see for example, Bale, 262; 1 Bec., 315; 2 Cran., 63, 64, 147, 148; 2 Hoop., 129; 1 Lat., 57; 1 Tyn., 48, 90-92.

7. Huizinga: Waning, p.224. Huizinga uses the expression to denote the function of art as having purpose and meaning in practical terms. Also S. Ringbom: 'Devotional images and imaginative devotions', Gazette des beaux arts, 73, 1969, pp.159-170.

8. S.T.C.^{2} 25422, 1530. It was based on the familiar contents of the catechetical tradition.

9. The Lollard knights were a conspicuous example. Cf. A.B. McFarlane: Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, Ox., 1972, chs 6, 7.

10. Cf. J. Catto: 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century' in H.L. Jones et al (eds.): History and Imagination, Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor Roper, L.1981, pp.43-55.

11. Other signs of individualism in religious matters include alms-giving. Rosenthal's study of the fourteenth and fifteenth century shows that the nobility 'pursued aggressively individualistic paths of philanthropy', J.T. Rosenthal: The Purchase of Paradise. Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485, L.1972, p.127. Likewise, instructions for prayers to be said after a person's death show individualistic choice of services, festivals, shrines and so on, ibid, p.29.

12. On this esoteric but fascinating concept cf. L.D. Einstein: Tudor Ideals, N.Y. 1921, pt 2, esp. chs 1 and 2. It seems impossible to believe that the men and women of the Middle Ages had no inner personal existence, but it is certainly not easy to detect, except among the mystics.

13. Einstein: op. cit., p.112; McConica, chs 1-3.

14. Huizinga: Waning, p.163; Catto: 'Religion and the English Nobility', p.54.

15. Cf. below, pp. 76ff.

16. Fisher: English Works, p.293.

17. B.L. Harl MS, 494, ff. 6-19. Published by R Wyer some time before 1533, (S.T.C. 6928); cf. H.C. White: The Tudor books of private devotion, Wisconsin, 1951, pp.154-6.

18. B.L. Harl MS, 494, f. 6.

19. It originally denoted the service books, vestments, plate, vessels and utensils used by the chapel, S. Sadie (ed.): The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, L.1980, 20 vols, 11, p.151.

20. E. Beresford Chancellor: Historical Richmond, L.1885, pp.95-96. Quotation from a seventeenth century survey of the remains of the old palace.

21. Ibid, p.96.

22. Jones: Household of a Tudor Nobleman, p.177. The Steward, Secretary and others of the household staff were also priests.

23. Myers, pp.133 ff; H.O., pp.160 ff.

24. George Cavendish: The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, ed. R.S. Sylvester, (EETS o.s. 243), 1959, p.19, (hereafter cited as Cavendish).

25. Ibid, pp.19-20.

26. I. Dunlop: Palaces and progresses of Elizabeth I, L.1962, p.91.

27. E. Law: History of Hampton Court Palace, 3 vols, L.1885, 1 p.86.

28. Almost every important English church musician of the period was a member of the Chapel Royal. The Church and the court were the most important sponsors of most literate music-making until Elizabeth's reign. Cf. D.C. Price: Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance, Cam., 1981. See also C.C. Stopes: William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal, Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, ed. W. Bang, Louvain 1910, repr. Vadiz, 1963, vol.29.

29. On music at court in general cf. G. Hayes: King's Music, Ox., 1937: C. Hogwood: Music at Court, L.1961; idem (transcr. and ed.): Music at the Court of Henry VIII, (Musica Britannica, 18), L.1962.

30. The only major liturgical change of Henry's reign was the English litany of 1544. Luther, of course, was not hostile to the use of music in worship, and the English composers continued to pursue beauty and creativity in church music under Edward and Mary.

31. Cf. D. Stevens: Tudor Church Music, L.1961; P. Le Huray: Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660, L.1967.

32. H.O., p.160.

33. Ibid, loc. cit.

34. Huizinga: Waning, p.147.

35. E.H. Kantarowicz: The King's Two Bodies, Princeton, 1957, p.193. Thus the pope would appear in a golden crown and purple robes, while the king wore a mitre under his crown and received a ring at his coronation. The fundamental study of this relationship is M. Bloch: Les Rois Thaumaturges, Strasbourg, 1924, translated as The Royal Touch: Sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and Francd, L.1973. J.W. McKenna argues that the sacred mythology of kingship was part of the political and literary tradition of England as 'the chosen people' which became firmly established during the Hundred Years War. Cf. J.W. McKenna: 'How God became an Englishman' in D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna (eds.): Tudor Rule and Revolution. Essays for G.R. Elton, Cam., 1982, pp.25-43.

36. The Dukes of Burgundy were frequently associated with images of divinity influenced by France where 'a halo encircled kingship', Cartellieri: The Court of Burgundy, p.53. Representations of English monarchs were also influenced by divine imagery. At the reception of Catherine of Aragon in 1501 prince Arthur was blatantly identified with Christ the Redeemer and Christ the Sun of Justice, Anglo: Spectacle, pp.80 ff.

37. The need for a male heir which occupied so much of Henry VIII's thinking was bound up with the issue of divine approval and thus had great symbolic, as well as practical significance.

38. Edmund Dudley: The Tree of Commonwealth, ed. D.M. Brodie, Cam., 1948, pp.32-3.

39. In his study of gift giving and the aristocracy Rosenthal deliberately excluded the royal family and its closest kin because their inclusion would have entirely distorted the quantitative picture. Rosenthal: Purchase of Paradise, p.7.

40. T. Astle (ed.): The Will of King Henry VII, L.1775, p.8.

41. Edward the Confessor and Henry VI, who were not conspicuously successful in their reigns, were nevertheless venerated for their piety.

42. Henry pursued a number of pious activities and it is of course impossible to be sure of his own personal commitment to them because of their public nature.

43. Fisher: English Works, pp.271 ff.

44. Hall, p.568; cf. B.L. Cott MS, Vitell, BII, f.69.

45. M. Mitchell: 'Works of art from Rome for Henry VIII', J.W.C.I., 34, 1971, p.180.

46. The king would visit More in his own home in Chelsea, or would send for him to come to court, whence he could not get leave to return home. Nicholas Harpsfield: The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, ed. R.W. Chambers and E.V. Hitchcock (EETS o.s. 186), 1932, pp.25, 137.

47. J. Archer Gee: The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, New Haven, 1928, p.317, (Ep. 9.85f).

48. Cf. below, pp.93ff.

49. Erasmus: Confabulatio pia. Translated as 'The whole duty of youth' in C.R. Thompson: The colloquies of Erasmus, Chicago, 1965, pp.30 ff.

50. Brown: Four years at the court, 2, p.313, App.2.

51. Cavendish, p.9.

52. Cavendish, p.23.

53. Calendar of State Papers Spanish ed. G.A. Bergenroth et al, L.1863-1950, IV, 2, 635, p.63 (hereafter cited as Cal. S.P. Span.).

54. Hall, p.640.

55. Cavendish, p. 67.

56. Hall, p.629. This was the kind of occasion in which Wolsey revelled, and he played his part magnificently.

57. Cal. S.P., Span,. IV, 2, 993, p.506.

58. S.T.C.[2] 25421, f.1xii.

59. Hardison: Christian rite and Christian Drama, refers to the mass as a commemorative drama depicting the ministry, crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Cf. esp. ch.9, 'The mass as sacred drama', see also Young: The Drama of the Medieval Church, ch.3.

60. T.F. Simmons (ed.): The Lay Folks' Mass Book, (EETS, o.s. 71), 1879, p.163; C W Dugmore: The Mass and the English Reformers, L.1958, p.69.

61. W.A. Pantin: 'Instructions for a devout and literate layman' in J.J. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (eds), Medieval Learning and literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, Ox., 1976, p.399.

62. Whitford: Werke for Housholders, f. DIII.

63. Ibid, loc. cit.

64. P.R.O., S.P., 1/10/ff. 57-8 (11th Jan, 1536); another example is P.R.O., S.P., 1/153/f 124.

65. J.R.H. Moorman: A History of the Church in England, L.1980, p.123; H.M. Smith: Pre-Reformation England, L.1938, p.96.

66. Fisher: English Works, p.295.

67. Clifford: Life of Jane Dormer, p.73; G Mattingly: Catherine of Aragon, L.1944, p.96.

68. L.P., XIV, 1, 190.

69. D. Knowles: The Religious Orders in England, 3 vols, Cam., 1959, 3, p.59, (hereafter cited as Knowles). He was also a noted preacher and wrote De officio et caritate Principum, dedicating it to the king, (ibid, loc. cit.).

70. Fisher: English Works, pp.271-2.

71. Catto: 'Religion and the English Nobility', p.50. Household confessors had no parochial responsibilities and were therefore free from episcopal surveillance, cf. McFarlane: Lancastrian Kings, p.225. William Latimer was later to refer to confession with the remark that by it 'emperor nor king could say or do, nor think any thing in his heart, but they knew it; and so applied all the purposes and intents of princes to their own commodities'. 2 Lat., 179-80. On confession in general in the late medieval period cf. T.N. Tentler: Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation, Princeton, 1977.

72. Myers, p.91. The Dean of the Chapel Royal was appointed 'curate and confessoure of all (the) houshold', ibid, p.134. He was allowed to appoint a chaplain to serve under him for the same purpose, ibid, p.133.

73. L.P., VII, 14, p.8.

74. Mattingly: Catherine of Aragon, p.96-7.

75. Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri errata dissoluuntur, S.T.C.^{2} 24729. He also wrote against Melanchthon: De libero arbitrio adversus Melanchthonem, S.T.C.^{2} 24728.

76. More: Works, 12, p.164.

77. Whitford: Werke, f. FI.

78. S.T.C. 10498, [1535?] .

79. B.L.Cott MS, Cleo, E IV, f. 109.

80. Rid., 338; 2 Cov., 481; 2 Lat., 13. For the Lollards in general cf. A.G. Dickens: Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558, Ox., 1958.

81. Whitford: Werke, f. FI.

82. C. Lloyd: Formularies of Faith, Ox., 1825, pp.1-19, (Article 3); cf. D.B. Knox: The Doctrine of Faith in the reign of Henry VIII, L.1961, pp.154 ff.

83. Statutes of the Realm, 11 vols, London Record Commission, 1810-28, 3, 739-43.

84. S.T.C., 1749, (1 Bec., 102).

85. Foxe, 5, p.689.

86. G.Wyatt: Extracts from the Life of Anne Boleigne, L.1817, p.18.

87. Sir Thomas Phillips: 'The Life of Sir Peter Carew of Mohun Ottery, Co. Devon', Archeologia, 28, 1840, p.146; Foxe, 5, 2, p.443. Sir Peter Carew was later arrested for possession of a forbidden book, presumably of reformist tendencies. P.R.O., S.P., 1/212, ff. 45-48, 110.

88. Bale, 150.

89. S.T.C., 4827, 1548, f.H^{V}.

90. More: Works, 12, p.164.

91. St Matthew's Gospel, ch6, v.6. King James Authorised Version; cf. More: Works, 6, ed. T Lawles, et al, 1981, p.58.

92. Cavendish, p.104.

93. Ibid, pp.59, 135.

94. Cf. Colvin, 4, (index).

95. Girouard : Life in the English Country House, p.56. Cf. J.A.H. Murray (ed.): A New English Dictionary, Ox., 1893, 7, under 'Closet'.

96. Colvin, 4, p.97.

97. Ibid, 4, p.101.

98. Ibid, loc. cit.

99. Ibid, 4, p.167.

100. Cavendish, p.71. Wolsey heard two masses in his closet every morning, ibid, p.23. The unnamed earl of B.L. Harl MS 6815 also heard mass in his closet before breakfast, unless he attended chapel with his household, (f. 23).

101. Colvin, 4, p.266; V.C.H., Beds, ed. W. Page, 3, 1912, p.272.

102. Colvin, 4, p.266. See J. Bayley: History and Antiquities of the Tower of London, 2 pts, L.1821, 1825, 1, pp.xvi, xxiii. See also P.R.O. E/101/474/12 for further details of alterations.

103. Fisher: English Works, pp.294-5.

104. Cavendish, pp.23, 105.

105. B.L. Cott MS, Aug. 1, Supp 7. Reproduced in Colvin, 3, p.350, (fig.13). The plan should probably be ascribed to the proposed meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I in 1534, which never took place, Colvin, 3, p.349; L.P. VII, preface, p.xxiii.

106. Colvin, 3, p.350.

107. Colvin, 4, p.15 (fig.2).

108. P.R.O. E101/497/1 pp.1-8, (Colvin, 4, p.80).

109. Colvin, 4, p.227.

110. P.R.O. E36/243, (Colvin, 4, p.135).

111. Colvin, 4, p.227.

112. P.R.O. E36/244, (Colvin,4, p.135).

113. P.R.O. E36/243; (Colvin, 4, p.135); cf. Law: History of Hampton Court Palace, p.185; G.D. Heath: 'The Chapel Royal at Hampton Court', Borough of Twickenham Local History Society, paper no.42, Sept. 1983 gives further details.

114. Myers, p.137.

115. P.R.O. E301/465/20, (Colvin, 4, p.155); Colvin, 4, p.266.

116. P.R.O., E315/161/f. 69, 202.

117. Ibid, f. 52, 92.

118. Burnet: History of the Reformation, 1, p.536. For Anne Askew's views on the Sacraments cf. Bale, 199 ff. She refused to sign the bill of the Sacrament drawn up by Cox and Dr Robinson, ibid, 206; cf. L.P., XXI, 1, 790, 1181, p.588.

119. Robert Parsons: A treatise of three conversions of England, from paganisme to Christian religion, 3 vols, by N.D., [St Omer] 1603-4, 2, p.494. Parsons was a Jesuit writing in Elizabeth's reign. While naturally biased in outlook, he supplies some interesting details concerning this episode.

120. Ibid, loc. cit.; Foxe, 5, p.557.

121. Foxe, 5, p.473.

122. The vast majority had a vested interest in at least one religious foundation, which had probably been founded by their ancestors. As with the latter, the expectation was to be buried there and to be prayed for.

123. V.C.H., Surrey, ed. H.E. Malden, L.1905, 2, pp.89-94.

124. V.C.H., Middlesex, ed. R.B. Pugh, L.1969, 1, p.182-90; G.J. Aungier: The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, the Parish of Isleworth and the Chapelry of Hounslow, L.1840; Knowles, 3, ch.18. See also McConica, passim.

125. Knowles, 3, p.213.

126. By the indenture the abbot of St Peter of Westminster agreed to pay the abbess and convent of Sion £3-6-8d for an anniversary for the king and queen and their family 'whille the worlde shall endure', B.L. Harl MS, 1498, f. 91v.

127. There is record of a payment made in 1520 to the countess of Oxford's servant for conveying the princess to Sion and back by water, B.L. Harl MS, 1498, f. 91^{v}. Mary herself continued the connection inherited from her mother, cf. F. Madden: Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, L.1831, pp.xxx, 48, 57.

128. Eg, L.P. IV, 6121, (payment to Sheen in 1529) etc. The Observants, Bridgettines and Carthusians were her most faithful supporters at the time of the Divorce. By her will, Catherine made provision for her burial in an Observant house and her gowns to be made into ornaments for the church there, B L Cott MS Otho C X f. 217; Titus C VII, f. 44. The desire to associate oneself with the religious life both in this world and the next was a common one which persisted as long as people believed that the religious were more likely than anyone else to secure salvation. Other members of the aristocracy around Henry VIII's court took similar steps.

129. P.C.C. F12 Thower; State Papers of Henry VIII, XI vols 1830-52, I, 78, 64-5, 78 (L.P., VI, 924).

130. Knowles, 3, p.124.

131. Ibid, loc. cit.

132. P.R.O., S.P. 1/138 f. 9.

133. St Bridget had herself been a Swedish princess. Margaret Windsor was sister to Andrew, Lord Windsor, the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe. For other court families connected with Sion, cf. Aungier: History and Antiquities of Syon, pp.81-2, 89-90, 439-50.

134. B.L. Add MS, 22,285, ff. 15 39^{v}, 56. This manuscript is the Martiloge of Sion printed in F. Proctor and E.S. Dewick (eds.): The Martiloge in Englyss, (Henry Bradshaw Society, 3), 1893.

135. L.P., I, 1732, (26).

136. R. Lovatt: 'The Imitation of Christ in late medieval England', T.R.H.S., 18, 1968, p.100.

137. Donors were awarded with prayers. For Sion's library cf. M. Bateson: Catalogue of Sion Monastery, Isleworth, Cam., 1898; passim; B. Draisey: 'Sion Abbey, Isleworth, 1415-1539: the library and its contents', Ealing Occasional Papers in the History of Libraries, (Ealing Technological College School of Librarianship), 1, 1972, pp.11-16.

138. Bateson: Catalogue of Sion, pp.ix, x.

139. Whitford was chaplain successively to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy and Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester before entering Sion, Knowles, 3, p.213.

140. J. Gutch: Collectanea curiosa, 2 vols, Ox., 1781, 2, p.532; V.C.H., Middlesex, 1, p.188.

141. V.C.H., Middlesex, loc. cit.

142. V.C.H., Surrey, 2, p.92.

143. Cal S.P., Ven, IV, 144.

144. D.Fenlon: Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation, Cam., 1972, p.24.

145. William Roper: The Lyfe of Sir Thomas More, Knighte, ed. E.V. Hitchcock, (EETS, o.s., 197), 1935, p.6; cf. McConica 'The Patrimony of Thomas More', pp.58 ff. For the Charterhouse cf. Knowles, 3, ch.19. for the Carthusians in general, cf. E.M. Thompson: The Carthusian Order in England, L.1930; D. & G. Mathew: The Contemplative Life and the Reformation, L.1934.

146. McConica, 'The Patrimony of Thomas More', pp.63 ff.

147. Clifford: Life of Jane Dormer, pp.19 ff. His father became one of the king's serjeants in 1520. Two of his sisters also entered the religious life, one at Sion and the other at Dartford, Knowles, 3, p.227.

148. Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.30.

149. He left £200 to Greenwich and the same to Richmond, besides 100 marks to each of Canterbury, Southampton and Newcastle, plus various indentures.

150. B.L. Add MS, 21,481 f.28, (LPII, 2, p.1445).

151. Ibid, loc. cit.

152. At the cost of £1,500, P.R.O., E36/214/p. 328. For the friary at Richmond cf. V.C.H., Surrey, 2, pp.116-8.

153. He left £200 for the enclosure of the garden and orchard at Greenwich and another £200 to the prior in trust for the friars, Astle: Will of Henry VII, pp.30-1. For Greenwich cf. V.C.H., Kent, ed. W. Page, L.1926, 2, pp.194-8.

154. The latter was physically connected to the palace by a gallery raised up over a covered walk. It has been suggested that this may have led to a royal closet or pew in the friary church, Colvin, 4, p.196.

155. V.C.H., Kent, 2, p.194.

156. Ibid, loc. cit.. Elizabeth's christening there was probably an attempt to persuade the friars to accept the Divorce. The king also gave alms worth 10 marks, L.P., VI, 1057.

157. B.L. Add MS, 15,387, p.17^{v}.

158. V.C.H., Kent, 2, p.196.

159. Knowles, 3, p.207. In 1506 Catherine had requested a confessor from Spain, stipulating that he must be a friar Observant, and a learned man, M.A.E. Wood: Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, 3 vols, L.1846, 1, p.138.

160. See Scarisbrick: The Reformation and the English People, especially chs 4 and 5 for the general implications of the Dissolution for the nation at large. See also G.Baskerville: English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries, L.1937, pp.276 ff.

161. B.L. Cott MS, Cleo, E IV, f. 110; cf. A.G. Chester: Hugh Latimer, Apostle to the English, N.Y. 1978, ch.17. He was commanded by Anne Boleyn to preach before Henry advocating that the monasteries be put to better use rather than allow their 'uttere subversion', Bodl. Don MS C42, f. 28^{v}.

162. 1 Lat., 522; 2 Lat., 362.

163. 1 Lat., 392; 2 Tyn., 91, 276. cf. 2 Tyn., 22, 32.

164. 1 Tyn., 300; 2 Tyn., 41, 42.

165. Bale, 25.

166. Eg 1 Lat., 53; Bale, 524. For orders to remove shrines cf. 2 Cran., 90, 503.

167. J Sumption: Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion, L.1975, p. 122. See also W.S. Simpson: 'On the Pilgrimage to Bromholm in Norfolk', British Archeological Association Journal, 30, 1874, pp.52-9; F.Wormald: 'The Rood of Bromholm', J.W.C.I., 1, 1937, pp.31-45; R.C. Finucane: Miracles and Pilgrims. Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, L.1977.

168. Sumption: Pilgrimage, loc. cit.. Sumption's figures reveal that there was a revival of pilgrimage in the fifteenth century, and the practice was still flourishing on the eve of the Reformation.

169. S.T.C.^{2}, 24873, 1483. Caxton added seventy new lives, and further editions followed, the last in 1527, (S.T.C.^{2}, 24880). It seems, however, that the popularity of saints' lives had begun to decline before the Reformation. Cf. J.T. Rhodes: 'Private devotion in England on the eve of the Reformation', unpublished thesis, University of Durham, 1974, p.447.

170. Pantin: 'Instructions for a devout and literate layman', p.399; Armstrong: 'The Piety of Cicely, Duchess of York', p.79.

171. Clifford: Life of Jane Dormer, p.73. Lady Margaret was said to have received a visitation from St Nicholas after praying to him about marriage, Fisher: English Works, pp.292-3.

172. Astle: Will of Henry VII, pp.33-4.

173. Talismans were also treasured objects and were given away as gifts, Catto: 'Religion and the English Nobility', p.48.

174. Nicholas: Privy Purse Expenses, pp.67, 148.

175. Finucane: Miracles and Pilgrims, p.195. Cf. R. Knox and S. Leslie: The Miracles of King Henry VI, Cam., 1923; B. Spencer: 'King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim' in J Bird, et al (eds): Collectanea Londiniensia. Studies presented to Ralph Merrifield, London and Middlesex Archeological Society, 1978, pp.235 ff. In 1479 the Archbishop of York was forced to forbid the veneration of his image, cf. R Strong, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits, 2 vols, L.1969, 1, p.148; ibid, 2, plates 285, 286.

176. Cf. J.W. McKenna: 'Piety and Propaganda: the cult of King Henry VI' in B. Rowland (ed.): Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Russell Hope Robbins, L.1974, pp.72-88.

177. Finucane: Miracles and Pilgrims, pp.191 ff. On devotion to the Virgin Mary, cf. E. Waterton: Pietas Maria Britannica. A history of English devotion to the most blessed Virgin Marye mother of God, L.1879. See also J.T. Rhodes: 'Sixteenth century devotion to Our Lady in England' (unpublished paper). I am grateful to Dr Rhodes for allowing me to read this.

178. Cf. H.M. Gillet: Walsingham. The History of a Famous Shrine. L.1946. J.C. Dickinson: The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, Cam., 1956.

179. Aungier: History and Antiquities of Syon, p.22. Sion owed its original popularity in courtly circles to the patronage of the aristocracy, and to its rich indulgences.

180. Fisher: English Works, p.274; Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.34.

181. Fisher: English Works, p.295.

182. Nicholas: Privy Purse Expenses, p.272.

183. Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.37.

184. Ibid, p.35. Henry sent his banners to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham as votive offerings following his victory at Stoke, Gillet: Walsingham, p.36.

185. Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.21.

186. B.L. Cott MS, Vesp., F III, p.15.

187. N.H. Nicolas: Testamenta Vetusta, L.1826, p.37.

188. Cf. Gillet: Walsingham, pp.37 ff. for Henry's patronage of this shrine. See also H Robinson (ed.): Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 2 vols, (Parker Society), Cam., 1846-7, 2, CCLXXIX, p.609, n.4., (hereafter cited as O.L.).

189. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 33^{v}, (LP II, 2, p.1451).

190. B.L. Arundel MS, 97, f. 1, et seq., (LP XIII, 2, 1280). A candle also burned regularly before Our Lady of Doncaster and at Henry VI's shrine at Windsor, ibid, f. 5^{v}.

191. Ibid, f. 1, et seq.

192. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 51; Hall, p.517; J. Phillips: The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660, L.1973, pp.73 ff.

193. 2 Lat., 364.

194. Collectanea topographica et genealogica, 8 vols, ed. J.G. Nichols, L.1834-43, 5, 66; for Wingfield cf. L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds.): Dictionary of National Biography, 63 vols, 1885-1903, 62, pp.187 ff., (hereafter cited as D.N.B.).

195. Hall, p.598.

196. He was also a friend of Hugh Latimer who considered that no-one else carried more influence with the king than Wingfield, 2 Lat, 296.

197. D.N.B., 62, p.192.

198. L.P. III, 1, p.497.

199. L.P. III, 1, 1285.

200. Allen, 1, 262, p.513.

201. B.L. Cott MS, Calig. E I, 9, cf. Byrne: The Lisle, Letters, 1, p.158.

202. Brown: Fours years at the court, 2, p.130.

203. The Peregrinatio, which included a description of Erasmus' visit to Walsingham, was first printed in the Colloquia at Basle in 1526. It first appeared in English in 1536 or 7 by an anonymous translator, (S.T.C. 10454). Cf. Thompson: The Colloquies of Erasmus, pp.285 ff.

204. The last recorded payment was in March 1548, B.L. Arundel MS, 97, f. 12.

205. B.L. Arundel MS, 97, f. 34. At the same time he was paying 'sonndry sn̄nte and labourers traveling abowte the disgarnishyng' of a shryne and other thinḡe there', ibid, f. 34^{v}. Cf. below, p.85.

206. Knowles, 3, p.220. This does not of course minimise the sufferings of the religious, especially the Carthusians.

207. L.P. XII, 2, 220, 1311 (22).

208. L.P. XII, 2, 411 (27). Re-foundations 'in perpetuity' went on until May 1538 (Knowles, 3, p.350).

209. Cf. G H Cook: Medieval Chantries, L.1947, pp.1 f.

210. Jane tried to persuade Henry to restore the abbeys. L.P., XI, 860.

211. J.E. Jackson: 'Wulfhall and the Seymours', Wiltshire Archeological Magazine, 15, pp.144, 149, 170-1.

212. Cal. S.P., Span., V, 1, 1, p.4. Cf. Knowles, 3, p.229. Gage's retreat may be seen as one form of passive resistance to Henry's policies at court. The withdrawal of Gage, the Vice-Chamberlain and Sandes the Chamberlain must have sent at least a ripple through the royal household. Cf. below, pp.261ff for further discussion.

213. S.P., I, 694.

214. L.P., XV, 144, (16), p.53.

215. Cf. J.T. Rosenthal: The Purchase of Paradise. Giftgiving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485, passim.

216. T. Percy (ed.): The Northumberland Household Book, L.1770, p.303.

217. Myers, pp.90-1.

218. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 57^{v}-58, (LP II, 2, p.1450).

219. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 6 et seq; B.L. Arundel MS, 97, f. 1 et seq.

220. Nicolas: Privy Purse Expenses, p.265.

221. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 37, (LP II, 2, p.1447).

222. Ibid, loc. cit.

223. Ibid, f. 21.

224. Myers, p.205.

225. Ibid, pp.205, 214-5.

226. Braddock cites many examples of this throughout his thesis.

227. Fisher: English Works, p.296.

228. Ibid, p.297.

229. Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.14. For the Savoy cf. R. Somerville: The Savoy, L.1960.

230. Astle: Will of Henry VII, p.14. Henry intended to found two more hospitals at York and Coventry, but these did not materialise.

231. B.L. Add MS, 21,481, f. 26, (LP II, 2, p.1444).

232. Nicholas: Privy Purse Expenses, p.42.

233. Latimer stated that abbeys were ordained 'for the comfort of the poor', 1 Lat., 93; see also 2 Tyn., 288; 3 Tyn., 78. Some of the bishops also hoped they would be employed for charitable purposes, 2 Cran., 16.

234. Scarisbrick: The Reformation and the English People, p.92, notes how many Elizabethans looked back to times when people 'were wont to live of their lands, to keep good hospitality, to maintain schools and houses of alms'.

235. B.L. Arundel MS, 97, ff. 1, 5v, 10v, 12.

236. Ibid, f. 34^{v}.

237. Ibid, f. 39.

238. Ibid, f. 142^{v}.

239. Ibid, f. 167^{v}, for example.

240. P.R.O., E23/4, pt. 1, f. 5^{v}-6.

241. Cf. the Epistle of James, for example.

242. Eg 1 Lat., 303, 408, 410, 414.

243. 1 Lat., 178-9.

244. S.P., I, 587. On Audley's religious position cf. S.E. Lehmberg: 'Sir Thomas Audley: a soul as black as marble?' in A.J. Slavin (ed.): Tudor Men and Institutions, Baton Rouge, 1972, pp.70 ff. This article highlights the difficulty of applying specific religious labels to individuals.

245. J A Giles (ed.): The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, 3 vols, L.1864, 1, 15.

246. S.T.C.^{2}, 16934, 1534, f. E II^{V}.

247. Thomas Elyot: A Preservative Against Deth, S.T.C. 7674, 1545, f. B^{V}-BII. This work is almost medieval in its treatment of the Devil, the Flesh and the World. For Elyot's own place in English humanism and the Reformation cf. S.E. Lehmberg: Thomas Elyot, Tudor Humanist, N.Y. 1960; idem: 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the English Reformation', Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, 48, 1957, pp.91 ff.

248. W.K. Jordan: Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660, N.Y. 1959, a study of private charity, argues that the Reformation re-directed philanthropy into secular channels. Whether or not the Tudor age distinguished between religious and secular gift-giving is debatable. Jordan's thesis has been refuted by J.A.F. Thompson: 'Piety and Charity in late Medieval London', J.E.H., 16, 1965, pp.178-95.

249. Cf. J.E. Paul: Catherine of Aragon and Her Friends, L.1966, passim, for the activities of Catherine's circle.

250. Bodl. Don. MS C42 f. 25; Wyatt: Life of Anne Boleigne, p.19.

251. Bodl. Don MS C42, f 25.

252. S.T.C.^{2} 26119, 1535.

253. Bodl. Don MS C42 f. 28^{V}. She procured a living for Crome, B.L. Lans MS 1045, art 64, f. 79^{V}.

254. Shaxton and Skip subsequently conformed. For Skip cf. below, pp. 292f.

255. P.R.O. E315/161/ff. 51, 92.

256. George Day had been chaplain to bishop John Fisher, who criticised him for trying to obtain favour from both sides at the time of the Divorce, (L.P., VIII, 859). Deprived of his bishopric under Edward, he preached at Edward's funeral and Mary's coronation and was restored until his death. Cf. D.N.B. 14, pp.231-2; B.L. Beer: 'A note on Queen Catherine Parr's almoner', H.L.Q., 25, 1961-2, pp.347-8.

257. R.H. Pogson: 'Revival and Reform in Mary Tudor's Church: a question of money', J.E.H., 35, 3, 1974, pp.249-65; D.M. Loades: The Reign of Mary Tudor, L.1979, ch.10.

258. Madden: Privy Purse Expenses, passim.

259. It was generally in Latin. An early exception was Bodl. MS Douce 246, a fifteenth century Sarum Horae. On primers in general cf. White: Tudor Books, chs 4 ff.; C C Butterworth: The English Primers 1529-1545, Philadelphia, 1953.

260. Nicolas: Test. Vet., p.357.

261. B.L. Add MS, 17,012.

262. Eg Nicolas: Test. vet., Index rerum; A.I. Doyle: 'A survey of the origins of theological writings in England in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein', unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953, pp.302-322.

263. Eg Ann, Duchess of Buckingham, (Nicolas: op. cit., pp.357 ff.); Cicely, Duchess of York, (J.G. Nichols and J Bruce (eds.): Wills from the Doctor's Commons, (Camden, o.s. 83), 1843, pp.2 ff.); Lady Margaret Zouch (J Raine, (ed.): Testamenta Eboracensia, (Surtees Society, 2), 1836, p.156). See also K.Chesney: 'Treatises of devotion for Margaret of York', Medium Aevum, 20, 1951, pp.11-39; S.G. Bell: 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of lay piety and ambassadors of culture' Journal of women in culture and society, 7, 1982, pp.742 ff.

264. The Woodvilles, especially Earl Rivers were Caxton's first patrons. He survived the Yorkist fall to continue his career under the Tudors. Cf. F.H. Blades: 'Who was Caxton?' The Library, Ser 3, 4, 1903, pp.113 ff.

265. Cf. for example the preface to his edition of The hystorye of kynge Blanchardyne and queen Eglantyne, S.T.C., 3124, (1489).

266. N.F. Blake: Caxton and his world, L.1969, p.95.

267. F.A. Gasquet: 'The bibliography of some devotional books printed by the earliest English printers' The Library, ser 3, 7, 1904, p.164.

268. Cf. C.H. Cooper: Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, (ed. J.E.B. Mayor), Cam. 1874, p.83, n.4. The work is undated.

269. Cf. S.T.C.^{2}, 16117.5.

270. S.T.C.[2], 23954.7, 1503-4. Pynson and De Worde continued to print further editions until Wyer published a new version, by Whitford, S.T.C.[2], 23961 [1531?] .

271. It had been largely the preserve of the Carthusians and Bridgettines at Sion, and this may have been where Lady Margaret first encountered it. cf. J.K. Ingram (ed.): De imitatione Christi, (EETS e.s., 63), 1893, pp.xxiv-xxvi; Lovatt: 'The imitation of Christ in late medieval England', pp.112 ff.

272. More: Works, 8, ed. L.A. Schuster et al, 1973, pt 1, p.37.

273. S.T.C., 6895, 1522.

274. S.T.C., 10902, 1508.

275. P. Janelle: L'Angleterre Catholique à la veille du Schisme, Paris, 1935, pp.13 ff., Dickens: English Reformation, pp.22 ff. Considering that the average size of a mid-sixteenth century edition was between 600 and 800 copies, the number is even more staggering (H.S. Bennett: English Books and Readers, 1475-1557, Cam. 1969, p.228).

276. M. Deanesly: 'Vernacular Books in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', Modern Language Review, 15, 1920, p.350.

277. Eg Whitford, cf. below.

278. S.T.C., 14042, cf. M.G. Sargent: 'The transmission by the English Carthusians of some late medieval spiritual writings', J.E.H., 27, no 3, 1976, p.237, n.4.

279. More: Works, 8, pt 1, p.37. He recommended it along with Nicholas Love: The myrroir of the blessed lyf of Jesus Christ, (S.T.C., 3259), as most profitable to ordinary people, illustrating the breadth of the spirituality of the period, and also its continuity. Written during the first decade of the fifteenth century The myrrour reached the peak of its popularity in the early 1530s, cf. Doyle: 'A survey of the origins of theological writings' pp.137 ff. Hilton's Scala was reprinted in 1507, 1525 and 1533, (S.T.C., 14043-5).

280. McConica, pp.60-1, 173.

281. Allen, I, 89, pp.225 f.

282. G Williams: 'Two neglected London-Welsh Clerics: Richard Whitford and Richard Gwent', Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorian, 1961, pt 1, p.25; cf. Knowles, 3, p.214. See also P. Caraman: 'An English Monastic Reformer of the Sixteenth Century', Clergy Review, n.s. 28, 1, 1947, pp.1-16.

283. It went through 10 editions between 1530 and 1537. Whitford's popularity is analysed by Rhodes: 'Private devotion', pp.194-5.

284. Whitford: Pype or tonne, p.ccxxxv.

285. Probably at Bruges, Blades: 'Who was Caxton?', p.124.

286. The first work he commissioned Caxton to print was Dictes or sayings, (S.T.C., 6826, 1477) translated by himself.

287. S.T.C.^{2}, 19305.

288. S.T.C.^{2}, 16117.5. For Pynson cf. S.H. Johnston: 'A study of the career and literary publications of Richard Pynson', unpublished thesis, University of London, Ontario, 1977. I am grateful to Dr A I Doyle for drawing my attention to this thesis.

289. Byrne: The Lisle Letters, 2, chs 2 and 5, 1120, 1131, 1545, and see comments pp.432 ff.

290. The patronage exercised by Henry's queens on behalf of scholarship and reform has been extensively covered by M. Dowling 'Scholarship, politics and the court of Henry VIII', unpublished thesis, University of London, 1982. I have therefore kept my observations to a minimum in this area.

291. Fisher: English Works, pp.291-2.

292. Ibid, pp.294-5.

293. Ibid, p.295.

294. Despite the hagiographical nature of the accounts, Lady Margaret's behaviour was exceptional.

295. Fisher: English works, p.294.

296. Ibid, p.295.

297. Mattingly: Catherine of Aragon, pp.113 ff.

298. S.T.C.^{2}, 25421, 1532. A copy was specially bound for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon with the arms of England on the obverse cover and those of Castile-Aragon on the reverse (B.L. C.69.E.1).

299. Brown: Four years at the court, 2, p.312, App.2.

300. Clifford: Life of Jane Dormer, pp.73-4.

301. Ibid, loc. cit.

302. It was the common practice for members of the Burgundian court to withdraw to strict seclusion at intervals for example, although the very act of withdrawal was itself conspicuous, cf. Cartellieri: The Court of Burgundy, p.61.

303. It is rather surprising to find that, unknown to all except his chaplain, Cardinal Wolsey wore a hair shirt (Cavendish, p. 182). It is perhaps typical of the man as well as of the age that he possessed 3! (Ibid, p.162.)

Chapter Three

The Changing Face of Court Religion

And what have kings that privates have not too,
Save ceremony, save general ceremony?

Shakespeare: Henry V, Act IV, Sc. 1

He was like, I say, to one that would throw down a man headlong from the top of a high tower and bid him stay where he was half way down.

Nicholas Harpsfield

Introduction

Between 1529 and 1536 the Reformation parliament passed a series of acts which broke the ties of the English Church with Rome and replaced papal authority with that of the king.[1] This was the official Reformation. Scholarship which has concerned itself with this issue has addressed the questions of who masterminded the plan and how it was carried out. The debate in the first instance has focused upon Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell his chief minister. In the second, the workings of parliament, the propaganda campaign and the reception of official policy and Reformation doctrines must be considered.

These matters are not central to this study, but they form the backcloth against which the men and women of the royal household lived their lives and pursued their beliefs. The figure of the king in particular pervades the scene from every perspective. The activities of the Tudor courtiers must therefore be viewed within the context of the wider perspective of the English Reformation.

By the time Henry began to pursue seriously a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, the teachings of the reformers had already begun to penetrate England and gain a number of adherents. The denial of papal authority and the attack on clerical privileges were welcomed by English reformers such as William Tyndale, whose Obedience of a Christian Man supporting submission to the secular ruler appeared in 1528.[2] Indeed his English translation of the New Testament which reached England in 1525 may be taken as a sign that reform would make an impact with or without official action.[3]

Without, however, the break with Rome and the establishment of

the royal supremacy, reform would have had a totally different history in England. Despite the fact that the administrative changes established by parliament did not overtly deal with doctrine or religion, despite, indeed, the fact that statutes such as the Conditional Restraint of Annates went out of the way to proclaim the country's orthodoxy, once spiritual matters had been annexed by the monarch the potential for change was there. As Thomas More realised, there was no stopping place between the universally accepted authority of the Church and the victory of national preference or opinion.

During the 1530s, the period of Thomas Cromwell's ascendancy, the movement of England towards Protestantism began to be apparent. Denunciations of the Catholic Church and vigorous support for reform forged ahead during the 1530s through preaching and the dissemination of literature. It was a deliberate campaign and patronage of writers and preachers was very important and the men publicly responsible were Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer. How far the Reformation was masterminded by Cromwell remains a subject for debate, but it is undeniable that the furtherance of reform owed its political backing to him.[4] In the words of G.R. Elton:

> In Cromwell ... the movement found a man attuned to its call but also singularly able to translate it into action. (5)

His personal religious beliefs are not easy to discern though it would be difficult to deny him any sympathy for reformist teachings.[6] The outward changes did not, of course, transform religious life overnight. Their importance lies in the fact that in the long-term they gave rise to differences in the more personal expression of

religious life.

The movement towards Protestantism was given an irreversable impetus through the English Bible and the campaign against superstition, notably images and excessive ceremonial. All this had far-reaching effects in the Tudor court.

Ceremonial: Sacred and Secular

Despite the iconoclasm of the late 1530s, Henry never sanctioned the wholesale destruction of religious shrines.[7] As the father and leader of his people, he was concerned to enlighten them and steer them clear of idolatry, but not at the expense of royal honour. As an upholder of the social order he was also mindful of the usefulness of visual representation, and was aware of the fears of conservatives such as Gardiner, should the destruction go ahead unchecked. Not only did the very act of image-breaking stir up potential disorderly behaviour, it was also likely to lead to disrespect of the entire established order.[8]

The symbolism and ceremonial of which images were a part involved more than simply clearing away ignorance and superstition. By attacking all such visual aids, the crown would thereby eventually call into question the entire mode of thinking of its age, including the concept of kingship itself. In the event it was understood that it was not imagery and symbolism per se which were wrong, but their abuse. This was important, because early English Protestantism was in fact no less symbolic than traditional Catholicism. The emphasis was indeed shifted from the visual and tangible to the written word, but

the most important example of the latter, the Bible, was replete with symbolism and imagery of all kinds.[9] The reformers took it and adapted it for their own purposes with a vivid and lively imagination.[10]

The government's attitude towards images and church ceremonies can be traced through the official formularies of faith. It will be seen that the tone of the doctrinal and disciplinary statements at this time were far less dogmatic than the legislation which broke the bonds of the Church with Rome. They suggest that there was no clear idea of the precise shape or form the Henrician Church should take. A period of experimentation followed. Ostensibly the government desired that the people

> may be taught the truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many novelties. (11)

The Second Royal Injunctions, issued in 1538, stated that practices such as

> wandering to pilgrimages, offering money, candles or tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same (12)

were

> works devised by men's fantasies ... things tending to idolatry and superstition. (13)

There was the promise of further reform, but two months later, in November, a proclamation concerning the unlicensed printing of books and various matters of rites and ceremonies proceeded to confirm the

> many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore used and accustomed in the Church of England which as yet be not abolished nor taken away by the King's highness. (14)

Henceforth practices such as kneeling and creeping to the cross on Good Friday and Easter Sunday, setting up lights before Corpus Christi

and bearing candles on the Day of Purification of Our Lady should be observed

> until such time as his majesty doth change or abrogate any of them. (15)

The reformers themselves had no agreed opinion about the ceremonies of the Church, nor about its use of visual images. Ceremonies and images had a special relevance for the period, and certainly, as we have seen, for the Tudor court. The problem was how to divide the abuse from the thing abused.

Luther valued art for its own sake and was content to see it utilised in God's service, going so far as to tolerate the crucifix in churches.[16] Erasmus was ambivalent towards visual ceremony in the Church. He composed the Enchiridion militis christiani

> ut mederer errori vulgo religionem constituentium in ceremoniis et observationibus pene plusquam Iudaicis rerum corporalium, earum, quae ad pietatem pertinent mire negligentium. (17)

but he did not condemn all ceremony outright.

A more committed supporter of ceremonies was found in the bishop of Winchester, who used the secular example of the Feast of the Order of the Golden Fleece to argue in their favour, concluding that

> If ye knowe any that lovith noo ceremonyes, geve hym this letter to rede. (18)

Sir Thomas More was much more cautious in his criticisms of the Church. He refuted the author of The Image of Love who claimed that 'religious men and folk of more perfect life' had no need of images.[19] More saw attacks on the outward expression of religion such as this as attempts to strangle the devotional life of God's people, and therefore equivalent to heresy.[20] Another member of More's circle wrote of

a different usage of ceremonies. Richard Whitford was concerned for reform, but was also, like More, thoroughly orthodox, and he was greatly esteemed by the courtly group of devout Christians in the early sixteenth century. For Whitford ceremonies were a necessary part of any Rule for a religious life, and so he positively asserted their necessity. In his Pype or tonne of the lyfe of perfection,[21] he insisted that the great cause of decay in religion was

> the contempt/and negligẽce of the wykers: the small cerimonies. For you may take this for a sure trothe. That person in religion: that doth dispise or sette little by the least or smallest cerimonie/ shall never be good ne perfyte religious psone. (22)

Whitford compared the Christian life to

> precious wyne contayed in a pipe of planed bordes; - bound with ropes of holy rules; - the ropes made fast with small wykers of holy ceremonies ... all depends upon the ceremonies. (23)

Such a definite commitment could not be found among the English reformers. Their preaching and literature tended to denounce popular superstition which they saw in terms of over-reliance on ceremonies and images to stimulate devotion.[24] Although both Latimer and Tyndale at one time allowed the use of images as 'laymen's books',[25] the dangers of abuse also perturbed them. Latimer advocated the destruction of all shrines,[26] while images were considered by men like Ridley and Thomas Becon not only as unprofitable but positively harmful.[27] Ridley gave his reasons for avoiding them,[28] and claimed that even sincere preaching could not counteract their evil effects.[29] Cranmer and Latimer pointed out their abuse in connection with pilgrimages,[30] Becon linked them with Antichrist, and said that those who served them were God's enemies.[31]

In 1538 the official campaign against images was at its most vigorous, and in that year the shrine of St Thomas a Becket was destroyed at Canterbury.[32] He was a national saint and his shrine was the most important in England, and so its destruction was of great significance.[33] More important than this, however, was the principle for which Becket had stood during his life, that of the defiance of an Archbishop against his king. There were obvious political grounds for exposing him as a 'rebel and traitor to his prince'. Great trouble was taken to eradicate Becket from all memory. Images were taken down, his feasts abolished, whole pages removed from service books and a false 'History' put out by Cromwell.[34] As a defiant act of his own, as well as pointing to the pecuniary motives involved, Henry wore the greatest jewel from the shrine set in a ring, with apparently no scruples about the possible consequences resulting from such sacrilege.[35] His destruction of shrines and images, however, was by no means thorough. Although John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, exposed the Blood of Hailes at St Paul's Cross, Latimer felt this particular piece of superstition was only partly redressed in Henry's reign.[36] Nor would he allow the destruction of St Winifrede's Well near Chester. In this case he farmed out the rights to collect the revenues accrued from pilgrims.[37] It may have been that Henry was impelled to leave the well as a place of pilgrimage out of reverence for the memory of his saintly grandmother, the Lady Margaret, who had built its chapel. He also refused to allow the destruction of another shrine with royal connections, that of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. It had been commissioned by Henry III in 1241, but Henry VIII's attitude was

determined less out of deference for the pious monarch whom it commemorated than to the secular image of royal power to which it pointed.[38] The complexities of the sacred/secular symbolism embodied in the shrine are self-evident. Henry sought to resolve them by the compromise of stripping the shrine of its ornaments.

The example of the Rood of Boxley illustrates still further the strange inconsistency in the king's attitude. This shrine, visited by Henry in 1510, had a famous device which

> By means of some person pulling a cord, most artfully contrived ... the image rolled about its eyes just like a living creature, and on the pulling of other cords it gave a nod of assent or dissent according to the occasion. (39)

When it was dismantled 'certain engines and old wire' were discovered, so that Henry did not know whether

> to rejoice at the exposure or to grieve at the long deception. (40)

The King's Position

Henry's attitude towards ceremonies and images in the Church illustrates his general ambivalence towards religious reform, and its use as an instrument of royal policy. It was subordinate to the king's current needs in the wider context. A court dedicated to external appearances could not embrace the reformers' cry for a simplified religion with whole-hearted enthusiasm. By encouraging a modicum of reform, however, Henry unleashed forces which could not then be suppressed. When he attacked specific aspects of the Church, Henry did not intend to undermine the traditional structure of the religious order in a wholesale fashion, but this was the net effect. He never went the whole way to a complete reform of the Church, but neither was

his conservatism sufficiently whole-hearted to give the conservative element a satisfactory victory. As long as Cranmer hovered at the king's side and retained his trust, there was hope for reform. The Archbishop was a symbolic indication that the king's mind was not closed on the issue.[41]

It has been claimed that in the long run, Henry's personal sympathies were unimportant because the medieval Church was steadily undermined by the secular and dynastic forces unleashed by the king.[42] But much of the confusion of the 1530s arose because of Henry's predilections, whether or not these sprang from genuine religious convictions.[43] The truth was that the king faced a dilemma over the images and the ceremonial of the Church, and it was in part created by reformist teaching on the nature of secular authority. It was more than a naturally conservative nature which made Henry reluctant to denounce all images and ecclesiastical ceremonial. As we have seen, the royal image itself was bolstered by symbolism and ritual, and the sacred character of kingship bound Christian imagery closely to that of the monarchy. To attack one would lay open a way of attack to the other. Indeed, the ceremony of the Church and that of the court complemented each other in that they were both highly centralised, and the focus of each bore a special relationship with the other. This was the heart of the problem. The reformers were only too willing to exalt the power of the monarch, but how could it be done in the sixteenth century without ritual, ceremony and imagery?

The dilemma was all the more acute because of the development of court spectacle resulting from renaissance and humanist thought. The

revival of Thomist-Aristotelian philosophy wherein visual splendour and magnificence were regarded as virtues, meant that all over Europe scholars and artists were encouraging rulers to surround themselves with concrete symbols of power.[44] Since they also believed that they had a special duty to serve their rulers, they put their own talents into practice. Henry's awareness of Renaissance thought, his natural feeling for display and his desire to emulate and outshine, if possible, all his rivals, guaranteed that he would not ignore this growing trend. The motivation behind this philosophy was in general secular. The way was opened to the strengthening and glorification of the ruler and his dynasty. By means of music, drama, literature, colourful pageantry and vivid imagery, powerful political statements could be made.

All this would seem to be the antithesis of much basic Christian teaching, with its emphasis on simplicity and other-worldliness. It was especially so of Protestantism, which so roundly condemned the traditional Church for allowing the world to creep into its life through ceremonial accretions and the growth of material wealth. Protestantism, however, did not destroy the close relationship between Church and state. The turmoil created by the break-up of the unity of Christendom led increasingly to reliance on the secular ruler for peace and stability, and the maintenance of religion. Protestant thinkers were therefore prepared to countenance anything which strengthened the authority of the secular ruler. These two factors, the desire of secular rulers to glorify themselves and the Protestant obeisance to the prince, meant that where Catholicism lost the battle

and the traditional ceremonial edifice was rejected, a substitute was found in what may be termed a 'liturgy of state'.[45] In England where the supreme headship helped to preserve the traditional role of the Church in support of the state, this 'liturgy of state' is clearly to be seen.

The employment in 1532 by the court of the painter Hans Holbein coincided with the onset of religious change.[46] Holbein's most frequent subject was the king and there was a huge increase in the output of royal portraiture.[47] The image of Holbein's Henry VIII in items such as the Great Bible, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba and the painting for the Privy Chamber at Whitehall established the imagery of divine monarchy in the context of the Royal Supremacy. The Whitehall painting was executed around 1537 and has been termed Holbein's 'monumental apotheosis of the Tudor dynasty'.[48] It was a painting for the Privy Chamber at Whitehall and through it, Holbein succeeded in communicating secular power without denying or letting go of the sacred dimension of kingship. As R. Strong so vividly described it: 'the hallowed formulae of sacred art' are transmuted 'into tributes to a new and omnipotent monarchy which claims as the chief jewel in its Crown to be Vicar of Christ'.[49] Where suppliants knelt to implore the protection of Our Lady, Henry, his Queen and parents pay homage not to the Virgin or to St George, but stand gazing outwards commanding homage to themselves 'as preservers of the Tudor pax and vanquishers of papal tyranny and impurity'.[50]

Equally vivid and more widely disseminated was the 1536 Bible. Here Holbein showed the king, under the overshadowing presence of the

Almighty, distributing the scriptures to his episoopal and lay subjects alike. In the 1539 frontispiece of the Great Bible (not ascribed to Holbein) the formula is developed with the king sitting directly beneath the figure of God, in the place traditional religious art would have placed the glorified Christ.[51] Nor did this theme die with Henry. In the 1570 and 1576 editions of John Foxe's Actes and monuments was a woodcut of Henry seated on his throne bearing sword in his right hand and book in his left.[52] Underneath were the words

> An olde prophecie of the fall of the Pope: Papa cito moritur, Caesar regnabit ubique, Et subito vani cessabunt gaudia cleri. (53)

The imperial theme reached its apogée in Elizabeth's reign, but the Reformation image of kingship was already personified in Henry VIII.[54]

The Official Royal Image

The full expression of reformed, renaissance monarchy did not happen overnight, nor did it develop without careful management and imagination. The period 1535-53 in England is an excellent illustration of both points. Henry did not relinquish the traditional forms of expressing the sacrosanct nature of kingship. Neither did he seek to utterly destroy the established traditions of the Church because they spoke of order and dignity, and were a means by which personal piety, particularly Henry's own, could be measured. He did, however, sieze the humanist exaltation of the 'just ruler' with enthusiasm and so welcomed to his court anyone who might enhance its prestige.

Richard Morison suggested to the king that the break with Rome

should be celebrated with an annual triumph, bonfires, processions, feasts and prayers as a perpetual reminder of England's deliverance.[55] Morison advocated every means of propaganda against the Pope, including 'Playes, songes and books' as instruments 'to be bore withal'.[56] The annual triumph was by far the most effective in Morison's opinion, and he noted other examples of its use by way of comparison. These included the nationalist commemorations of Agincourt and deliverance from the Danes, besides plays about Robin Hood which took place 'upon the holy daies in most places' in summer and which met with Morison's disapproval because of their 'lewdenes and rebawdry'.[57] The foreign ambassador Marillac complained that anti-papal pastimes were prevalent throughout the country.[58] Higher up the social scale, influential persons had been commanded to 'lyberally speke at their bourdes' against the Pope.[59]

Closer to the court itself, Cromwell was actively promoting men of varied talent to use their skills in the service of the official reformation. He had, for instance, rescued the playwright John Bale from the clutches of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London in 1534 and his account books for 1538 and 1539 show payments to him for performances.[60] It is possible that the 'Lord Cromwell's players' were identical with Bale's own company, and at any rate the writer's fortunes were so bound up with those of the king's chief minister that he fled into exile upon the latter's fall in 1540.[61]

Bale also wrote controversial plays for the Earl of Oxford who was his patron and who was active in support of the king's religious policy.[62] Bale's play 'King Johan', a portrait of an idealised king,

and full of anti-Catholic satire, was performed before Archbishop Cranmer at Christmas 1538.[63] The Archbishop clearly shared Cromwell's belief in the propaganda value of such spectacles and another controversial play, 'Pammachius', by Thomas Kirchmayer was dedicated to him in the same year.[64]

Bale exploited ceremony and ritual to the full in his dramas, using the very theatricality of the Catholic Church as a weapon against it. The inventories of the Revels Office after 1530 are thus full of records of costumes worn by clerics who were held up to ridicule in plays like 'King Johan'.[65]

The summer of 1539 witnessed the peak of anti-papal spectacle. That year there was a triumph on the Thames before the king's palace at Westminster

> where were two barges prepared with ordinance of warre as gonnes and dartes of reede, one for the bishop of Rome and his cardinalles, and the other for the Kinges Grace, and so rode up and downe ... (66)

The 'Pope and his cardinalles' eventually found themselves vanquished and in the river providing 'a goodly pastime' for the on-lookers,[67] who included the 'Kinges Grace with his lordes and certeine ladyes standinge on the leades'.[68] The king himself did not take part on this occasion, and there is no evidence that he participated in any such anti-papal spectacles, unlike his son.[69] That they were largely bound up with Cromwell's propaganda campaign would account for their absence after 1540. Then there was a return to more sumptuous forms of entertainment at court, reflecting the opening years of Henry's reign, though in a very pale fashion. This was due partly to the king's declining vigour in old age, but the attack on outward trappings and

ceremonial had not been without effect.[70]

There were sixteen masques and possibly one or two plays at court between 1540 and 1546, while only one morality fragment survives from the same period.[71] This was The four cardinal virtues and the vices contrary to them. The play was a warning to any seeking to climb too high, and did not contain any arguments or direct references to religious issues. It did, however, include a prayer offered for the intercession of the Virgin, a nice vestige of the traditional, in an otherwise apparently reformed production.[72]

It seemed at times that there was one rule for the king and his household, and another for the nation at large. Had the king desired a thorough reformation, the court would have been expected to take the lead. Those with influence about the king knew full well the significance of the court. While Gardiner extolled the virtues of tradition, Cranmer warned Cromwell that

> If in the court you do keep such holy days and fasting days as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping them? (73)

Nor were his fears without foundation. Three years later, a citizen of London was heard to argue that prayers for the dead were perfectly acceptable since the king had held an obit for the soul of the Empress.[74]

Under the influence of the king, the court did not move away from orthodox religious practices, while at the same time the secular ritual of kingship was further enhanced. This became less obvious towards the end of the reign with the rise of a reforming group to balance the conservatives, thereby preventing a thorough reaction.

Furthermore, the king's advancing age and infirmity inevitably affected the tenor of court life, and its image. Through all the ups and downs and about-turns, however, Henry remained meticulous in his outward observances of religion, and was concerned that the world should take notice.

In 1535 Starkey wrote to Pole that Henry

> in no poynt ys slyde, ... frō the lawys nor ceremonys of the church, the wych yet stond in ful strengthe & authoryte. (75)

Henry was scrupulously careful to project an image of orthodoxy. He instructed Stephen Gardiner to point out to the King of France that he was everything a Christian prince should be, hating heresy and maintaining all Christian ceremonies unchanged.[76]

Foreign affairs dictated a good deal of official policy concerning religion, but whatever the vagaries of public worship, the king was determined to maintain the status quo in his own household.

In Lent 1539 it was reported that

> The High Altar in the Chapel was garnished with all the Apostles upon the altar, and Mass by note, and the organs playing with as much honour to God as might be devised ... upon Good Friday last the king crept to the cross from the chapel door upwards devoutly and served the priest to mass the same day his own person kneeling on his Grace's knees. His Grace receives Holy Bread and Holy Water every Sunday, and daily uses all other laudable ceremonies. (77)

Two years later his entry into Lincoln was accompanied by an equally orthodox display of religious ceremonial. Upon entering the cathedral he knelt down while the bishop brought the crucifix for him to kiss. Catherine Howard did likewise and then they were both 'censyd'. They went on to take the Sacrament under the canopy and make their prayers with 'thole queere synginge melodyouslye Te Deu'.[78]

Henry may have repudiated the Pope, but he had no intention of sweeping away the entire edifice of the Catholic Church. Such displays seem to have had the desired effect for Gardiner informed John Edmunds, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge that

> The Kinges Majestie hath, by the inspiration of the Holy Goost, componed al matiers of religion, (79)

while the following year, Henry took considerable pleasure in being told that the Emperor thought that the service of God and the Christian religion were observed as well in England as anywhere. Henry's toleration of unorthodox views in his household was extremely erratic.[80] Much depended on circumstances, so that it was a bold individual who risked embracing ideas which were in advance of the king's own.

These outward actions and the observations of people around the king can only go so far to indicate the king's own position. Hence it is likely to remain a matter for debate, particularly as the available evidence contains considerable contradictions.[81] He has been seen on the one hand as being on the verge of conversion to Protestantism at the time of his death. This was first put forward by Foxe as the martyrologist attempted to come to terms with his dubious hero. It has been reiterated since, perhaps with more emphasis on the political expediency of such a move.[82] The chief evidence in favour of this is the report of the French ambassador that the king was about to convert the mass into communion and Henry's permission to Cranmer to prepare for the replacement of the Latin mass by an English communion service. This can be explained, albeit not entirely satisfactorily, with reference to diplomatic considerations, the possible exaggeration of

an ambassador's report and the fact that, despite Henry's sympathy for Cranmer, the archbishop was not in reality able to proceed beyond the English Litany of 1544.

Henry was not a devoted Catholic either, however, even if it is possible to argue that such a person could exist if he or she had repudiated papal authority.[83] Doubts have been cast on his Catholicism and he has been seen as composing for himself

> an eclectic theology which varied his essential attachment to Catholic doctrine with some radical borrowings from the Protestants. (84)

A further consideration which might shed light upon the king's position involves the examination of his provision for his children's education. This has also caused much debate and will be treated more fully in a subsequent chapter.[85] The conclusion drawn on the evidence discussed here is that Henry, like all human beings was capable of changing his mind, hedging his bets and deceiving himself. Henry's religious position shows signs of all three, but whatever the extent of his experimentation with reform, he did not move very far from the safety of the tried and tested harbour of tradition.[86]

Footnotes

1. For general accounts of the Reformation which supply further background and details cf. Dickens: The English Reformation; Elton: Reform and Reformation.

2. S.T.C.^{2} 24446.

3. This is not to forget the Lollards who also played a significant role in the reception of reform at the popular level. Cf. A.G. Dickens: Lollards and Protestants in the diocese of York, Ox., 1958, passim.

4. Cf. esp. G.R. Elton: 'King or minister? The man behind the Henrician Reformation', History n.s. 39, 1954, pp.216-34; idem, 'Thomas Cromwell Redivivus', Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and government, 3, Papers and Reviews 1973-1981, Cam., 1983. But cf. Coleman, Revolution reassessed, pp.4-6 et passim.

5. Elton: Reform and Reformation, p.173.

6. Dickens claimed he was very committed, cf. A.G. Dickens: Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation, L.1959, pp.179-180. Elton also concedes him at least some 'cool conviction', Reform and Reformation, p.171.

7. Preachers were still denouncing idols at Walsingham, Ipswich, Canterbury and Sheen in 1560, Pil, 63.

8. Cf. J.A. Muller (ed.): The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, Cam., 1933, 119, pp.272-6; (Foxe, 6, p.27).

9. The ambiguity of the 'Word' was itself a prime example of Protestant imagery.

10. Hooper referred to the Sacrament as 'visible words', 1 Hoop, 513.

11. G. Burnet, The History of the Reformation in the Church of England, 7 vols, ed. N. Pocock, Ox., 1865, 2, pt 1, bk 3, p.lxxxi.

12. Hardy and Gee, pp.275 ff.

13. Ibid, p.277.

14. P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin: Tudor Royal Proclamations, 3 vols, v. 1, 1485-1553, L.1964, p.274.

15. Ibid, loc. cit.

16. Zwingli, who shared Luther's general attitude towards art instigated the Zurich magistrates to order the destruction of such images as were objects of worship. Calvin was theoretically the least friendly of the reformers towards the arts, yet he acknowledged that they had their source in God and was prepared to tolerate some images, John Calvin: Institutes of the Christian religion, trans. J. Allen, 3 vols, L.1813, 1, p.119 (Bk I, ch XI, f. XII). See also G.G. Coulton: Art and the Reformation, Ox., 1953, ch.20.

17. Allen, 1, 181, p.405. The Enchiridion went through numerous subsequent editions, S.T.C. 10479-10488.

18. Muller: Letters of Stephen Gardiner, 100, p.217.

19. More: Works, 6, pt 1, pp.40 ff.

20. Ibid, loc. cit.

21. S.T.C.^{2} 25421, 1532.

22. Ibid, f. 111.

23. Ibid, loc. cit., 'Wykers' were the small nails holding in place the hoop round a barrel.

24. Cf. C. Cross, Church and People, 1450-1660, L.1976, p.76.

25. 2 Lat., 233, 353, 359; 3 Tyn., 60, 88.

26. Eg 1 Lat., 75 ff.; cf. Chester: Hugh Latimer, ch 18.

27. Eg Rid., 83, 95; 2 Bec., 60 ff.

28. Rid., 83 ff.

29. Ibid, 87.

30. 2 Cran., 499; 1 Lat., 53. Cf. Cranmer's note on the use of images in the draft of the Ten Articles. 2 Cran., 101. Obviously the removal of images from sacred shrines would deal a very effective blow to pilgrimages since there would no longer be any real reason to visit such places.

31. 2 Bec., 74; 3 Bec., 521.

32. Certain feasts had already been abolished in connection with Becket in 1536. See R. Steele; A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns, 2 vols, Ox., 1910, 2, 96. This is the only known printed copy of B.L. Cott MS, Cleo. EV. ff. 357 ff. (LP, XIII, 2, 848 (2)). The printed version differs slightly and has an end paragraph with measures for

degrading Becket and for the destruction of his pictures and images (ibid, f. 431). His removal from the calendar of saints was published on 16 Nov. 1538, Steele: op. cit., 176; Hughes and Larkin, p.270-276.

33. There were over five hundred miracles associated with Becket and his shrine, K. Thomas: Religion and the Decline of Magic, L.1971, p.28.

34. Finucane: Miracles and Pilgrims, p.210.

35. M. MacLure: The Paul's Cross Sermons. L.1958, p.30. Several carts were required to remove the loot from the shrine (cf. Elton: Reform and Reformation, p.277).

36. C. Wriothesley: A Chronicle of England, 2 vols, ed. W.D. Hamilton (Camden Soc., n.s.11) 1875-7, 1, p.90; 1 Lat., 231-2.

37. Phillips: Reformation of Images, p.79.

38. Cf. Ibid, p.72.

39. O.L., 2, CCLXXVIII, p.606; cf. Wriothesley: Chronicle, 1, p.75.

40. H. Ellis: Original letters, illustrative of English history, ser 3, 4 vols, 1846, 3, 168. A number of images were exposed in order to stir up ridicule in 1538-9.

41. The frequent presence at court of Stephen Gardiner however also indicated that the influence of the reformers on that mind would not go unchallenged.

42. Phillips: Reformation of Images, p.81.

43. R. Whiting argued that the veneration of images was very much alive up to the 1530s, but paradoxically, the iconoclastic campaign was also a success. This arose out of respect for the king rather than acceptance of Protestantism. R Whiting: 'Image-breaking under Henry VIII', J.E.H., 33, no. 1, Jan. 1982, pp.30-47.

44. Cf. R. Strong: Splendour at Court. Renaissance spectacle and illusion, L.1973, esp. ch 2. A.G. Dickens: The courts of Europe, L.1977, passim.

45. Cf. Strong: Splendour at Court, p.22. This did not prevent Catholic rulers from adopting a similar style of secularism in government also, eg the French monarchy.

46. See R. Strong: Holbein and Henry VIII, L.1967, passim for details of the painter's life and relationship with England.

47. Many courtiers also sat for Holbein. There is a complete list in P. Ganz: The paintings of Hans Holbein the younger, 1497/8-1543, L.1950. See also R Strong: Tudor and Jacobean portraits, 2 vols, L.1969, 1, pp.157 ff.

48. Strong: Holbein and Henry VIII, p.3.

49. Strong: Holbein and Henry VIII, p.68.

50. Ibid, loc. cit.

51. S.T.C. 2068. The picture from the identical 1541 edition is reproduced in P. Hughes: The Reformation in England, 3 vols, L.1950-4, 2, bet. pp.16 and 17.

52. S.T.C. 11223, 1570; 11224, 1576, p.1028.

53. S.T.C. 11224, p.1028.

54. For the imperial theme in Elizabeth's reign cf. F. Yates: Astraea. The imperial theme in the sixteenth century, L.1975.

55. R. Morison: A discourse touching the reformation of the lawes of England. (B.L. Cott MS, Faust. CII, ff. 5-22.) Reprinted with introduction by S. Anglo, 'An early Tudor programme for plays and other demonstrations against the pope', J.W.C.I., 20, 1957, pp.176-9.

56. Anglo: art. cit., p.178.

57. Ibid, loc. cit.

58. J. Kaulek: Correspondence politique de M.M. de Castillon et de Marillac, 1537-42, Paris, 1885, 114.

59. S.P., I, p.411, n.1.

60. Cf. Anglo: Spectacle and Pageantry, p.268.

61. On Bale cf. J.W. Harris: John Bale, a study in the minor literature of the Reformation, (Illinois studies in language and literature, 25), 1940; H. McCusker: John Bale, dramatist and antiquary, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1942.

62. These are listed in Anglo: Spectacle and Pageantry, p.268.

63. C. Leech and T.W. Craik: (gen. eds), The revels history of drama in English, 8 vols, L.1975-83, 2, p.184. The play was edited by J.P. Collier for Camden Soc. 1838.

64. Ibid, loc. cit.

65. Cf. Leech and Craik: The revels history of drama in English, 4, ch 2, esp. p.183 ff. for full discussion of this play. Further details of the revels at Edward's court may be found in A Feuillerat: Documents relating to the Revels at the Court of Edward VI and Queen Mary, (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas, 44, ed. W. Bang), L.1914, passim.

66. Wriothesley, 1, p.99-100.

67. Ibid, p.100.

68. Ibid, loc. cit.

69. It was, however, reported to the Pope that Henry, 'feist jouer ou permist estre jouees des farces dedans Londre fort ignominieuses'. There was a comedy at court in 1533-4 'to the no small defamation of certain cardinals', while Chapuys reported that Henry had been present at a play dramatising his defiance of Rome in 1535, L.P. VIII, p.373.

70. Cf. Anglo: Spectacle and Pageantry, p.280.

71. Cf. A. Edinburgh: 'The Early Tudor Revels Office', Shakespeare Quarterly, 2, 1951, pp.19-25.

72. Cf. D. Bevington: Tudor Drama and Politics, Cam. Mass. 1968, p.103. The play was published between 1541 and 1547, S.T.C.^{2}, 14109.7.

73. B.L. Cott MS, Cleo EV., f. 292 (2 Cran, 347).

74. P.R.O., S.P. 1/159, f. 163.

75. Cf. B.L. Harl MS, 283, f. 132.

76. B.L. Add MS, 25,114, f. 96.

77. Byrne: Lisle Letters, 5, 1415, p.478.

78. B.L. Add MS, 6113, f. 181, (L.P. XVI, 1088).

79. Muller: Letters, 64, p.122; Cal. S.P., Span., VII, 39.

80. In 1543, for example, there was trouble over widespread disregard of fasting and the majority of those charged had court connections. Eight men of high birth went to prison. A.P.C., 1, 103-4, 106, 114.

81. There is a good summary of the various interpretations of Henry's religious outlook in R. O'Day: The debate on the English Reformation, L.1986, pp.147 ff.

82. Eg S.T. Bindoff: Tudor England, L.1950, pp.149-50.

83. Cf. Scarisbrick: Henry VIII, pp.474-5.

84. Elton: Reform and Reformation, p.301.

85. Cf. below, ch.9.

86. For further evidence of this cf. the discussion of his will, below pp. 307ff.

Chapter Four

Humanism, Scripture and Reform at Court

How can men knowe the very true way of God,
and have not the word of God?

Robert Barnes

God's Bible was banished the court, and Monte
Arthure received into the prince's chamber.

Roger Ascham

Introduction

If, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the religious position of Henry VIII at any given occasion was likely to be unclear and very likely to be inconsistent with that on other occasions, it is (and no doubt was) a problem to decide what 'reform' might have meant at his court. As the martyr John Lambert discovered, the king could be at times more conservative than the conservatives, and men like Latimer, with their concern for the promotion of the active Christian life and the destruction of superstition and idolatry, found that even in its reformist moods the emphasis the state placed on the hierarchical and liturgical value of the church as a support to the crown might easily take priority.[1] Reform from the position of a Tyndale or a Latimer did not sit entirely harmoniously with the true godliness sought by the supreme head. On the other hand, in the 1530s each to an extent needed and sought to use the other. Thus, the 1536 and 1538 Royal Injunctions show the impact of practical reform upon the government's policy. Cromwell shrewdly used the passionate sincerity of reformist writers and preachers to promote government policy and there was one point of common ground from which to work: the advocacy of vernacular Scripture. During the English Reformation, the Bible was caught up into the centre of the struggle as an instrument of propaganda and as the source of faith and doctrine. Supporters of reform of every shade appealed to its authority and even the conservatives bolstered their defence by referring to its pages. It occupied a central place at court from the point of view of official policy and the position of the king, and also behind the scenes in the more intimate religious life of the royal household.[2]

The Bible cannot be discussed in this context without some reference to the humanists who shared with the government and the reformers a desire for reform, a concern for a practical Christianity and a call to read the Scriptures.[3] The movement gathered around the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus who made England his second home. Like the early reformers, Erasmus was intensely practical in his approach to the Christian life. His Enchiridion,[4] a 'manifesto of a reformed Christianity centred on lay piety'[5] was a handbook of instructions for daily devotional living. This work enjoyed a great reputation among well-educated humanists, clerical and lay, who frequented the court.[6]

Erasmus' works have an important place in the development of the devotional tradition, for he brought the humanist viewpoint to bear on the older forms of devotion.[7] There were a number of features designed to appeal to the upper classes. The Christian knight, for example, and the warfare of Christ, images taken from the Bible itself and found in traditional devotional treatises, would have an appeal for the chivalry-minded court of Henry VIII. His straight-forward call for a lay-centred devotion moved away from the still current belief that the only truly devotional life was lived by the religious. He offered more hope to those who were unable to renounce worldly affairs.[8] His stress on the importance of education involved a demanding programme of learning which effectively excluded the ordinary layman from studying the scriptures in the scholarly way Erasmus intended, and it should be pointed out that however far afield Erasmus hoped his message would reach, it was the literate, educated classes who imbibed his teaching.

Even within this narrow circle humanism could mean different things to different people and its ambiguities have been reflected in later historians until the concept of Erasmianism was enlarged by J.K. McConica as an umbrella term to embrace a wide range of men and women committed to reform.[9] It is useful as a way of illustrating not only many areas of common ground held by court, government, scholars and reformers, but also the general state of flux which prevailed.[10] There can be no doubt that humanist reform played some part in the policies of the Reformation.[11]

It is difficult to give specific evidence of humanist influence, however, including that of Erasmus himself,[12] but there are indirect links which have an important bearing on the religious life of the court. They were especially important there because the humanists owed the strength of their position to court patronage. Indeed Erasmus' contacts were all people who frequented the court: John Colet, Thomas More, and his chief patron William Lord Mountjoy.[13]

The simple and practical approach of Erasmus was well-received at court as is witnessed by the patronage afforded the humanists. As we shall see, the humanists addressed their writings specifically to the royal family and Henry's desire to be seen as a patron of scholars and learning had much to do with this, making the educational ideas of the movement among the most important influences to bear fruit at court.

Humanist influence on the Reformation was less direct, however, because in general its piety remained orthodox. Erasmus drew back from the radical challenge posed to the Church by Luther, but in one sense he and his followers had already gone too far.[14] The reformers used

humanist writers in support of their own position. They found a crucial point of sympathy which gave them a weapon in the battle against ignorance and superstition. The weapon was Scripture.

The Use of Scripture by the Reformers

The reformers believed that those who sought the truth in the scriptures would be guided by the Holy Spirit. They never wearied of exhorting all men everywhere to read and study the Bible, since it contained everything necessary for salvation.[15] It was very clear, however, that unguided use of scripture could lead to all kinds of controversy and even outright heresy, just as the medieval Church had foreseen and feared. There was concern at court that polemics would obscure true Christian faith. Thomas More recognised that debate was obstructing devotion and Katherine Parr thought so too at the end of Henry's reign.[16] The conservatives were especially fearful of social unrest and disregard for authority, and those with influence felt bound to impress this danger upon the king. Religious debate was therefore likely to rage at court as fiercely as anywhere.

It seemed to Roger Ascham, looking back from Elizabeth's reign, that under Henry

> God's Bible was banished the court, and Morte Arthure received into the prince's chamber (17)

The king's primary interest in the Bible during the 1530s was its use as a political weapon, and as such he could not afford to ignore it. Despite Latimer's petition for an English Bible in 1530,[18] and various attempts to further such an enterprise by Cranmer and Cromwell, its two most powerful advocates, it was 1538 before an injunction ordered

that a copy should be placed in every parish church.[19] The pathway to this achievement was beset with difficulties and conservative opposition, besides the king's own ambivalence.[20] His religious conservatism made him shrink from the step, but there were three powerful factors in its favour. A vernacular Bible would reveal that there was no scriptural justification for papal authority, and it would help to provide unity and identity for the English Church. It would also look well should Henry need the help of Protestants abroad. Until 1534 Henry denied that he was following the Lutherans, but the reformers were given considerable freedom because of the king's need for support.[21] The argument that the scriptures would provide the English Church with unity and identity was not shared by the conservatives, who feared exactly the opposite effect. One of the most outspoken was Gardiner who carried considerable influence with the king and was a powerful figure at court. On this occasion his attempts to dissuade the king were unsuccessful, and Henry's authorisation of the English Bible earned him the eternal gratitude of the reformers. The Matthew Bible, in its dedication to Henry, told him that

> ... your highnes never did thing more acceptable unto god ... (22)

Thomas Becon's enthusiasm for 'our most virtuous and godly king' arose largely from Henry's authorisation of the English Bible.[23]

A commemoration of the inestimable graces and benefites of God, infused through the bryght lyght of the knowledge of his holy word, in our most dradde soverayne lorde Henry the eyght was written by John Pylbarough just before the downfall of Cromwell in 1540.[24] It was a panegyric of praise for the king because he had brought England out of

darkness by causing the 'great lyghte of goddis most holy word [to] appere unto us.'[25] Pylbarough's work was a prime example of the kind of literature sponsored by the government in its propaganda campaign to bolster the break with Rome and the establishment of the Royal Supremacy. There was a prayer of thanks for the king:

> ... Whose majestie we recognise and beleve throughe thy sayde worde, to be thyne holy enoynted, immediate minyster, and vicar over us: ... and whom we owe to obey love and dreade, and to whom also we owe only to have recourse as unto they chiefe herdemen. (26)

There were close references to scripture throughout the work, but it was scripture put to a polemical, not a devotional use. Pylbarough did enjoin his readers to serve God

> having continually before the eies of our hartes the unspekeable goodnes and mercy of god shewed unto us through the lyght of his most holy worde ..., (27)

but the emphasis of his book, and others like it was polemical and doctrinal. Religion was portrayed in this type of work as a national and political concern, and the Bible was its most powerful instrument. In their campaign to denigrate Catholic doctrines and traditions, and to teach the truths of the Bible, the Protestants appealed to the intellect and lost to a large degree the affective devotion fostered by traditional writers, who appealed to the imagination. Gradually some of the reformist writers began to produce their own works to aid personal devotion.[28]

Many traditional works of devotion did of course draw heavily on the Bible, the Imitatio being the most notable example. The humanists' emphasis on the Bible can be seen in their works of translation from the Church Fathers. Sir Anthony Cooke, for example, later tutor to

prince Edward, explained that he had chosen to translate St Cyprian on prayer rather than St Chrysostom because the latter

> ys moche in the apparrell of wordes, and not so furnyshed with the testemonyes of Scripture. (29)

The devotional writings of Thomas Lupset, a humanist who moved in court circles, illustrates the uncertainty which prevailed during this transitional period. He began his career in the household of John Colet, and later had dealings with Linacre, More, Pace, Erasmus and Pole. He was also tutor to Wolsey's son for a time. His attitude towards reform, though positive, was a cautious one, as may be expected from these associations.[30] One of his works was written in the old ars morendi style: Of dyenge well.[31] He was, however, in favour of reading the Bible. In An exhortacion to yonge men,[32] written while in Wolsey's service, he gave advice on books to read and stressed the value of the New Testament, but with an important qualification:

> Presume not in no case to thynke, that there you understonde ought: leve divisige therupon: submit your selfe to the expositions of holy doctours: and ever conforme your consent to agre with Christes church ... Your obedience to the universal faith shal excuse you before god, although it might be in a false belefe. (33)

Lupset's somewhat unsatisfactory advice reflects the need for authority in matters of belief at this time. The fact that the position of 'Christes church' in England was unclear meant that ambiguities in doctrine spilled over into practice.

As far as the reformers were concerned the Bible provided the fundamental source of all doctrine and practice,[38] hence their aim to make it accessible not only to the clergy, but to all classes of the

laity as well. This renewed emphasis on the relevance of the Bible, was not passed over at court. John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and confessor to the king, pointed out its importance for a court which was by no means a paragon of piety and virtue:

> We have the Gospell and the holy scriptur publysed, taught and preached among us: ... We have it in our owne mother tongue. We ioye and reiose moche and soo may we, that we soo have it in our owne vulgar speche, that we here it, that we reede it, that we have it in our bosomes and hangyng at our gyrdles, and it is dayly preached amonges us. But what shall this profette, yff we lyve not thereafter? (34)

This is a revealing comment on how the courtiers were accustomed to carrying the scriptures with them, and the frequency with which they were exposed to their contents. It did not, however, seem to be having the desired effect. In another court sermon, (translated into Latin by Thomas Key), Longland stressed how important it was that

> ... semper non in manibus tantum, sed & in corde altaque memoria habendus est: uni totum studium nostrum & industriam applicandum censeo. (35)

Longland was making the assumption that the teachings of the Bible concerning upright and godly living were plain for all to see and that it contained numerous unequivocal moral directives pertaining to the lifestyle of the court.

The Transition in Court Piety

Catherine of Aragon

The circle around Catherine of Aragon was largely comprised of older families, which provided continuity with the previous reign. It also meant that when Henry repudiated her, the contrast of Anne Boleyn was all the more sharp since the new queen brought with her a group

different in outlook and also in standing. While both queens appreciated learning and patronised scholars, the men patronised by Anne were naturally men who accepted the validity of her marriage. This contributed to the move away from the traditional learned piety of the old days at court inherited by Catherine of Aragon from Margaret Beaufort.

Catherine of Aragon's friends included members of families who, like herself, were to suffer from the suspicion and active hostility of Henry. The Exeters and the Poles both suffered the consequences of being related to a royal house fearful for its security, and were virtually destroyed from 1538-41.[36] The Countess of Salisbury, the Marchioness of Exeter, Lady Willoughby and Lady Hussey all refused to attend Anne's coronation.[37] Nor would they be reconciled to the new religion. Amongst evidence given against the Countess of Salisbury in 1538 was the indictment that

> no mane so hardye which be her tennantes schall occopy [books of] the Newe Testament yn Englysh or any other new [books] which the Kynges Hynes hathe pryvelyged. (38)

The Husseys belonged to this old and established circle, determined to stand for the traditional way.[39] Lord Hussey had a number of close links with Sion which his wife doubtless shared. In 1530 he commissioned along with Agnes Jordan the Abbess of Sion, the printing of the Myrroure of oure Lady.[40] Then in 1534 John Fewterer, the Confessor General of Sion dedicated his translation of the Myrrour or glasse of Christes passion to Hussey from whom he had obtained the original.[41] Both works belonged to the realm of traditional devotional literature. The first was a commentary on the sisters' office at Sion

while the second was the most substantial work produced on Christ's Passion in the 1530s.[42]

Hussey was made Chamberlain to princess Mary in 1533, but he was not trusted by the government and was eventually executed in 1537 after being implicated in the Lincolnshire Rising.[43] The previous year Lady Hussey went to the Tower for calling Mary 'Princess'.[44]

Anne Boleyn

It seems unlikely that Anne Boleyn saw any point in trying to emulate the type of piety exhibited by Margaret Beaufort or Catherine of Aragon. Henry's first queen had arrived from Spain already cast in a fearlessly devout mould which was only strengthened by her misfortunes. She may have regarded the Lady Margaret as a model of virtue and godliness amidst a hostile court after the death of prince Arthur. Trying to fit in and be accepted, determined to become thoroughly English, the queen dowager's practical expressions of piety must surely have provided a model for Catherine to emulate. Anne Boleyn had no reason to pattern her behaviour on that of Catherine. Indeed, it is more likely that she wanted to make a break with the past, and the reformers offered a way forward. Her use of scripture, for example, was understood in a reformist light, and later Protestants like Foxe looked back on her activities with approval. Her encouragement of reform, which included patronage of reformist divines and furthering the dissemination of literature may well have involved politics and self-interest.[45] Her public image certainly prevented even her contemporaries from discerning her true motives. There is

considerable evidence concerning her activities of a more personal kind, however, which may have some bearing on the piety of the Privy Chamber at this important time. In 1530 it was observed how Anne could often be seen with a French book in her hand which treated of

> the true and straight path of all virtue; such as approved translations from holy scripture, filled with all good doctrines; or equally, other good books by learned men, giving salutary remedies for this mortal life and consolation to the immortal soul.[46]

The same observer saw her reading the Epistles of St Paul during Lent of that year.[47]

Anne had a book specially designed for Lenten reading which had been given by Francis I.[48] Entitled Le Pasteur Evangelique, it was in the form of a French poem composed of biblical passages on the theme of the Good Shepherd.[49] It was composed by Clement Marot, the French poet who had to flee France because of his reforming tendencies and was forced to abjure in 1536.[50]

Anne had copies of the scriptures from a number of sources. She asked the merchant William Locke to bring her French versions of the Gospels, Epistles and Psalms from abroad.[51] Tyndale himself sent her a copy of the 1534 edition of his English New Testament,[52] and she commissioned Henry Parker, Lord Morley to provide her with The pistellis and gospelles for the L11 Sondayes in the yere, with an exhortation to each in english.[53] Addressed to the Marchioness of Pembroke, Anne must have received this sometime between September 1532, when she was given the title, and Easter 1533 when she was recognised as Queen.

The text of Lord Morley's work was in French. Anne lamented her

ignorance of Latin,[54] and this may have strengthened her eagerness to receive copies of the scriptures in the vernacular, but she did not intend them solely for her own private use. In her chamber lay an English Bible on a desk for anyone to take and read, and she set the example by doing so herself.[55] She may even have encouraged her brother George to read it, along with the rest of her household.[56] Moreover, if Anne exhorted her household and family to read and study the bible, she most likely tried to persuade the king to do the same. Stories of her introducing the king to the writings of William Tyndale take on a new importance when seen in this context. Anne had the example of her predecessor to point the way to a shared devotion, although the reformist and evangelical flavour of Anne's piety might alter its tone. Even if her motive was purely that of self-interest, it made good sense to draw the king's attention to the authority of scripture in his battle against the Pope. The Bible carried more weight than the Supplicacyon for the beggars, or even Tyndale's Obedience of a Christian man, which she had presented to the king.[57] In this enterprise she was in complete agreement with Latimer, who was her confessor and enjoyed her generous patronage.[58] During his frequent visits to court after 1530 he was accustomed to dine with the king and queen along with other household officers where matters of scripture would be debated.[59] Although this was a public and an intellectual affair, it suggests that the Bible itself was becoming increasingly prominent at the court at this time.[60]

Anne's more personal evangelistic activities did not rely solely on biblical material, and like generations of high-born ladies before

her, she distributed other works of piety among her associates. A late tradition says that she gave each of her maids a book of devotions which they were to hang from their girdles, and she objected strongly when she found such aids to prayer misused.[61] She paid a visit to Sion, in the royal tradition, not to pray with the nuns, but to present them with English prayer books to aid their understanding and stir up their own devotion.[62] She is even said to have given a book of devotions to one of her maids, a member of the Wyatt family, on the scaffold.[63] For herself, there was the French book which contained various edifying passages besides scripture, and she may also have made use of other more traditional works available at the court.

Just before her arrest Anne was said to have asked her chaplain, Matthew Parker to instruct Elizabeth in the principles of true religion.[64] Years later Elizabeth told a parliamentary delegation that she had 'studied nothing else but divinity till (she) came to the crown'.[65] If Anne achieved nothing else, she at least produced a daughter, who, despite her shortcomings in the eyes of some of the more ardent reformers, merited general approval among Protestants. Judging by the dismay of the reformers at her fall, Anne Boleyn had already earned a pious reputation in certain circles during her own lifetime, albeit of a different character from that which had flourished previously.

Although Anne Boleyn made a conscious break with traditional Catholic piety, there were still certain actions a devout individual of any persuasion would applaud. Just as Margaret Beaufort and Catherine of Aragon had ruled their households firmly and piously, so

Anne Boleyn pursued a similar goal. In her charge to her council, she instructed her servants to live quiet and godly lives. Any refusing correction was to be dismissed from court.[66] She was motivated by her conviction that

> the princess is bounde to kepe her owne p̄son pure & undefyled her house and Courte so well ruled that all that see it may have desire to follow and do thereafter, and all that heare therof may desire to see it.(67)

Unfortunately for Anne this ideal never materialised, and she was brought down through accusations of immorality which destroyed any appearance of godliness in her household which she might have attempted to instill.

The defamation of Anne's moral character has never been reconciled with her religious activities by those who have claimed her as a Protestant champion. Aspersions were cast by contemporaries on her relations with the king prior to their marriage,[68] but were never authenticated.[69] Similarly, the extent of her relationship with Sir Thomas Wyatt cannot be ascertained, but in this case, a clue may be found as to the now hazy nature of Anne's position. Her activities in her Privy Chamber constituted part of the culture of the court, the fostering of the cult of courtly love with all its conventions and accompaniments.[70] Anne Boleyn belonged as much to this allegorical world as she did to that of the turbulent religious scene of the 1530s. Both strands found their focus at court and sought the allegiance of the high and influential. Anne could perhaps have escaped the attention of one or both had she tried, but one suspects that she did not wish to do so. She was not one to sit on the sidelines and observe with the passivity of her successor. Anne

preferred action, and inevitably, it was what she did and did not do which has been the measure of her sincerity.

Foxe spoke for most of the reformers when he judged her on her merits as

> special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel. (71)

This active patronage of reformist preachers, along with the dissemination of reformist literature provides the main concrete evidence for claiming that Anne had an interest in reform. There are other hints that this interest was more than superficial and that it was not purely political. There is also sufficient evidence to make out a case for Anne's innocence concerning the accusations of adultery made in 1536.[72] Her downfall was brought about through the peculiar circumstances of the court which allowed factions to destroy their victims through little more than manufactured rumour.[73] However tenaciously rumour may stick, some uncertainty, not least among Anne's contemporaries, may serve to give her the benefit of the doubt. If she seemed a whore and a sorceress in the eyes of some, the idea left Thomas Cranmer 'clean amazed', for he saw her in the light of

> the love which (he) judged her to bear towards God and his gospel. (74)

It is not the historian's task to make moral judgements, but in collating and presenting the facts, a brief comment may be made for the purpose of this study. In this instance, the nature of the royal household and the unique difficulties of maintaining integrity of any kind is amply illustrated. It was not an atmosphere conducive to personal piety in any shape or form.

When Henry married Jane Seymour, there was

> 'a general, if officially induced, feeling that a period of domestic happiness, decorum and rectitude had succeeded an era of profiligacy and licence'. (75)

Lord Russell commented that 'The king hath come out of hell into heaven',[76] while Thomas Hussey noted that

> to serve God and to be virtuous ... is much regarded (77)

at court. It does not appear that Jane Seymour was any more successful than Anne Boleyn had been in containing vice in the royal household, however, for in the same letter Hussey commented that the court was still

> full of pride, envy, indignation and mocking, scorning and derision. (78)

The domestic life of the court did not improve until Henry married Katherine Parr, whose good influence was heightened by the contrast afforded by her immediate predecessor.[79]

Henry's third queen, Jane Seymour, had little time to make any kind of lasting impact upon the life of the court, and what is known of her does not suggest that she would have exercised a strong lead.[80] It was noted that during her pregnancy she became suddenly very devout and followed strictly the old Church calendar.[81] When she died she was buried with full Catholic pomp and ceremony, the king ordering 1,200 masses for her soul within the bounds of the City of London.[82] Cranmer sang the solemn mass at the funeral while Latimer preached the sermon, presumably with no qualms about the extravagant ceremonial involved.[83]

Conclusion

The Royal Divorce and Catherine of Aragon's banishment from the court did not mean the demise of traditional piety there.[84] The example of rosaries may be taken here by way of illustrating the continuity and adaptation of much traditional piety throughout the reign of Henry VIII.

The popularity of the Virgin in late medieval religious life, especially her importance as intercessor made people reluctant to relinquish their devotion to her.[85] Likewise certain mechanical aids to prayer were found helpful and therefore continued to hold a special place in private devotion. Rosaries were common aids to devotion among the aristocracy, especially among the women. Their value to the piously inclined is eloquently expressed in the portrait of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, who holds a string of beads between her fingers.[86] They were often left as bequests in wills. Dame Maud Parr, mother of Henry's last queen, bequeathed five rosaries in 1529 and the countess of Oxford also left five in 1537.[87] The reformers did not like them, and counted them among the items of superstition, but they continued in use at court as elsewhere.[88] In 1542 Princess Mary's privy purse expenses included

> A payr of Bedes of golde enameled black and white, (89)

but far more surprising is a bequest to the princess of

> a pair' of beyde of aggete w^{t} a piller of tens (90)

left by Katherine Parr.

Rosaries, like books, could become valuable family heirlooms and were often given as gifts or left as bequests in wills.[91] In 1530 Lady

Sandys sent William More, the Prior of Worcester,

> a peyr of grete Amber bedes of v settes, (92)

perhaps in gratitude for the hospitality she had received there in the past. Also in 1530 was a payment by the king for a pair of beads which may have been for his own use or for a gift.[93] He was given a paternoster in the same year by Cardinal Wolsey.[94] The Rosary rapidly became a symbol of the traditional way in religion, so that when Mary rode through London in March 1551 with a following of knights, gentlemen and ladies, everyone of them carried 'a peyre of bedes of black'.[95] Rosaries continued to be bequeathed until the 1560s and beyond, but except in recusant circles, they were probably regarded as pieces of jewelry.

As the early history of the rosary thus suggests, innovation and tradition were not mutually exclusive and a comparative study of the religious activities of individuals as different as Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn bears this out. Indeed at this stage it is hardly accurate to impose restrictive definitions either of categories of belief or individual positions. What may be stated with conviction is that reform continued to make progress. The fall of Anne Boleyn did not halt it, for that had not been Cromwell's aim[96] and despite the elements of conservatism exhibited at court while Jane Seymour was queen, reform itself was not in disrepute or decline.

The appearance of the 10 Articles in 1536 marked an attempt to end the uncertainty in matters of faith. Cromwell and Cranmer wished to proceed with further reform, but this was as far as he was prepared to go. He authorised the English Bible in 1537 but in the same year

refused to licence the Bishops' Book, which was less radical than the 10 Articles. The political struggles of the remaining years of the decade culminated in the downfall of Cromwell and the retreat from reform as far as official policy was concerned. The 6 Articles Act left no room for concessions.

Cromwell's fall was indeed a setback for the reformers for his demise meant the removal of the driving force of advancing reform. Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk opposed all suggestion of further religious change unless it was to turn the clock back, but in spite of their influence and the Act of 6 Articles, the situation could not be reversed.

The remaining years of the reign focused on the political battles of the conservatives and reformers. The latter were led by Hertford and Lisle, whose growing ascendancy at court offset the apparent victory of the conservatives. While they could not be called overt Protestants, Hertford and Lisle let it be known that they favoured reform, and when they took up residence at court, Van Der Delft noted that persecution of heretics ceased accordingly.[97] Though they counter-balanced the strength of Gardiner and Norfolk, neither side produced a vigorous or inspiring leader who could carry the king with him. While Henry lived and there were sympathisers of reform within the royal household there was hope for the cause, and it seems that the king's mind was not totally closed on the issue. One important symbol of hope was the figure of Thomas Cranmer, constantly hovering in the background. His liturgical reforms and activities in his own diocese were a reminder that reforms could still be achieved. That

this was indeed the case is further verified in the following chapter by examining the other influences which continued to be present at court.

Footnotes

1. Cf. W.A. Clebsch: England's earliest Protestants 1520-35, New Haven, Connecticut 1964, p.317 for this view. Dickens also saw the progress of English Protestantism as something apart from and occasionally in opposition to the machinery of Church and State (cf. Dickens: 'The Reformation in England' in J. Hurstfield (ed.): The Reformation crisis, New York 1966, pp.40, 50, 55).

2. For the latter cf below pp.153ff.

3. J.K. Yost concluded that the English reformers and humanists shared the common aim of promoting the active Christian life for the good of the common-weal. J.K. Yost: 'Protestant reformers and the humanist via media in the early English Reformation', Journal of medieval and renaissance studies, 5, 2, 1975, p.203.

4. S.T.C., 10479, 1533.

5. McConica, p.19.

6. Knowles commented that whatever else he read, Henry 'cannot but have read ... Erasmus', Knowles, 3, p.156. Erasmus himself claimed that William Blount had encouraged Henry to read Erasmus' works at an early age Allen, 1, 204, 206.

7. Cf. Rhodes: 'Private Devotion', pp.241ff for discussion of his works and teaching within the devotional context.

8. The 1530s saw a large increase in books specifically addressed to, or appealing to the laity and a corresponding decrease in the number addressed to the religious, (virtually ceasing after 1533). Rhodes: 'Private Devotion', p.176.

9. McConica, pp.13 ff.

10. J.K. Yost has attempted to illustrate the link between humanist intellectuals, Cromwell and the government and early reformers through the work of Richard Taverner. Taverner, England's leading pupulariser of Erasmus and in Cromwell's service sought to promote the via media, but from a Protestant angle. His solution to the doctrinal conflict for example was the Protestant sola scriptura. Yost: art. cit., pp.190ff. Cf. also J.K. Yost: 'Taverner's use of Erasmus and the protestantisation of English humanism', Renaissance Quarterly, 23, 1970, pp.266-76.

11. Zeeveld: Foundations, shows this, eg pp.113, 269. Cf. also McConica, pp.12, 150-99, 235. The stress on humanistic continuity, is liable to obscure the revolutionary changes which did take place (eg G.R. Elton: Policy and police, Cambridge, 1972, p.34). It is all too easy to settle for one view or the other rather than trying to hold the two concepts of continuity and change in tension.

12. Cf. J.T. Rhodes: 'Erasmus and English readers of the 1530s', Durham University Journal, n.s., 40, 1978, pp.17 ff who argues that Erasmus did not directly initiate anything.

13. Cf. McConica ch.3 for a discussion of Erasmus' place at Henry's court. Catherine of Aragon requested him as her confessor in 1514. Allen, 1, 296, p.569.

14. Rhodes: art. cit, p.24 points out the ambiguous position of Erasmus: to the reformers he would seem traditional while to Catholics he could easily be regarded as subversive.

15. Cf. 1 Brad., 435; 2 Cran., 528; 1 Hoop., 105, 111, etc.

16. Cf. below pp.39ff.

17. R. Ascham: The Scholemaster, S.T.C., 832, (1570) f.13v. (Giles: The Whole Works, 3, p.159.

18. This was followed up in William Marshall's English Primer of 1534 which contained a prayer requesting God to 'Inclyne his (Henry's) herte to this purpose', S.T.C.^{2}, 15986f.R5v. This was most likely the first book to be printed in England containing the Psalms and other portions of the Bible in English. Cf. Butterworth: The English Primers, p.52ff.

19. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy: Visitation articles and injunctions of the period of the Reformation, 3 vols, Alcuin Club collections 14-16, 1910, 2, p.34 (Second Royal Injunctions).

20. The first complete English Bible was published by Miles Coverdale in 1535, (S.T.C. 2063) with an unauthorised dedication to the king. Cromwell allowed Nicholson to print Coverdale's Bible and this was followed by the Matthew Bible in 1537 (S.T.C. 2066) published by Grafton. The Great Bible appeared in 1539, (S.T.C. 2068).

21. Cal S.P., Span., V, 1, 19, pp.59ff. On Henry and the Lutherans cf. N.S. Tjernagel: Henry VIII and the Lutherans, St Louis, 1965.

22. S.T.C., 2066, dedication.

23. 1 Bec, 193; cf. ibid, 38.

24. S.T.C.^{2} 20521. Dedicated to Cromwell.

25. Ibid, f.B.

26. Ibid, ff.BII-III.

27. John Pylbarough: A commemoration of the inestimable graces and benefites of God, S.T.C.^{2}, 20521, f.DIII^{v}.

28. Thomas Becon, for example, took over traditional forms, and even the titles of older works.

29. P.R.O. SP, 6/12, ff.16-17.

30. For details of Lupset's life cf. Gee: The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, introduction.

31. S.T.C.^{2}, 16934, 1534.

32. S.T.C.^{2}, 16936, 1535.

33. Ibid, f.BVIIv.

34. A sermonde made before the Kynge his maiestye at grenewiche, upon good frydaye. The yere of our Lorde God MDXXXVIII. By John Longlonde, bushop of Lincolne, S.T.C.^{2}, 16796, f.GI^{v}-GII.

35. Johannis Longlandi exposito concionalis Psalmi ci, S.T.C.^{2}, 16792, [1532?], f.662. (B.L. 464, d.14).

36. Between the arrest of Geoffrey Pole and the death of the Countess of Salisbury, sixteen victims died.

37. All four were subsequently implicated in the Nun of Kent affair. For an analysis of this cf. A. Neame: The Holy Maid of Kent, L1971.

38. B.L. Cott MS., App. XXVIII, f.85.

39. Hussey was closely associated with Lady Salisbury and also Lady Margaret Beaufort, Wood: Letters, 2, 244-5; L.P., I, 189 (1278).

40. S.T.C.^{2}, 17542, 1530; V.C.H. Middlesex, 1, pp.186-7.

41. S.T.C.^{2}, 14553, 1534.

42. This work stood firmly within the medieval tradition with its stirring of the emotions to encourage a sense of suffering with Christ, cf. Rhodes: 'Private Devotion', pp.391ff.

43. Cf. M.E. James: 'Obedience and dissent in Henrician England: the Lincolnshire rebellion 1536', Past and present, 48, 1970, pp.3-78.

44. Cf. Neame: The Holy Maid of Kent, pp.181ff for the Husseys' loyalty to Catherine and Mary.

45. She was said to have sought preferment for 'the payneful preachers and vigilant pastors of goddes flock...' (Bodl. Don MS C42, f.30). For full details of Anne's patronage of scholars and reform cf. M. Dowling: Humanism in the age of Henry VIII, L.1986.

46. B.L. Royal MS, 20B, XVII, p.1, preface to a French tract by Loys de Brun, (English trans.).

47. Ibid, loc cit.

48. B.L. Royal MS 16E, XIII. Given either to Henry and Anne or to Anne alone. It ends with a eulogy to Henry and an address to Anne.

49. The Latin is in the margin.

50. R.J. Knecht: Francis I, Cam., 1982, p.395, n.18.

51. B.L. Add MS, 43,827 ff.3-3^{v}. This manuscript has been reprinted in M. Dowling and J. Shakespeare: 'Religion and politics in mid-Tudor England through the eyes of an English Protestant woman: the recollections of Rose Hickman', B.I.H.R., 55, 131, 1982, pp.94-102.

52. S.T.C., 2825, (B.L. C.23.a.8, 8^{A}). Cf. 1 Tyn., lxiv. She also owned his Obedience of a Christian Man, cf. J. Strype: Ecclesiastical Memorials, 3 vols, Ox., 1820-40, 1, pp.171-3, (hereafter cited as Strype: E.M.). Strype said of this that 'the very having this book was enough to make a man a heretic, and reading of it a dangerous article against any in these days'. Ibid, pp.487.

53. B.L. Harl MS, 6561. It is interesting that Lord Morley was a great admirer of Princess Mary. Cf McConica, pp.152 ff.

54. Bodl. Don MS, C42, f32.

55. Ibid, ff31^{v}-32.

56. He claimed to have read it often, L.P., X, 911.

57. Foxe, 4, pp.657-8; Strype: E.M., 1, pp.171-3.

58. Cf. B.L. Royal MS, 7C XVI f.76; 2 Lat., 368, 369 for examples of her generosity to Latimer.

59. Bodl. MS Don C, 42, f.31^{v}.

60. Mealtimes were a common occasion for discussions of this kind. See below for Edward VI's practice of discussing scripture after dinner.

61. Wyatt: Life of Anne Boleigne, p.18, note.

62. Ibid, f.31.

63. Wyatt: Life of Anne Boleigne, p.28; B.L. Stowe MS, 956, 'The penitential and other psalms in English verse' [by John Croke (clerk of Chancery, later Master in Chancery 1549-54)] is traditionally held to be this work, though the identification is doubtful. It is a very small volume, bound in gold with an ornamental cover, and has two rings at the top through which a chain was passed to attach it to the girdle.

64. Park, 59, 391, 400.

65. J. Neale: Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 2 vols, L1953 and 1957, 1, p.149.

66. Bodl. MS Don C, 42, f.23^{v}.

67. Ibid, f.23.

68. O.L., 2, CCLVI, p.552f.

69. They were refuted by later writers, eg Burnet: History of the Reformation, 1, p.66ff.

70. On this theme cf. P. Thomson: Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Background, L1964.

71. Foxe, 5., p.60.

72. She swore her purity on the Sacrament the day before her death. Cavendish, p.461; Cal. S.P., Span. V, 2, 131.

73. For full treatment of the episode cf. E.W. Ives, 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII: the fall of Anne Boleyn', History, 57, 1972, pp.169 ff.

74. 2 Cran., 324.

75. Byrne: The Lisle Letters, 4, p.152.

76. Ibid, 3, 713.

77. Ibid, 4, 887.

78. Ibid, 4, 152.

79. If Anne Boleyn was the victim of trumped up charges, the same cannot be said of Catherine Howard whose morals were indeed reckless.

80. This is out of all proportion to the high regard Henry continued to feel for Jane long after her death. He ordered her bones to be buried with his own P.R.O., E23/4, pt.1, f5.

81. N. Williams: Henry VIII and his Court, L. 1973, p.162.

82. Wriothesley, 1, pp.70-1.

83. Ibid, loc.cit.

84. The effect of the Divorce and of the deaths of Thomas More and John Fisher upon English humanism has been the subject of much debate. R.W. Chambers regarded the series of events as the deathblow of English humanist activity. (R.W. Chambers: Thomas More, L1935). For a different view cf. D. Bush: 'Tudor humanism and Henry VIII', University of Toronto Quarterly, 7, 1938, pp.162-177. See also McConica, especially chs 5 and 6.

85. Growing devotion to Mary found expression in numerous ways, for example, pilgrimage and books of Hours of Our Lady. (Cf. J.P. Harthan: Books of hours and their owners, L.1977). See also Rhodes: 'Sixteenth Century Devotion to Our lady in England', (unpublished).

86. National Portrait Gallery, no.2607. On rosaries in general cf. E. Wilkins: The Rose Garden Game, L.1969. Cf. also Sir E. Maclagan and C.C. Oman, 'An English gold rosary of about 1500', Archeologia, 85, 1935, pp.1-22.

87. PCC f.12 Thower, (Nicolas, Test. Vet., p.554 ff).

88. 1 Lat., 425; 1 Brad., 45, 588.148.

89. Madden: Privy purse expenses, p.179.

90. B.L. Royal MS, 7C, XVI.

91. Rosary books were another devotional aid. Many were illustrated with pictures of the life, Passion and wounds of Christ, and were designed to aid contemplation.

92. E.S. Fegan: The Journal of Prior William More, (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1914), pp.177, 311.

93. Nicolas: Privy purse Expenses, p.81.

94. Wilkins: The Rose-Garden Game, p.52.

95. Henry Machyn: The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J.G. Nichols, (Camden Society, 42), 1848, pp.4-5.

96. Cf. E.W. Ives: 'Faction at the court of Henry VIII: the fall of Anne Boleyn', History, 47, 1972, pp.49ff; Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.250 ff.

97. Cal. S.P., Span. VIII, 370.

Chapter Five

Court Reform and the Role of Katherine Parr

and when the king saw Queen Esther standing in the court, she found favor in his sight and he held out to Esther the golden scepter that was in his hand.

Esther, ch.5, v.2

Introduction

The following study is designed to illustrate the continued progress of reform during the latter part of Henry's reign, despite the king's ambivalence. The events described underline the impossibility of defining doctrine at a time when no one could be sure that what constituted heresy one day might not change the next, while the study of Queen Katherine Parr's writings leaves no doubt that a transition was taking place within traditional piety.

It will also become clear, that by the late 1540s, sympathy for reform had penetrated deeply into the heart of the royal household in spite of the king's personal ambivalence.

The Windsor Affair

The affair of the Windsor heretics, which led to the burning of Testwood, Filmer and Peerson, and the narrow escape of John Marbeck, was one of the most serious heresy hunts of the reign and involved a number of individuals. It occurred after the appointment of Dr London as a canon of Windsor on the recommendation of Bishop Stephen Gardiner.[1] Dr London proceeded to collect information against those who were assisting Anthony Peerson, a preacher of heresy. The proximity of these individuals to the Privy Chamber speaks for itself, but it seems that they were insignificant small-fry compared with their supporters. Sir Philip Hoby was sent to the Fleet on the Council's orders, along with Dr Haynes, the Bishop of Exeter, but their release was soon secured 'by the mediation of friends'.[2] Gardiner seems to have envisaged a whole-sale purge of heretics

through the investigation.[3] He told the king how heretics

> were not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber.(4)

Foxe tells his readers that the clerks at Windsor also

> for the most part at that time favoured the gospel.(5)

The Thursday before Palm Sunday 1543, a search was made at Windsor for the books distributed by Anthony Peerson, which led to the apprehension of Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck and Robert Testwood. The two latter were notable musicians at Windsor with close court connections.[6] The Council went so far as to send Sir Anthony Wingfield, Captain of the Guard, to give orders to treat Marbeck gently, and later Sir Humphrey Foster interceded on his behalf, though not before a thorough interrogation by Gardiner had taken place.

Throughout this story, Henry was portrayed as innocent of the blood of these individuals, and for the most part, ignorant of what was going on. It is noteworthy that while he gave permission for a search to be made for books in Windsor town, he refused to allow it in the Castle, despite Gardiner's express opinion that members of the royal household were involved.[7] When the report of the proceedings at Windsor reached the king, he immediately pardoned those of his household 'without the suit of any man'.[8] It is also interesting that the report was intercepted by Fulk, a servant of Katherine Parr, who had

> lain at Windsor all the time of the business and had got great knowledge what a number were privily indicted.(9)

When it came to Katherine Parr's turn to be the victim of the Six Articles Act, however, the king was less anxious to protect those of

his household, and gave consent for search to be made in the queen's chamber.[10] On this occasion Van Der Delft observed that there was

> a great examination and punishment of the heretics here, no class being spared.(11)

Foxe explained Henry's erratic behaviour as a desire to turn the tables on Gardiner, and he had indeed played this kind of game earlier with Cranmer. L B Smith suggested it was part of his 'divide and rule' policy, by which he maintained his power,[12] but there was enough evidence to make a case against the queen and her circle if Gardiner could secure it, and he may have insinuated this to the impressionable king. Chapuys believed that Katherine Parr was being led on by the Duchess of Suffolk, Countess Hertford and Lady Lisle who were deliberately infecting her with heresy. Gardiner and the other conservatives were especially worried lest Henry himself should fall under the spell of the reform party and probably thought Hertford and Lisle were encouraging their wives.[13] The queen was fortunate that there were others to counteract the arguments of Gardiner. First, one of the Council somehow dropped the articles against her, and 'some godly person' showed them to her; then Dr Wendy, in whom the king had confided his troubles concerning his wife, advised Katherine how to regain Henry's trust.[14] It seems that innovation in religious practices at Henry's court had to be embarked upon in an attitude of the utmost discretion and with one eye at least on the king. Shortly before the intrigue against the queen reached a climax, on 8th July 1546, a royal proclamation was issued to purge the realm of books containing

> sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies.(15)

It was made clear that it applied to everyone

> what estate, degree, or condition, soever they or he be,(16)

and its timing suggests a deliberate move on the part of the conservatives to extirpate heresy from the court.[17] The act did not include Bible-reading in its specifications,[18] and fortunately for the queen and her circle, this seems to have been the main substance of their activities in the Privy Chamber.

One is forced to conclude in the light of all the above that there was a lot going on in the household which on the whole escaped detection. The illustrations here afford only an occasional glimpse into behind-the-scenes activity and it would seem that contemporaries who wished to probe further were equally frustrated by tantalising snatches of evidence. The court was a complex tangle of relationships and activities, rising to the surface only to disappear again like a constantly shifting kaleidoscope.

If a clearly partisan court, hostile to Protestantism could later provide a haven for Edward Underhill, a 'hot Gospelling' Gentleman Pensioner, there was little hope of maintaining any consistency amidst the confusion of Henry's household. According to Underhill, there was

> no better place to shifte the Easter tyme in ther quene Maryes courte sarvynge in the rome that I did.(19)

Katherine Parr and the Anne Askew Affair

The 1551 edition of the Paraphrases linked Erasmus, Katherine Parr and Edward VI together; Erasmus for the writing, Katherine for procuring the translation, and Edward for ordering it to be used

throughout his kingdom.[20] The editor of the Gospel of Mark, Thomas Key, noted that Katherine was

> the very expresse resemblaunce of all his maiesties excellent vertues, but specially of that his graces ardente zele, and devocion, in favouryng and settyng foorthe of Gods worde.(21)

The influence of Henry's last queen upon Prince Edward's education is no longer taken for granted as it used to be. This is partly because Katherine's own scholarship has been called into question, partly because it seems that she had little direct influence on the making of policy. The question of Katherine's scholarship has led to two opposing views. On the one hand she has been seen as an archetypal blue-stocking,[22] and on the other as an anti-intellectual evangelical.[23] There is, however, a third position which Katherine may have occupied, which may easily be subsumed amidst the arguments. Katherine was clearly not unintelligent. She may or may not have understood Latin before Edward wrote to encourage her in the study of that language.[24] As for her influence over Edward's educational establishment, this did not necessitate that she herself was a brilliant scholar. What was important was that she was prepared to associate herself with the likes of those who were, and give the impression that she at least understood the academic world.[25] She has, however, been portrayed as condemning that world and expressing profound disapproval of

> dead, humane, historicall knoledge which they have learned in their scholasticall Bookes.(26)

It is legitimate to point out that Katherine was not disapproving of

academic study per se, but to what she saw as misplaced priorities. To Katherine, everything must be subordinate to the proclamation of the Gospel, and once that was established, she recognised very readily that academic study had an important contribution to make. Thus, she exhorted scholars at Cambridge

> to studye and applye those doctrines as maynes and apte degrees to the atteyning and settyng forthe the better Christes reverent and most sacred doctryne.(27)

Her attitude could not be otherwise if she was to sponsor the translation and dissemination of Erasmus' Paraphrases so wholeheartedly. Above all, her own Lamentacion shows a thorough understanding of the theological issues at stake in the Reformation. She could not have written it without drawing on the intellectual abilities of others, or without grasping some of the issues herself, and would have been the first to acknowledge this.

Katherine's position vis a vis the direction of policy at court also raises some questions. Again, it is not necessary to claim or disclaim any undue influence. Katherine could have no independent role by virtue of her position, but by the same token, she could not be a wholly neutral figure. Her inclusion in the heresy scares at court bears out the possibility that she laid herself open to being used as a figurehead, but more than this, her very presence at court meant certain shifts in the pattern of life within the royal household which were not without repercussions of their own.

The Parrs were already well established at court by the time of Katherine's marriage to Henry. Her father had been one of Henry's boon companions in the early years of the reign,[28] while her mother, Lady

Maud, was lady-in-waiting to Catherine of Aragon.[29] Katherine's brother, William had been brought up in the Duke of Richmond's household where her uncle, Lord Parr of Horton was Chamberlain.[30] Her sister, Anne, had served as lady-in-waiting to Jane Seymour, and subsequently became a gentlewoman of Catherine Howard's Privy Chamber.[31] Katherine herself knew Princess Mary before her marriage to the king,[32] and was apparently on the brink of marrying Thomas Seymour, the younger brother of Henry's beloved Jane, when the king himself claimed her.[33] Her family and friends benefitted from her elevation almost immediately, and it is worth pointing out that one very good reason for conservative intriguers wishing to implicate the queen in their plot of 1546 would have been to dislodge a number of the royal household in one move.[34] Most of Katherine's ladies, for example, were married to gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, while her own relatives had accrued honours and wealth through her elevation. Anne Parr's husband, William Herbert, for example, owed a great deal to his association with Katherine.[35] A gentleman pensioner in 1526, he was knighted in 1543 and by the time of Henry's death, he was Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, a Privy Councillor and one of the executors of the king's will.[36]

The women of Katherine Parr's entourage are of particular importance for this study. Katherine had to assemble a new household for herself since that of Catherine Howard had been dismissed.[37] She was thus able to benefit her family and friends. A place was found for her sister Anne, of course, and for her kinswoman Margaret Neville, Lady Latimer.[38] Her cousin Lady Lane, the daughter of Lord Parr of

Horton, was of her household, as was Lady Tyrwhitt, related to Katherine through her husband, Sir Robert Tyrwhitt.[39] The ladies Tyrwhitt, Herbert and Lane were the queen's closest companions, and because of this were subject to the machinations of conservative intriguers at court. When Katherine Parr gathered her ladies and gentlewomen to listen to the daily sermon in her chamber,[40] these three must have surely been among them. Lady Tyrwhitt, at least, seems to have shared a similar kind of piety to Katherine which lasted to her death. A book of her devotions, Morning and evening prayers with divers psalmes, himnes, and meditations, was published in 1574,[41] and in 1577 she received the dedication of An excellent treatise of Christian righteousness by Jean de l'Espine.[42] Robert Parsons believed that the three ladies were witnesses to books sent to the queen's closet by Anne Askew.[43] The entire episode concerning Anne Askew reveals a tangled network of relationships which suggest that more was involved than concern for religious orthodoxy near the Privy Chamber. Its relevance for the present discussion lies in the way it highlights the private religious activities of the female members of the court. Foxe did not make a direct connection between Anne Askew and the court,[44] but it is almost certain that she went there regularly with a view to evangelising its members. She knew enough of the private religious views of certain courtiers to be able to chide Lord Lisle and William Parr for counselling her 'contrary to their knowlege'.[45]

Parsons believed the king had heard that she attempted to

> corrupt divers people, but especially weomen.(46)

Anne also had strong family connections with the court which gave her

easy access.[47] She was related to Lady Tyrwhitt and both were important Lincolnshire families.[48] Anne was also connected to Sir Gawen Carew, the brother-in-law of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.[49] Sir Gawen was uncle to Joan, Lady Denny, one of Anne's supporters and a lady-in-waiting to Katherine Parr.[50] Anne Carew was Katherine's maid.[51] Anne Askew's father, Sir William Askew and his sons Francis and Edward had places at court, and the family had a number of reformist links.[52]

Chapuys blamed the Countess of Hertford, Lady Lisle and the Duchess of Suffolk for leading Katherine Parr astray in matters of religion.[53] The first two ladies were naturally associated with reform because of their husbands' leadership of the reform party at court, while the duchess was understood to be committed to reform in her own right. Anne Askew was questioned directly concerning the duchess and the Countess of Hertford, as well as the Ladies Sussex, Denny and Fitzwilliam.[54] Lady Sussex' husband, Henry Radcliffe, the second Earl, had been in trouble for harbouring Thomas Rosse, later one of Cromwell's chaplains, while his brother, Sir Humphrey was Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners in Edward's reign and known as a favourer of the Gospel.[55] Lady Fitzwilliam was widowed and a member of the queen's circle. The connection between Katherine Parr, Anne Askew and the Denny family is especially important because of the key role played by Denny at court.[56] Under interrogation, Anne revealed that Lady Denny and Lady Hertford had sent her money via servants in their personal liveries.[57] There was also reference to 'one Christopher, a servant to Master Denny'.[58] The Dennys were as closely involved with

the inner circle of the royal household as Katherine herself. Lady Denny's sister-in-law was Lady Berkley, governess to Princess Elizabeth, and the princess was at Cheshunt, the Denny home on a number of occasions.[59] Elizabeth also frequented Hatfield, to which Denny was appointed Keeper in 1537.[60]

In July 1548, after she had been established in her own household she wrote to Katherine Parr, and assured her that

> Master Denny and my lady with humble thanks prayeth most entirely for your grace...(61)

Piety at court at the end of Henry's reign

As far as the general tone of court life was concerned, one may deduce from Katherine Parr's Lamentacion that the morals of the royal household did not alter very much despite the call for reform.[62] Among the sins to which the queen claimed she herself had been prone were pride, vain-glory, worldliness and lust for power, honour and wealth, all of which were common faults attributed to courtiers.

Sir Francis Bryan, one of Henry's intimates in the Privy Chamber was also associated with the humanist and literary group at court. He translated: A dispraise of the life of a courtier and commendation of the life of the labouring man by Antonio de Guevara,[63] a work which pointed to the spiritual dangers of living in a worldly court atmosphere, and in stock fashion extolled the virtues of a rural existence. The religious tone of the work and the circle from which it came underline the concern of certain members of the royal household with personal integrity and piety. The fact that there were strong echoes of the Dispraise in Katherine's Lamentacion only serves to

underline this.[64]

No one was immune from the many temptations of court life. Even John Hooper, the divine whose influence was felt so powerfully in Edward's household, confessed that he had once been

> living too much of a court life in the palace of (our) king.(65)

It was while he was in that position, however, that he read certain works of Zwingli and Bullinger, and so reached a reformed position.[66] As a reformer, he had harsh words to pronounce upon the royal household, but this meant that those who did manage to keep themselves apart stood out in stark contrast to the rest of the court. Often in their correspondence, the reformers would encourage each other with news of sympathisers in positions of influence, and reputations were soon spread by this means. With hindsight, it can be seen that the reformers' confidence was sometimes misplaced, perhaps because of insubstantial evidence, but where evidence is still available, the activities of certain individuals offer important insights into the subtle changes taking place in these years. Katherine Parr was one of those who, during the difficult and uncertain years towards the end of Henry's reign, was held up as a paragon of virtue amidst a court full of vice.

Nicholas Udall, one of those working on Erasmus' Paraphrases, saw her as God's chosen instrument because of a number of personal qualities not usually evident in other women, and much

> lesse for a woman of nobilitee brought up in the Courte of a king.(67)

Katherine, it seems, was a living example of godliness. She had kept herself

> not only from all spotte, but also from all suspicion of stainyng.(68)

Conservatives as well as reformers recognised her virtues, for even Lord Wriothesley was moved to comment on Katherine at the time of her marriage to Henry, judging that her virtue, wisdom and gentleness made her eminently suitable for the king.[69] It was acknowledged that she occupied one of the most difficult positions from which to aspire to a virtuous life:

> ...beeyng sette in place, where if she would become fortunes wanton, she might without couptrollement swimme in the delices of all suche prosperitee as might occasion hir to dote on worldy felicitee & to forgeat God..(70)

Katherine, however, avoided temptation, preferring 'godly contemplacion then courtely solaces'.[71] Thus Katherine set an example to the court which equalled in measure that of Margaret Beaufort, though her activities bore the mark of reformist influence.

According to Francis Goldsmith one of her chaplains, Katherine's piety affected the court atmosphere, for he thought that she made 'every day seem like Sunday'.[72] Perhaps the highest praise of all came from the king himself, who enshrined his opinion of her in his will where he referred to her

> great Love Obedyence Chastness of lief and Wisedom.(73)

He made no reference to her religious activities, despite her openness concerning them, but a further comment from Francis Goldsmith offers an explanation. He said of her that she cherished the religion long since introduced at the palace.[74] The Anne Askew affair notwithstanding, it may safely be said that there was probably very little doctrinal disagreement between Henry and Katherine, and that Foxe

rightly discerned her motives for discussing theology with the king when she was made to remark that she argued in order to learn.[75]

So had anything actually changed since the early sixteenth century when late medieval court piety reached its apogée, first in Margaret Beaufort and then Catherine of Aragon?

Katherine Parr's piety as seen through her writings

There are many features of Katherine Parr's activities reminiscent of the earlier period, but subtle differences suggest that changes were taking place. Though there was nothing like overt Protestantism in evidence at the end of the reign, people were no longer praised for the number of masses heard, or the hours spent on their knees reciting prayers to the Virgin.[76] It was their support of the Gospel which earned men and women a mention by the reformers and Protestant hagiographers. Their rejection of tradition found a warning echo in Katherine Parr's Lamentacion, where she counted herself among those who had formerly 'ēbraced ignorance' and 'called supersticion, godly meaninge'.[77] It is interesting that ceremonies and traditions were also roundly condemned in Erasmus' Paraphrases in the preface to the Gospel of Mark which was addressed to Katherine.[78] Faith had become for the queen the keynote of her religious experience. Katherine's faith rested on her certainty of the Resurrection which she shared with the reformers:

> now we be bold through the spirite, for the surrehope of resurrecion.(79)

External aids to devotion were rendered superfluous, if not positively idolatrous, by this inward conviction of the merits of

Christ's death and resurrection. It is interesting to see how Katherine continued to use medieval imagery, while any idea of an external stimulus was removed. By using the same technique, the queen retained the traditional devotional flavour in her writing:

> Therefore inwardely to beholde Christe crucified upon the crosse, is the best and godlyest meditacion that can be. ...For who y^{t} with lively Fayth, seeth and feleth, in spirit, that Christe the sonne of God, is dead for the satisfiyng and purifiyng of the Soule, shal se that his soule is appoynted for the very tabernacle ... of god.(80)

It was faith which was intended to be the mainspring of true religion. Devotion should spring from this and not as a result of external stimuli. The reformers did not regard the destruction and denial of traditional practices as a deprivation. On the contrary these had been a false substitute for real faith. In their place was offered the assurance that if they only had this faith, they would be saved. Such a note of certainty is evident even in the transitional period when Katherine Parr was writing. Despite her caution and moderate opinions, she chose to reject what she termed superstition, and instead claimed:

> By this fayth I am assured: and by this$_{t}$ assurance I fele the remission of my synnes: This is it y^{t} maketh me bolde: this is it that comforteth me, this is it that quencheth all dispayre.(81)

The sure note of victory, echoed by the reformers can clearly be seen in Katherine's testimony of faith:

> Nowe therefore we may see howe great the victorie and triumphe of Christe is, who hath delyvered all those the father gave hym ... from the condemnacion of sin, from the bondage of the law, from the fear of death, from the daungier of the worlds, & from al evils in this life, & in thother to cū.(82)

Reading Katherine's Lamentacion gives the impression that she had not only rejected a number of accretions in her devotional practices, now

regarding them as 'superfluous', but that she no longer felt it necessary to draw upon any written authority other than scripture. Katherine Parr's love of the scriptures is attested by her own writings, although other evidence gives added support to this. Foxe stated that she was

> very much given to the reading and study of the holy Scriptures.(83)

Nicholas Udall also referred to Katherine's habit of meditating on the Bible in his preface to the Gospel of Luke in Erasmus' Paraphrases, notably

> ... the Psalms and contēplatife meditacions on which your highnesse doeth bestow your night and daies studie ...(84)

He noted that she had studied hard to acquire

> knowelage aswell of other humaine disciplines, as also of holy Scripture, not only to your own edifying, but also to the most godly ensaūple & enstructiō of others.(85)

A third writer to draw attention to Katherine's reading and study of scripture was Sir Anthony Cope in the preface to his Godly meditacion upon xx psalmes of the prophet David.[86]

Katherine owned a variety of biblical texts as a bill of expenditure, drawn up by William Harper, clerk of the Queen's Closet bears witness.[87] This requested an allowance for the purchase of a Primer in Latin and English with Epistles and Gospels, and a New Testament in French. An inventory of her goods drawn up after her death included 'a booke of the newe testament in englisshe covered with purple velvet, garnished w^{t} silver and gilte'.[88] One of two surviving book bills sent to her Almoner records the delivery of fourteen 'bokes of the psalme prayers' which doubtless referred to the collection of Psalmes or prayers taken out of Holye Scripture,

commonly called the King's prayers.[89] These may have supplied one of the texts which Katherine used in her private meditations. She may also have used Sir Anthony Cope's work, a 'fashion of prayers and contemplatife meditations' on certain psalms, which he gave to the queen as a New Year's gift in 1547.[90]

A year after the appearance of the King's Prayers, Katherine brought out her own Prayers or Meditations, which went through two editions in that year, and six more before the end of Edward's reign.[91] As the title suggests, these were a collection of prayers and meditations from a variety of sources, including the Bible, very traditional in form and content. Praiers or meditacions offer further insight into the kind of devotional material which sustained Katherine besides the scriptures and the works mentioned. There is little to distinguish her Praiers or meditacions, for instance, from the well-established genre of devotional literature to which it belonged. This was flourishing well into the 1530s and Katherine must have been familiar with it. She stated at the outset of her work that the Praiers or meditacions were 'collected out of certain holy woorks'[92] and such compilations made no claim to originality. They relied on the Bible and other attested writings, while differing according to the taste and intent of the author. Such collections showed a marked degree of continuity as H.C. White pointed out, partly because they were not concerned with dogma or controversy, but aimed to 'stir the mind' to other worldly concerns.[93]

The medieval tone of Praiers or meditacions comes through most strongly in its echoes of the contemptus mundi tradition, and the author's recognition of her sinfulness and passive submission to the

will of God. Confessing

> I am a wretche, and of myself always redy and prone to evyll (94)

she complained that her

> soule hath ben in great heavinesse through manyfold passions, that come of the world and of the fleshe (95)

and asked for help

> patiently to beare the bourden of this corruptible lyfe.(96)

It perhaps comes as a surprise to realise that the bulk of Praiers or meditacions came from Thomas à Kempis' classic of devotion, the Imitatio. There is no more sure sign of continuity in aristocratic devotional practices than Katherine Parr's use of the most popular medieval work of devotion, first published in Latin in 1470-75. For much stronger evidence of her sound grasp of biblical teaching, one must look to her second and more original composition.[97] Katherine's rejection of the world's values also permeated this work,[98] but the overall tone was very different from that of Praiers or meditacions. In the Lamentacion Katherine was careful to acknowledge the debt owed by all Christians to the king, who had

> taken away the vailes and mistes of errors, & broughte us to y^{e} knowledge of y^{e} truthe, by the light of God's worde. (99)

She considered disapproval of reading the Bible to be

> no lesse then a plain blasphemye against the Holy gost. (100)

On the contrary

> the scriptures be so pure and holy, that no perfeccion can be added unto them. (101)

As her sponsorship of Erasmus' Paraphrases bears out, Katherine was prepared to back up her words with actions. With 'ernest zele' and at 'exceeding great cost'[102] she involved herself in the project and encouraged others to do the same. She was praised for the way she worked to promote the Gospel in the

> 'vineyard of the court with most ernest zele from the first houre of the daye to the twelfth (103)

She received praise no less adulatory than that afforded to the king for her efforts, for by setting forth the Paraphrases she

> doen unto the common weale a benefit by so many degrees surmounting and surpassing any other act of ... great largesse and benignitie. (104)

Without making extravagant claims for Katherine Parr as either a zealous or a crypto-Protestant, her association with the translation of the Paraphrases illustrates a genuine concern to bring the scriptures within the reach of all. This was the reason for the lavish praise afforded to her in the Paraphrases. In the eyes of the reformers she could do no greater service than promote the Scriptures, and that earned her lasting memory. Her practical concern went further still, however, and following in the footsteps of such as Lady Margaret Beaufort and Anne Boleyn, she took pains to distribute pious literature around her household. The fourteen copies of the Psalmes or prayers ordered by her were 'gorgiously boũd and gilt on the leather',[105] suggesting that they were to be used as gifts, and since they were an official publication, Katherine was thereby endorsing royal policy within the royal household.

Judging by the book bills sent to Katherine by Thomas Berthelet, it would appear Katherine also had dealings with the printing

trade.[106] She also received the dedication of Thomas Raynald's new edition of De partu hominis by Roeslin, printed as The byrth of mankynde, otherwyse named the womans booke in 1545.[107] Besides the Psalmes or prayers, Berthelet's first book bill charged Katherine for a book of psalm prayers, a book on the Ten Commandments, an English translation of Erasmus' Enchiridion and also his Preparation to death.[108]

Katherine is said to have owned a volume of devotional tracts now at Sudeley Castle.[109] This would seem to correspond to the works of Thomas Lupset, published by Berthelet in 1546, which also included sir Thomas Elyot's translations of A swete sermon of St Cyprian and Pico's Rules..[110] In 1544 she received Princess Elizabeth's translation of Marguerite of Navarre, The mirroir or glasse of the sinfull soul.[111] Finally there were the books which Parsons claimed were sent to the queen's closet.[112] These are the works she was known to possess,but doubtless there were others as well. It is likely, for example, that she read other works by Erasmus, whose Enchiridion was, in fact, recommended by Lupset in his works along with a number of classical and patristic authors.[113] Having read Erasmus and Lupset on the subject of preparing for death, her acquaintance with Elyot's writings may have prompted her to read his work on the same subject: A preservative agaynste deth.[114]

Though not a work of devotion, De Guevara's A dispraise of the life of a courtier[115] is of relevance here because of its subject matter, and its translator Sir Francis Bryan, who was a member of the court literary circle and known to the queen. Bryan dedicated his work to William Parr, with the hope that Katherine would also be pleased

with it.[116] Doubtless she was, for it seems that Katherine only disapproved of 'scholasticall Bookes'[117] containing

> human doctrin Sophistrie, Philosophie, and Logicke (which) are not convenient and mete to be made checkmate with scripture. (118)

Instead

> this crucifix is the boke, wherein god hath included all thynges ... profitable necessary for our salvation. (119)

From this, and from the kind of literature she chose for herself, it may be safely said that Katherine was in full sympathy with the Christian humanists in touch with the court. Furthermore, while being happy to accept some of the medieval heritage of devotional literature, she was not bound by it and was wary of anything which might obscure a straightforward biblical meaning of Faith.[120] Thus Thomas Key's denigration of the Legenda aurea and 'suche like trumprye' in his preface to the Gospel of Mark in the Paraphrases, addressed to the queen, must have harmonised with her own sentiments.[121]

This did not mean that she would welcome overt Protestantism, either during or after Henry's reign. She had equally hard words to say about people who called themselves 'gospellers', but who for one reason or another did not live up to their verbal profession of faith.[122]

The literary associations of Katherine Parr's ladies offer further comment on the assimilation of reformist attitudes at court during this critical time. They all occur after the death of Henry, although not all the works involved are overtly Protestant. They thus serve as a reminder that while their commitment to reform at the

earlier stage was genuine, it was a formative period which grew both in clarity and intensity with the passage of time.

Lady Tyrwhitt was the only other member of Katherine's immediate circle to write her own devotional work, and although it was published well into Elizabeth's reign, its tone was not greatly different from the moderate reflections of Katherine's writings.[123]

Anne Herbert received a dedication soon after the government began to initiate more radical reform. It was William Thomas' The vanitee of this world, published in 1549.[124] Thomas was a convinced Protestant, but this did not prevent the dominant theme of this work from harmonising with more traditional works.[125] Thomas was made clerk of the Council in 1549, and was involved in the education of Edward in writing a number of discourses to advise him politically.[126]

The Duchess of Suffolk was also receiving dedications early in Edward's reign, including a sermon by Latimer, Tyndale's New Testament and his exposition on part of Matthew's gospel, and an exposition of the Apostles' Creed by Pierre Viret in 1548.[127] During the years that followed she received many more dedications of works of reform, including items by Calvin and Beza.[128] She herself had a hand in the publication of Katherine Parr's Lamentacion, along with William Parr and William Cecil.[129]

When preparing her will towards the end of her life, Anne, Duchess of Somerset gave thanks to God for calling her 'long agoe ... to the knowledge and love of the Gospell'.[130] The dedications which she received bear out her testimony, for authors continued to regard her as a Protestant champion in her own right after her husband's

execution, dedicating such works as The fortress of faith defended to her name.[131] Like the Duchess of Suffolk she was an early recipient of works of this kind. In 1549, for example, Walter Lynne dedicated to her A briefe collection of all suche textes of the scripture as do declare y^e^ happie estate of the that be vyseted wyth sycknes. Whereunto are added two sermons by M Luther.[132] Her association with Anne Askew gave Lynne the confidence to believe that the dedication of The true belief in Christ and his sacraments[133] would be well received. More important was her association with the English translation of the Paraphrases, for she took over responsibility along with the Duchess of Suffolk after Katherine Parr's death. Coverdale was involved in editing the second volume which took on a more vigorously Protestant tone through the addition of Tyndale's Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans and Leo Judd's anti-papal commentary on the Book of Revelation.

Katherine Parr's influence beyond 1547

A brief reference to what is known of her life after the king's death will complete the picture of Katherine's consistently moderate position. Katherine's management of her household was known to a number of the reformers, and it met with their approval, for it seems that she continued to order it in a godly manner. After her marriage to Sir Thomas Seymour, she saw to it that there were daily prayers there, and as she had the services of chaplains like John Parkhurst there were probably regular sermons also.[134] It may have been as he frequented Cheshunt that Elizabeth's high regard for him first began

to grow.

An indication of where Katherine Parr's religious development may have been tending was the entrusting of her infant daughter to the Duchess of Suffolk. The duchess was a far more outspoken supporter of the Reformists than Katherine Parr professed to be, but their concern for godliness and a good education were sufficiently similar for a close relationship to develop. While Katherine Parr hung back from open crusading zeal, this act suggests tacit approval of the duchess' aims, knowing for sure that her daughter would be given a decidedly Protestant upbringing.[135]

Until the onset of the king's final illness Katherine had maintained personal contact with all of Henry's children. Constant movement of the households of the king and his children meant such contact was intermittent, and under these circumstances it was difficult for stable relationships to develop. Prince Edward, at least, tried to maintain contact by letter, but one suspects that the habit was encouraged for its educational value rather than fostering emotional ties.[136]

Katherine seems to have had a genuine friendship with Princess Mary, but this may have owed its foundation to the days before Katherine became queen. The relationship remained firm, despite the fact that Mary never showed any favour towards the reformist sympathies of Katherine's other friends. She was of course familiar with the ladies of the court already. In 1538 she stood as godmother for the children of the Ladies Hertford and Sussex.[137] In January 1544, she received a book covered in silver-gilt from Lady Herbert.[138]

She was with the queen and her ladies about the time of the Anne Askew affair, for on 20th May 1546, Edward wrote to her and asked her to greet on his behalf the Ladies Tyrwhitt, Herbert and Lane.[139]

Mary's upbringing under the influence of her mother and the principles of Vives had endowed her with some sympathy for humanism. She was persuaded to participate in the translation of Erasmus' Paraphrases, though she made only a beginning. Katherine tried to encourage her to continue the work,[140] but in the end it had to be completed by Mary's chaplain Dr Francis Mallet.[141]

Despite the note of conservatism echoed by those closest to her, Mary's concern with religion ensured that she had something in common with the court ladies of the later years of Henry VIII. McConica put the case for a 'conservative humanist and pietist group' active in Mary's household from the late 1530s, which was subsequently reintegrated into the mainstream through the efforts of Katherine Parr.[142] The works associated with Mary are indeed of a devotional nature. Mary was praised for her own translation by Lord Morley of the same author: the Angelic Salutation to the blessed virgin, coupled with St Anselm's The stature and forme and lyfe of ouer blessed Lady and of ouer Saviour Christe Jesu.[143] Lord Morley's dedications to Mary are full of praise for her piety and virtue. The works themselves are largely translations of classical or devotional works.[144]

Mary's good relations with Katherine Parr highlight a number of important features of court piety at this difficult time. While serving as a reminder of the queen's moderation concerning reform, they throw light on Princess Mary's deep-seated piety, which resisted

the winds of change. It is evident that calls for reform during the 1540s could still be seen as orthodox and posing no threat to traditional piety. The lines were hazy enough for Katherine Parr to give Mary a gift of a rosary, and for Mary to participate in the production of the Paraphrases. Perhaps it was this which led Thomas Paynell to deem her a sympathetic patroness of a work which he published in 1550, advocating the study of vernacular scripture. In it he referred to Mary's generosity to those

> whiche diligently do exercyse themselves in the spirituall and morall study of the sincere worde of God. (145)

Princess Elizabeth was also beginning by this time to be a part of the circle of court devotion. In 1545 she too made a translation of a devotional book and presented Henry with Katherine's Prayers and Meditations in Latin, French and Italian.[146] She also translated Erasmus' Dialogus fideii for the king.[147] Her first effort, however, had been for the queen herself, for it was as a New Year's gift for 1545 that she presented her with her translation of Marguerite d'Angouleme's A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle. Though far too young to be recognised in her own right, these efforts are significant pointers to the educational influences at work in Elizabeth's early life, and should be taken seriously as the roots of her religious outlook later in life.[148]

Though Katherine was kept away from Edward after Henry's death, for political rather than religious reasons, she was not prevented from exercising influence over Elizabeth. Indeed, she may deserve more credit for the princess' education than is generally given. Since learning was a means to godliness in Katherine's eyes, Elizabeth's

education would have been an important priority while she was under the queen dowager's roof. She took it seriously enough to oppose the princess' desire to have Roger Ascham as her tutor after the death of William Grindal in January 1548. Katherine wanted Francis Goldsmith to have the post, but Elizabeth insisted, and with Cheke's support, got her way.[149]

Although Elizabeth's will over-rode that of Katherine Parr in this case, it is suggestive of the extent to which the princess's formative years were associated with Katherine and her circle. She may have owed a good deal of the caution displayed in adulthood to the moderation displayed here. Her own private prayers, while reflecting an ever-present consciousness of her royal position, reveal a deep sense of her own sinfulness.[150] Indeed, the two are juxtaposed in a way which Katherine herself might have conceived:

> ... thou hast set me on high, my flesh is frail and weak.(151)

Elizabeth's prayers, written in English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek, bear many similarities of tone to the very prayers composed by Katherine which the princess herself translated into Latin, French and Italian and offered to the queen as a gift.[152]

The extent of Katherine Parr's influence upon the development of Elizabeth Tudor can only be a matter of conjecture, but she must be given some recognition. As in other affairs, she was not the prime mover, but she was at least an active protagonist, working in conjunction with others. This has important bearings on the religious life of the court, for it sheds light on the progress of reform

policies, and goes some way towards explaining the Protestantisation which took place under the Edwardian regime. These men and women were not crypto-Protestants biding their time until Henry's death. It is only when they are viewed as a group in their own right that any sense can be made of the apparent contradictions, many of which were as real as they were apparent.

Footnotes

1. Foxe, 5, p.472. He was one of Cromwell's commissioners for the Dissolution. For a reappraisal of his character, cf. Knowles, 3, p.354.

2. Foxe, 5, p.474.

3. Ibid, 5, p.473.

4. Ibid, 5, p.473.

5. Ibid, 5, p.473-4.

6. For Marbeck cf. R.A. Leaver (ed.): The Work of John Marbeck, (The Courtenay Library of Christian Classics, vol 9), Ox., 1978.

7. Foxe, 5, p.474.

8. Ibid, 5, p496. Henry was ignorant of activity in the Privy Chamber on a number of occasions. Cf. his anger that George Blagge was prosecuted without his knowledge, Foxe, 5., p.564.

9. Ibid, 5, p.494.

10. Burnet regarded the Windsor episode, the Anne Askew affair and the plots against Cranmer as different facets of a general attack by Gardiner and the conservatives, which aimed to dislodge the reformers about the king. Burnet: History of the Reformation, p.516. Foxe pointed out that Gardiner had 'conceived a further fetch in his brain'. Foxe, 5, p.473.

11. Cal. S.P. Span., VIII, 291.

12. L.B. Smith: Henry VIII. The Mask of Royalty, L.1971, pp.33ff.

13. Cal. S.P., Span, VIII, 386.

14. Foxe, 5, p.558.

15. Hughes and Larkin, 1, p.373. Works included were Tyndale's and Coverdale's New Testaments, all books by Frith, Tyndale, Wycliff, Joy, Roy, Basille, Coverdale, Turner and Tracey, or any other book contrary to the 'King's Book'.

16. Ibid, 1, p.374.

17. It was issued just a few days before the racking of Anne Askew.

18. Apart from translations by Tyndale and Coverdale.

19. J.G. Nichols (ed.), Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, (Camden Society, o.s., 77), L1859, p.149.

20. S.T.C., 2866, preface to the reader, f.CCI^{v}.

21. Ibid, preface to Mark's Gospel, f.CVIII^{v}.

22. This view of Katherine was especially put forward by A. Strickland in her book, Lives of the Queens of England, but Strype, Burnet, and more recently McConica have all taken this line.

23. C. Fenno Hoffman Jr., 'Catherine Parr as a woman of letters', H.L.Q., 23, 1960, pp.349-67, plays down her erudition while still allowing her considerable intellectual ability. M. Dowling: 'Scholarship, politics and the court of Henry VIII' is more sceptical.

24. B.L., Harl. MS, 5087, no.9.

25. Princess Elizabeth noted her 'affectuous will and fervent zeal ... towards all godly learning', G.B. Harrison (ed.): Letters of Queen Elizabeth, L1935, p.5.

26. Lamentacion, f.B.VIII.

27. Strype: E.M., 2, 2, Repository K, p.39.

28. Cf. L.P., I and II, passim for his presence on major court occasions and for numerous grants. He died in November 1517.

29. She received daily livery and was listed as a permanent member of the household after her husband's death. L.P., III, 1, 491, 528, 577.

30. J.G. Nichols (ed.): Literary Remains of King Edward Sixth, 2 vols, (Roxburghe Club), L1857, 1, p.xli, n.d.; (hereafter cited as Remains); J.G. Nichols (ed.): Inventory of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, (Camden Misc., 3), 1855, p.xlv.

31. L.P., XVIII, 283, (35).

32. L.P., XVIII, I, 740, Lisle reported that Katherine and Anne were at court with princesses Mary and Elizabeth.

33. Remains, 1, p.45.

34. As was the case for example, with Anne Boleyn, cf. Ives: 'Faction at the Court of Henry VIII', pp.169ff; idem: 'Faction in Tudor England', pp.16ff.

35. Anne Herbert was a woman greatly respected in her own right. A poem composed on her death in 1552 was included in Tottell's Songes and Sonnets and referred to her as 'A iewell, yea a gemme of womanhed' (no.248, p.194).

36. W.A. Shaw, Knights of England, 2 vols, L1906, 2, p.54; Remains, 1, p.10. In Edward's reign he was still more prominent. Thomas Throckmorton referred to him, along with Somerset and Northumberland as the 'Mightie Tres Viri'. J.G. Nichols (ed.), The Legend of Nicholas Throckmorton, L.1874, p.17.

37. Cal. S.P., Span., VI, 1, 207.

38. B.L. Cott. MS, Vesp., C.XIV, f.93.

39. His mother was a Tailboys, and he was a cousin of Katherine's first husband Edward Borough. Remains, 1, p.10. Sir Robert was appointed esquire to the king and Master of the Horse to Katherine. Ibid, loc.cit.

40. Foxe, 5, p.554.

41. S.T.C.^{2}, 34477.5, 1575. Thomas Bentley: Monument of matrons, 3 vols, S.T.C., 1892, 1582, included Marguerite of Navarre's Godly Meditation, Katherine Parr's Lamentacion and Prayers and Meditations, a prayer of Lady Jane Dudley and Lady Tyrwhitt's Morning and Evening Prayers besides the prayers and biographies of women from the Bible.

42. S.T.C.^{2}, 15512; F.B. Williams: Index of book dedications and commendatory verses in English books before 1641, L1962, p.187.

43. Parsons: Treatise of Three Conversions, 2, p.494.

44. He followed Anne's own account which was published by John Bale at Marburg, Hesse, 1547.

45. Foxe, 5, p.544.

46. Parsons: Treatise of Three Conversions, 2, p.493.

47. Bonner noted that she was 'come of worshipful stock' and had 'good friends', Bale, 177.

48. They were related through the Tailboys family. Cf. James: 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England', passim, on the importance of marriage and kinship in Lincolnshire in this period.

49. H.L.L. Denny: 'Biography of the right honourable Sir Anthony Denny, P.C., M.P.', East Hertfordshire Archeological Society Transactions, 3, 1905, pp.197-216.

50. Bale: 220, 222, 242.

51. B.L. Cott. MS, Vesp. C.XIV, f.93.

52. Lincolnshire Pedigrees, 1, p.61. Edward became one of the first gentlemen pensioners in 1539 on Cranmer's recommendation, 2 Cran., 399. Sir William had harboured heretics during the Pilgrimage of Grace, D. Wilson: The People and the Book, L1976, p.77.

53. Cal.S.P. Span., VIII, 386.

54. Bale, 220.

55. Rosse preached against Purgatory and the mass c1532, J. Strype: Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, 2 vols, Ox. 1812, 1, pp.275-6. For Sir Humphrey Radcliffe cf. Nichols: Narratives, p.65.

56. Cf. below pp.271ff for further reference to Denny.

57. Bale, 222.

58. Ibid, 177.

59. Denny: 'Biography of Denny', p.202. Anne Boleyn was cousin to Denny's mother, Mary Troutbeck, ibid, p.198.

60. Denny: 'Biography of Denny', p.201.

61. Strickland: Lives, 3, p.275.

62. Lamentacion, f.AVII.

63. S.T.C., 12431, 1548.

64. Cf. McConica, p.254.

65. Foxe, 7, p.454.

66. Ibid, loc.cit.

67. Paraphrases, preface to Luke, f.ii.

68. Ibid, loc.cit.

69. L.P., XVIII, 1, 894.

70. STC, 2854, 1548-9, Paraphrases, preface to Luke, f.CII.

71. Ibid, loc.cit.

72. B.L. Lans, MS, 97, f.43.

73. P.R.O., E23/4, pt.1, f.15.

74. B.L. Lans, MS, 97, f.43.

75. Foxe, 5, p.559.

76. Latimer for example made no reference to Anne Boleyn's personal asceticism or her participation in the Sacraments of the Church. He thought her godliness rested upon her care for the poor, her patronage of learning and her zeal for the Gospel, cf. Bodl., Don MS, C42.

77. Catharine [Parr]: The lamentacion of a sinner, STC, 4827, 1548, ff.AII^{v}, AIII.

78. 'workes ... as in pardons, in pilgrymages, in kissing of relykes, in offeryng to saynctes, in halowed beades, in numbering of prayers, in mumbling up of psalmes not understand (sic) ...', Paraphrases, (S.T.C., 2866, 1551), f.QIII^{v}.

79. Lamentacion, f.CVIII^{v}.

80. Ibid, f.CII-II^{v}, cf. Cranmer's use of this imagery in the Ten Articles, 2 Cran., p.101.

81. Lamentacion, f.B^{v}.

82. Ibid, ff.DIII-III^{v}.

83. Foxe, 5, p.553.

84. S.T.C., 2866, fII. The paraphrase of Luke's gospel was completed in 1545.

85. Ibid, loc.cit.

86. S.T.C., 5717, 1547.

87. P.R.O., E315/161/69. Drawn up in 1544.

88. B.L. Harl MS, 7376, f.10.

89. P.R.O., E315/161/46. Cf. F. Rose-Troup: 'Two book bills of Katherine parr', The Library, ser.3, 1911, pp.40-44. For the King's Prayers, cf. S.T.C., 3002.

90. Anthony Cope: A godly meditacion upon xx psalmes of the prophet David, STC, 5717, 1547, fIII.

91. S.T.C., 4818-4826. The two volumes appeared bound together in 1568.

92. Catharine [Parr] Queen: Praiers or meditacions wherein the mynd is stirred paciently to suffre all afflictions here, STC, 4819, 1545, title page.

93. Ibid, loc.cit., cf. White: Tudor books, pp.446ff.

94. Praiers or meditacions, f.C^{v}.

95. Ibid, f.D^{v}.

96. Ibid, f.A^{v}.

97. S.T.C., 4827.

98. Ibid, see especially f.EVIff.

99. Ibid, f.E.

100. Ibid, f.FVII^{v}.

101. Ibid, f.GV.

102. Paraphrases, S.T.C., 2854, 1548, Preface to Luke, f.CII^{v}.

103. Ibid, loc.cit.

104. Ibid. preface to Matthew, f.CI^{v}. In the edition of 1551 (S.T.C., 2866) Katherine was paid the compliment of having 'the very expresse resemblaunce of all his maiesties excellent vertues'. (Ibid. Preface to Mark, f.QIII^{v}).

105. P.R.O., E315/161/46.

106. Cf. F. Rose-Troup: 'Two book bills of Katherine Parr', pp.40ff.

107. S.T.C.^{2}, 21154.

108. P.R.O., E315/161/46.

109. Dent-Brocklehurst, MS Collection, Sudeley Castle. The MS was not available for inspection, but apparently the title-page only is authentic. I owe this information to Dr J.T. Rhodes who has examined the volume in question.

110. S.T.C.^{2}, 16932, 1546. Contents as follows: Lupset's translation of a Sermon of St Chrysostom, An exhortation to young men, and Treatise of Charitie, The Gathered Counsailes [of St Isidore], A compendious treatise on dyenge well, plus the two Elyot translations.

111. Edited and published by John Bale in 1548 at Basle. Elizabeth's gift was written in her own hand and bound in an embroidered cover (Bodl. Cherry MS 36).

112. Parsons: Treatise of three conversions, p.494.

113. Lupset: An exhortacio to yonge men, f.CI.

114. S.T.C., 7674, 1545. Her own reflections on death were revealed in a letter which she wrote to Lady Wriothesley on the death of the latter's son. printed in Strype: E.M., 2, Repository L, p.40.

115. S.T.C., 12431, 1548.

116. Ibid. preface (cf. McConica, pp.254ff).

117. Lamentacion, f.BVIII.

118. Ibid, f.GV.

119. Ibid, f.CIV.

120. Ibid, f.BVIII.

121. Paraphrases, (S.T.C., 2866, 1551). Preface to Mark, f.QIII^{v}.

122. Lamentacion, f.FVIff.

123. S.T.C.^{2}, 24477.5.

124. S.T.C., 24023, 1549.

125. McConica links it with Marguerite of Navarre, Miroir de l'âme pecheresse and A dispraise of the life of a courtier by de Guevara, translated by Sir Francies Bryan, S.T.C., 12431, 1548, and calls all three 'pietistic works with a distinctly humanistic sponsorship'. Cf. McConica, p.254.

126. Remains, 1, p.clxii.

127. S.T.C.^{2}, 15291; S.T.C., 2853; S.T.C.^{2}, 24441a, 24784.

128. S.T.C., 4450, 2045. For other works dedicated to her see S.T.C., 5276, 10429; S.T.C.^{2}, 15271, 15276, 19870.

129. It was published at her 'instaunt desire'.

130. B.L. Lans MS, 50, art 90.

131. S.T.C., 3195, by Bodonius, translated E. Crane, 1570.

132. S.T.C.^{2}, 17119, 1549.

133. S.T.C.^{2}, 14576, now 24223.5. Previous dedication crossed out.

134. 1 Lat., 228.

135. P.R.O., S.P., 10/8/35 recounts the duchess' subsequent problems over caring for the orphan. After her lands were restored, nothing more was heard of her, cf. L.C. Goff: A Woman of the Tudor Age, L.1930, p.177.

136. Katherine was not the only recipient of such letters, cf. B.L. Harl MS, 5087. These letters are reprinted in Remains, 1, pp.1ff.

137. Madden: Privy Purse Expenses, p.65.

138. Ibid, p.144.

139. B.L. Harl MS, 5087, no.10.

140. B.L. Cott. MS, Vesp., FIII, no.35, f.37.

141. Cf. below pp.290f for further reference to Mallet.

142. McConica, p.157.

143. B.L. Royal MS, 17C, XVI.

144. Cf. McConica, pp.152ff for Lord Morley's literary career.

145. The pilhthy [sic] and moost notable sayinges of al Scripture, after the mauner of common places, very necessary for al those that delite in the consolacions of the Scriptures. S.T.C.^{2}, 19494, 1550. Mary had received a book from Paynell in 1543. Madden: Privy purse expenses, p.106.

146. McConica, p.231.

147. Ibid, loc cit.

148. Cf. below, ch.9.

149. Cf. Giles: Whole Works, 1, LXXXV, pp.160ff.

150. Cf. A book of devotions composed by Her Majesty Elizabeth, with translations by A. Fox and a foreward by J.P. Hodges, Gerrards Cross, 1970.

151. Ibid, p.41 (the second English prayer).

152. There was a great deal of continuity in prayers composed for private use. Vives' prayers for example, were translated by John Bradford, the noted Protestant preacher and chaplain to Edward VI. One popular version of Bradford's translation appeared in nine editions over fifty years, cf. A. Tobriner: 'Vives prayers in English Reformation worship', Catholic History Review, 61, 1975, pp.505-515.

Chapter Six

Changing trends in the religious life of the Tudor court: the reign of Edward VI, 1547-53

But the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it.

Epistle to the Hebrews 4 v2

What a Kinge should England have had yf God had given him his father's age...

Sir Richard Morrison



Figure III: Edward VI in Infancy

I. The notion of large numbers of crypto-Protestants waiting in the wings for Henry's death does not stand up to close analysis. Even Cranmer, who supposedly waited for Edward's reign to 'speak his mind',[1] was not ready to embrace a Protestant reformation of the continental kind under Henry, and continued to display caution under the Protectorate. His personal doctrinal development and natural caution played a decisive part in the religious history of Edward's reign and reflects to a large degree the attitude of the majority. He later confessed that

> ... after it had pleased God to show unto me, by his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. (2)

The number of real radicals at the start of Edward's reign was small. Those with more extreme Protestant sympathies had for the most part gone into exile during Henry's reign, where they fed on still more radical ideas. It was not long before they began to return to England to establish God's kingdom there also, and their voices became louder and more emphatic as the reign advanced. England indeed became a haven for foreign reformers seeking refuge. Official religious change, however, required the consent of parliament, and the support of the government itself, but early in 1547 there were other questions of pressing urgency. Both the Earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle had risen to favour at Henry's court primarily because of their military talents, though Hertford had the added advantage of being related to Queen Jane.

By turning Henry against Norfolk and Gardiner, and gaining the upper hand on the Privy Council, the Seymour faction was able to take control on Henry's death with ease and efficiency.[3] Hertford himself took control of Edward's person and had himself made Protector. Acceptance of what was done was cemented by use of the 'unfulfilled gifts' clause in Henry's will, which authorised the Council to bestow unspecified gifts, honours and estates which the late king had supposedly intended to grant himself.[4] With Hertford's record from the previous reign, it was generally assumed that he would continue to favour reform. This proved to be the case, but there was no immediate revolution in religious affairs. The Protector did not call a parliament until November 1547, after subduing the Scots at Pinkie, and he was reluctant to rush ahead with the Reformation at this point, because he wished to conciliate the Emperor in the event of the French assisting the Scots.[5] This parliament abolished the Act of Six Articles, thus preparing the ground for further reform in religious matters. It also abolished the charities, a process which had begun in 1545, but the Edwardian act now denounced them on doctrinal grounds.[6] Meanwhile unofficial reform forged ahead with a flood of controversial literature, preaching and iconoclasm. Cromwell's Second Injunctions had been re-issued in the middle of 1547 ordering free access to all to the English Bible. Somerset allowed an unprecedented degree of tolerance in religious matters, freedom of speech and publication.[7] The Protector, like Cromwell before him, made full use of the powerful weapons of patronage and propaganda, and many sympathisers of reform were indebted to him for support.[8]

Others used their influence in this area also and as in Henry's reign much was achieved by sympathetic courtiers, especially women, who were not themselves the policy makers. This led to an act to deal with irreverent speaking against the Sacrament, and government proclamations against disputes over the Eucharist in December 1547, against private innovation February 1548 and even to the prohibiting of all preaching September 1548.[9] The latter included a promise for general religious reform, which eventually materialised in the parliamentary session of November 1548 to March 1549 in the shape of the first Prayer Book.[10]

As far as the radical reformers were concerned, the government was proving to be disappointingly slow to purge the Church of its 'Romish dregs', and it is little wonder that they took matters into their own hands and instituted reforms without official approval. The men who supported the Protector were a mixed group, even after the eclipse of the conservatives. The binding factor was a commitment to the Henrician revolution in government and its principle of erastianism. Professor Elton distinguished three main groups at the beginning of Edward's reign: Erasmian educators, clerical radicals and lay students of the body politic, pointing out that they were held together by dislike of popular resistance, subversion and sedition.[11] One might add others who fit into none of these categories, such as Sir Anthony Browne, who, having tried to persuade Henry to include Gardiner in his will, lent his support to Hertford thinking he would provide the surest form of government.[12]

As further reforms were gradually implemented by the government,

it was the task of the episcopate to see that they were implemented in the country at large. Some of the more radical bishops such as Ridley and Hooper embraced Protestantism eagerly and constantly looked for further measures, but until late 1551 a number of sees remained in conservative hands.[13] As in Henry's reign, their consciences were eased by the principle of erastianism, but then the brake had been provided by the royal household itself. In Edward's reign, the king's household was often ahead of the nation at large in religious innovation, and may more accurately be seen as a liturgical laboratory, experimenting in Protestant forms.

All the reformist support and activity which emanated from the court, however, was initiated by men who governed in the king's name. The presence of a minor inevitably affected the royal household in all kinds of ways, not least in its domestic arrangements.[14] The king continued to be regarded as the ultimate source of patronage and power, but Edward's real authority was nominal, every approach to him being through his governors. The manipulation of the king's mind which had occurred during Henry's reign now became control of the king's person.

A minor on the throne was thus a great threat to stability. This led to the construction of a royalist myth which consisted of projecting the image of government by a godly and learned youth. The chief prop in the dramatisation of this myth was the royal household. The script was the Bible. It symbolised the divine authority of Protestant kingship and it was very prominent at Edward's court.[15]

There were consequently important political implications in the Protestantisation of Edward's court, and the rest of this chapter examines the process whereby it was achieved.

The Shaping of the Godly Monarch

Beyond the tight circle of Edward's schoolroom and Privy Chamber the influences on the young and impressionable monarch were carefully scrutinised. Somerset rarely absented himself from court during his period of power. When Edward moved, he followed, staying on the Queen's side of the household.[16] He was thus able to use the physical structure of the court to his advantage, since there was no queen to threaten his proximity to the king in any way.

The Protector planted 'sober and learned men' in the king's Privy Chamber, so that Edward never wanted for 'wise and learned conversation'.[17] His schoolmaster Sir John Cheke, seems never to have left Edward's side, for he

> was always at his elbow, both in his closet and in his chapel, and wherever else he went, to inform and teach him. (18)

He also accompanied the king whenever he listened to a sermon.[19] Northumberland was later also careful to shield Edward from anyone who might counteract his influence, and many entries in the king's Journal during the duke's ascendancy suggest his influence.[20] Edward's total lack of privacy is thus transparent. It seems that he could not be alone even in his closet, though it was regarded as having some degree of privacy still.[21] There is little wonder that Edward is reported to have taken to writing in code and entering into childish secret

intrigue with Sir Thomas Seymour.[22] Edward was not allowed to develop an independent train of thought. Brought up 'amoung the wemen' until the age of six,[23] he passed from their company, not to enjoy the freedom of the male-dominated world, but to embark on a rigorous preparation for his future role. The

> strange mixture of scholastic discipline and state ceremony (24)

from which he could never escape was designed to shape his character in a mould fitting for a king who would preside over a splendid court and reign supreme in Church and State. Above all, Edward had to be a worthy successor to his father. The essence of Edward's upbringing was contained in an inscription by Sir Richard Morison on a portrait of Edward aged eighteen months

> parvule patrissa, patriae virtutis et haeres
> Esto, nihil majus maximus orbis habet
> Gnatum vix possunt coelum et natura dedisse
> Huius quem patris victus honoret honos.
> Aequato tantum tanti tu facta parentis,
> Vota hominum vix quo progrediantur habent
> Vincito, vicisti, quot reges priscus adorat
> Orbis, nec te qui vincere possit erit. (25)

His schoolmasters pursued the aim with dedication. Such a design was filled with tensions. Who would design the mould for the young king, and how could it embrace a splendid court with all the worldliness that implied, while also fulfilling the requirements of godly leadership? These were issues which had to be faced and worked out. At the beginning of 1546 the king's schoolmaster, Richard Cox was thankful to report that Edward was proving 'an impe worthy of such a father'.[26] In October of the same year Cox wrote:

> I trust the Prince's grace shall content hys father's expectation hereafter. We (have) suffered him hytherto suo more puerascere. (27)

When Edward addressed his father in letters, he assured him of his continued efforts to live up to his expectations and to follow his example.[28] After Henry's death Edward always referred to his father with deep respect and showed a keen awareness of the responsibility which had passed to himself. Should he momentarily forget himself, one or another of his constant companions was always on hand to remind him of his duties. All this was perceived at court to the extent that Mary believed the mature opinions expressed by the king were not his own at all, but those of his governors and gentlemen.[29] This situation could well have extended to Edward's religious pronouncements. Very early in the reign Philip Gerrard, Yeoman of the Privy Chamber, dedicated to the king a religious work he had written entitled A godly invective in the defence of the gospel.[30] The freedom initially allowed by Somerset to gospelling literature and the vernacular Bible was thus given royal sanction at the outset of the new reign.[31] Many of those with influence at court regarded the realm of religious affairs as the most pressing area for reform at the start of 1547. The government was careful to endorse further action with the old king's authority wherever they could, and the tradition grew up that Henry would have proceeded further had he lived. Foxe made this quite clear, and it helped him to justify the ambiguous king.[32] The notion found its way into art, and an anti-papal allegory painted in 1548 to justify the

destruction of images showed Henry gesturing his approval from his sick-bed.[33] In the image of Henry as majestic, commanding and the instrument of the Almighty, it was the latter which loomed largest in Edward's household and was referred to most frequently. Soon after Henry's death, Edward was writing to Katherine Parr to comfort her with the thought that

> qui promovit omnem pietam, atque expulit omnem ignorantiam, habet certissimum iter in coelum. (34)

Edward was encouraged to remember his father in terms of the reformation of the Church, and was furthermore reminded that where Henry had made a beginning, there was much still to be accomplished. Hooper reminded Edward that if Satan could not cause either the neglect of religion or its persecution, he would try to preserve a 'mixed and mingled religion'.[35]

By setting up the 'pure and sincere religion', Edward had a chance to excel his father, and there may have been subtle implications made regarding this to spur him on. In his Epistle Dedicatory to Erasmus' Paraphrases, Udall told him that whereas men had formerly prayed that Edward would follow his father's 'godly steppes and proceadinges', it was now obvious that he would 'ferre passe' him.[36]

The favourite biblical analogy used in connection with Edward carried subtle undertones concerning Henry's reputation, for Josiah had unearthed the scriptures after they had lain neglected and forgotten many years.[37] Hooper brought out this twist when he pointed out that Josiah had not followed the faith of his immediate father,

Amon, who did 'that which was evil in the sight of the Lord', but of David, his more distant ancestor, who 'wholly followed the Lord'.[38] By the time Foxe came to write his eulogy of Edward, the analogy was taken to its logical conclusion and stated overtly: Edward restored the scriptures and

> other wholeseome books of Christian doctrine which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days by sharp laws and severe punishments... (39)

In the beginning this young and tender Josiah needed to be carefully nurtured. Edward's personal spiritual needs were well catered for. Besides Cheke who attended every sermon with the king, and who was doubtless in the habit of explaining the more obscure parts of the reformers' doctrines to the king, there was Cox who continued at court in the position of Almoner to the king. At the beginning of the reign there were four royal chaplains: Anthony Otway, Giles Ayre, Roger Tounge and James Pilkington.[40] At the end of 1551, the arrangements for royal chaplains underwent reforms which were designed to benefit the king and to improve systematic preaching in the nation at large.[41] The changes involved the appointment of six new chaplains, two of whom were required to be present at court at any time, while the others absented themselves to preach in desginated circuits. These men were named as John Harley, William Bill, Robert Horne, Edmund Grindal, Andrew Perne and John Knox.[42]

These men were well-known figures and were doubtless closely vetted both by the Council and by Cranmer personally. They all supported reform,[43] and all except Knox and Harley went on to hold

high ecclesiastical positions under Elizabeth. Harley had been chaplain and tutor to the Duke of Northumberland's household before his appointment.[44] He went on to become Bishop of Hereford, though he was deprived under Mary, having revealed his sympathies from the beginning by withdrawing from Mary's first parliament at the Mass of the Holy Ghost. He died 'an exile in his own country' in 1558, having spent his remaining years under Mary travelling England and preaching in secret.[45] William Bill had been a chaplain of Henry VIII. He was successively Master of St John's and Trinity College, Cambridge, Provost of Eton, Dean of Westminster and Almoner to Queen Elizabeth.[46] Horne, the Dean of Durham, rose to become Bishop of Winchester in 1560. Perne was later appointed to the deanery of Ely, while Grindal eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury via London and then York.[47] Only John Knox, of those who lived to see Elizabeth's accession, was persona non grata to the queen, incurring her wrath by his attitude to female rulers, and his lack of tact.

Knox also angered Northumberland by his denunciations of the vice and corruption of the nobility when he preached before the king in Lent 1553. Northumberland condemned these sermons in the Lords and Knox was summoned before the Privy Council. It seems that no further action was taken, however, and Knox survived the turmoil after Edward's death to go into exile during Mary's reign.[48] When he returned to England he continued preaching in his native Scotland.[49]

The chaplains named here were not the only men to be appointed to that position. Those provided with mourning cloth for Edward's funeral, for example, were Latimer, Bill, Perne, Buttel and Rudde.[50]

The extent of the individual influence of each of these men upon Edward cannot be estimated, but together they represented a theological position in keeping with the rest of the king's constant companions. They were considered sufficiently trustworthy to

> consider certaine articles exhibited to the kinge's Majestie to be subscribed by all suche as shalbe admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realme. (51)

Their late appointment, just over a year before the onset of Edward's final illness, and the rotating nature of the post, did not allow for any real closeness to develop with the king. Indeed, of the few attachments which Edward did form, only Cranmer remained from the beginning to the end. Cox had been there almost as long, and Cheke was very dear to him, but one may surmise that the archbishop's influence with Edward, especially in spiritual matters, was at least as strong. No one questioned Cranmer's relationship with the young monarch, his god-child and spiritual charge, but Latimer, for one, was sceptical concerning the effectiveness of the royal chaplains. He did not believe, for example, that they could wield any influence over the inordinate extravagance of the royal household.[52]

Edward of course had no official confessor who might have gained a hold over his young mind. His deep interest in sermons, however, gave preachers a real opportunity to influence the king from beyond the immediate context of the court. Through their scripture-based sermons and through his education Edward himself was steeped in the Bible and was influenced by it to the extent of being able to quote from it at length.[53]

Formal Court Religion

Many traditional religious observances continued on into Edward's reign, and at times there was uncertainty as to what could be retained and what should no longer be countenanced. Part of the reluctance may have been the lack of anything with which to replace so many ceremonies. Clearly some substitute was necessary, since the court depended heavily on rituals and ceremonies for its formal image.[54] Ceremonies of little doctrinal consequence might therefore have been considered acceptable, but there were certain aspects of court life which gave the lie to the increasingly Protestant image it projected. Observers were naturally quick to pick this up. Thus the Spanish ambassador noted that mass was still being sung in the Chapel Royal after its abolition in the households of Seymour, Northumberland and the Lord Protector.[55] Gardiner heard that Edward continued to keep Lent and reminded Somerset that this

> agreith not with certeyn preaching in this matter, (56)

although he objected to Cranmer's additions to Cromwell's Injunctions, which were reissued in July 1547, as being illegal. Little by little the services at court were Protestantised along the lines desired by the reformers. The first sign that this was the direction the new regime would take was the singing of Compline in English in the Chapel Royal on 11th April, 1547.[57] The service itself already existed in several versions, but its use in this context was a major innovation. That Lent there had been sermons at court by Barlow and Ridley, known supporters of reform.[58] London lagged behind at this time and the rest of the nation still more so. Although the mass of the Holy Ghost at

the opening of parliament in November 1547 was in English, it was April 1548 before matins, mass and even-song were in English in St Paul's.[59] Had the new regime really wanted to make a strong statement regarding religious policy, an ideal opportunity presented itself at the funeral of Henry VIII. Mary later took advantage of Edward's death to provide for him an Obsequy in the Tower with the Dirige in Latin, and the following day he was given a Requiem mass.[60] Henry, however, was given a splendid funeral in full Catholic tradition, with a Requiem mass in St Paul's.[61]

No attempt was made to move from this position when the French king died in March 1547. A Requiem was also sung for him in St Paul's the following June.[62] In spite of this caution, however, Cranmer lost little time in taking steps to further extirpate Romish practices from the ordinary worship of the Church. He wrote to Bonner on the day of Henry's death to inform him that candles were no longer to be borne on Candlemass Day, nor were ashes or palms to be used.[63]

The archbishop issued a proclamation in February 1548 again forbidding these three rites, along with the taking of holy bread and holy water, and that old favourite of Henry VIII, creeping to the Cross.[64] The first Visitation Articles of the reign were issued in the same year and gave detailed instructions as to the conduct of worship.[65] These dealt specifically with the retention of old ceremonies, the teaching of traditional doctrine, continued use of Latin in services and the failure to destroy images.

There is no evidence to suggest that Edward was addicted to the

habit of creeping to the Cross as his father had been, but his court failed to set an example in other areas of traditional ceremonial. The continued observance of Lent included the receiving of ashes on Ash Wednesday and palms on Palm Sunday, two practices open to the charge of superstition in the eyes of the reformers.[66] They were subsequently abandoned, but not before Gardiner had used the tradition of the ashes, 'reverently' received by the young king, in support of another dubious practice, the blessing of cramp rings by the monarch.[67]

The ceremonies associated with Maundy Thursday were also continued, but since the primary motive behind this occasion was Christian charity, it was not inconsistent to demand

> all things as hath been accustomed for the King's Maundy. (68)

There were clear moves towards Protestantism in 1548, however, a year which Walter Lynne jubilantly referred to as

> the tyme of Christes raygne & kyngedome, wherein the Gospel is the rule of the princely powers and mercy is more esteemed than sacrifyce. (69)

The court was by now ahead of the nation with its innovatory services in the Chapel Royal. These were eventually introduced into parish churches in London at Easter.[70] An indication of the change which had taken place was given on 2nd May, 1548, upon the anniversary of Henry VII's death. The mass in Westminster Abbey was

> song all in English with the consecration of the Sacrament also spoken in English. (71)

The funeral of Katherine Parr in September 1548 was a clear statement of how far things had gone and where the court now stood with regard

to Protestantism. Katherine's discretion during Henry's reign was beyond reproach, but the Edwardian government made it abundantly clear how it wished her to be remembered, by providing her with an overtly Protestant funeral.[72] It was the first royal funeral of its kind, and it was conducted in English. It was recorded that

> the hole Quere began and song certen Salmes in English and read iii lessons. (73)

During the burial the choir sang the Te Deum in English. Coverdale, Katherine's Almoner, preached reminding his congregation that their offering was for the poor and had no efficacy whatsoever for the soul of the deceased.[74]

The veneration of saints and relics had been attacked in Henry's reign, and was obviously taboo in the atmosphere of Edward's anti-Romish court, yet an examination of the facts shows that appearances belied reality, and even the puritanical attitude of the king was not wholly consistent.

Saints' days continued to be accorded recognition until June 1548 at court, after which the king made no more offerings on such occasions.[75] They still had their defenders, however. When Ridley preached against images at court early in the reign, he was answered by Gardiner who argued that they were not harmful if properly understood.[76] The court was slow to yield up long-standing devotions to saints, relics and the like, and to get rid of the visual reminders. Ridley's Injunctions of 1550, for example, dealt largely with traditional ceremonies long since denounced.[77] The official

attitude was clear and it was backed up by literature, drama, preaching and art. The anti-papal allegory of Edward VI and the Pope which labelled the latter with the words IDOLATRY SUPERSTITION and FEYNED HOLYNES also showed two men pulling down an image of the Virgin and Child, and a third breaking up a statue.[78] It would seem that the court was setting a dutiful example, but where it had been slow to give up the ceremonial observance of saints' days, it was even slower to rid its precincts of all visual reminders. In 1550 Hooper lamented that anyone entering the court would find

> hangings of God's wounds, his flesh and his blood... (79)

Among the pictures belonging to the court in 1549/50 was

> a table of wood painted of Christ and the busshope of Rome. (80)

Besides other pictures of Christ there were also images of Our Lady.[81] There were numerous biblical pictures, and even a folding table, having on it five 'Doctors', one of whom was Martin Luther, though this, at least, was not likely to cause offence.[82] What was more surprising was another table which depicted St George and St Martin.[83] St George was the subject of some controversy at Edward's court. The respect accorded to England's national saint was closely bound up with royal ceremonial and national pride,[84] but the inconsistencies in the statutes of the Order of the Garter did not escape zealous scrutiny.[85]

In 1548 alterations were made to the statutes in the king's name which

included substituting the English litany for the traditional Latin procession, and leaving out the Requiem mass, but not, however, a mass 'to be sung with great reverence' on St George's Day, the day after.[86] During 1550 Edward himself prepared further alterations to the Order which he determined should be known as the Order of the Garter or Defence of the Truth. He aimed to purge it of all practices associated with popish ceremonies and to make it an order for the service of religion, learning and charity.[87] The king's youthful zeal concerning the Garter found its way into popular lore through an anecdote passed on to Foxe by Edward Underhill, where the thirteen-year-old Edward questioned and mocked the honour paid to the saint.[88] On another occasion when Hooper objected to the bishops' oath which he would have to swear, invoking 'God, the saints and the holy Gospels', Edward was said to have erased 'saints' with his own hand.[89]

Edward's scorn of traditional saints, and especially St George, affords a further illustration of the growing extremism of his personal views. In the early part of his reign, he was content to do his school exercises in a book displaying full-length pictures of four saints on one side of its binding.[90] Nor did his apparent change of heart prevent him from accepting the Order of St Michael from the French king with a certain amount of pride.[91] He received the Order with great ceremony, and the occasion also gave the English court an opportunity to show the French ambassador the falsity of rumours that communion in the Chapel Royal was not observed with decorum. Edward kept the feast of Michaelmas regularly thereafter, setting up his arms surrounded by the Order of St Michael in the Chapel Royal each

Michaelmas Day.[92]

The changes in the statutes of the Order of the Garter reputed to have been made by Edward himself, included schemes for the revenues of the order to be used for the maintenance of scholars at the universities and for public works.[93] When they died, the incomes of existing canons and choristers were to be diverted to pay itinerant preachers. Money bestowed on the poor at the death of a member or at the creation of a new one was to continue to be so designated.[94]

The foregoing sketch of Edward's attitude to saints illustrates some of the strange inconsistencies of this period of accelerated change. It was a period of massive readjustment and the full effects of change could not be predicted accurately. In some instances, especially later in the reign under Northumberland, change was speedy and dramatic. In the beginning however, Edward's government preferred to proceed with caution. This may help to explain some of the apparent discrepancies between policy and practice with regard, for example, to alms-giving.[95] Another reason which must not be overlooked was the sheer enormity of getting anything done in the day to day running of the royal household. Wolsey and Cromwell had been plagued by such difficulties in their attempts to implement reforms in the management of the royal household. There is little reason to think that things had improved under Edward.

The same sense of continuity and change existing in an uneasy relationship is evident in Edward's Chapel Royal. Official changes in religion after 1547 had direct and indirect bearing upon the Chapel Royal, the focal point of the court's religious life. The continuity

maintained in the face of uncertainty during Henry's reign had betrayed that king's deep conservatism. Then the Chapel Royal had lagged behind the tide; now it was in the vanguard, acting as the nation's 'liturgical laboratory'.[96] The elevation of the pulpit to its central role in the life of the court helped to detract somewhat from the importance of Edward's Chapel Royal. Hearing the Word of God preached regularly took precedence over experiencing divine service in the normal court setting. The erection of a special pulpit at Whitehall was a visible statement to this effect.[97] Nevertheless, the king at least, took the formal liturgical services seriously and paid attention. He was thus able to remind Cranmer and Ridley of the contents of the appointed psalm from two days previous upon one occasion.[98]

With the introduction of reformed services and service books, the Chapel Royal continued to be used for the purpose of public display and diplomatic relations, as under Henry. Thus royal ambassadors were still taken to the Chapel Royal to observe the monarch at worship, and were thereby reminded of the relationship between royalty and Almighty God, as well as being informed as to the conduct of services. The French ambassador was taken to the Chapel to see Edward take communion for the specific purpose of dispelling slanderous rumours concerning the lack of reverence.[99] This service was conducted according to the reformed rite, but in November 1549, Renard had told the Emperor that Edward and Warwick were hearing mass, and therefore a Catholic revival could be expected.[100] This did not come about of course, but it illustrates the importance attached to the public face of court worship.[101]

1	Cockpit Lodgings	10	Privy Garden, later Pulpit Site	19	Queen's Bed Chamber over
2	The Cockpit		Place or Sermon Court	18	Privy Kitchen
3	Small Close Tennis Court	11	Pulpit	19	Ante-Chapel with Royal Pews over
4	Bowling Alley	12	Great Wine-Cellar	20	Chapel
5	Small Close Tennis Court		King's Guard Chamber over	21	Great Hall
6	Great Close Tennis Court	13	King's Presence Chamber over	22	Master-Cook
7	King's Bedchamber over	14	King's Privy Chamber over	23	Pantry and Buttery
8	King's Withdrawing Chamber over	15	Court	24	Great Kitchen
9	Council Chamber over	16	Queen's Presence Chamber over		

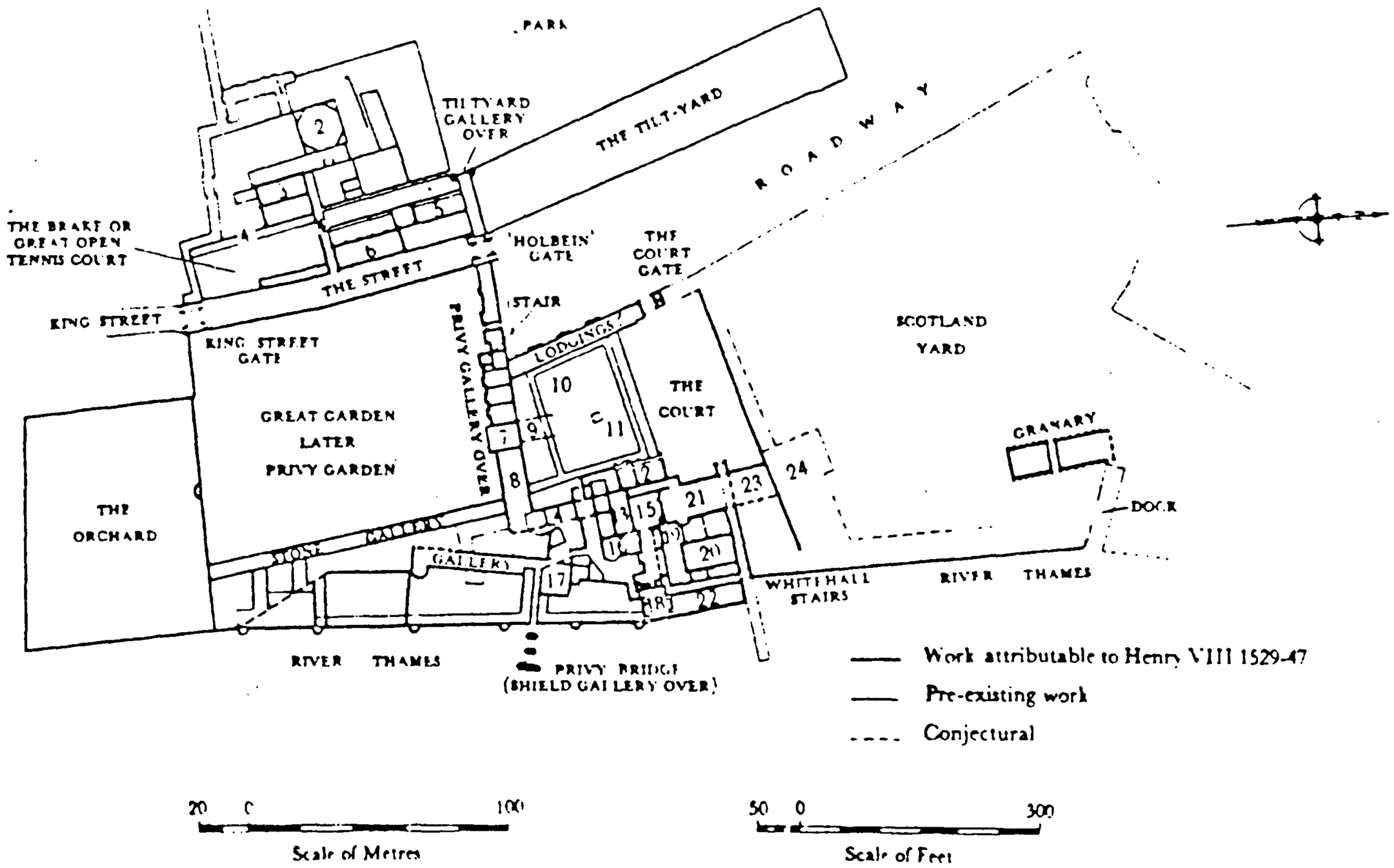


Figure IV: Plan of Whitehall Palace showing the Privy Garden which later contained the pulpit constructed for Latimer.

The Chapel personnel do not provide such a clear sign of religious trends. Bishop Thirlby continued as Dean, while Cox, a man of a very different mould, was the king's Almoner. The musical life of the Chapel affords deeper insight into the far-reaching changes taking place. The immediate effect of the Reformation upon music was the urgent need for a musical style which was simple and comprehensible, giving in the words of Cranmer, 'every syllable a note'.[102] This sprang from the emphasis on the Word of God. The object of the direct, self-explanatory Word in the vernacular would be totally defeated if it was lost in a confusion of musical embellishments. The change in music was not sudden and dramatic, however, any more than other aspects of change in religious affairs.[103] Cranmer's desire for a simplified musical style came during Henry's reign, but it has been pointed out that this was not strictly observed.[104] The Lumley books show that much Latin church music was simply adapted during Edward's reign.[105] The Prayer Book itself offered little assistance to musicians trained in the old ways, since it contained no music and little guidance in the rubrics. When John Marbeck was appointed Master of the Chapel, he was expected to provide music for daily services besides special occasions.[106] Entrusted with the task of composing music for the Prayer Book, his Book of Common Prayer noted was printed in 1550 by Grafton.[107]

There were no dramatic changes in the rest of the Chapel personnel after Henry's death.[108] The significant factor in Edward's reign was the increase in numbers at a time of uncertainty and limitations

imposed on both composition and performance.[109] In September 1553 there were ten of the original twenty gentlemen who were singing at the end of Henry's reign, and the choir had almost doubled in size.[110] In February 1550, Philip Van Wilder was issued with a warrant to take from any church or chapel such young singers as might be suitable for the king's service.[111] Edward's Chapel, as Henry's before it, was not to have anything less than the best.

Thomas Becon had sharp words for those who were given

> to spend much riches in nourishing many idle singing-men to bleat in their chapels, (112)

and he enumerated a long list of sins thereby incurred, but the music of Edward's Chapel does not seem to have come in for criticism from his court preachers.

There were visual changes in the Chapel Royal as well as audible. The 1550 'act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images' forbade the use of

> all books called antiphoners, missals, scrails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuises, primers in Latin or English, couchers, journals, ordinals, or other books. (113)

Such books as were found at court were inevitably elaborate and ornate in appearance and their absence could not but be conspicuous.

The Protestant service of Holy Communion did not require other elaborate church furniture either, such as that enumerated by the court physician Richard Turner in his reminiscences concerning St George's Chapel in Henry's reign.[114] Thus chapel stuff delivered to Robert Bassok, the Serjeant of the Vestry in November 1550, included

merely two hundred hooks, a hammer, a pair of pinsons, a little pot, a guispin and a pair of tin cruets, besides

> two yards of green cloth to lay the stuff on and various vestments. (115)

Though the dramatic element of the Chapel ceremonial was diminished, the Edwardian court was not devoid of all splendour.

Political upheavals, puritanical attitudes and Edward's poor health have all been considered as having a detrimental effect upon the normally colourful and active lifestyle of the court, without due recognition of the deeper implications. There is an important but intangible feature in the human make-up which finds deep satisfaction in rituals and the regular round of 'special' days and observances. The rejection of so much tradition left a yawning gap which needed to be filled, but this could not be done overnight. Protestantism was still in its infancy, and though it did not claim to have rejected everything from the past, it was suspicious of anything vaguely traditional. The Edwardian court found substitutes for the old images and structures but they could not match them in imagination or reality. It was the Elizabethans who skilfully combined Protestant fervour with national loyalty in the Accession Day tilts. Instead of marking saints' days people celebrated the queen's accession and birthday in a state-promoted festival deliberately designed to replace the old religious observances.[116]

Henry had already begun the process by which the visual splendour and festivals of the Church were stripped away and transferred to the monarchy. It reached its zenith in Elizabeth's reign with the cult of Gloriana. In between were two brief reigns when to some extent the

court lost its lustre and sumptuous image. It is all too easy, however, to label Edward's court as drab and dull, devoid of colour, excitement and entertainment, without remembering that in his reign, the process of building up the image of the monarchy at the expense of the Church continued without losing momentum.

Some re-evaluation of sixteenth century court culture has moderated the impression of a drab puritanical atmosphere in Edward's household. Mannerist painting, for example, which developed during the sixteenth century was embodied by William Scrots, court painter to Edward.[117] The gaps in poetry from Wyatt and Surrey to Spenser, and in art from Holbein to Hilliard have been put down to the recession of court patronage, yet it was in this reign that the office of the Lord of Misrule was revived and numerous literary works poured from the presses sponsored by the court.[118] A number of mid-Tudor poets whose works can be found in Tottell's Songes and sonnettes[119] and in the Arundel/Harington manuscript of peotry,[120] were connected with Edward's court, and are deserving of recognition.[121] Both Somerset and Northumberland patronised art and literature, and the relaxation of censorship caused an explosion of radical Protestant works.[122] Much of this was aimed at a popular audience, but during Edward's reign court taste was broader than either earlier or later in the century. Thus Sternhold's Psalms were the delight of the king himself long before they received popular acclaim through publication.[123] Grafton remarked in his Chronicle that as Lord of Misrule under Edward George Ferrers provided entertainments which

> not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsayle ... But best of al by the yong king himselfe as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that service. (124)

More importantly, the prominence of the Bible in the reformed religion, popularised by English translations, Erasmus' Paraphrases and Cranmer's Homilies, was embraced by the court, while it was promoted in the country at large.

Piety and Charity at Court

The question of charity had to be reviewed by the reformers after traditional means of almsgiving were abandoned or destroyed. For those who had means, educational and preaching endowments gradually replaced more traditional forms. By Edward's reign religious houses were of course long gone as objects of pious donations.[125]

One notable difference between the reigns of Henry and Edward was the lack of building dating from the latter. The comparative brevity of Edward's reign largely accounts for this, but there was no longer any reason to embark on works of piety of the type built in the earlier part of the century. Henry VIII, moreover, had more than amply catered for the crown's needs in domestic accommodation.[126]

It was generally agreed among the godly of Edward's day that charitable works and almsgiving were not what they should be. This universal Christian duty continued to be regarded as a mark of true piety, and preachers at Edward's court for example, did their best to

practise charity, while greed and covetousness were frequently denounced.[127] Looking back to Edward's reign, Ridley later regretted that alms-giving to the poor at that time could not compare with former generosity towards

> flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones to be set up in churches. (128)

Cranmer's Visitation Articles of 1548 called upon the clergy to preach alms-giving in order that people might contribute to the poor men's box what they formerly bestowed on

> pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, masses satisfactory, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions. (129)

Cranmer had hoped to persuade Edward to use the chantries to benefit the poor, but in vain.[130] There are occasional glimpses of individual acts of generosity among his courtiers, however, such as that of Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, who helped to form a school from a chantry in Grimsby in between the two chantries acts.[131]

One outlet for constructive gift-making in Edward's reign was Protestant literature. With the removal of restrictions on what could be written and published, there was a great deal of scope for this. It would seem, however, that support from patrons usually took the form of protection, preferrment to church benefices and appointments at court, rather than outright monetary gifts.[132]

Hospitality was still carefully marked as an important quality of the upper classes. John Harington drew attention to this virtue in Sir Thomas Seymour:

> ... [He] kept great state wth staie And noble house; and gave moe mowthes more meat then some that Clym'de on higher stepps to stande. (133)

Indeed, one of the ways in which the Lord Admiral tried to ingratiate himself with Edward was by offering him money for charitable purposes when the king was short.[134] Edward himself was said to be very charitable, and according to Foxe, he arranged regular appointments with Cox his Almoner to hear poor men's causes.[135] He doubtless took careful note of the court preachers on the matter, and was also subject to the advice of some of the foreign reformers. Bucer, for example, presented him with De regno Christi, libri duo as a New Year's gift in 1551, in which there was a chapter concerning the maintenance of the poor.[136]

Bucer had a very high regard for the king, but he had some sharp words for those who gave private alms through an almoner.[137] He advocated that those caught giving in this way ought to be made to put double the amount in the poor men's box.[138] Bucer also commented on the founding of hospitals and houses for poor relief by princes and good men in times past, a practice which had been abused by wicked monks and priests who persuaded men to give alms for masses 'and suche like ungodlie Trisshe trasshe'.[139]

Edward had to meet the standards of generosity expected of a monarch, a fact which seems not to have been appreciated by the Lord Protector. The regular alms-giving of the royal household continued at first, however, as if no reformation had taken place. Offerings on Sundays and saints' days stood at 6s 8d. as in Henry's day, while the weekly expenses for the king's daily alms amounted to 37s 11d.[140]

Easter offerings in 1547 and 1548 included those at the mass of the Resurrection in the morning, at High Mass, and at the king's taking of his rights. 20s. were given to his henchmen for their houseling money.[141] All the major feasts were observed, including that of St George, when Edward gave 6s 8d. 'on the morowe after saint George's day at requiem masse'.[142] Perhaps the most startling of all was the following item:

> ... for John Rudde, clercke of the Kingis closset, for certain preestes praying for the Kinges maieste and his progenitors ... £7 10s. (143)

When change was eventually implemented, there were all kinds of repercussions which could not have been fore-seen at the time. With regard to alms-giving and royal offerings, the abandonment of feast days did not simply mean ignoring the Church calendar. When the feast of St Nicholas was no longer observed the children of the Chapel failed to receive any reward to enjoy the festivities which normally accompanied the day.

Royal almsgiving illustrates how religious change in Edward's reign continued to be often gradual, and at times hesitant. Daily alms for example, were suspended and resumed more than once until August 1549.[144] At the opening of parliament in November 1547, Edward made an offering at the mass of the Holy Ghost as was customary, except that the mass was in English.[145] There was no mass of the Holy Ghost at the opening of his second parliament in 1553.[146] After the first week of June 1548, there were no more royal offerings on Sundays or feast days, although there continued to be entries for such items,

accompanied by the phrase 'nil quia non solutum hoc mense' or 'nil predicta causa'.[147] The changes came in the first week of June 1548, just at the time of one of the Church's important feasts, Corpus Christi. This had been marked with great ceremony in the past, but it was only recognised once in Edward's reign.[148] It was a significant moment to choose and the absence of any observance of the feast at court could not have passed un-noticed. It has been suggested that a satire in the form of a dialogue between a ploughman and a priest who met on the eve of Corpus Christi, entitled 'John Bon and Mast Person'[149] was timed to coincide with the disestablishment of the feast. The work certainly found its way to court and was read there.[150]

Patronage and Propaganda

At court one of the favourite ways of utilising propaganda was in entertainment. In Edward's reign, drama was expressly political with frequent references to the religious changes. The Spanish ambassador commented that there were

> all sorts of farces and pastimes, above all of the good bishops. (151)

As early as the coronation festivities there were anti-papal plays with the king himself taking part.[152] The following year there was a court masque ridiculing the bearing of the host by a procession of priests and bishops in costume.[153] From time to time Edward continued to take part in court dramas which included such items as

costumes for 'ffryers', 'Cardynalles hattes for players' and 'Crownes & Crosse for the poope'.[154] Such items were required on a number of occasions like this. Edward's own involvement was not unusual for a king and gave additional authority to the polemical aspect. He was even credited with the authorship of one such interlude: 'De meretrice Babylonica'.[155] Stephen Gardiner realised that this kind of entertainment could be more powerful than written propaganda, or even the passionate eloquence of the preachers.[156] All three, in the opinion of Foxe, had been

> set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the pope, to bring him down. (157)

As for the preachers' own attitude to this strange ally there was some ambivalence. There was a right place for entertainments according to Latimer:

> ... a king may take his pastime in hawking or hunting, or such like pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs ... And this is called pastime with good company. (158)

The study of scripture, however, must never be neglected in its favour. Indeed, certain pastimes presented an opportunity to study it yet more deeply, even while the king was in their pursuit:

> 'He shall have it with him' in his progress, he must have a man to carry it, that when he is hawking and hunting, or in any pastime, he may always commune with them of it ... (159)

In the wake of Edward's premature death the idea was construed that he had been corrupted through too much frivolity:

> In this meane while, the younge kynge was entised to passe time in maskeyng & Mumminge. And to that ende there was piked oute a sorte of misrulers to devyse straunge spectacles in the courte, in the tyme of Christmas to cause the yonge kynge to forgette, yea rather to hate, hys

> good uncle, who had purged the courte of all such outrage, and enured the kynge unto the exercyse of vertuouse learninge, and hearynge of sermons. This was the high waye, firste to make an ende of the kynges uncle, and after of the kyng hymselfe. (160)

The chief responsibility for this was laid at the feet of Northumberland who increased the expenditure on court entertainments while he was in power. Traditional occasions such as masques and tournaments replaced the propaganda-type plays encouraged by Somerset and naturally the reformers were disapproving.[161]

Edward needed little encouragement from such as Northumberland, however, for despite his ability to quote biblical passages at appropriate moments, he took great delight in every kind of pastime indulged in at court. The games of childhood were not of course forbidden to him. Jane Dormer, his childhood companion, later recounted how she played and danced with the prince at Ashridge.[162]

To be a complete courtier and gentleman, one had to be proficient in such activities as jousting and wrestling,[163] but Henry's precious heir was never allowed to participate in such perilous pursuits. There were too many memories of Henry's own exploits for that.[164] When he could not participate, Edward was always an eager observer and his Journal frequently recorded his avid interest in pageants, tournaments, dramatic events and sports of all kinds.[165] The danger of pleasure taking precedence over study was not something new.[166] Vives had warned of it in De Disciplinis where one counsellor told the prince to ignore his books in favour of frivolous pastimes. His argument was counteracted by a second counsellor who commended the

study of literature and the counsel of the old and experienced.[167] Northumberland introduced Edward to a few more physical pursuits, such that the Venetian ambassador remarked that the king

> soon commenced arming and tilting, managing horses and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting and so forth indefatigably, though he never neglected his studies. (168)

It would seem that Northumberland was attempting to bolster the image of growing independence and majesty in the king. In July 1551 the Council sent a glowing report of Edward's achievements to Vannes, the Latin secretary, just before the visit of St André with the Order of St Michael:

> In his learning, his Majesty excels and in other feats of manhood and arms, as in shooting, riding, running, all manner of ways with his horse and armour his Majesty daily shows himself to the world the towardest Prince that ever England had to be her king. (169)

Edward's enthusiasm for such activities was clear, and in this feature of his personality he did not have to emulate his father deliberately. His love of glitter, action and kingly prowess came naturally. His approval of two Almains fighting two friars in a Christmas play[170] suggests that he could envisage the Reformation struggle as more than one of intellect, and had he lived he may have developed a similar ruthlessness to that which came so readily to Henry.

The reformers on their part, chose to ignore this aspect of Edward's character, blaming others for deceiving him and leading him

astray. They frequently based their image of the king on first-hand knowledge as they made it their business to associate with the court.

Criticism of the Edwardian Court

Stock criticism of the court continued in Edward's reign as before, with its indictment of ambition, greed and the fickleness of fortune and friends. A brief examination of other sources of criticism show that although more vehement and outspoken, the preachers were not alone in their denunications.[171] As in the previous reign, there were individuals with their own axes to grind, such as the scholar Roger Ascham who was at times 'overcome by court violence and wrongs'[172] and was led to pen the famous lines:

> To laugh to lie, to flatter, to face/ Four ways in court to win men grace.(173)

Ascham's complaints formed a mixture of personal disappointment and intellectual snobbery. He expressed relief that Henry, Lord Strafford had left the court for Cambridge, since he had heard nothing but trifling conversation on a visit to the Duke of Somerset's bed-chamber.[174] Condemnation of the court was given expression via traditional media also, especially in the poetry of the period. Despite the vogue for gospelling poetry, paraphrasing the scriptures in ballad measure and composing psalms, Edward's court preserved the aristocratic tradition of élite poetry.[175] This included among its themes those of love, morality and religious devotion.[176] The Arundel/Harington manuscript of poetry for example provides representative selections of the type of poetry promoted at the court,[177] and poetry by Wyatt and Surrey, preserved by John Harington,

who had been at court since 1538.[178] Harington entered the service of Sir Thomas Seymour at the end of Henry's reign.[179] and spent time in the Tower during the following reign because of this connection. There he collected verses written by his fellow prisoners, many of which dealt with the vagaries of Fortune occasioned by court intrigue.[180] The fickleness of friendship was another prominent theme. One of the verses combining the two included the following lament:

> When Fortune gave good wynde unto my saile
> that tyme I had of frendes no lytle nomber
> But a perrier rose, and fortune gan to faile
> Adversitie blewe, my Frendes and me a sonder
> Amydd the Seas, my Shipp was all to shaken
> and I of Frendes and Fortune cleane forsaken/ (181)

There was a poem by the Lord Admiral Seymour himself, who complained;

> Forgeathing god
> to Love a Kyng
> Hath bene my rod (182)

and by his brother, the Lord Protector, who reflected along similar lines:

> Who Clymes to raigne with kinges may
> Rew his state full sore. (183)

This was a poem in praise of the quiet life which many continued to extol in preference to a life at court. Poets like Thomas Churchyard wrote from personal experience:

> Buzzing bees de creape in place/ where
> Churcheyardes creditt was, (184)

and both Somerset and his brother had good reason to question any hope of security at court.

The duke edited Coverdale's translation of A spyrytuall and most precyouse pearle[185] by Otto Werdmueller after his release from the Tower

> Knowing certeynely, that suche is the uncerteintye of the world and all humayne thynges, that no man standeth so sure, but the tempeste of afflyccion and adversyte may overtake hym... (186)

Other works issued from the Tower written by individuals who had experienced the mutability of Fortune. Somerset copied verses from scripture and other pious sayings onto the fly-leaf of a pocket calendar the day before his death.[187] Sir Thomas Smith translated the Psalms into English metre.[188] Edward Courtenay translated Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Christo crocifisso verso ĩ christiani by Aonio Paleario[189] which he dedicated to the Duchess of Somerset, with a plea for his release, and the wish that he might become a servant in her household

> a place where all godlines and civilite is continually exercised. (190)

Harington translated Cicero's De amicitia from French and dedicated it to the Duchess of Suffolk.[191] She presided over another household noted for its godliness, and she had her own opinion of the constancy of the court especially with reference to its religious life:

> ...when God had placed (the Duke of Somerset) to set forth his glory..., being still plucked by the sleeve by wordly friends for this wordly respect or that, in fine gave over his hot zeal to set forth God's true religion as he had most nobly begun and turned him to follow such worldlings devices. ....The Duke lost all he sought to keep, with his head to boot, and his councillors slipped their collars, turned their coat, and have served since to play their part in other matters. (192)

In 1549 William Thomas published a work entitled The vanitee of this world.[193] It was a typical humanist work of piety, and followed two other works published in the previous year in a similar vein:

Princess Elizabeth's translation of Margaret d'Angoulême's pious meditation, edited by John Bale,[194] and Sir Francis Bryan's A dispraise of the life of a courtier.[195] Despite the virtues of a quiet life of retirement, however, the court held an irresistable attraction even for its critics. Ascham pondered this and commented:

> Multi aulici facti veterem quietem magnopere prabant, sed hunc splendorem et speciem vitae aulicae relinquere nolunt. (196)

Besides those who moralised on the life-style of the royal household, Edward's court found a theological critic in Stephen Gardiner. Of course Henry VIII had been criticised for the Break with Rome and the doctrinal changes which followed, but Gardiner stands out in Edwards's reign for his determined and outspoken objections. They began with a direct confrontation with Somerset over the idea of relaxing the censorship laws. A series of letters were exchanged between them in which Somerset defended scriptural authors and individual freedom of conscience as sole arbiters in matters of faith, while Gardiner claimed the Church should be the guide to the interpretation of scripture.[197]

Gardiner opposed Bible reading by the laity on principle, defended images and objected to the Paraphrases and Crammer's Book of Homilies, and thereby indirectly condemned the foundation of the Edwardian regime.[198] His arguments were based on the king's youthfulness, Gardiner arguing that Edward could not exercise his Royal Supremacy until he reached his majority:

> 'When our soverign Lord cometh to his perfect age (which God grant), I doubt not but God will reveal that which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion'. (199)

Gardiner may not have been any happier with official religious policy had Edward indeed reached his majority. Despite the criticisms of courtiers, preachers, poets and theologians, the reformers regarded Edward as the hope of a godly England.

Their constant references to him as the 'young Josiah', however, say more about their hopes and expectations than about the king himself. Their distress at his premature death is all the more understandable in the light of this. They turned to bewail the nation's failure to embrace the Reformation and saw Edward's death as punishment. Contemporary literature perpetuated the godly image previously projected by the preachers of the king, who was idealised in Protestant minds as the young innocent who suffered for the sins of his people.[200] William Baldwin's Funeralles of King Edward the Sixth, for example, supposedly 'penned before his corse was buryed' projects this point of view.[201] He considered greed and avarice to be the chief sins which caused God to take Edward from his people.

Another piece of writing promoting this image of the king which was regularly reprinted was a Prayer Sayd in the Kinges Chappell in the Tyme of Hys Graces Sicknes, for the Restauracion of His Helth,[202] purported to have been uttered by Edward 'thynkyng none had heard him'.[203]

In this prayer Edward is idealised beyond reproach, requesting God to take him out of the simple world, and petitioning him on behalf of his country to defend it

> 'from papistrye, and mayntayne thy true religion' (204)

One piece of propaganda put out at the time of Edward's death

offers a different interpretation. While being critical of the moral failure of England, this document makes Edward equally self-critical, blaming himself for the decay and in particular the death of his uncle the Duke of Somerset.[205]

Court criticism thus came full circle. Edward's reign saw new reasons to criticise the court alongside traditional moralistic complaints, especially on the part of the reformers. They did not achieve their aim, and in spite of such negative reactions, 1547-53 was looked back upon as a golden age and Edward a Protestant martyr. In the words of Roger Ascham:

> 'If kyng Edward had lived a little longer, his onely example had breed soch a rase of worthie learned jentlemen, as this Realme never yet did affourde'. (206)

Conclusion

Edward's death shattered the royalist myth of a nation favoured by God and governed by a godly and learned youth. However legitimate Mary's succession was seen to be, no one was under any illusions about her religious allegiance. Obviously no one knew the lengths to which Mary would go to restore Catholicism in England, but one reason for the acceptance of her accession by the majority could be seen as the failure of Protestantism to take deep root in the nation.

Officially a great deal of progress had been made, but had this made any lasting impact upon individual beliefs and practices? Furthermore, what steps had been taken to instil Protestant principles firmly in the hearts and minds of the influential leaders of society?

In the following chapter a study of a sample of court wills is designed to shed light on the first question, while chapters 8 and 9 examine preaching and education respectively, in order to address the second.

Footnotes

1. Strype: Memorials of Cranmer, 1, p.143.

2. 1 Cran., 374.

3. Cf. Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.333ff.

4. H. Miller: 'Henry VIII's unwritten will: grants of lands and honours in 1547' in E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht, J.J. Scarisbrick, (eds): Wealth and Power in Tudor England. Essays presented to S.T. Bindoff. L.1978, pp.87-105.

5. The politics of Edward's reign are dealt with by M.L. Bush: The Government Policy of Protector Somerset, L1975, and D. Hoak: The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI, Cam., 1976. See also W.K. Jordan: Edward VI: the Young King, L1968 and idem: Edward VI: the Threshold of Power, L1970.

6. Dickens: English Reformation, p.285. For the religious and social results of the act of ibid. loc.cit. et seq.

7. Cf. King: English Reformation Literature, pp.76ff.

8. Some of these are listed in King: op.cit. p.27. For further details cf. ibid ch.2.

9. D. Wilkins: Concilia, magnae Brittaniae et Hiberniae, 4 vols, L.1737, 4, 30; 2 Cran., 513.

10. S.T.C.^{2}, 16267. For the Edwardian prayer books cf. among others, F.A. Gasquet and E. Bishop: Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, L1928; F. Proctor, revised W.H. Frere: A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, L1901; C.W. Dugmore and T.M. Parker: The English Prayer Books 1549-1662, Alcuin Club, 1963; Dugmore: The Mass and the English Reformers, chs 6, 7; Dickens: English Reformation, pp.301ff.

11. Cf. Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.320-1.

12. Foxe, 5, p.691.

13. Cf. L.B. Smith: Tudor Prelates and Politics 1536-58, Princeton, 1953, passim, for the dilemma which faced a number of the Edwardian bishops.

14. In fact changes in personnel were few, Henry's officers being absorbed into the prince's establishment to avoid displacements. Cf. BL Royal MS 7C, XVI, 92-7; PRO E179/69/58; Braddock, p.82. Somerset did, however, make changes above-stairs in order to place

his followers in strategic positions around the king; Braddock p.165.

15. The Bible and Sword, the latter representing Justice, occurred repeatedly in Edwardian iconography from the coronation onwards, cf. Anglo: Spectacle and pageantry, pp.283ff.

16. In October 1551 the king's lodgings were expanded to take in the vacant rooms 'on the Queen's side' (A.P.C., 3, p.393).

17. There were very few changes in household personnel on Edward's accession. Edward's own household belowstairs was small enough to be absorbed into that of Henry. New appointments above-stairs were made according to careful political considerations, so that Somerset never lost control of the king's person. Northumberland did the same, arranging to have 'great frendes abowte the king'. BL, Add MS, 48,126, f.15^{v}-16. cf. D. Hoak: 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1547-53' in D.J. Guth and J.W. McKenna (eds.): Tudor rule and revolution. Essays for G.R. Elton from his American friends, Cam. 1982, pp.87ff.

18. J. Strype: The life of the learned Sir John Cheke, Ox., 1822, p.22.

19. Ibid, p.179.

20. See especially his references to Somerset's downfall and death, eg Remains, 2, p.390. Since Cheke kept the duke's goodwill he was able to continue his habit of shadowing Edward wherever he went.

21. Mary continued to use her closet in the traditional manner. She was given permission to have mass there. Remains, 1, p.ccxxvi, n.a; S. Haynes (ed.): Burleigh Papers - a collection of State Papers, 1542-70, left by William Cecil, L1740, pp.74ff.

22. Edward was also reported to carry about with him the key of a chest in which he kept 'reason and cause of every thing' concluded by his council, Foxe, 5, p.701.

23. Remains, 2, p.209.

24. Ibid, 1, p.cxii.

25. Quoted in Remains, 1, p.cccxlv. The original painting is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. See Fig.III.

26. Foxe, 6, p.351.

27. Remains, 1, p.lxxviii.

28. Eg B.L. Harl MS, 5087, nos 8, 31.

29. B.L. Harl MS, 353 f.130.

30. S.T.C. 11797.

31. Cf. J.N. King: 'Freedom of the press, Protestant propaganda and Protector Somerset', H.L.Q., 40, 1976-7, pp.1-9.

32. Foxe, 5, p.692.

33. N.P.G., no.4165; see Fig.I, cf. R. Strong: 'Edward VI and the Pope. A Tudor anti-papal allegory and its setting', J.W.C.I., 23, 1960, pp.311-13.

34. B.L. Harl MS, 5087, no.34.

35. 1 Hoop., 435.

36. S.T.C., 2866, 1551, preface f.*II.

37. 2 Chronicles 34ff. Cf. 1 Lat., 80.

38. 2 Chronicles 33 v.22, cf. 1 Hoop., 437.

39. Foxe, 5, p.699. Foxe began his account of Edward with a woodcut depicting the young Josiah restoring God's Word to his people.

40. P.R.O., LC2/3. The Duke of Richmond similarly had four chaplains when his own household was first established, B.L. Harl MS, 589, f.192.

41. For details of the changes cf. Remains, 2, p.376f. See also ch.8 below for further details of Edward's chaplains.

42. A.P.C., 4, p.148. The list in Edward's Journal replaced Horne and Knox with Estcourt and John Bradford, but the M.S. has their names crossed out. The Council Book supplied the full list as stated here, dated 21st October, 1552. Horne and Knox, however, may have been additions, since according to B.L. Cott. MS Julius BIX, f.27, Grindal, Bill, Harley and Perne, were appointed as chaplains in ordinary on 13th March, 1551.

43. Bill, Horne, Grindal and Perne were all members of the 'Athenian' group of scholars of Cambridge in the 1530s, as were Eyre, Tounge and Pilkington, cf. W.S. Hudson: The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, Durham, N. Carolina, 1980.

44. D.N.B., 24, p.397.

45. Remains, 2, p.377, n.2.

46. Ath. Cant., 1, p.210-11. Cf. below for further details pp.287f.

47. Remains, 2, p.377, nos 4, 5. For Grindal cf. D.N.B., 23, pp.261-4; and below p.296. For Perne cf. ibid, 45, pp.10-12.

48. For Knox in exile cf. J.G. Ridley: John Knox, Ox. 1968.

49. J. Knox: Works, ed. D. Laing, 3 vols, Edinburgh, 1846-64, 3, pp.175ff. Ridley: John Knox, p.125.

50. C. Ord: 'The accompte of Sir Edward Waldegrave ... for the Buryall of Kinge Edwarde the Syxte', Archeologia, 12, 1785 p.379.

51. A.P.C., 4, p.148.

52. 1 Lat., 98. Cf. below ch.8 for discussion of the influence of preachers.

53. Cf. below chs 8 & 9.

54. The images of godliness and learning characterised the Edwardian court. The methodology behind them is discussed in chs 8 & 9 respectively.

55. Cal. S.P., Span., IX, 219, 221, 466.

56. Muller: Letters, 120, p.283; cf. Foxe, 6, p.34.

57. Strype: EM, 2, pt 1, p.25.

58. Foxe 6, p.24. For Barlow, cf. Ath. Cant., 1, p.276.

59. Dickens: The English Reformation, p.301.

60. Machyn: Diary, p.49. He was also given a Protestant funeral by Cranmer in English with no traditional ceremonial, O.L., 1, CLXXXII, p.367-8.

61. Wriothesley, 1, p.181. The full ceremonial of Henry's funeral was printed by Strype: E.M., 2, App.A.

62. Wriothesley, 1, p.184.

63. Wilkins: Concilia, 4, p.22; cf. 2 Cran., 417. These practices had already been suppressed in Henry's reign, but were evidently still being followed.

64. Wilkins: op.cit., 4, p.21; 2 Cran., 508-9.

65. Wilkins: op.cit., 4, p.23-6; 2 Cran., 154-9.

66. 2 Cran., p.509; cf. P.S. Index under 'Holy Ashes' and 'Palm Sunday'.

67. Muller: Letters, 116, pp.255ff; Foxe, 6, p.62.

68. Strype: E.M., 2, p.538.

69. Martin Luther: A frutefull exposition of the kyngdom of Christ, translated by W. Lynne, S.T.C.^{2}, 16982, 1548, f.A_2.

70. Dickens: English Reformation, p.301.

71. Wriothesley, 2, 2.

72. The account of the funeral is transcribed from A book of burialls of trew noble persons in E. Dent: Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley, L1877, pp.174f.

73. Dent: Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley, p.175.

74. Ibid, loc.cit.

75. P.R.O., E101/426/6, ff.56$^{vff.}$

76. Rid., 495; Foxe, 6, 1, pp.58ff.

77. Rid., 319-21.

78. N.P.G., 4165, (Fig.I).

79. 1 Hoop., 482-3.

80. B.L. Harl MS, 1419, f.467$^{v.}$

81. Ibid, loc.cit.

82. Ibid, f.447$^{v.}$

83. Ibid, f.467.

84. Henry VII created more Garter knights than any monarch since Edward III who founded the order. St George was often depicted with royalty in devotional contexts. Cf. G. Scharf: 'On a votive Painting of St George and the Dragon with kneeling figures of Henry VII, his Queen and Children, formerly at Strawberry Hill, and now in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen', Archeologia, 49, 1822, pt.2, pp.243-295.

85. For example, masses were ordered for deceased knights.

86. Cf. E. Ashmole: The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, L1672, p.473.

87. Edward's first and second drafts are printed in Remains, 2, pp.519ff. They were probably the work largely of Cecil who was then Chancellor of the Order. They were never fully implemented because of Edward's death. Mary immediately abrogated the alterations. It is instructive to follow the fortunes of St George under the Tudors, for in them can be traced the changing attitudes towards images, devotion, symbolism, chivalry and the monarchy. Cf. for example, R. Strong: The Cult of Elizabeth, L1977, pp.181ff; Yates: Astraea, p.108-9.

88. Foxe, 6, pp.351-2.

89. O.L., 1, CXCVII, p.416.

90. Cf. B.L. Arundel MS, 510.

91. Remains, 2, p.323.

92. Ibid, loc.cit.

93. Remains, 2, p.531ff, (first and second drafts).

94. Remains, 2, pp.532ff, (first and second drafts).

95. Cf. below pp. 230ff.

96. C.H. Davies: Worship and Theology in England, v.1, from Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603, L1970, p.169.

97. See Fig.IV.

98. Remains, 1, pccxxix. The occasion was the controversy over Princess Mary's mass.

99. S.P. French correspondence no.91 (September 29th, 1551).

100. Cal. S.P., Span, IX, 466.

101. Fears reached their height in Elizabeth's reign because of the queen's insistence on having a crucifix in her chapel, Z.L., 1, XXIV, p.55; J. Strype: Annals of the Reformation, 7 vols, Ox. 1824, 1, pt 2, pp.500-1.

102. 2 Cran., 412.

103. On this aspect of the Reformation cf. Stevens: Tudor Church Music passim for the musical developments of the period.

104. Stevens: Tudor Church Music, p.18. Only two out of ten communion services in the Wanley part books complied for example.

105. Cf. J. Blezzard: 'The Lumley Books', Musical Times, 112, 1971, pp.128-30. Le Huray suggests this music was for chapel use, cf. Le Huray: Music and the Reformation, p.181.

106. For Marbeck's career and work cf. R.A. Leaver (ed. and introduction), The Work of John Marbeck, (Courtenay Library of Christian Classics, 9), Ox., 1978.

107. S.T.C.^{2}, 16441.

108. For a list of musicians see Le Huray: Music and the Reformation, table 8, pp.68-9.

109. Cf. C. Stopes: William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal, (Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas ed. W. Bang), Louvain, 1910, reproduced Vadiz, 1963, v.29, p.20.

110. Le Huray: Music and the Reformation, pp.68-9.

111. Strype: E.M., 2, p.538. The command was repeated in June 1552 to Richard Goure Master of the Children of the Chapel, ibid, loc.cit.

112. 2 Bec., 429.

113. Stat. Realm, 4, 110.

114. Turner enumerated a long list of items formerly used in the Chapel. Quoted in M. Bond: The Inventories of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1384-1667, (Historical monographs, 7), 1947, p.209. For Turner cf. Garrett: Marian exiles, pp.314-5. His radical views left no room for elaborate church ceremonial.

115. Strype: E.M., 2, p.538.

116. Cf. Strong: The Cult of Elizabeth; Yates: Astraea, passim, on this theme.

117. E. Auerbach: Tudor Artists, L.1963, ch.3.

118. Cal. S.P. Span, X, p.444.

119. S.T.C., 13860, 1557.

120. Cf. Hughey (ed.): The Arundel/Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry, passim.

121. King suggested that it is better to see Tottell's Songes and Sonnettes as a collection of Reformation courtier poetry, rather than simply a Henrician anthology, King: English Reformation Literature, pp.241-2. He also argued that later Elizabethan authors were influenced by a distinctive tradition of writing which arose in England during the radical phase of the mid-Tudor reformation.

122. King: op.cit., p.5; see also idem: 'Protector Somerset, patron of the English Renaissance'. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 70, 1976, pp.307-331.

123. Tye: Actes, f.A2^{v}. William Forest attested to Sternhold's popularity at court, B.L. Royal MS, 17A, XXI, f.1-1^{v}.

124. Richard Grafton: A Chronicle at large, ed. H. Ellis, L.1809, 2, 1317.

125. Sion, for example, was given to the Duke of Somerset by Edward as a residence.

126. Had Edward's government wished to undertake a major building programme of any kind, the lack of funds would have been a serious constraint.

127. Especially by Latimer. Cf. P.S. Index under 'Covetousness'. Ridley commended Latimer, Lever, Bradford and Knox for their denunciations of 'insatiable covetousness' among other things. Rid., 59. See also below, p.343.

128. Rid., 60.

129. 2 Cran, 157.

130. Burnet: History of the Reformation, 2, p.101.

131. C.P.R., Edward VI, 1, p.176.

132. King: English Reformation Literature, p.103.

133. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington MS of Tudor Poetry, 1, no.2, p.79.

134. B.L. Harl MS, 249, f.26.

135. Foxe, 5, p.701. Appointed in March 1544, Cox retained the post in the new reign, (S.P., I, 764).

136. No complete English translation of this was ever made, but in the Bodleian library there is a book entitled A treatise how, by the Worde of God, Christian Men's Almose ought to bee distributed. Translated from M. Bucer, De Regno Christi, made for the blessed King Edward, S.T.C., 3965. Bucer had a number of things to say concerning the use and abuse of material goods.

137. Edward noted his death in his Journal, and described the funeral proceedings at some length, (Remains, 2, pp.304-5). A book of epigrams composed by a number of humanist scholars connected with the court and edited by Cheke was published in 1551, S.T.C., 5108.

138. A treatise how ... Christian men's almose ought to bee distributed, f.B^{v}.

139. Ibid, f.A8^{v}.

140. Cf. P.R.O., E101/426/5,6. The payments cover the period from 31st March 1547 - 30th September 1549. Extracts have been published as Trevelyan papers prior to AD1558, ed. J. Payne Collier, 3 vols, Camden Soc., o.s.67, 84, 105, (Pt 3 ed. with introduction by Sir W.C. Trevelyan and Sir C.L. Trevelyan), 1857-72.

141. P.R.O., E101/426/5, f.49; E101/426/6, ff.48, 50^{v}.

142. P.R.O., E101/426/6, f.48^{v}.

143. P.R.O., E101/426/5, f.11.

144. P.R.O., E101/426/6.

145. Wriothesley, 2, 2.

146. Ridley preached a sermon and there was a service of communion, Remains, 1, p.clxxviii. For discussion of the experimental services of Edward's reign, cf. Davies: Worship and Theology in England, pp.168ff.

147. P.R.O., E101/426/6, f.56 et seq.

148. An offering was made by the king, P.R.O., E101/426/5, f.88.

149. Reprinted in A.F. Pollard (ed.): Tudor Tracts, 1532-1588, L1903, pp.159ff.

150. Cf. Strype: EM, 2, 116. Strype based his story on the testimony of Edward Underhill. It was claimed that the work 'took much at the Court, and the Courtiers wore it in their pockets.'

151. Cal. S.P., Span., IX, 50; cf. Muller: Letters, p.270-1.

152. Leech and Craik: The Revels History of Drama in English, 2, p.18.

153. Cal. S.P., Ven, VII, 11.

154. Feuillerat: Documents relating to the Revels at Court, pp.6, 47, 190f.

155. John Bale: Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie, 2 vols, Basle 1557, 1, 674.

156. Muller: Letters, p.278.

157. Foxe, 6, p.57.

158. 1 Lat., 120. Latimer's words contained a thinly-veiled reference to Henry's reign and the song the king is said to have composed.

159. 1 Lat., 121.

160. Thomas Lanquet: An epitome of cronicles; to the reigne of Quene Elizabeth, by Robert Crowley, S.T.C., 15217, 1569 (1549), f.4E3^{v}.

161. It seems that Northumberland still saw propaganda value in drama, though for political, rather than religious purposes. cf. Anglo: Spectacle, pp.304, 307-8.

162. Clifford: Memoirs of Jane Dormer, p.60.

163. As propounded by Ascham for example in The Scholemaster, S.T.C., 832, 1570, (Giles: Whole Works, 3, p.139-40). On the role of dancing see Elyot: The Governour, bk 1, ch.xxii.

164. Eg January 1546, when Henry lay unconscious for two hours after a fall from his horse. Cal.S.P., Span., V, 2, 21. It should be added that Henry himself had been similarly cossetted as a child.

165. Remains, 2, p.209ff.

166. It was also a problem encountered by Dr Richard Croke in his efforts to tutor the Duke of Richmond. One of his complaints against the Comptroller Mr Cotton, was 'Ut omittam quod de industria dominum saepe eduxent a prandio sagittatum, ut fatigatione redderet panum ad litteras idoneum ...', S.P., Wolsey correspondence, 3, 74.

167. First published at Antwerp, 1531. Translated by F. Watson: Vives on Education, Cam., 1913.

168. Cal. S.P., Ven., V, 934. The reformers were not so convinced.

169. L.P., Foreign, Edward VI, 1547-53, p.126.

170. Remains, 2, p.388.

171. Cf. below pp.342ff.

172. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2 XCIV, p.174, (aulica vi et injuria jactatus).

173. Giles: Whole Works, 3, p.127.

174. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2 XC, p.168

175. Cf. King: English Reformation Literature, pp.217ff.

176. Ibid, pp.226ff. Edward was himself very fond of courtly love poetry.

177. Cf. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington MS of Tudor Poetry, passim.

178. On Harington cf. R. Hughey: John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman: his life and works, Columbus, Ohio, 1971.

179. L.P., XXI, 1, 114 (79).

180. Hughey: John Harington, pp.21ff.

181. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington MS of Tudor Poetry, I, no.61, p.104. Nos 24-63, entitled 'dyvers sentences' contain many poems on Fortune and Friendship. Poems by Wyatt and Surrey also dealt with these themes, eg no.141, p.170-172.

182. Hughey: The Arundel/Harington MS of Tudor Poetry, I, no.291, p.341.

183. Ibid, 1, no.293, p.343.

184. Ibid, 1, no.171, p.209.

185. S.T.C.^{2}, 25225, 1550.

186. Werdmueller: A spyrytuall and most precyouse pearle, f.A.VII^{V}.

187. B.L. Stowe MS, 1066, f.1.

188. B.L. Royal MS, 17A, XVII, 'Certaigne Psalmes or Songes of David translated into English Meter'.

189. First published in Venice 1543. It was not published in English until 1573, S.T.C.^{2}, 19114. A facsimile reproduction of Courtenay's translation of 1548 was published by C. Babington, L1855.

190. Benefit of Christ's Death, dedication. The work has been discussed with reference to Katherine Parr's Lamentacion of a Sinner by F.P. Tudor: 'Changing trends in private religious belief at the courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI as shown by the devotional writings of Queen Catherine Parr' (unpublished paper). I am grateful to Dr Tudor for allowing me to read this paper.

191. J. Harington: The booke of freendeship, S.T.C., 5276, 1550. Cf. Hughey: John Harington, pp.31ff.

192. Quoted in Goff: A Woman of the Tudor Age, p.236.

193. S.T.C.^{2}, 24023, 1549.

194. Margaret of Angouleme, A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle, trans. by Elyzabeth doughter to our late souerayne kynge Henri the viij, S.T.C.^{2}, 17320, 1548.

195. S.T.C., 12431, 1548. On the significance of works of this type in relation to an Erasmian brand of piety at Edward's court, cf. McConica, pp.254ff.

196. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2 XC, p.167.

197. For discussion of the conflict and its implications for an appreciation of Somerset's policy cf King: English Reformation literature, pp.77f.

198. Cf Muller Letters, 130, p.382 for Gardiner's comments on the Paraphrases in October 1547.

199. Foxe, 6, 38.

200. Cf. King: English Reformation Literature, ch.9 on this theme.

201. S.T.C., 1243, 1560. Its late date of publication was probably due to some anti-Roman Catholic sentiments expressed therein. On Baldwin cf. W.F. Trench, 'William Baldwin', Modern Languages Quarterly, 2, 19, pp.259-67; E.I. Feasey: 'William Baldwin', Modern Languages Review, 20, 1925, pp.407-18; see also W.P. Holden (ed.): Beware the Cat and the Funerals of King Edward the Sixth by William Baldwin, (Connecticut College Monographs, 8), Connecticut, 1963).

202. S.T.C., 7508, 1553.

203. Ibid, preface.

204. Edward VI: Prayer sayd in the Kinges Chappell in the tyme of hys sicknes, S.T.C. 7308, 1553.

205. B.L. Harl MS 2194, especially f20-20^{v}. This doctrine seems to be a Calvinistic interpretation of the evils which befell Edward's reign, though with regard to Somerset's death, the king claims to have been duped (ibid, f28^{v}). The reformers had to struggle to come to terms with the failure to realise a godly utopia.

206. Ascham: The Scholemaster, f.G4^{v}, (Giles: Whole works, 3, p.142). In Foxe's interpretation of the English Reformation, Edward's reign functioned as a golden age immediately before the final onslaught of Antichrist, Foxe 5, 697, 704.

Chapter Seven

Continuity and change in religious beliefs of court officials in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI with particular reference to their wills

For everything there is a season, and a time
for every matter under heaven: ...
a time to keep, and a time to cast away.

Ecclesiastes, ch.3, vv.1,-66

Introduction

On the surface, the religious climate of England at the time of Edward's death, was moving firmly towards Protestantism. Certainly the official policy was in this direction, and it was becoming increasingly clear what constituted a Protestant. As a result, individual positions were crystalising and the terms of definition were less blurred.

In order to gain an overall impression of the court during the period of the Reformation a wide range of evidence must be consulted, but ultimately the investigation has to deal with individuals. This chapter examines the lives of a number of prominent courtiers in an attempt to discern individual responses to the Reformation. It would be impossible to focus upon every individual connected with the court and therefore a selection has been made, based upon court office as follows: Chamberlain, Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer of the Chamber, Controller, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Almoner and certain chaplains. The career structure of the men holding these offices at certain key dates will be outlined. The dates themselves: 1530, 1540, 1547 and 1553 have not been chosen at random. They represent key points in the history of the period, marking political crises, as in the cases of 1530 and 1540 and changes of reign as in 1547 and 1553. The political instability thereby created posed a threat to anyone holding office at court should he find himself out of step with individuals or ideas in the ascendancy.

In addition to outlining the careers of these court officials, attention will be drawn to anything which is known of their personal

lives which might shed light upon their religious beliefs. The main piece of evidence consulted in relation to personal belief is the will, and bearing in mind the cautions which must be observed in connection with this type of evidence[1] certain observations may be made and conclusions drawn.

The Lord Chamberlains

1530 marked the end of Wolsey's dominance. The question of the Divorce, the position of the Church, the growing strength of heretical opinions and the change of leadership in government made it a troubled and uncertain time. People were conscious that they might, however reluctant, be forced to take sides. All three Lord Chamberlains covering the period left wills. The Lord Chamberlain in 1530 was William Lord Sandes. He succeeded Charles Somerset Earl of Worcester in 1526 and held the post until his death in 1540.[2] Well liked by the king, he survived the turmoil of the 1530s. This may have been because he 'went with the tide in religious matters',[3] but he was also helped by frequent absences from court required by his captaincy of Guisnes. He did not ignore politics altogether, however, for in 1535 he was corresponding with Chapuys in relation to the latter's political intrigues.[4] His required presence at Guisnes may have come to him as a relief from the religious tensions at court. His will, however, gives no indication of his religious sentiments, unless it is to say he had none, for alone of all the wills examined, here, Sandes failed to include a religious preamble.[5]

1547, the year of Henry's death, might have been expected to

bring about radical changes in the personnel of the royal household. In fact there was no great purge. The Lord Chamberlain at this time was Henry Fitzalen, 12th earl of Arundel who had succeeded to the post in 1546.[6] He was well-liked by Henry and active in military affairs during the reign. Henry left him £200 in his will and he was one of the 12 assistant mourners at the royal funeral.[7] At Edward's coronation he acted as High Constable. Although he retained his position as Lord Chamberlain at the start of Edward's reign, he incurred the opposition of Northumberland who secured his dismissal in 1550 on trumped up charges of embezzlement and abuse of privilege.[8] He was also said to be in possession of 'certain books of the old religion'.[9] Arundel survived this and the succession crisis in 1553 and was reinstated by Mary.[10]

He retained his influence under Elizabeth, largely because the queen could not afford to alienate a noble of such influence, but she never fully trusted him. Arundel lived to a great age and in his will, thanked God for his long life. He clearly stood for the old nobility and the old faith, and yet there had been some suspicious activities connected with his household in the 1540s. He himself was accused of breaking the Lenten fast in 1545 and he had two heretical servants. In May 1546 his servant Robert Powley who appears to have been involved with Edward Crome, was ordered not to leave London, while in August, John Geffraye, also of Arundel's household, was accused of having one of John Bale's works.[11] Arundel's will, however, does not give much away. Commending his soul to God, he was confident of salvation through the death and passion of Jesus Christ.[12]

The key to Arundel's position may best be found in his own words when he remarked that

> ... nether can you say theare is any religion in him, who haith violated his faith against his Prince. (13)

Sir Thomas Darcy was Lord Chamberlain at the time of Edward's death, having succeeded Lord Wentworth to the post in 1551.[14] He was promoted from the position of Vice-chamberlain, an office he received in 1549, the same year as his appointment as one of the four principal gentlemen of Edward's Privy Chamber.[15] Already rising in Henry's reign, Darcy received lands by the provision of the late king's will,[16] and became a key figure under Northumberland. As Lord Chamberlain he controlled information reaching Edward and acted on Northumberland's behalf to influence the king.[17] He signed Northumberland's Device for the succession and helped to proclaim Lady Jane Grey as queen, but then abandoned the plot. Mary pardoned him and he survived the duration of her reign. Following Wyatt's Rebellion he helped to restore Catholicism in Essex.[18]

His will, which deals largely with the property left to his family is neutral in its preamble, perhaps because of the uncertain year in which he died, 1558.[19]

The Vice-Chamberlain

The Vice-Chamberlain in 1530 was Sir John Gage. He had taken up office in 1528 having entered the court at the end of Henry VII's reign.[20] Gage took his religion seriously and was prepared to risk his political career over it, being 'more ready to serve God than the world'.[21] He quarrelled with the king in 1533, probably over Catherine of Aragon, resigned his post and left the court. It was at this time

that Gage proposed to enter the London Charterhouse, such was his aversion to the disputes of the world.[22] Gage's court career was not over, however, for he subsequently returned to court and in 1540 was made Controller.[23] In the meantime he was the recipient of land formerly belonging to religious and he sat on the commission for the surrender of religious houses.

Gage kept his position as Controller after Henry's death until he quarrelled with Somerset, and in 1549 he aligned himself with Warwick. He kept his distance from the court for the rest of the reign, however, and gave Northumberland no support at the end. He was a loyal supporter of Mary and she made him her Lord Chamberlain, which post he held until his death in 1556.[24] Occasional references to Gage in Mary's reign verify his commitment to the regime and the Catholic faith. He was present at the examination of Edward Underhill for example, the 'hot gospelling' gentleman pensioner, and he was also one of the guards of Princess Elizabeth at the time of Wyatt's rebellion.[25]

Gage's will is predictably conservative, and indeed very Catholic in nature.[26] He was the last individual from among this group of courtier officials to commend his soul to our blessed Lady St Mary the Virgin and to all the holy company of heaven. He made provision for black cloth to be distributed after his death, was generous with his alms and provided for chantry priests. The other three members of the group who also died in 1556, including one conservative cleric did not display the same traditional tendencies in their wills.[27]

In 1540 the Vice-Chamberlain was Sir Anthony Wingfield.[28] A number of his family were at court and held office in the household

and in government. Sir Anthony also served in both capacities, as well as fighting under his cousin the Duke of Suffolk in the French campaign of 1523. He became Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard in 1539, and also a member of the Privy Council. Wingfield had accepted the Divorce and approved of the religious changes made in the 1530s. He received grants of monastic land and served as a commissioner for the Dissolution in Suffolk.

Until his death, Wingfield was often at court and was a constant attender at the Privy Council. He officiated at Anne Boleyn's coronation, helped quash the Pilgrimage of Grace, arrested Cromwell, escorted the Earl of Surrey to the Tower in 1546, arrested Bishop Gardiner in 1548, and having joined Warwick against the Protector, arrested the latter in 1549.[29] Warwick rewarded him by making him Controller the next year, one among a number of new appointments within the household.[30] Wingfield died in office two years later at the home of Sir John Gates who had succeeded to the post of Vice-Chamberlain following the brief term of office of Sir Thomas Darcy. Wingfield's brief will bequeathed his soul to God trusting to be saved through his merits and passion.[31]

Sir John Gates, was Vice-Chamberlain for the short space of two years in Edward's reign.[32] He was appointed in 1551 and having been one of Northumberland's chief supporters, was executed in 1553.[33] He rose to prominence in the latter part of Henry's reign and in 1546 was one of the three commissioners authorised to use the dry-stamp in lieu of Henry's signature.[34]

Gates received considerable amounts of monastic land from Henry

and his support for the religious changes manifested itself more openly in Edward's reign. Bishop Ridley, for example, considered him one of the 'men that do fear God'.[35] Gates was primarily an administrator not a politician, but like every other member of the royal household he could not avoid involvement in court politics. After Somerset's overthrow in 1549 Gates became Warwick's chief accomplice. The latter used him because of his close and easy access to Edward, and he was blamed as the instigator of the plot against the Succession.[36] It would seem that it was his loyalty to the king which caused him to support the Duke's Device, but Gates himself acknowledged that it was partly his Protestantism which inspired his sedition. If we judge Gates' religious position by his will and his will and his comments upon the scaffold, however, he underwent a considerable change of heart at the time of his death. Before he died he warned hearers against reading the Bible controversially as he had done and he received mass in the Tower along with Northumberland, Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir Thomas Palmer.[37] His will was as traditionally Catholic as any among those examined here.[38] He made specific reference to our Lady St Mary and all the company of heaven, and he was careful to give alms to the poor. Had Gates' death not been by trial and execution this would have been one of the best examples of a will revealing the change of a person's private religious belief at the time of death. It is, however, difficult to judge the sincerity of Gates' recantation, for it most likely occurred as a result of pressure, or as an exercise to secure an easier death by beheading alone.

The Treasurers of the Chamber

Turning to the Treasury of the Chamber, there was a good deal of continuity in this department. Sir Brian Tuke succeeded Sir Henry Wyatt as Treasurer in 1528 and held the post until his death in 1545.[39] Tuke held office at a difficult time which witnessed the internal development of the office under Cromwell and he worked closely with the Lord Chancellor. He followed the king's policy throughout his time at court.[40] Tuke also interested himself in patronising learning and art.[41] Indeed his will displays a taste for theology for the lengthy preamble is taken up with an exposition of Adam and the Fall with its evil consequences.[42] The Christian's hope of 'a goodd ende' is through believing and keeping the commandments. Tuke commended his soul to God, our Lady St Mary and all the holy company of heaven. Following the king's policy included anticipating Henry's own conservatism in death.[43]

Tuke's successor in 1545 was Sir William Cavendish, and he also held the post until his death in 1557, thus spanning three reigns. Was the stability in this post due to the longevity of Tuke and Cavendish? And was this in turn due to their compliance with the times? Personal dilemmas could play a considerable part in changes of personnel as the example of Gage has already shown. Sir William Cavendish began his career as a servant of Cromwell, though he may have been introduced to the court by his brother George, Wolsey's gentleman usher and subsequent biographer.[44] Apparently approving of the religious changes, Cavendish received grants of monastic land, was a commissioner for the abbeys and in 1541 appointed auditor of the Court

of Augmentations. Thus he was well placed to become Treasurer in 1546 when he was also knighted and made a privy councillor.[45] Edward gave him further grants of monastic land, but he conformed under Mary, and having survived her accession, held on to his post.

Unfortunately, Cavendish did not leave a will which might shed further light on his life and position. He was the only lay official of the group not to do so, besides Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter who was executed in 1538.

The Controllers

The Controller of the household was one of the chief officials of the Lord Steward's department.[46] The Lord Steward himself was frequently absent from court, whereas the Controller along with the Treasurer was more likely to be present for they took an active part in the management of the household.[47] Their presence at court brought them close to the king and therefore an examination of their wills offers further insight into the impact of reform within the royal household.

The Controller in 1530 was Sir Henry Guildford, whose father Sir Richard had also held the post. Sir Henry was one of the king's favourites from the start of the reign,[48] and was particularly close to the king until the issue of the Divorce. Anne Boleyn disliked him intensely and he resigned his post because of her animosity. He retired from court temporarily, though it seems he did so without incurring the king's wrath.[49] Somewhat predictably his will, the earliest of the entire group, dated 1532, was traditionally

Catholic.[50] His soul was commended to the most glorious Virgin our Lady St Mary, and to all the holy company of heaven, and the saints in heaven. While he required neither 'pompe nor solemnitie' at his funeral, he left money for those who would pray for his soul and to the church wherein he was to be buried. He provided for a daily mass for one year following his death to be said for his own soul, those of his family and for all souls.[51] Guildford's will may be taken as a typical example of a courtier of Henry VIII who was not affected by the Reformation and who could not foresee the long term consequences, whether violent, or subtle, as in words bequeathing a soul.

Another favourite of the king to be appointed as Controller was, as Sir Anthony Wingfield had been, a former Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard. Sir William Kingston succeeded to the post in 1539 having supported the royal policy through the 1530s and had received lands from the dissolved monasteries.[52]

Kingston was not unlike Guildford in his career and familiarity with the king. He was active in suppressing the rebellion of 1536 and was a prominent member of the House of Commons. In death also, Kingston expressed a similar conservative outlook via his will.[53] He died in 1540, eight years after Guildford, and in a year of crisis. The other member of the group examined here, Sandes was silent altogether in matters of religion in his will, but Kingston took the traditional line bequeathing his soul to God, our Lady St Mary the Virgin and to all the whole company of heaven.[54] His bequests to two different clerics in payment of neglected tithes may furthermore be a sign of meticulous religious observance.

When Kingston died he was replaced by Sir John Gage, already noticed as Vice-Chamberlain. Gage continued after Edward's accession but his aversion to Warwick meant that Edward had a different Controller at the time of his death. This was Sir Richard Cotton, who received the post in the previous year.[55] Not a great deal is known about the Cottons, who were nevertheless active in serving the Tudor monarchs. In the same year that he was made Controller he was made a commissioner of the Privy Council.[56] He owed his advancement to Northumberland and he supported the duke till very late in the succession crisis upon Edward's death. While he survived Mary's accession, he was replaced as Controller by Robert Rochester, Mary's Controller as princess.[57] Cotton died in 1556. His will provides little further information concerning him. Its provisions are somewhat open-ended.[58] He bequeathed his soul simply to almighty God and then instructed his executors to provide all such funeral obsequies as they saw fit.

The Chief Gentlemen

The development of the Privy Chamber has been thoroughly examined by D.R. Starkey, who maintains that it was turned into a major political force after the institutional reforms of 1518-9.[59] This was because the social composition of its personnel altered from the recruitment of lower to middling gentry to predominantly upper classes. These men of wealth and social prestige were brought into close proximity with the monarch, thus possessing the necessary criteria for political importance.[60]

The Eltham Ordinances of 1526 established a staff for the Privy Chamber of the Marquis of Exeter, six gentlemen, two gentlemen ushers, four grooms, a barber and a page.[61] The head of the Privy Chamber in 1530 was still Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, a cousin of the king.[62] His relationship to Henry brought him prominence and prestige, but ultimately cost him his life. Entering the Privy Chamber in late 1519, Exeter aided Henry in his efforts to obtain a divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his support of the religious changes caused him to be made steward of many abbeys and priories with the advent of the Dissolution. He was no friend of Anne Boleyn, however, and acted as commissioner at her trial.[63] A more serious enemy to Exeter was, however, Cromwell whose determination to get control of the Privy Chamber eventually dislodged Exeter from his place there. Exeter was a member of the older nobility and likely to be conservative both in political and religious outlook, despite his support for the king's policies. He soon became totally alienated from the court. In November 1538 he was arrested on a charge of conspiracy and was beheaded the following month.[64] Unfortunately there is no will to verify further Exeter's traditional outlook. In his case, as in those of many other courtiers, conclusions concerning inward belief must be drawn from what is known of outward behaviour. The knowledge that Exeter banned members of his household from reading Scripture in the vernacular, for example, is a fairly clear indication of a conservative mind especially when viewed alongside the rest of his actions.[65] Moreover, the religious conservatism of his wife and her devotion to Catherine of Aragon, which involved her in the affair of the Holy Maid of Kent,

bear further evidence of the traditional outlook of the Exeter household as a whole. The marquis indeed was in communication with Chapuys at this time in what were extremely suspicious dealings.[66]

Despite the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, the staff of the Privy Chamber were found to be insufficient for the king's needs, because of the practice of employing household officers in other tasks such as embassies which led to frequent absences.[67] Thus an order was drawn up in 1533 to rectify the situation

> howe and in what nomber the gentlemen of [the king's] prevy Chambre shall geve there attendaunce upon his saide highnes dayle. (68)

The number of gentlemen was increased to fourteen: two groups of seven with two in each group standing out as senior or Chief Gentleman. Exeter was named along with Sir Henry Norris as leading one group and Lord Rochford and Sir Thomas Heneage as leading the other.[69]

By 1540 the situation had changed again and three of these four senior gentlemen had fallen victim to court politics. Only Sir Thomas Heneage remained as Chief Gentleman from this group, and he was now also Groom of the Stool. The second Chief Gentleman was Sir Anthony Denny who replaced Sir Francis Bryan in 1538.[70]

Sir Thomas Heneage held two extremely important posts though it would seem that unlike the other Grooms of the Stool, he was not one of Henry's personal favourites.[71]He began his court career as an usher to Wolsey, and continued to advance under Cromwell. In 1528 it was noted that Heneage and Norris were alone in looking after the king and by 1533 they were both leading figures in the Privy Chamber.[72] Heneage supported the religious changes and received much land from the

dissolved religious houses.[73]

Despite his proximity to Cromwell, he survived the chief minister's fall, but in 1546 was replaced by Denny.[74] He remained at court in Edward's reign and was given a New Year's gift by the king in the first and second years of the reign.[75]

He died in 1553 the same year as Edward. His will is somewhat ambiguous in tone for he bequeathed his soul to his saviour Jesus Christ and to the whole company of his saints.[76] It was much more usual to specify almighty God as creator rather than his son as Heneage did, and it was also a deviation to mention all the saints without the Virgin Mary. The will does not give much away concerning this courtier's position.

Heneage's fellow Chief Gentleman in 1540, still there in 1547 with greatly augmented power, was Sir Anthony Denny.[77] By this time Denny was Chief Gentleman and Groom of the Stool, the most important of the three keepers of the dry-stamp, and Keeper of the Palace of Westminster.[78] Denny's factotum, Sir John Gates, held custody of the king's removing coffers in which was kept the dry-stamp,[79] while Denny himself had custody of the two drafts of the king's will.[80] As Chief Gentleman, Denny's control over his subordinates was greater than that of any of his predecessors.[81] He remained close to the king until the end and was at Henry's deathbed.[82] His careful backstage management facilitated the establishment of the new regime under Somerset.

Denny's rise began in the 1530s. Educated at St John's, Cambridge, he became servant to Sir Francis Bryan.[83] In 1538 he succeeded his former master as Chief Gentleman.[84] When Heneage

resigned in 1546 Denny moved into his place, with Sir William Herbert now acting as Second Chief Gentleman.[85] Denny was quickly marked as a man to be cultivated by aspiring courtiers. Sir John Cheke, Edward's tutor wrote of his influence in the Privy Chamber:

> How easy he made the way for others to obtain their desires and opened a ready access to many. (86)

William Paget advised the Earl of Hertford to make a friend of Denny.[87]

When Roger Ascham, later Elizabeth's tutor, sought Denny's patronage, he praised him as one who spent all his time and cares on religion, learning and the state.[88]

Denny was associated with the humanist element at Henry's court and leaned towards reform.[89] His commitment in this realm was expressed largely through the support of humanist scholarship and close association with other humanist reformers.[90] He worked closely with the king's physician, Dr William Butts, at court until the latter's death in 1545. Butts himself a noted reformer, was also very influential with the king, and promoted a number of sympathisers of reform at court.[91]

Denny received large grants of monastic land and approved of the religious changes. His involvement with activities of dubious orthodoxy suggests he may have wished for further reforms. He was implicated in the Anne Askew affair, which also involved the queen and other prominent courtiers sympathetic towards reform.[92] Ascham later associated him with Sir George Blagge and Martin Bucer.[93] Blagge, a favourite of the king's Privy Chamber came dangerously close to heresy towards the end of Henry's reign. Denny was also an active associate

of Thomas Cranmer and in a conservative plot in 1543, was instrumental in protecting the archbishop's interests.[94] The following year it was Denny who brought two letters authorising the reformation of ceremonies from Cranmer to be signed by the king.[95] That Denny's support of Cranmer's attempts to reform excessive ceremonial shows the issue to have been a matter of concern to him is borne out by the dedication of a work by Thomas Langley published in 1546. This was An abridgmēt of the notable worke of Polidore Vergil... Compediously gathered by Thomas Langley.[96]

One of Polydore Vergil's concerns was with excessive ceremonial and in his dedication Langley referred to

> the speciall love and mynde that you have to further the knowlage of the trueth and abholishe ignoraunce, hipocrisie, and all other like peinted holiness ... your alactritee and rediness in preferying the blessed woorde of God and the sincere setters forthe of the same. (97)

Another of Denny's priorities, as Langley's dedication suggests, was the promotion of the Bible, and Thomas Paynell, the humanist translator noted his 'syncere affection to god and his holy worde' in the preface to his translation of St Cyprian.[98] In this he was in sympathy with the circle around prince Edward and the Princess Elizabeth. The concern of the group with the education of the two young royals was actively shared by Denny who assisted where possible. He perhaps had a hand in the appointment of Cheke as Edward's tutor, and was certainly involved in the formation of the royal school for the prince. In his will he left a bequest for Edward, indicating that 'something suitable for a learned king' should be chosen.[99] Denny also supported Sedburgh school in Yorkshire and Ascham

thanked him for saving it.[100]

It is thus of no surprise to find echoes of Denny's reformist position in his will which contains one of the more personal preambles of the group.[101] Beginning with a flourishing reference to the Trinity, Denny sought forgiveness for leaving undone what he ought to have done and for doing that which he ought not to have done. Being 'right sory for yt'. Interestingly enough, this echo of St Paul also echoes Katherine Parr's writings as does his plea for forgiveness:

> Let my Sighys enter into thy Sight. Suffer my Sorowys. (102)

The two shared a similar religious outlook and were closely associated at court in the late 1540s.[103]

Denny's zeal for reform and his interest in learning dates to the early days of reform under Henry. He thus lived through the hazardous period of experimentation under that king when much reform came about indirectly and depended on discretion. The reformers who carried the day at the end of Henry's reign were then able to support the Reformation more openly, and Denny's example is a reminder that for many of the policy-makers, this sprang from conviction and not just support for whatever group was in the ascendant.

Denny's fellow Chief Gentleman, William Herbert, owed much of his prominence in the latter years of the reign to the fact that he was married to the queen's sister Anne Parr. He was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber by 1540, however, and was already receiving numerous grants of lands and offices by the time of his elevation to Chief Gentleman.[104] He was appointed Master of the Horse to Edward and was a leading Privy Councillor during the early years of the reign.[105]

Although at this time he was a supporter of Somerset, sometime in 1549 he switched allegiance to Warwick, who promoted his fortunes still further. It was after Warwick became Duke of Northumberland that Herbert was created first Earl of Pembroke.[106]

He supported the duke's Device for the Succession and indeed Northumberland blamed him personally for the affair, saying that he devised the plot for fear of losing his lands if a Catholic monarch succeeded.[107] Mary nevertheless retained him on her Privy Council, and he managed to reinstate himself, even to becoming something of a favourite with Philip despite his initial opposition to the Spanish marriage.[108] Frequent aspertions were cast upon his loyalty, however, for he never professed to approve of Mary's religious policy, and voted against her heresy bill in the Lords.[109] His discretion, however, helped him to allay suspicion and continue to prosper despite this, and he survived to welcome Elizabeth's accession and give open support for her Anglican settlement. His appointment to the commission for the establishment of religion illustrates the queen's confidence in his support.[110]

Herbert died in 1570 and his will might be expected to be overtly Protestant in tone.[111] He simply bequeathed his soul into the hands of God as Maker and Redeemer, however, seeking forgiveness for his sins and trusting by God's mercies to be received into heaven. Though he was politically pliant, Herbert's will does not necessarily imply indifference or neutrality with regard to religious matters. In itself neutral, his will is typical of those examined here which were made by men who accepted the religious changes, but were not fired by the

evangelical zeal of individuals like Denny.

There were some changes in the Privy Chamber establishment during Edward's reign. In 1549 six lords of the council were appointed to be attendant on Edward. There were also four knights, two of whom were to be in continual attendance.[112] In April of the following year Edward noted in his Journal that three of

> th'utter previe-chamber gentlemen shuld alwaies be here, and tow lie in the palat, and fill the rom(e) of on(e) of the foure knightes. (113)

Hitherto Sir Michael Stanhope, the Duchess of Somerset's brother, had been the Chief Gentleman.[114] The four Principal Gentlemen named in 1549 were Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Darcy,[115] Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir Thomas Wroth.[116] The further arrangements noted by Edward in April 1550 followed shortly on the appointment of Henry Sidney and Henry Neville to the Privy Chamber also.[117] Sidney and Sir Thomas Wroth were particularly close to Edward during his life,[118] but Sir Andrew Dudley has also been given priority among the Chief Gentlemen.[119] Something will therefore be said concerning all six, since they all frequented the Privy Chamber. As Edward's reign was shorter and his court circle narrower than that of his father, their inclusion will also balance the names under consideration in this survey. The career of Sir Edward Rogers began in Henry VIII's reign and by 1540 he was a sewer in the king's Privy Chamber.[120] He was knighted at Edward's coronation and in 1549 was appointed to the Privy Chamber as one of the four Chief Gentlemen.[121] By Mary's reign Rogers was an ardent Protestant and he opposed the restoration of Catholicism in her first parliament. After Wyatt's rebellion he went into

exile.[122] His commitment to the religious changes may have begun under Henry. He received a considerable amount of property at the Dissolution and in 1543 was caught eating meat in Lent.[123] He returned to England to continue a career at court as Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard. In 1560 he became Elizabeth's Controller.[124] He died in 1568. His will shows no real evidence of his enthusiasm for the Reformation, the brief preamble bequeathing his soul to almighty God.[125] He left alms for the poor, a reminder that the reformers were no less concerned about charity and almsgiving than the Catholics.

Sir Thomas Darcy has already been discussed in his capacity as Lord Chamberlain. Sir Andrew Dudley was the brother of the Duke of Northumberland.[126] Towards the end of Henry's reign Andrew's fortunes were rising because of his brother's favour with the king and he was given a place of prominence as Admiral of the northern seas at the beginning of the new reign.[127] In 1549 he was made one of the four Chief Gentlemen and Keeper of the King's Wardrobe. Unfortunately for him, Edward's death ruined his fortunes again, but despite being closely implicated in Northumberland's plot, he was freed. He died in 1556.[128]

While in the Tower Dudley received the mass along with the other condemned men, but other evidence, including his will suggest that his motive for doing so was fear rather than a genuine conversion.[129] The preamble of his will includes a telling reference to man's mortality and certain end, followed by the simple bequest of his soul to almighty God. The only other indication of his commitment to Protestantism, besides his support of the duke, is an incident at the

beginning of Edward's reign, when as captain of Broughty Crag he received the submission of Dundee and reported that certain townsmen had agreed to promote the Word of God and required bibles and books translated by Tyndale and Frith.[130] The depth of commitment to either Catholicism or the reformed faith of a courtier such as Dudley cannot easily be measured on evidence which is so scanty. The hints offered by the personal testimony of a will thus take on a greater authority especially when, as in this case, it can be placed in the context of what else is known of the testator.

Sir Thomas Wroth was the closest to the king of this group of four.[131] Born in 1518 he was considerably senior to Edward, but he was one of his favourites.[132] He became a gentleman usher to the prince in 1541, and gentleman in 1547. In 1549 he was promoted to be one of the four Principal Gentlemen because of his support for Warwick.[133] By this time it seems he was a firm supporter of reform. He was, for example, one of the witnesses against Bishop Gardiner's sermon in 1548 and in 1551 attended both conferences on the Sacrament.[134] He remained close to the forefront of affairs for the rest of the reign. Soon after Mary's accession he went abroad.[135] He returned to England on Elizabeth's accession, but although he was elected to parliament, he received no further honours or preferment. When he died in 1573 his will, which was very long, gave firm proof of his Protestantism.[136] Like Dudley he noted man's frailty and appointed time for death. In a clearly predestination formula he entrusted his soul to God who

> before choyse hath ordeyned me his handwork. (137)

He placed his hope of salvation in Christ's blood, not in any good

works which he might have done. Thus of the first four Principal Gentlemen, Wroth's will gives the clearest possible evidence of reformist influence. He may well have imbibed his initial sympathy with reform when he was at St John's College.[138]

Of the two later appointments to the Privy Chamber, Henry Sidney enjoyed a relationship with Edward similar to that of Sir Thomas Wroth.[139] The king according to a transcription of Sidney's memoirs was said to have died in his arms.[140] Born in 1529 most of his boyhood was spent at court for there was a long history of court service in his family.[141]

Sidney first entered the Privy Chamber in 1550 and was promoted to one of the chief positions the following year. It would seem that Northumberland noticed his closeness to the king and sought to exploit it. In March 1551 Sidney married the duke's eldest daughter Mary.[142] The following year he accompanied Northumberland on a brief visit to the North.[143]

Sidney was able to retain a place at court in Mary's reign and continued in the service of the crown until his death in 1586 when he was Lord President of the Queen's Council. At Elizabeth's court he was closely associated with the Earl of Leicester.[144] He was clearly in favour of reform though his Protestantism was not especially explicit. A revealing comment, however, may be found in 'Sir Henry Sidney his memoryes touching King Edward's death and Queen Mary's reigne'.[145] There, speaking of Edward's death he remarked that

> to behould him ... would have converted the firsist of papists if they had any grace in them of true faith in Christ. (146)

His will preamble contained a brief exposition of forgiveness of sins through Christ's death and the testator's confidence in it.[147]

Sir Henry Neville is the final member of Edward's Privy Chamber to be considered, and the last to die of the entire group.[148] He was the second son of Sir Edward Neville, who was beheaded in 1539. By the end of Henry's reign, however, Henry Neville was a groom in the Privy Chamber. He prospered in Edward's reign, was knighted in 1551 and placed on the Privy Council in 1552.[149] Hoak claims that his religious views were unclear in Edward's reign[150] and it may not indeed, have been religious motives which drove him aborad in Mary's reign, for despite his attachment to Northumberland, he was not penalised by Mary upon her accession.[151]

He returned to England to live through most of Elizabeth's reign, dying in 1593. His will suggests a firm Protestant belief which may have come to maturity during this reign.[152] He professed his belief in the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. He thanked God he was a Christian and expressed his assurance of salvation through Jesus Christ and through no other person, way or means.[153] It is worthy of note that Neville's father had been implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace which owed at least some of its origin to religious conservatism.

Conclusion

The 20 lay officials examined above lived through a period of tumultuous change. Covering a period of 61 years the preambles of their wills, backed up by what is known of their careers, indicate the

revolutionary changes which took place in religious life. They also illustrate that change was at first hesitant, accelerating after the death of Henry, but never uniform in its effect. The case of Gates also illustrates the fears that abounded and forced men into unwilling positions of compromise in both directions. Gates' example also shows the necessity of placing a will into the wider context of its author's life wherever possible.

One of the most interesting individuals examined so far from the point of view of the influence of reform is Sir Anthony Denny. His support of reform even while Henry lived was exceptional and so it is no surprise that his will is reformist in tone. The will itself, however, is also exceptional for it is another 24 years before the next overtly reformed will appears among the sample chosen here.

No clear pattern emerges from the evidence as to why certain individuals adopted a reformist stance and others did not. Neither age, career nor even family loyalty was any guarantee, though the influence of friends and relations doubtless played its part, and personal advancement cannot be discounted as a motive.

Natural expediency must also be considered as a very reasonable motive, at least for making a neutral-sounding wills. All three Lord Chamberlains made neutral wills, Sandes in 1540, Darcy in 1558 and Arundel in 1580. It could be argued that neither 1540 nor 1558 were years for nailing one's colours to the mast, while Arundel's neutral stance may have been a politique gesture on the part of the aged and conservative earl. The following examination of clerical officials and their wills is designed to test further these conclusions, while their

sphere of interest, being more directly connected with religion, will reveal more clearly the fluidity of definitions during the years of the Reformation.

The Clerical Officials

Putting labels on the clerical participants in the Reformation drama is in some ways a more uncertain and unsatisfactory method of procedure than doing the same for laymen and women. These men were forced to choose and in doing so to nail their colours to the mast. Familiarity with the niceties of the theological debate made the dilemma all the more acute. Their minds were often not ready for the changes of policy, while their position made them more likely to be aware of the wider implications, socially and politically as well as theologically. This was especially true of those who had witnessed events in Europe. Fear may well have tempered genuine enthusiasm for reform. There is also the question of self-interest. Securing or retaining a post might well require a cleric to commit himself to one side or another, to say nothing of the spectacular about-turns which some men underwent.

There are thus numerous seeming inconsistencies in the lives and actions of the prominent clerics of Henry's reign. If an examination of their wills can clarify their position in any way, they are worthy of study.

The Dean of the Chapel Royal

The obvious clerical official of the royal household to examine

first is the Dean of the Chapel Royal. The two deans who covered the period, Richard Sampson and Thomas Thirlby unfortunately have not left wills, but there is another factor which makes them an unsatisfactory choice for inclusion in this survey. Both employed as ambassadors, Sampson and Thirlby were frequently absent from court.

The continuity of chapel personnel is also worthy of note here.[154] Given the effect which new services, the introduction of English liturgy and so on, this comes as a surprise, but it is perhaps more significant to recognise stability as a factor in court life. Frequent upheavals do not seem to have made the Chapel Royal an unsafe place for those who refused to go with the tide.

The careers of Sampson and Thirlby deserve some comment if only as indications of the role of prominent clerics at court during this period. If we cannot categorise such men, it is possible to see where their sympathies tended.

In 1530 the Dean of the Chapel Royal was Richard Sampson who had been appointed to that position in 1516.[155] Originally Wolsey's chaplain, Sampson also became chaplain to the king. In 1536 he became Bishop of Chichester through the support of Cromwell. He disappointed the Chief Minister, however, in the luke-warm nature of his sympathy for reform. In 1540 he was imprisoned, a victim of the factional struggles at this time, although the ostensible reason was for 'relieving certain traitorous persons'.[156]

After Cromwell's fall Sampson was restored to his temporalities and promoted to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, which he retained under Edward. He died in 1554 having done homage to Mary.[157]

He left no will, but there are some other indications of his attitude to the Reformation. He was the author of Oratio quae docet hortatur admonet omnes potissium Anglos regiae dignitati cum primis ut obediant in 1533,[158] written in defence of the Royal Supremacy and the Break with Rome. In his diocese of Chichester, Sampson tried to carry out some reforms, but they were not such as to place him among the radicals. He is said to have

> prayed unto God, that we were not scourged as they were in Germany (159)

and having been abroad as ambassador he spoke with personal conviction. Sampson was abroad a good deal in this capacity, despite his position as Dean. Indeed, he claimed that court life was disagreeable to him, but his expressed preference for his studies were less likely to have kept him away than his absences due to foreign affairs.[160] Like most of the other prominent clerics of the time, he was pre-occupied with the world of government and politics and this inevitably influenced his religious outlook.

When Sampson was deprived in 1540, he was replaced as Dean of the Chapel Royal by Thomas Thirlby, another cleric active in foreign affairs.[161] Thirlby had been Cromwell's chaplain and likewise was indebted to him for his promotion.[162] In 1540, however, he became Bishop of Westminster as well as Dean of the Chapel Royal, which can be taken as evidence that he had withdrawn from the forward looking position of his patron. Thirlby became increasingly conservative even in the face of the official position and remained so. Thus he objected to the first Prayer Book, much to the surprise of Somerset, though not, as Foxe would have us believe, to that of Edward. His time with

the Emperor was enough to make the young king suspicious.[163]

Thirlby was Bishop of Ely during Mary's reign, but was deprived under Elizabeth for his refusal of the Oath of Supremacy. Since he persisted in preaching against the Reformation, he was excommunicated in 1561.[164]

Like Sampson, Thirlby was educated at Trinity Hall and though his will is not extant, he was a benefactor to Trinity and to Jesus College.[165]

Important as they were as royal ambassadors and councillors, Sampson and Thirlby did not rely on their position as Dean of the Chapel Royal for the exercise of influence or shaping of policy. Their frequent absences meant that they were not always on hand when a crisis arose, or an important decision needed to be made. Thirlby was away when the initial changes were made in Edward's chapel. Curiously, despite Edward's suspicions and Thirlby's probable discomfort regarding the innovations, he continued to head up the chapel personnel. Here is a further example of inconsistency which can only be explained by lack of any clearly defined lines of behaviour. Sampson and Thirlby are two prominent examples of the fluidity in personal behaviour during Henry's reign. With no clear lines of demarcation as to what did and did not constitute reform, there could be no firm constraint on the evolution of religious opinions.

The Almoners

Evidence from wills is more readily available among the royal almoners at court. The place of almsgiving in the royal household has

been discussed at length above.[166] The king's Almoner was in charge of royal giving and the post went to a prominent cleric. He saw to it that the correct gifts and offerings were made at the appropriate time, but the routine work of collecting leftovers from the royal household and distributing them to the poor was carried out by a substitute.[167] The post was an important stepping stone and a number of prominent clerics held it during the period.

In 1530 the king's Almoner was Edward Lee, who was created Archbishop of York the following year.[168] He received education at both universities, but was not attracted to any of the new ideas in learning.[169] He met Erasmus, but was very critical of him, attacking his ideas in correspondence.[170] He was also a patron of scholars including Roger Ascham.

Lee was made a royal chaplain in 1520 and from here advanced to the post of Almoner.[171] He supported the king over the Divorce, but was suspected of not giving his support to the Royal Supremacy. In 1540 he sat on the commission which examined the doctrines and ceremonies retained in the church. He argued in favour of the Six Articles in parliament. He died in 1544 and unfortunately left no will. There are only his academic works to suggest anything of his doctrinal position.[172]

The king's Almoner in 1540 was Nicholas Heath having been appointed in 1537[173]. Unfortunately, he left no will. He was an early sympathiser of reform and one of Cromwell's servants.[174]

In 1534 he was appointed an ambassador abroad and became a well-travelled and able diplomat. Perhaps his travels helped to wean

him away from his early reforming sympathies, for Heath moved away from Cromwell and his politics to the extent that on the latter's fall in 1540, Heath was made Bishop of Rochester, and sworn onto the Council.[175] He eventually became Archbishop of York in Mary's reign as well as her Lord Chamberlain, but not before his conservative position caused his deprivation and imprisonment under Edward in 1551.

Heath accepted the Break with Rome, and was even willing to work with Archbishop Cranmer for certain reforms in the church such as the project to abolish creeping to the Cross, ringing bells on All Hallows and covering images in Lent.[176] He was praisd by the reformers Melanchthon and Bucer when they met him abroad in 1535. His position is best stated in his own words when he stated that

> ... whatever is contrary to the Catholic faith is heresy; whatever is contrary to unity is schism. (177)

Edward's Almoner in 1547 was Richard Cox. He had been a chaplain to Henry and to Archbishop Cranmer and was appointed Almoner of the king's establishment in 1544. His role at court will be discussed in much greater detail with reference to the education of Edward's court.[178] There is no doubt that he was a thorough-going reformer and this is well borne out by his will.,[179] Its preamble expresses the utmost confidence in Jesus Christ his redeemer, saviour and mediator who would cause him to rise at the Last Day.[180]

On 1st January 1554 William Bill was referred to as royal Almoner. Since he was in retirement for most of Mary's reign and was generally out of sympathy with her policies, it has been surmised that he must have been appointed to the post before her accession. The career of William Bill is of particular interest, and so he will be

included here as part of this survey.[181] A royal chaplain and physician as well as Almoner, Bill survived all the religious upheavals and prospered under Elizabeth till his death in 1561. He owed his initial patronage at court to Anne Boleyn, who responded to a request for help on his behalf.[182] Bill was royal physician to both Henry and Edward, an important post and like that of chaplain or gentleman of the Privy Chamber, one which brought him into frequent and close proximity to the monarch.[183]

Bill was an important figure at the university of Cambridge.[184] Educated at St John's he was Master there in 1546-7 and Vice-Chancellor of the university in 1548-9. In 1551 he was appointed Master of Trinity from which post he was deprived by Mary. Also in 1551, Bill was made one of Edward's itinerant chaplains. Doubtless his preaching abilities as well as his sympathies for Elizabeth were important to the queen, for he preached at St Paul's Church the Sunday after she was proclaimed queen. She made him Chief Almoner again and he preached at court during Lent in 1559 and 1560.[185]

His will, one of only two of the selection composed in Latin, may be deemed reformist in tone. The preamble deals with the theology of Christ's redemption. He left alms for the poor and money for the fabric of Trinity College chapel as well as donating his library to the college.

The post of royal Almoner was held by a number of other prominent divines whose wills are available and who will be considered here as representative of clerical officials at court. They are John Longland, who was also Henry's confessor for many years, Francis Mallet who was

especially close to Mary and was later her Almoner, Robert Shorton, Edward Fox, John Skip and George Day who were all royal chaplains and almoners, in these cases to Henry's queens.

The role of confession per se will be discussed in further detail below. John Longland was appointed to the post in 1518[186] and as far as is known he held it until his death in the same year that the king himself died.[187]

Longland was one of the older clerics at court and indeed has been represented as belonging to the medieval tradition.[188] He was a learned man as is evidenced in his preaching.[189] He was a benefactor of Erasmus and the latter's emphasis on Scripture was taken up in Longland's preaching at court. Longland was fiercely opposed to heresy, however, and dealt with it severely in his diocese of Lincoln. He was made Bishop of that see in 1521, and in the same year was appointed royal Almoner.[190] Longland grew in Henry's favour because of his 'excellent way of preaching'.[191] He preached at court a number of times.[192]

Longland died in 1547, the same year as his king. His will, though composed in English is very traditional in every way.[193] He bequeathed his soul to almighty God, our blessed Lady St Mary and to all the holy company of heaven, requesting their prayers that he would go to live among them. Should he die at Woburn, he wanted his heart to be buried at Lincoln Cathedral before the blessed sacrament at the high altar and there was to be a Dirige with Lauds, commendations and a Requiem Mass. He left money to pay a priest to sing for his soul and all Christian souls. He had many books to bequeath and some money for

a scholar's exhibition. Money left for alms was very specific. There was a sum for a men's almshouse at Henley. A separate establishment for women was to take in only those who could say their Pater Noster, Ave and Credo. They were to say the Our Lady psalter every day and pray for the souls of Longland and all Christians. Furthermore, they were to hear mass every day and on rising say five Aves, five Pater Nosters and one Credo 'in the worship of the fyve woundes'.[194] Longland was singularly unaffected by the Reformation which he had witnessed throughout his career at court.

The career of Francis Mallet illustrates the difficulties of attempting to lay down water-tight criteria for assessing a person's religious affiliations in this period. Although Mallet was chaplain to Mary as princess and her Almoner as queen, he began his career as Cranmer's chaplain and kept his deanery of Lincoln after Elizabeth's accession.

Educated at Cambridge, Mallet served the university as Vice-Chancellor in 1536 and 1540, possibly because he would acquiesce in Cromwell's interference there.[195] He was also university preacher in 1532-3. In 1538 he was chaplain to Cromwell and Cranmer and in the same year was engaged with the latter in drafting a revised liturgy based on the Lutheran pattern.[196]

Mallet was also chaplain to the king and about 1543 drew close to Princess Mary and became her chaplain the following year.[197] He assisted her by finishing the translation of Erasmus' Paraphrase of St John's Gospel.[198] Mallet was also chaplain to Katherine Parr at this time, who was closely involved with the work on the Paraphrases.[199]

Mallet remained close to Mary during Edward's reign and got into trouble for persisting in saying mass in her household even during her absence. He was sent to the Tower for this in May 1551.[200]

Mary's reign saw Mallet's fortunes restored and only the queen's death prevented him being consecrated as Bishop of Salisbury.[201] In her will, Mary bequeathed him £200 for masses for her soul. Although he conformed under Elizabeth and kept his appointments, he was charged by Archbishop Parker with preaching unsound doctrine concerning a number of the sacraments, and replied to the Archbishop in his own defence.[202]

Mallet died in 1570 leaving a will which was tactfully neutral in tone.[203] Requesting that there be no vain pomp, he left it to his executors to bury him as they thought fit. He bequeathed his soul to almighty God trusting in his mercy towards sinners.[204]

Robert Shorton is another example of a conservative cleric, although he died some years earlier in 1535. He was Almoner to Catherine of Aragon.[205] Educated at Jesus College Cambridge, he became the Master of St John's College.[206] Nearer the court he was in Wolsey's service and was the Dean of his Chapel in 1527.[207] As Catherine's Almoner he was her staunch defender and spoke out on her behalf in Convocation. He was no supporter of reform and this may have been the reason behind his resignation as Master of Pembroke College in 1534. He continued to receive preferment, however, and was made Archdeacon of Bath in 1535, the year of his death.[208] Shorton's will is an example of the traditional kind which nevertheless makes no

reference to the Virgin Mary or to the saints.[209] The preamble affirms the traditional belief that any man might be saved who forsakes sin and trusts in deeds of charity, prayers and alms. Confessing he has 'not doon so large almes as I shulde have doon', Shorton requested that alms should be distributed as much as thought necessary for his soul's health, and anything not directly bequeathed to be similarly disposed.[210]

Edward Fox died three years after Shorton, having had close links with Catherine of Aragon's successor. Educated at King's College, Cambridge, he was also in Wolsey's service and was the Cardinal's secretary.[211] He was active in securing the king's divorce, and Anne Boleyn rewarded him with the post of Almoner in 1531. In 1535 he became Bishop of Hereford and held the see till his death in 1538. The seventeenth century historian Fuller called him the 'principal pillar of the Reformation'[212] and he was the patron of radicals such as William Turner. Fox did not like sacramentarianism, however, and he claimed to have rescued another radical George Joye, from the anabaptist heresy, however, a warning against pushing the notion of reform too far at this time.[213] It seems he had a growing sympathy with Lutheranism, and in 1536 Bucer dedicated his Commentaries on the Gospels to him.[214] Fox was also close to Cranmer and took part in composing the Institution of a Christian man.[215] His will, which is neutral in tone and indeed very brief, simply commits his soul to almighty God.[216]

More light is shed on his position by his own words concerning unity and new doctrines when he warned his fellow bishops that

> ye make not yourselves to be laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you to think evermore hereafter that ye have neither one spark of learning nor yet of godliness in you. And thus ye shall lose all estimation and authority with them which before took you for learned men and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. (217)

It should be remembered that in the early days of the Reformation in England, doubt concerning the doctrine of the Real Presence was not the acid test of a reformer. Only later did this become a central issue forcing men to choose, and when they did so, it appeared that some drew back, rejecting reform. Closer analysis would suggest the divisions were imposed from without either by contemporaries who were trying to control the situation, or later writers comparing individuals and try to define positions.

John Skip followed Edward Fox as Bishop of Hereford and occupied the see until his death in 1552.[218] He owed his preferment to Cromwell for in his early days he was a favourer of reform.[219] He became chaplain and Almoner to Anne Boleyn.[220] Skip supported the reform of abuses but drew short of anything radical. Like so many of his fellow bishops he became cautious in the course of experience, drawing back from innovation because it led to social unrest. Thus he was later to be found, along with Heath, trying to show Cranmer the error of his ways.[221]

The ambiguities of Skip's life, like those of Fox, Heath and others were numerous. Thus he objected to the first Prayer Book but helped to compose the second. As late as 1543 he was found on the side of reform, supporting the cause of John Marbeck, musician of the Royal Chapel of St George's, who was condemned to death for heresy.[222] Once

again we are reminded that we are dealing with constantly fluctuating degrees of opinion which might be radical one decade and conservative another.[223] Skip's will, very brief in form and content entrusted his soul to almighty God and gives nothing else away.[224]

George Day leaned more clearly towards the conservatives, though he was apparently 'once a Protestant'.[225] John Fisher, to whom he was chaplain, said that 'he studied to obtain the goodwill of both sides' which may at times have been a virtue amidst the uncertainties and ambiguities.[226] Day's career was very typical of the body of clerics who found themselves immersed in government. While Master of St John's it was said that 'he tarries altogether in the court now'.[227] He became a royal chaplain, he was involved in producing the King's Book, he participated in translating the New Testament, and he was Almoner to Katherine Parr.[228] In 1543 he was made Bishop of Chichester.

He lost his see in 1551 because he refused to replace the altars with tables in his diocese and refused to preach a sermon to justify the procedure.[229] He had already declared his conservatism in a number of ways, for example by a severe letter to King's College when private masses were laid aside in 1547, and by refusing to vote for the Act of Uniformity.[230]

Day spent some time in the Fleet for his obstinacy.[231] Mary restored him and he preached at Edward's obsequies.[232] He was known as 'the floridest preacher' among the conservatives in Mary's reign.[233] His will nevertheless is neutral in tone.[234] He commended his soul to God hoping in his mercy through the death of his son. In his bequests he made provision for the poor and left church furniture and vestments to his cathedral, besides books to his university and money for poor scholars.

Edward's Chaplains

It remains to subject some of the prominent divines of Edward's reign to a similar brief analysis in order to balance the picture. Those chosen are the royal chaplains, conveniently named at the beginning of the reign, and again under the revised arrangements of 1551. Their careers are an important indication of the course of the Reformation, and we should expect stronger evidence of Protestantisation. Unfortunately of a total of ten officially appointed chaplains, only five made wills.[235] Three of these are clearly reformist in tone, that of William Bill, already mentioned, being one. The others were Roger Tounge and Robert Horne. It is also interesting to note that the only two wills composed in Latin, those of William Bill and Andrew Perne are among this group of five.

Perne was generally considered pliable in religious matters although Edward himself apparently believed him to be sincere.[236] On St George's Day 1547 Perne preached in favour of images and then recanted his opinion. Conforming under Mary he was appointed Dean of Ely in 1557. He preached when the bodies of Bucer and Fayius were condemned for heresy in 1556 only to find himself presiding over the senate which restored them in 1560. He conformed under Elizabeth and survived until 1589.[237] Elizabeth remarked on his eloquent preaching when she heard him at Cambridge in 1564,[238] evidence of his suitability as one of Edward's itinerant preaching chaplains. Perne is no less difficult than the rest to categorise. He may have encountered reform at St John's College where he was educated.[239] His will is of little help in shedding any further light. Acknowledging Jesus Christ to be his only saviour and redeemer he expressed his confidence of

being forgiven and of the resurrection of his body at the Last Day.[240]

Of the two remaining divines in the group, Roger Tounge and Robert Horne, the former left a will which has since been destroyed.[241] Little is known of him save that he was educated at Cambridge in the 1530s and was a fellow of St John's. It may be assumed that he was at least a sympathiser of reform.

Robert Horne was also educated at St John's and was Hebrew lecturer there in 1545-6.[242] A zealous reformer, he was also a powerful preacher.[243] Edward made Horne Dean of Durham, and in 1552 he was granted the see on Cuthbert Tunstal's deprivation, but Edward died before this could be effected.[244] He went into exile under Mary, returning to become Bishop of Winchester in 1560 where he displayed an extremely puritanical spirit. He had previously fallen out with Northumberland because he expressed doubts concerning the duke's sincerity in religion.[245] It was clear where Horne's own convictions lay and his will as well as his writings bear this out.[246]

The other Edwardian chaplain to leave a will was Edmund Grindal, who might well have been expected to have made one of a clearly Protestant kind. Educated at Cambridge, chaplain to Nicholas Ridley, and in 1551 to the king, Grindal went into exile under Mary.[247] He returned to become Bishop of London and in 1575 Archbishop of Canterbury. He favoured the puritans which caused many clashes with the queen.[248] The tone of Grindal's will, however, is mild.[249] Bequeathing his soul to his heavenly Father, he humbly beseeched him to receive it. Grindal was a man of learning and many of his bequests involved books, including a Greek New Testament for the queen.[250]

Wills of Lay Officials

Name	Date of Death	Type	Reference to Mary and the Saints
Sir Henry Guildford	1532	c	✓
Sir William Kingston	1540	c	✓
William, Lord Sandes	1540	n	
Sir Brian Tuke	1545	c	
Sir Anthony Denny	1549	r	
Sir Anthony Wingfield	1552	n	
Sir Thomas Heneage	1553	c	
Sir John Gates	1553	c	✓
Sir John Gage	1556	c	✓
Sir Andrew Dudley	1556	n	
Sir Richard Cotton	1556	n	
Sir Thomas Darcy	1558	n	
Sir Edward Rogers	1567	n	
Earl of Pembroke	1570	n	
Sir Thomas Wroth	1573	r	
Earl of Arundel	1580	n	
Henry Sidney	1586	r	
Henry Neville	1593	r	

Key

c = catholic

r = reformed

n = neutral

Wills of Clerical Officials

Name	Date of Death	Type	Reference to Mary and the Saints
John Shorton	1535	c	
Edward Fox	1538	n	
John Longland	1547	c	✔
John Skip	1552	n	
George Day	1556	n	
William Bill	1561	n	
Francis Mallet	1570	n	
Robert Horne	1579	r	
Richard Cox	1581	r	
Edmund Grindal	1583	n	
Andrew Perne	1589	n	

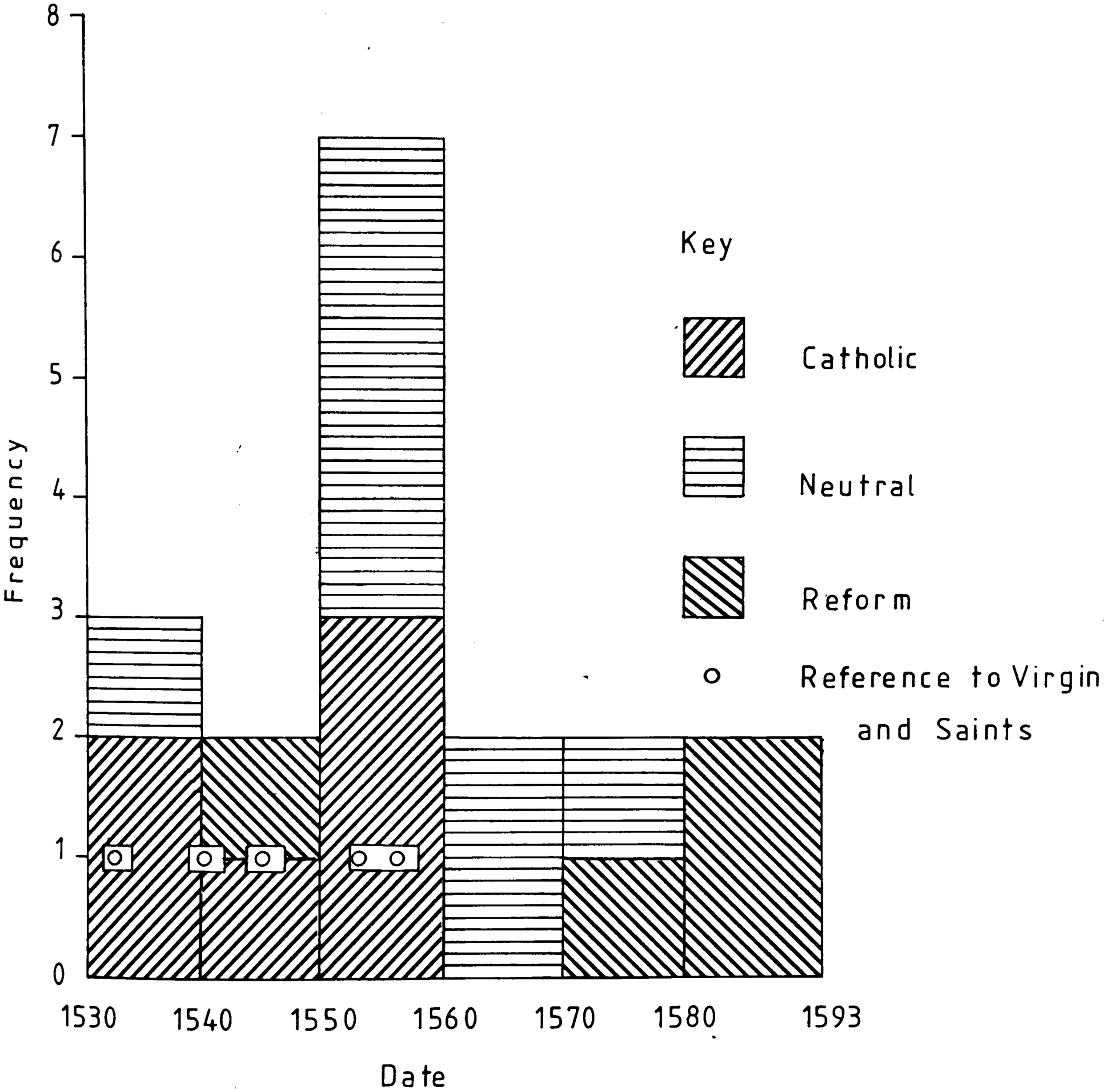
Key

c = catholic

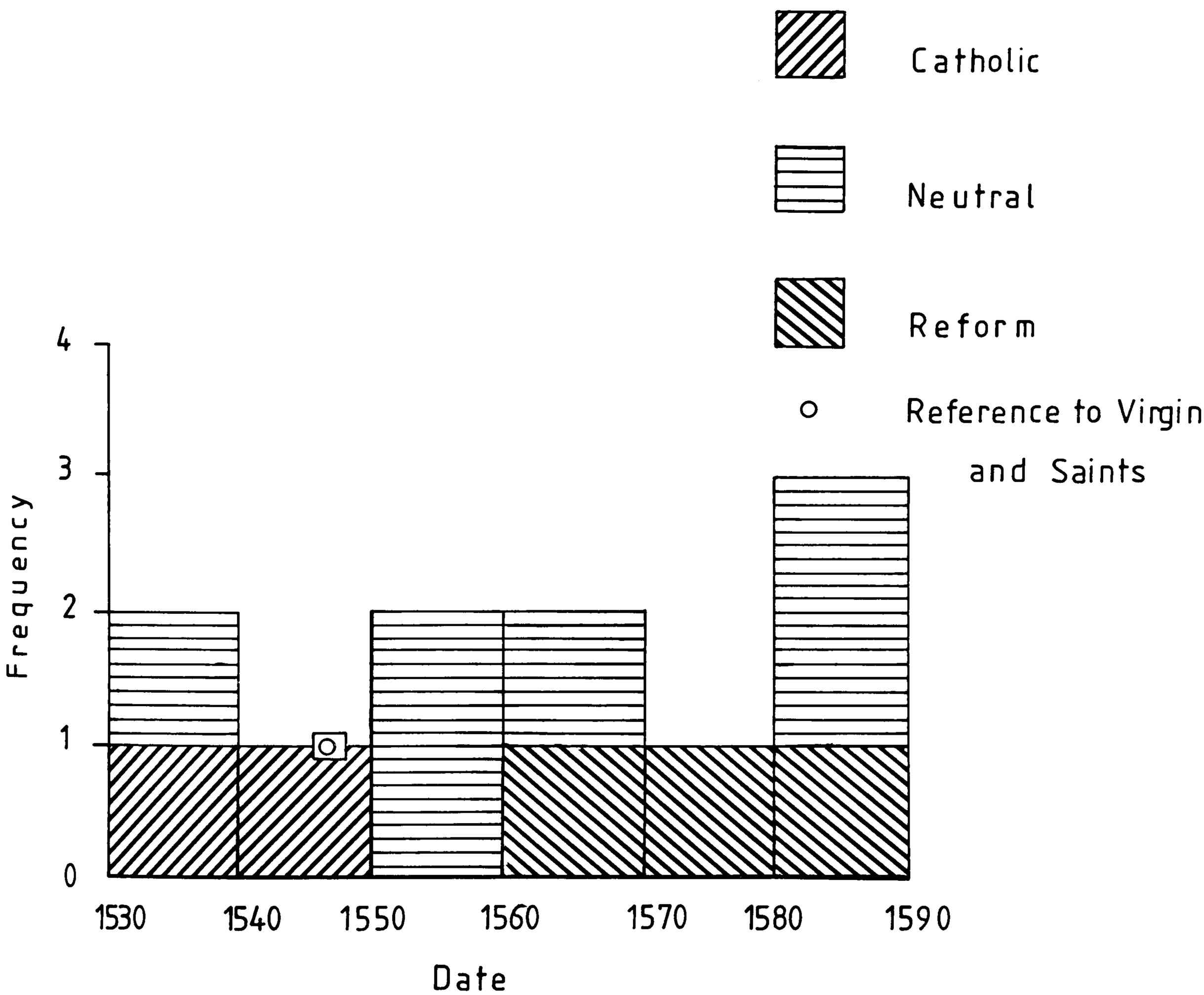
r = reformed

n = neutral

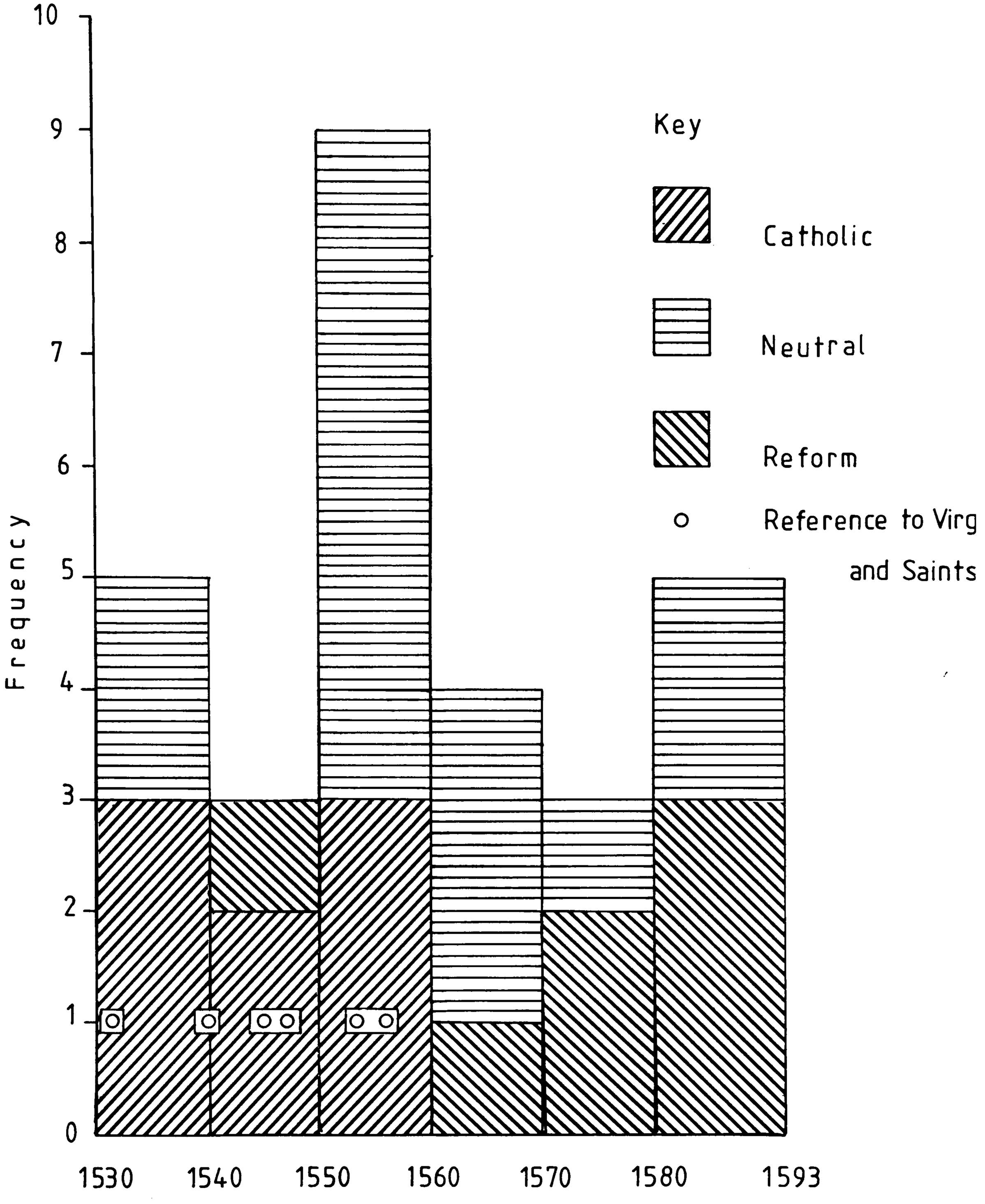
Incidence of religious belief taken from wills of lay court officials between 1530 and 1593.



Incidence of religious belief taken from wills of clerical court officials between 1530 and 1590.



Incidence of type of religious belief taken from wills of the lay and clerical officials between 1530 and 1593.



Conclusion

These two final examples illustrate the difficulties associated with trying to categorise individuals at the time of the Reformation. It is dangerous to make assumptions or draw hasty conclusions without taking into consideration all the available evidence and placing it into context.

Taking all the biographical sketches here, the overall impression is one of fluidity. This applies as much to the definitions of religious belief as to the consistency of personal commitment, and there can be no consistent pattern of progress imposed from without.

The analysis above is as complete as possible and covers a period of great change. The majority of office-holders were in the main very close to the monarch and were directly affected by the changes taking place. What is offered here is not a large-scale survey, but a sample, on the grounds that the peculiar milieu of the court provides a valid context for study.

In selecting such a group in this way the evidence is inevitably incomplete especially on the personal side. First not all officials made a will. Furthermore, the evidence supplied by wills must be approached with some caution. M. Spufford showed that scriveners were employed to write wills for their clients and that the preambles they used were standardised.[251] M.L. Zell has also warned against reading too much into the preambles of wills as evidence of changes in religious belief.[252]

Wills and their preambles often hide, rather than reveal the religious beliefs of their testators. Unless the testator held strong

convictions which went against the general trend he or she would adopt the standardised preamble in current use. Even strong belief, however, might be over-ruled by fear, for contemporaries themselves used preambles as evidence of belief.[253]

Deviant wills, therefore, most likely are a ture reflection of their testators' position, but it is difficult to test this out statistically, except on a very large scale. Bearing in mind the pitfalls, this remains a worthwhile task because wills are the only large-scale evidence concerning religious belief of individuals and the most personal of documents to survive. Surveys of wills by different historians have indicated general trends, and overall, research suggests that non-traditional will formulae were increasing in number from the late 1530s onwards.[254]

Other factors to bear in mind when examining wills and their preambles include the age of the testator, for it has been argued that the older generation were more resistant to Protestantism.[255] Whatever the truth of this observation, the forces of conservatism would probably mean that a statistical study would underestimate, rather than overestimate the percentage of committed Protestants and Catholics.

The social status of the testator is another caution to be noted here. Wills were made by people who had something to bequeath, that is, the better off in society, but it is often argued that Protestantism took a stronger hold among the lower classes. The sample of court wills examined here should therefore prove especially useful in reference to this point.

Taken as a whole, wills show the importance attached to religious literature and items of a devotional nature, while the provisions made for the soul give some indication of religious belief and commitment.[256] Some of the difficulties can be guarded against if something is known of the testator for this may help to distinguish what is a sign of commitment from that which is pure convention. This is frequently not possible in the case of sixteenth century testators, but in the selection made here something is known of each testator concerned because of his prominence at court.

There was some overlap of personnel among these officials, with some men continuing in office from one date to the next. The officials who survived such precarious times did so for a reason. Religious conviction and the art of survival were two criteria which did not always harmonise easily, and led to indictments of character in a number of instances. Any light therefore that evidence such as a will might shed upon the shadowy motives determining a course of action at a given time must be valuable.

There is a further caution, however. In selecting wills in this way, it is inevitable that the dates of proof should be different. The testators differed in their career structures and in their dates of death, and it is very important not to read back into the past during the course of analysis. The fluidity of ideas and beliefs in this period cannot be stressed too strongly. The convictions which led to a man's preferrment under one regime might not be the same as those held at the time of death. Wherever possible, other biographical details make this clear. Both lay and clerical officials were chosen in order

to note any marked contrast of attitude between these two groups. Finally the wills cover a period of 60 years, from 1532-1592. They were years of dramatic change and subtle continuity. The histograms illustrated here offer some comment on both. Out of a total of 42 individuals examined there were 22 clerical and 20 lay officials. Of these 11 clerics left wills and 18 laymen. Each of the 29 wills were read and classified as catholic, reformed or neutral on the basis of clues offered by the preamble or any specific bequests such as provision for a chantry priest. Classification was not always easy, and it was certainly not a uniform procedure. The designation Catholic, for example, could not be based solely on whether or not the testator bequeathed his soul to the Virgin Mary and the saints, as well as to almighty God. Robert Shorton did not and he was no reformist.[257] Sir Thomas Heneage left his soul to Jesus Christ and all the saints with no reference to the Virgin Mary,[258] while Sir William Sandes omitted a religious preamble of any kind.[259] Such a procedure cannot be assumed to be a statement of indifference. On the whole, the laity more than the clergy in this selection preferred to mention the Virgin Mary and all the saints, but it is difficult to draw any conclusion from the observation.[260]

Both clergy and laity made neutral wills from the 1530s onwards as shown by the histograms. This may be nothing more than the type of formula chosen, but the absence of masses for the soul or provision for chantry priests suggests that there were either seeds of doubt effectively being sown or an attitude of caution setting in. The concept 'neutral' as used here is by necessity a largely negative one,

referring more to the absence of overtly Catholic or reformed statements. Additional biographical material is important to help to establish on which side of the fence the testator stood. Both George Day[261] and Edmund Grindal left neutral-sounding wills, but their careers and theological stances were very different. Similarly the earls of Pembroke and Arundel.[262]

It is worth pointing out that there is a larger incidence of neutral wills than of Catholic or reformed, and among the clergy, neutral wills outnumber those of Catholic and reformed together. Omitting to mention traditional elements of the preamble and failing to provide masses for one's soul does not prove a positively reformist stance, but it may indicate a breaking away from the old established belief.

The process of change went on through the period in question. The histograms show this gradual advance of the Reformation very clearly. 1550-1570 is the major period of transition. For the lay officials the neutral period is 1560-70; the same period occurring ten years earlier for the clergy. 1540-1550 show equal incidence of Catholic and reformed wills for the laity. Reformed wills show a gradual increase in both groups, with no traditional wills occurring after 1560. The first reformed will, which is that of Sir Anthony Denny, appears in 1549.[263] This suggests another important factor. It was following the establishment of Edward's reign with its growing Protestant climate that the effects of Henry's religious policy became more clearly discernible. While there were committed reformers who were prepared to defy official policy before 1547, it was under Edward that the full

implications of Protestantism began to be felt in England. Denny was by no means an extremist, but his prominence at court and in government, his intimacy with the king and his support for religious and educational reform reflect the different concerns of the present study with the impact of the Reformation in these areas. Religious practices were deliberately altered by men committed to reform and the career of Denny illustrates how many of these policy-makers evolved in their personal beliefs.

Thus this sample of wills, made by individuals who were untypical of the nation at large, but typical of those living at the heart of the Reformation struggle, does hint at the process of religious change at work in sixteenth century England. It was an uneven, but gradual process and not only did personal belief move in both traditional and reformed directions but the terms of definition we now use could have different meanings at different times. Since both people changed and definition changed the one certain conclusion which can be drawn is simply that there was no certainty. Historians who have sought to impose anachronistic party labels and doctrinal distinctions have seriously misinterpreted the early Reformation in England and those who were struggling within it to find certainty in a most uncertain world.

All of this is summed up most appropriately in an oft-quoted will, that of the king himself. In the preamble to his will Henry noted that every Christian who endeavoured to do such good deeds and charitable works enjoined by Scripture and as leisure permitted, was ordained by Christ's Passion to eternal life.[264] Repenting of his sin,

Henry committed his soul to God desiring the Blessed Virgin and the holy company of Heaven to pray for him. Ample provision was made for masses for his soul including a daily mass for as long as the world should endure. Generous alms were to be given to the poor, although there was nothing as elaborate as for his father. In addition there was provision for a sermon every Sunday at Windsor.

Henry's personal religious position at the end of his life is likely to remain the subject of debate. He certainly fluctuated in his opinions during his lifetime and it can be argued that he had not come down firmly on one side or the other by the time of his death. Much depends on how far one is prepared to credit the king with foresight, with regard to Protestantism.[265] Though he undoubtedly took religion into account in his diplomatic machinations his trust in Cranmer is harder to explain away.[266] In spite of these leanings, the evidence seems weighted towards Catholicism in Henry's case, and his will bears this out with its references to Mary and the saints, and its emphasis on deeds. The mention of Scripture and a regular sermon, however, show that elements of reform had been established beyond doubt. While neither Catholic or Protestant in themselves, the Bible and preaching became the hallmarks of the reformed faith. Moreover, unlike his father, Henry could make no provision for shrines and religious houses, nor could he very well donate holy relics, since such things had been swept away.[267] Comparison of the two wills does not reveal any significant contradiction of theological outlook, but there is a definite change of tone. Apart from a greater number of charitable works, Henry VII was very concerned to be remembered and distributed

images of himself and pixes, emblazoned with the royal arms throughout his realm.[268] This quantitative manner of expressing piety is one obvious way in which Henry VII's will reads in a far more medieval way than that of his son.[269]

It is fitting that Henry VIII should exhibit aspects of both the traditional and the reformed faith reminding us that it is impossible to reduce the impact of religious change to any fixed pattern. It was beyond the control of patronage or manipulation and yet it is clear that individuals were influenced by the prevailing religious trend, which was one of increasing Protestantism.

Footnotes

1. See below pp.302ff.

2. DNB, 50, p.295.

3. Ibid, loc.cit.

4. LP, VIII, 48, 121, 272 (and cf p.327).

5. PCC 6 Spert, (proved 1542).

6. DNB 19, pp.88-93.

7. He was also the king's godson. Cf BL Royal MS 17A, IX, published as 'Life of the last Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel' (ed. J.G. Nichols) in The Gentleman's magasine, 103, pt2, 1833, pp.11-15, 118-124, 210-215.

8. DNB, 19, p.89.

9. Cal S.P. Span, X, p.425. This was the ostensible reason for his dismissal, but the real reason was political. Cf D.E. Hoak: 'The king's Privy Chamber' in Guth and McKenna (eds): Essays for Elton, pp.100-102.

10. He was made Lord Great Master, 'Life of Arundel', p.121.

11. A.P.C., 1, 423, 509.

12. PCC, 1 Arundell.

13. 'Life of Arundel', p.119.

14. Remains, p.312. Wentworth died in 1551.

15. Remains, 1, pp.cxxxiii, 248.

16. Ibid, p cclxxiv. Cf H. Miller 'Henry VIII's unwritten will: grants of lands and honours in 1547' in Ives, Knecht and Scarisbrick (eds): Wealth and power in Tudor England, pp.87-105 for the significance of such grants.

17. Cf. Hoak; 'The king's Privy Chamber', pp.143ff.

18. History of Parliament, 2, p.15.

19. PCC 10 Loftes. Will proved 1560.

20. Braddock, pp.130ff gives an outline of his career and that of his son James.

21. DNB 20, p.351.

22. History of Parliament, 2, p.180.

23. LP XVI, 137.

24. It was unusual for a commoner to hold this post. Braddock, p.131.

25. Nichols (ed.): Narratives, p.139; Strype: E.M., 3, p.85.

26. PCC 9 Ketchyn.

27. Cf. below Day, Dudley and Cotton.

28. Cf. History of Parliament, 3, pp.638ff.

29. Ibid, loc.cit.; DNB, 62, p.182.

30. Remains, 2, pp.248-9.

31. PCC 9 Taske. Proved 1553.

32. Cf. History of Parliament, 2, pp.198.

33. Remains, 2, p.312; cf. DNB, 21, pp.63-4. For Gates' career cf. N.P. Sil: 'The rise and fall of Sir John Gates', Historical Journal, 24, 1981, pp.929ff.

34. SP, 1, 629; he was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber and doubtless owed his rise to his brother-in-law, Sir Anthony Denny, also authorised to use the dry-stamp.

35. Rid. 33.

36. History of Parliament, 2, p.198. Cf. Sil, 'The rise and fall of Sir John Gates', pp.938ff.

37. DNB 21, p.64; but cf. Strype: Memorials of Cranmer, p.315 where it is claimed that he confessed the faith he learned in the Gospels.

38. PCC 23 Welles. Not proved till 1558.

39. For an account of his term of office cf Elton: Tudor revolution, pp.169ff.

40. DNB 57, pp.295-6.

41. He was frequently painted by Holbein.

42. PCC 1 Alen.

43. Cf below p.307ff for Henry's will.

44. LP IX, 234 (1535); Elton: Tudor revolution, p.140.

45. DNB, 9, p.363.

46. Elton: Tudor revolution, pp.377, 389.

47. Ibid, p.373 n4. The Lord Steward for most of Henry's reign, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was hardly ever at court.

48. Henry requested Guildford and Sir Francis Bryan in his Privy Chamber in 1521, LP III, 1597. Cf. History of Parliament, 2, pp.263ff for details of his life.

49. History of Parliament, 2, p.264.

50. PCC 23 Thower.

51. Ibid, loc.cit.

52. History of Parliament, 2, pp.470ff; DNB, 31, pp.186f.

53. PCC 32 Alenger. Proved 1541.

54. Ibid, loc.cit.

55. Remains, 2, pp.441, 448. Cf. History of Parliament 1, pp.711ff for biographical details.

56. BL Cott. MS, Nero CX, f79.

57. Loades: Mary Tudor, p.89.

58. PCC 23 Ketchyn.

59. Starkey: 'The King's Privy Chamber', p.122.

60. Ibid, p.124.

61. H.O., p.154.

62. Cf. DNB 12, pp.336-7.

63. Ibid, p.336.

64. Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.279f.

65. PRO SP 1/138, ff1-4.

66. For a detailed analysis cf. A. Neame The holy maid of Kent, L1971 especially pp.171ff, 181ff.

67. This contributed greatly to the fluid nature of the court.

68. BL. Add MS 9853 f24. Cf. Elton: Tudor revolution, p.379 n2 for the question of dating this order.

69. Cf. Elton: Tudor revolution. pp.379f for details of the order.

70. Cf. BL Add MS, 33514 f134 for Denny's appointment.

71. D.R. Starkey: 'Representation through intimacy' in J. Lewis (ed.): Symbols and sentiments, L.1977, p.207; Starkey discusses the importance of the Groom of the Stool in this article and in 'The king's Privy Chamber' ch.4.

72. LP, IV, 4005; BL Add MS 9853, f24.

73. DNB 25, p.407.

74. His career is traced by Starkey 'The king's Privy Chamber', pp.240ff.

75. Remains 1, p.cccxv.

76. PCC 10 Wrastley. Proved in 1557.

77. History of Parliament, 2, pp.27ff; DNB 14, pp.373-4.

78. The latter post involved handling very large amounts of money. Cf. Starkey: 'The king's Privy Chamber', p.408.

79. LP XXI, 2, 769(4).

80. Foxe, 6, p.163; Elton: Reform and reformation, pp.331-2.

81. Starkey: 'The king's Privy Chamber', p.417.

82. Foxe, 5, 562, 605, 689; 8, 31.

83. Ath. Cant., 1, 99.

84. BL Add MS 33514, f134, (LP XIV, 1, 144).

85. LP XXI, 2, 634 (1). See below pp.274ff.

86. H.L.L. Denny: 'Biography of the Right Honourable Sir Anthony Denny, P.C. M.P.' East Hertfordshire Archeological Society Transactions, 3, 1905, p.203. Cheke later wrote an epitaph for Denny in Latin hexameter, which he appended to a book of epigrams in praise of the reformer Martin Bucer. STC 5108, 1551.

87. Haynes: State Papers, p.7.

88. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1 XXXVI, pp.82f.

89. Cf. McConica, passim; Dowling: 'Scholarship, Politics and the Court of Henry VIII', passim.

90. The book dedications to Denny bear witness to this, cf. Williams: Index, p.53.

91. Cf. J. Venn: Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College 1349-1897, 3 vols, Cam. 1897, 1, p.17; Dowling: 'Anne Boleyn and Reform', pp.35,38. The reformer John Hooper thought Butts a godly man O.L., 1, XXI, p.37.

92. Cf. above pp.172ff.

93. Giles: Whole works, 2, CXXXIX, p.329.

94. Nichols: Narratives: pp.254ff; cf. Foxe, 8, pp.24ff. Cf. M.L. Zell: 'The Prebendaries Plot of 1543: a reconsideration', J.E.H., 27, 1976, pp.241-253.

95. Nichols: op.cit., p.562. The king, however, declared himself now 'otherwise resolved' on the issue.

96. STC^2, 24654.

97. Ibid, dedication.

98. STC 6156, 1539, preface.

99. PCC 37 Populwell. For the association of the Dennys with Elizabeth cf. above p.178.

100. Giles: Whole works 1, pt 1 LXXXIX, pp.165f.

101. PCC 37 Populwell.

102. Ibid, loc.cit.

103. See below, pp.177f.

104. These are listed in History of Parliament, 2, p.342.

105. Ibid, loc.cit.; Remains, 2, p.234.

106. History of Parliament, 2, p.343. For Herbert's career in Edward's reign cf. Jordan: Edward VI. The young king, passim; idem: Edward VI The threshold of power, passim.

107. DNB, 26, p.221.

108. Ibid, p.222; History of Parliament, 2, p.343.

109. History of Parliament, 2, loc.cit.

110. Z.L., 1, XVI, p.39. For his role in Elizabeth's new government cf. W. MacCaffrey: The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime, Princeton, 1968, chs 2,3.

111. PCC, 15, Lyon.

112. APC, 2, p.345; Remains, 2, pp.241ff.

113. Remains, 2, p.259.

114. Remains, 1, p.58n.

115. See above p.261.

116. Remains, 1, p.cxxxiii.

117. Remains, 2, p.257.

118. Sidney is noted separately, cf. below pp.427ff.

119. Remains, 1, p.clxxviii. Cf. DNB, 16, pp.101-2.

120. Cf. History of Parliament, 3, pp.206f for biographical details.

121. History of Parliament, 3, p.206; DNB 49, pp.118-9.

122. Garrett: Marian exiles, p.272-3.

123. History of Parliament 3, p.206.

124. DNB 49, p.119.

125. PCC 11 Babington, 1568.

126. History of Parliament. 2, pp.61ff.

127. DNB 16, pp.101-2.

128. PCC 60 Chaynay. His will was not proved until Elizabeth's reign in 1559.

129. Strype: Memorials of Cranmer, p.315.

130. History of Parliament, 2, pp.61-2.

131. Cf. History of Parliament, 3, pp.667f.

132. DNB 63, pp.163ff for biographical details.

133. He had already been indicated as Groom of the Stool in the statement made by John Fowler, servant to Sir Thomas Seymour, during the latter's trial. Cf. Remains 1, p.cxvi.

134. Remains 1, p.cviii.

135. Garrett, Marian exiles, p.344ff.

136. PCC 16 Pyckering. Proved 1575.

137. Ibid, loc.cit.

138. He left with no degree and proceeded to Gray's Inn.

139. Cf. History of Parliament, 3, p.318; DNB 52, pp.210-17 for biographical details.

140. BL Add MS, 4797, f142.

141. He was also at New College Oxford for a time. Ath Ox, 1, pp.180f.

142. DNB, 52, p.210.

143. Remains, 2, p.418, n.1.

144. DNB, 52, pp.212ff.

145. BL Add MS, 4797, f142.

146. Ibid, loc.cit.

147. PCC 27 Windsor.

148. Cf History of Parliament 3, pp.7f for biographical details.

149. Remains, 2, p.352.

150. Hoak, The King's Council, p.83, n.217.

151. Garrett, Marian exiles, p.236.

152. PCC 1 Nevell.

153. Ibid, loc.cit.

154. See table of personnel in Le Huray: Music and the Reformation, pp.68-9.

155. Ath. Cant, 1, p.119; A.B. Emden, A biographical register of the University of Cambridge to 1500, Cam. 1963, p.505 dates the appointment to 1523.

156. SP I, p.627. It is somewhat ironic that Sampson had held custody of Latimer until he himself was committed to prison (1 Lat. xi).

157. LP XV, 350.

158. L.P. VIII, 1602 (i)

159. PRO SP I, 92, f81 (LP VIII, 603).

160. For a list of his writings and musical compositions cf. Emden: Biographical register of Cambridge, p.506. He was educated at Trinity Hall, Alum. Cantab., 1, 4, p.12.

161. DNB 56, pp.135-8.

162. LP VII, 257. Cf. also Sir John Gray: 'Notes on the early career of Thomas Thirlby, Tudor Bishop of Ely', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 59, 1966, pp.125ff.

163. OL, 2, CCXCIX, p.646.

164. DNB 56, p.138.

165. Alum. Cantab., 1, 4, 220.

166. Cf. above pp.82ff; 230ff.

167. Braddock, p.102.

168. DNB 32, pp.347-349.

169. Emden: Oxford to 1500, 2 p.1122-3.

170. Listed in Emden: Oxford to 1500, 2, pp.1122.

171. LP II, 2, p.1543.

172. Listed in DNB 32, p.790.

173. Ath. Cant, 1, p.402. Richard Curven is also named in this capacity in that year. Cf. LP XVI, 286 for joint mention. Curven was a royal chaplain and archdeacon of Oxford and of Colchester. He left no will for any comparison to be made.

174. DNB 25, pp.345-6.

175. LP XVI, 114.

176. LP XXI, 1, 109-110.

177. Quoted in Smith: Prelates and Politics, p.296.

178. See below pp.387ff.

179. PCC 29 Darcy, 1581.

180. Ibid, loc.cit.

181. DNB 5, pp.29-30.

182. Park, iii. Cf. M. Dowling: 'Anne Boleyn, and reform', pp.38f for the example of Bill and general discussion of the role of chaplains in court patronage.

183. eg he 'stondith muche in the presence of the kinges meles' (Myers, p.123).

184. Ath. Cant, 1, 210.

185. DNB 5, p.30.

186. LP II, 2, p.1339.

187. Emden: Oxford to 1500, 2, pp.1160-2. For Longland's career of M. Bowker: The Henrician reformation. The diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-47, Cam. 1981, passim.

188. Blench, p.20ff.

189. He was the friend and patron of Erasmus. His sermons are referred to below, p.327.

190. Ath. Ox, 1, 161.

191. DNB 34, p.120. More remarked on the brilliance of his sermons.

192. See bibliography under LONGLAND.

193. PCC 39 Alen.

194. Ibid, loc.cit.

195. Ath. Cant., 1, 290.

196. C.H. Smyth: Cranmer and the English Reformation under Edward VI, L.1973, (first published Cam., 1926), p.35.

197. LP XVIII, 2, 529(12); Alum. Cant., 1, 3, p.129.

198. McConica, p.231.

199. LP, XX, 2, 909(47) Cf. above p.141 for his contribution to the Paraphrases.

200. Remains, 2, p.316.

201. DNB, 35, p.431.

202. Park, viii, 482.

203. PCC 3 Holney. Proved 1571.

204. Ibid, loc.cit.

205. DNB 52, p.158-9.

206. Emden: Cambridge to 1500, p.525; LP II, p.1297.

207. LP IV, 2, pp.1384, 1385.

208. DNB, 52, p.159.

209. PCC 28 Hogen.

210. Ibid, loc.cit.

211. DNB, 20, pp.113-115 for biographical details.

212. Thomas Fuller: The worthies of England in Church and State, L1684, p.205.

213. PRO SP I, 93f 21 (LP VII, 823); SP I, 103, ff116-7 (LP X, 654).

214. Published at Basle.

215. 2 Cran. 337 n; Rid. 511.

216. PCC 25 Dyngeley.Smith: Prelates and politics, p.152 thinks he would have ended up siding with the conservatives had he lived. For further discussion of Fox cf. ibid pp.150ff.

217. Ellis, Original Letters, ser.3, 3, pp.196ff (LP XII, 790).

218. Cf. DNB 52, pp.352-3 for biographical details.

219. He is recorded as queen's Almoner as early as 1518, however, LP II 1549.

220. He was frequently with her during her imprisonment.

221. Cf. below p.332 for his sermon in the Chapel Royal, 1536.

222. Foxe, 5, 2, p.475.

223. Cf. Smith: Prelates and politics, p.157.

224. PCC 11 Powell.

225. 1 Brad, 523.

226. LP VIII 859, p.336.

227. SP I, 133 ff 19-20 (LP XIII, 1, 1169).

228. DNB 14, pp.231-2.

229. Smith: Prelates and politics, p.269.

230. Although he had helped to draw up the first Prayer Book and publicly denounced transubstantiation in a sermon at Westminster April, 1550, Remains 2, p.255.

231. APC 3, pp.168-70, 172-3, 176, 178.

232. Grey Friars of London Chronicle, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Soc., 53, 1852, p.88.

233. DNB 14, p.232.

234. PCC 22 Ketchyn.

235. Cf above pp.214ff for the arrangements made for Edward's chaplains.

236. Cf. DNB 45, pp.10-12 for biographical details.

237. Remains 2, p.377, n.4.

238. DNB 45, p.11.

239. Alum. Cantab., 1, 3, p.348. In his will he made bequests to Peterhouse and Queen's College, PCC 93 Leicester.

240. Ibid, loc.cit. His bequests included provision for two hospitals in Winchester and money for the poor in Durham.

241. Proved in the Consistory Court of London, Alum. Cantab., 1, 4, p.250.

242. Alum. Cantab., 1, 2, p.408.

243. Cf. Ath. Cant., 1, pp.407-12 for biographical details.

244. Cf. D.M. Loades: 'The last days of Cuthbert Tunstal, 1547-1559' Durham University Journal, 66, 1973 pp.10ff.

245. Remains, 2, p.463, n.1.

246. PCC 26 Bakon. For a list of his works cf. Ath. Cant.. 1, p.411.

247. DNB 23, pp.261ff, Ath. Cant., 1, pp.470ff.

248. Ibid pp.263f.

249. PCC 39 Rowe.

250. Ibid, loc.cit.

251. M. Spufford: 'The scribes of villagers' wills in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their influence', Local population studies, 7, 1971, pp.29-43.

252. M.L. Zell: 'The use of preambles as a measure of religious belief in the sixteenth century', B.I.H.R., 50, 1977, pp.246-9.

253. R. O'Day: The debate on the English Reformation, L.1986, p.155.

254. Cf. for example, Dickens: English Reformation p.266. The results of surveys like this are summarised in O'Day: op.cit. p.158.

255. O'Day: The Debate on the English Reformation, pp.159ff.

256. Cf. Nicolas: Test. Vet., Index rerum, for examples of items of a religious nature. S.E. Brigden: 'The early Reformation in London', unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge 1977, used preambles in conjunction with the contents of the wills themselves to provide an index of movement from Catholicism to Protestantism within her period of study, pp.333-48.

257. PCC 28 Hogen.

258. PCC 10 Wrastley.

259. PCC 1 Alen.

260. It should of course be noted that there are more lay wills than clerical.

261. PCC 22 Ketchyn, PCC 39 Rowe.

262. PCC 15 Lyon; PCC 1 Arundell.

263. PCC 37 Populwell.

264. T. Rymer: Foedera, conventiones, litterae, ... L.1709-35, 15, 117, (LP XXI, 2, 770 (85).

265. Cf. for example Bindoff: Tudor England, p.150.

266. See above p.134.

267. Astle: Will of Henry VII, pp.30ff.

268. There was a pix for every church in the country, Ibid, p.39.

269. Henry VIII's will is almost an understatement in comparison.

Chapter Eight

Preaching at the Tudor Court

The Impact of Religious Change with particular reference to Court Preachers.

How are they to hear without a preacher?

Epistle to the Romans ch.10, v.14.

[Some] *seed fell on rocky ground*

Gospel of St Mark ch.4, v.5.

The character and importance of preaching was one of the differentiating marks of Catholics and Protestants when the lines between them became fixed in the seventeenth century. Even between Laud and the Puritans the contrast was between a praying church and a preaching church. But it would be inaccurate to transfer such divisions to an earlier period. The sermon was not invented by the reformers, and certainly not sermons for the king and his court. It follows, therefore, that preaching is one of the clearest barometers of change in the religious life of the royal household. It affected the official and public face of court worship as well as the unofficial and private.

It can be argued that sermons are essentially concerned with the corporate and public face of religion, but their contents are generally directed towards personal belief and behaviour. Sermons may therefore be taken as one of the primary ways in which the public performance of religion attempts to influence individual expression of belief. This of course depends upon personal response to what is heard. The following chapter examines the role of court sermons before the Reformation, then during the stormy period following the Divorce when they were regarded primarily as an instrument of controversy, and thirdly during Edward's reign when alongside controversy, a more constructive role of exhortation was accorded them.

The evidence available for such a discussion is not without its difficulties, the major problem being that it is often incomplete.

It is not possible to ascertain a complete list of preachers for the two periods; references are scattered for Henry's reign, and the

lists available for Edward's do not extend from beginning to end. Nor do all the sermons themselves survive, even when the preacher is known. Some are referred to second hand, but do not necessarily repeat the whole sermon, may quote out of context and may be deliberate distortions of the truth in order to discredit the preacher. Some sermons, for example, many of those by the reformers such as Latimer and Hooper, were later printed in toto and here content and style may be studied in depth. But it must be remembered that the sermons were usually edited and re-worked for publication. Moreover, the rhetoric and personal style of delivery of a dynamic and persuasive preacher can never be recaptured in its entirety. Contemporaries are unanimous that Latimer could sway his hearers with his passionate delivery and we have his sermons to prove it, but the actual experience of allowing his arguments to work on the consciousness must be imagined. Sermons too, were sometimes preached to order so that the sincerity behind the message of sermons before and during the Reformation cannot always be judged, though in some cases the surrounding circumstances assist in the assessment of this.

Finally what of those who attended and what of their response? It is doubtful that the entire court gathered every time a sermon was preached, and naturally no record of attendance was kept. The royal households were expected to attend chapel assiduously, but how effective, for example, Anne Boleyn's orders to that effect were, it is impossible to say. The emphasis on hearing sermons in Edward's reign means it can be assumed with more certainty that courtiers would attend especially given the king's lead, but again we cannot be

certain. Reaction and response to what was heard is the most difficult aspect to judge of all, even when a practical response was demanded by the preacher. When he called for a lasting change of heart he had to trust on the whole to something at work in the hearts of his congregation more powerful than his most persuasive rhetoric. The hearers whether conservative, reformed or indifferent came with their own private agendas, and like the sower in the parable, the preacher for his part could only sow the seed.

The Role of Preaching at Court before the Reformation

Despite the revival of preaching in England which took place with the coming of the friars, its full potential as a means of instructing God's flock was never realised until the Reformation.[1] Sermons at court tended to be reserved for Christian festivals and state occasions such as royal weddings and funerals or special events such as the signature of a treaty. The nobility could of course hear sermons in their parish church or household chapel from time to time, and while resident at court could experience some of the best preaching available at St Paul's Church. The preachers there spoke with authority in every way, since they were specially chosen for their proficiency, and they had official backing through the procedure of their appointment by the Bishop of London.[2] Little wonder that they might seem to 'rise to the dignity of ancient prophets'.[3]

The most eloquent preachers were similarly reserved for the court, where the Dean of the Chapel was authorised to assign 'all the sermonz and the personz'.[4] Consequently some of the most important and

influential ecclesiastical figures preached before the royal household. John Fisher, who reformed preaching at Cambridge with the help of Lady Margaret, was a royal chaplain and court preacher.[5] In 1513 the Provincial of Greenwich preached before the court[6] and just as members of the religious orders were invited to the court, so the nobility could hear the Word of God preached in the religious houses themselves. At Sion, for example, there was preaching by the brethren on Sundays and festivals.[7] A survey of preaching in the early years of Henry VIII's reign is necessarily sketchy, not only because of its relative infrequency, but also because only rarely does a record of what was said survive. The question must remain largely an open one as to whether or not court sermons helped the royal household to order its private life. The occasional glimpse of sermons and reactions to them suggests that preachers kept to impersonal matters touching national or political concern.

On Good Friday 1512 John Colet, a favourite court preacher preached a sermon before the king in which he strongly advocated peace.[8] He later received public thanks for this sermon, but the king's personal reaction reveals that on certain occasions court sermons performed more than a perfunctory role and the court's response might extend beyond formality. Henry listened on this occasion 'with evident emotion' and saw Colet in private when the sermon was done. The preacher was dismissed 'graciously' when he had been persuaded to preach on those circumstances which might justify a war at a future date.[9]

Sermons at court were inevitably subject to political

machinations. In 1519, for example, there was an attempt to discredit Erasmus and the study of Greek in a court sermon, and a further attempt the next year.[10] Controversy required bold men and few had the courage or the authority to speak their minds at court. Perhaps the court jester was the only other person at court allowed to criticise and so it seems that the king's preacher and the king's fool together could say things and get away with it. It was not only politics which prompted court preachers to speak their minds with boldness. Like all good preachers who had a care for souls of his congregation, John Fisher was not afraid to remind his listeners at court that:

> Kynges & Emperours all be but men, all be but mortall. All the golde & all the precyouse stones of this worlde, can not make them but mortall men. All the ryche apparell that can be devysed, can not take from theym the condycyon of mortalyty. (11)

John Longland, Henry VIII's confessor who had come to the king's notice through his gift of preaching, adopted the same ascetic tone in his sermons before the court.[12]

The transience of earthly things and the vanity of trusting in them were favourite themes of late medieval preachers.[13] They were not soft-pedalled at court where the temptation to succumb was probably at its greatest. The preachers themselves, moreover, were all familiar with the court and did not speak from prejudice or ignorance. latimer, for example, a prominent reformist preacher, was frequently at court and stayed in the chamber of the king's physician Dr Butts.[14]

Preaching at the Time of the Divorce

The growing controversies surrounding reform and the advent of

Lutheranism were impossible to ignore in preaching and they were later deliberately incorporated into the official propaganda campaign against the Pope.[15]

While preaching took on a special importance at the time of the Divorce, it was valued by the government primarily as a means of propaganda, rather than as a tool to inspire devotion. From 1534-54 the pulpit at St Paul's Cross was the most important vehicle of persuasion utilised by the government and the campaign there was personally directed by Cromwell and Cranmer.[16] Cromwell's personal sympathy towards reform may be a subject of debate, but his management of the propaganda campaign on behalf of the Royal Divorce and the Break with Rome played a decisive role in establishing the English Reformation. Preaching, as Cromwell was fully aware, was a crucial instrument of propaganda. In Lent 1540, Henry was present at the Cross, 'syttinge secretely in his closet' in order to hear Robert Barnes' reply to Gardiner's sermon delivered two weeks previously.[17]

The king ordered all preachers everywhere to preach in support of his cause in 1532 and was extremely angry when William Peto, the Provincial of Greenwich, condemned the Divorce on Easter Sunday of that year, in a sermon attended by members of the court.[18] Henry summoned Peto to his presence and the friar was openly critical. Peto continued his opposition from abroad,[19] but the experience of another preacher who was summoned to the king's presence on account of his preaching, illustrates the ambivalent attitude of the authorities towards the reformers. Edward Crome was accused of heresy, and was in danger of losing his life.[20] Even the conservative Duke of Norfolk

conceded that Crome was the finest preacher in England.[21] He was examined before the king who noticed that one of the articles against him stated that he had denied the papal supremacy. Since Henry said this was truth and not heresy, Crome was spared.[22]

In the face of the king's rejection of Rome, the support of preachers like Crome was taken up by Dr Butts.[23] The case was put by Cranmer's chaplain, Richard Morice:

> if there be no better stay for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the King's authority concerning his supremacy shall lie post alone, hidden in the Act of parliament and not in the hearts of his subjects. (24)

The official attitude to preaching was, however, guarded. Although the government was happy to have allies who would denounce the vices of Rome, there was far less enthusiasm when the reformers turned to the more positive advocacy of their own point of view. Crome's experience illustrates this well. For their part too, the reformers co-operated in preaching because of ulterior motives.

Sermons given a high profile on special occasions or at times of stress since they provided the best means of publicising the official line, could be turned by the reformers to their own advantage. Thus Thomas Becon advocated sermons in times of war both to pray for victory and to exhort repentance and faith.[25] The reformers were concerned that sermons should not be used only for propaganda purposes. They were opportunities for the congregation to be

> exhorted and admonished to repent, to believe, and to take a new life upon them, lest they pray in vain and God detest their supplications. (26)

Becon strongly advocated that once the sermon was done, the hearers should 'fall earnestly unto prayer.[27]

According to the reformers, contemporary preaching was far too concerned with

> men's dreams, traditions, imaginations, inventions ceremonies and superstition. (28)

To correct this situation, Latimer advocated a programme of education and the accessibility of the English Bible, appealing to the king for aid on both accounts. If the occasion demanded opposition to the wishes of the king, Latimer for one was prepared to risk the consequences. Increasingly towards the end of Henry's reign he found himself criticising the official position and this probably accounts for a cooling of relations. On one occasion, apparently at the request of Anne Boleyn, he opposed the royal policy of dissolving the monasteries.[29] Taking as his text the parable of the wicked tenants from the 20th chapter of St Luke's Gospel, he urged the king to convert them to places of

> studye and goode litres and the contynuall releve of the poore. (30)

On the other hand his wholehearted opposition to shrines touched a policy on which the king was very ambivalent. The risks involved in opposing the king did not daunt Latimer for he believed that to take away preaching was to take away salvation.[31] He was as eager to preach to kings as to ordinary people, though later in Edward's reign he made reference to the perils of being a preacher at Henry's court.[32] Latimer's contact with the court is significant for the spread of the Reformation there. Richard Morison said that England's hope of pure religion lay with him,[33] while Chapuys complained that he spread more errors than Luther.[34] It seems that he was associated with the inner

court circle from the time of his first sermon in 1530, to the death of Jane Seymour, and he continued to preach at court thereafter, until Edward's reign brought renewed prominence.[35] His sermons are therefore instructive as illustrating what the court was prepared to tolerate, especially given Henry's continued attachment to much of what Latimer termed superstition. He never tired of criticising superstitious religion, referring to it in the majority of his sermons.[36] His preaching illustrates the concern of the preachers with abuses of religious practice. This was more important to them than doctrine.[37] The remedy for superstition and practical abuses was not necessarily abolition of the activity, however, but rather correction. As Latimer said:

> one Ave maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense and understanding, is better than twenty five said superstitiously ... which thing I speak, not to withdaw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfaithful saying of it. (38)

Such an attitude occasionally causes the reformers to appear ambigious. Thus Latimer was once reported as having upheld the old doctrines before the king not only advocating prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints and supporting pilgrimages, but even upholding papal authority.[39] Though he might alter his opinions on these matters, he remained orthodox regarding the sacraments in Henry's reign, and this must have emerged during his debates with the king at dinner in the days of Anne Boleyn.[40] It may have been his concentration on correct practice which helped him to retain the toleration of a king who himself set so much store on a religion of good works.[41]

In general, court preachers of the period formed a balance between conservative and reformist, though neither could be certain of pleasing the king at any time. Thus John Skip found himself in trouble in 1536 for a sermon preached in the Chapel Royal on Passion Sunday. It was on the text Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato? and dealt with the rapidity of change taking place in Church and state. It was claimed that Skip slandered king, councillors and parliament and he was required to submit a copy of the sermon for examination and prepare to be questioned.[42] Fortunately nothing came of the matter, the text proving satisfactory, but Skip's sympathy for reform was far less evident in the latter part of his life.

Occasionally the reformers were bold enough to risk incurring the king's wrath only to find he not only ignored their words, but fortunately for them, declined to take action against them. Thus in 1539, certain persons preached against clerical celibacy with no effect whatsoever.[43]

A sermon could not only be used against the authorities by the reformers, or by the authorities to propagate their policies, but could also be turned to use against the preacher himself. Nicholas Shaxton is a good illustration of the powerful effect of a sermon on its giver as well as its hearers. Until 1546, Shaxton was an avowed reformer and chaplain and Almoner to Anne Boleyn. After her death, he wrote to Cromwell to say that he hoped he would continue to set forth God's word as he had done during her life.[44]

After the passing of the six Articles Act he resigned his bishopric, along with Latimer with whom he was closely associated at this time.[45] Although he was pardoned by the king, Shaxton was not allowed to avoid the public eye and in 1546 was called on to persuade Anne Askew to recant. She roundly condemned him for his failure to stand firm.[46] Although he abjured the government commanded him to preach at Anne's burning and again a few weeks later at St Paul's Cross. This would not only set a public seal on his abjuration, but also provide useful propaganda. Following this Shaxton completely rejected his former stance, expressing regret for his views and persecuting heretics under Mary.

Katherine Parr and Preaching

The importance of sound preaching was not lost on Katherine Parr, who exhorted the clergy in her work The Lamentacion of a sinner, to

> pronounce and set foorth the worde of God in veritie and trueth. (47)

Despite the Earl of Surrey's dubious 'talk' associated with Katherine, her practical step of listening to sermons for the space of an hour every afternoon in her Privy Chamber was an important one.[48] It is not necessary to designate the queen's Privy Chamber a breeding ground for Protestant ideas, but it is significant for a history of devotional practices that this habit of the queen was singled out. Ladies like Lady Margaret Beaufort and Catherine of Aragon had been noted for the number of offices said, but the emphasis was now shifting. As Latimer told the clergy of St Mary's in his diocese:

> Whenever there shall be preaching in your monastery, that all manner of singing, and other ceremonies, be utterly laid aside ... and all other services shortened, as need be ... (49)

It seems that the women of Henry's court took this aspect of the reformers' programme seriously. Latimer, for example, acknowledged that he owed much to the support of the Duchess of Suffolk.[50]

The king was prepared to tolerate these activities as long as he was satisfied that they included approval of the Royal Supremacy. He apparently knew of Katherine Parr's activities, but seems not to have attended them in person.

Sometimes the preacher could exercise the same kind of influence as a personal confessor.[51] Latimer looked back to his first sermon before Henry, remembering how the king

> after the Sermon was done, did most familiarly talke with me in a gallerye. (52)

Latimer proceeded to kneel

> before his Majesty openynge the whole matter ... (53)

While preaching was more usually utilised to communicate to large numbers, the preachers themselves often undertook the risky business of propagating reform at court at a more personal level. The influence of a chaplain who was also an eloquent preacher could thus be far-reaching. Such may be discerned in the life of Katherine Parr. In her Lamentacion of a sinner Katherine expressed her desire that

> al, (when occasion doeth serve) confesse our faultes to the world, al respectes of our owne commoditie layed aparte, (54)

but there is no reference to a priest. Indeed the first three chapters of the treatise form, albeit in general terms, Katherine's personal

confession of sinfulness and how she obtained divine forgiveness. Despite her claim that it was scripture which led her to an understanding of sin and forgiveness influence of a direct personal nature need not be excluded. One may accept Foxe's assertion that she was also guided to this position by chaplains and clerics, who themselves held reformist views.[55] Besides her Almoner, George Day, who was of the conservative group, the queen had a number of chaplains to serve her.[56] These men would be involved in maintaining the regular religious observances on her side of the household, but some at least must also have participated in certain innovatory practices there. The practice of hearing an hour long sermon every afternoon which Katherine instituted, would require a number of divines committed to expounding the scriptures on a regular basis.

It has been assumed that Katherine was continuing a practice established before her marriage to Henry by having 'private conference' with divines such as Coverdale, Latimer and Parkhurst.[57] In view of the importance this could have had for Katherine's religious position, such an assumption is worthy of closer examination. Of the three divines mentioned, it is doubtful that Coverdale had any acquaintance with the queen at any point in Henry's life-time, since he had fled England on Cromwell's fall and was still abroad in 1548. In that year he wrote to Calvin to say that he was returning to England after an eight year exile.[58] In 1546 his works were condemned and ordered to be burned, so he was <u>persona non grata</u> at the court at that time.[59] When he finally returned after Henry's death he was appointed Katherine's Almoner through the patronage of

Cranmer.[60]

Hugh Latimer was much more likely to have been acquainted with Katherine because of his numerous associations with the court, but there is no indication that he was one of the queen's chaplains, or had any special intimacy with her.

Shortly after a visit to Oxford with the king in 1543, Katherine appointed John Parkhurst as her chaplain,[61] and he retained the position until her death.[62] A committed reformer since 1537, he may have exercised considerable influence over Katherine. He had made a deep impression upon John Jewel, one of his students at Merton College, Oxford,[63] and it was not unusual for this kind of close relationship to develop, especially following the deprivation of the intimacy of the confessor.

The Swiss reformer Rodolph Gualter later wrote of him that he had

> a remarkable knowledge of the scriptures, and is most devoted to the truth, and has a thorough abhorrence of controvesy. (64)

Such a vignette fits well the impression of Katherine Parr's irenic character, while her own comprehensive knowledge of the scriptures as shown in her writings must have been fostered by instruction from divines close to her like Parkhurst.

One of the most important women to exercise influence over the queen's beliefs was Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk.[65] She clearly set great store upon her own reformist chaplains, having been moved to adopt reformist views herself earlier in the reign.[66] Among the divines of dubious orthodoxy in the Suffolk household was Thomas Lawney, formerly chaplain to Cranmer. He held Lutheran opinions and

was accused of preaching against Purgatory in 1536.[67] There was also Richard Marsh who was martyred in Mary's reign,[68] and John Parkhurst, who was chaplain there before he was appointed to the queen, most likely at the duchess' recommendation.[69] Finally, there was Alexander Seton, who had been confessor to James IV of Scotland, but who had been forced to flee because of his Protestantism. He became one of the leading reformist preachers in London, and was one of the first victims of the Act of Six Articles.[70] Thus by this piecemeal evangelism and by cautious preaching, the message of the reformers could be spread around the court as well as in the country at large. Despite Francis Goldsmith's praise of Katherine Parr's activities which to him made every day at court seem like Sunday, there were no dramatic changes at Henry's court as a result of preaching.[71] As for the degree of personal response, the steady growth of commitment to what with hindsight may be seen as an increasingly reformed position bears some witness to the perseverenece of the reformist preachers in propagating their message.

Preaching at the court of Edward VI

As with other aspects of the Reformation preaching had a deeper and more permanent impact on the Edwardian court than on that of Henry VIII and there is considerable evidence to show this. Thus it is possible to examine more systematically the preachers, the themes and contents of many of their sermons and occasionally the effects of their words upon the congregation. Sermons as the means of spreading reform made a dramatic increase as the reign took shape. The pulpit

indeed superceded the altar as the focus of religious life. This was as true for the court as for anywhere else.

The Edwardian preachers emphasised and expounded the written word of God and the key to the preaching of this period was the superiority of the Bible over tradition.[72]

Soon after Edward's accession the Spanish ambassador informed the Emperor that there was preaching before the king every day with much abuse of the Old Religion.[73] This seems to have been exceptional however, and for some time Lent continued to be the most important occasion for sermons at court under Edward. There was an increase at other times as the reign progressed, largely it seems, at the instigation of the preachers themselves. It seems that this took some time to get off the ground for in 1550 Hooper brought the matter up at one of his Lent sermons and chided his listeners:

> ... seeing there is in the year eight thousand seven hundred and thirty hours, it shall not be much for your highness, nor for all your household, to bestow of them fifty two in the year to hear the sermon of God. (74)

The reason for hearing God's Word expounded regularly was in order that 'much knowledge and grace'[75] could be imparted to the king's household. Therefore in April of the same year it was ordered that there should be a sermon every Sunday, and that anyone who received a benefice from the king should preach before him.[76] The following month, Martin Micronius wrote that Edward was indeed listening to a sermon every Sunday.[77] During the Lent of the previous year Latimer preached his famous series of seven sermons on successive Fridays and the following year, having urged for an increase, Hooper preached every Wednesday in Lent, in addition to John Ponet's sermons on

Fridays.[78] The preachers of Edward's court were not there by their own invitation, nor because the king personally requested their presence. The pulpit at court in Edward's reign was as much an instrument of propaganda as that at St Paul's Cross and it was carefully controlled by the government.[79] Freedom of speech was generally accorded to the preachers at court, but since the majority of them could be trusted to support the regime, there was little to fear.

Occasionally the government sought to use the pulpit at court in a blatantly propagandist fashion. The case of Gardiner in 1548 was one of the exceptional instances of government interference. Gardiner was ordered to preach by the Council 'in conformity with certain articles'.[80] He was even asked to show his sermon before delivering it, which he refused, and proceeded to preach views which he doubtless knew would lead to serious consequences for himself. The occasion was deliberately staged by the government, which could not afford to have a man as powerful as Gardiner freely in opposition. He was thus forced into a position where he must publicly conform or condemn himself. During the delivery of his sermon, Nicholas Udall was placed in the pulpit to note down the main points in order to avoid any confusion created by difficulties of hearing and memory.[81] The royal household presented itself in force, and officers like Sir Anthony Wingfield, the Controller, as well as members of the Privy Chamber were all there. The government was also well represented and besides Somerset, there was William Cecil with the articles presented to Gardiner by the Council, besides other Council members. Gardiner's chaplain, Thomas

Watson was there and was examined afterwards along with the rest of the witnesses.[82] He said that he had not been able to hear because of the crowd, a problem which seemed to have affected a number of people. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton protested that

> he stood so far off, and in such a thrust of the people, as he could not well hear, at all times, what was said by the said bishop in the time of his said sermon. (83)

It seems that the crowd grew so excited that the Earl of Bedford thought Gardiner would have been manhandled had not the king and Council been there.[84] Gardiner's fortunes reached their lowest in Edward's reign, and it was not until Mary's accession that they recovered.

On the whole it was only in the face of open opposition such as that of the Bishop of Winchester that the government predetermined the subject matter of sermons. In Gardiner's case no-one really expected the conservative bishop to satisfy the authorities without a good deal of pressure.[85]

The suspicion that other court preachers willingly acted as government mouthpieces was inevitable, however, since they owed their very presence at court to the pro-reform policies of men like Somerset. This was likely to make the preachers at least sympathetic towards the government, and some members of the household mistrusted them because of this. Latimer, for example, was taken to task for his condemnation of Sir Thomas Seymour in Lent 1549,[86] and it was said that the Duchess of Somerset had paid him to say such things.[87] While it is unlikely that Latimer would have succumbed to this kind of manipulation such rumours were not easily allayed and the court

preachers had to make the best of their somewhat uncomfortable position. It seems undeniable that they were used on occasions, probably unconsciously, but if they were to seize every opportunity of spreading the Word of God, they had to be prepared for this. It was claimed, for example, that Northumberland brought John Knox to court to use him against Cranmer who had opposed the duke's moves to deprive Cuthbert Tunstal as Bishop of Durham and to seize Church property.[88] Knox probably understood Northumberland's motives, but chose to interpret the situation as a God-given opportunity to preach before the court and nobility.[89] Even though Knox sometimes criticised his patron in no uncertain terms, Northumberland was forced to tolerate him because he had decided to align himself with the extreme wing of reform for political purposes.[90]

Absolute control over what was said from the pulpit was impossible if spontaneity and sincerity were to be maintained, and these were two very desirable qualities which the reformers sought to restore to their preaching. Hooper, for example, was one of the more radical reformers who tried to be true to these convictions. As long as Somerset was supreme, he regularly 'lectured on the Psalmes at the King's court'.[91] He was appointed to preach the Lenten sermons for 1550 and decided to speak on the prophet Jonah. Writing to Bullinger for advice he requested him to

> ... write back as soon as possible and diligently instruct me as to what you think may conveniently be said. (92)

Earlier that year he had 'interpreted the sixth chapter of John' at court, at 'God knows what risk'.[93] There is no hint here of a preacher unduly influenced by government pressure, or of pandering to court

taste. Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester for his pains in March 1551, but in between he had spent time in the fleet for his objections to the form of the oath and the prescribed vestments.[94]

The preacher needed to be free to exhort, to denounce, to chastise his congregation, and the inspiring quality of men like Latimer stemmed from the heart. They saw their task as an opportunity to further the Reformation entrusted to them, ultimately by God himself, but through the human agents of Edward's government. They were part of the restoration of a pure church.

On the other hand, it is possible that they influenced each other and counselled each other as to what to say. In Lent 1553, for example, all five court preachers vigorously denounced the vice and corruption of the nobility[95] and this may have been a concerted effort on the part of the preachers, having previously agreed on a line of attack.[96] The government on its part chose men who were both eloquent defenders of the Gospel and loyal adherents of the regime. Choice of court preachers was in the hands of trustworthy officials. Traditionally the task of the Dean of the Chapel, Thirlby may have been considered too conservative for the purpose.[97] Hooper said that he had been 'explaining the holy scriptures here at London, and sometimes at court, by order of the Duke of Somerset'.[98] He went on to say that he had been ordered by Cranmer in the king's name to preach before Edward during Lent 1550.[99] The power of granting licences to preach had been taken from the bishops and reserved to the king and Archbishop of Canterbury[100] early in 1548 and there was great concern as to the reliability of preachers.[101]

Cranmer's dual role illustrates the continued relationship between religion and politics which was highlighted at court. The appointment of Matthew Parker as court preacher in 1549 is also instructive on this point. He was summoned by two letters, one from Cranmer which informed him that the Lord Protector had appointed him by advice from the Council, and another from Thirlby which interpreted the first letter as an appointment by the archbishop himself.[102] In Lent 1550, Hooper was appointed to preach by Cranmer, this time in the name of the king.[103] It was as important to have preachers favourable to the government at court as in the nation at large, and to accord them the stamp of approval.

The Edwardian Preachers

The fearless preaching of Edward's reign was noted by Nicholas Ridley, especially from Latimer, Lever, Bradford and Knox, whose

> tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter, that was festered in their hearts. (104)

The latter three preachers were noted for their denunciations

> of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality, and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word. (105)

Bradford 'spared not the proudest' in his denunciations,[106] while Knox spoke of

> universal contempt of all godly admonitions, hatred of those that rebuked their vyces. (107)

Knox did not preach before the king until summer 1552, when he went to London with Northumberland, but despite being

> a hated Scot, a refugee, and a country preacher newly arrived at court (108)

he was vigorously denouncing the new Prayer Book by the end of September.

There are some extant records of the preachers who preached at court in Eward's reign, although the list is by no means complete.[109] At the beginning of the reign Edward was assigned four royal chaplains: Anthony Otway, Giles Eyre, Roger Tounge and James Pilkington.[110] At the end of 1551, these arrangements underwent reforms which were designed to benefit the king and to improve systematic preaching in the nation at large.[111] The changes involved the appointment of six new chaplains, two of whom were required to be present at court at any time, while the others absented themselves to preach in designated circuits. These men were named as John Harley, William Bill, Robert Horne, Edmund Grindal, Andrew Perne and John Knox.[112] These men were well-known figures and were doubtless closely vetted both by the Council and by Cranmer personally. They all supported reform,[113] and all except Knox and Harley went on to hold high ecclesiastical positions under Elizabeth. Harley had been chaplain and tutor to the Duke of Northumberland's household before his appointment.[114] He went on to become Bishop of Hereford, though he was deprived under Mary, having revealed his sympathies from the beginning by withdrawing from Mary's first parliament at the Mass of the Holy Ghost. He died 'an exile in his own country' in 1558, having spent his remaining years under Mary travelling England and preaching in secret.[115] William Bill, noticed above, had been a chaplain of

Henry VIII and eventually became Almoner to Queen Elizabeth.[116] Horne, the Dean of Durham, was granted the see of Durham on the deprivation of Cuthbert Tunstal in 1552, but Edward died before his promotion could be effected.[117] He went into exile at Frankfurt under Mary and returned to become Bishop of Winchester in 1560.[118] Perne was later appointed to the deanery of Ely, while Grindal eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury via London and then York.[119]

Only John Knox, of those who lived to see Elizabeth's accession, was persona non grata to the queen, incurring her wrath by his attitude to female rulers, and his lack of tact. He also angered Northumberland by his denunciations of the vice and corruption of the nobility when he preached before the king in Lent 1553. Northumberland condemned these sermons in the Lords and Knox was summoned before the Privy Council. It seems that no further action was taken, however, and Knox survived the turmoil after Edward's death to go into exile during Mary's reign. When he returned to England he continued preaching in his native Scotland.[120]

The list for Lent 1548, preserved among the household accounts, records the preacher for each of the six Sundays that year: the Bishop of Rochester, Dr Taylor, Dr Redman, Theodore Basil, Mr Ayre and Mr Latimer.[121] Two of these men, the Bishop of Rochester, and Latimer were martyred in Mary's reign, while Basil, or Becon, was an ardent Protestant who spent the following reign in exile. He was also chaplain to Cranmer and Somerset. He was subsequently restored under Elizabeth and was made a canon of Canterbury.[122] Mr Ayre, already noted, was already a familiar figure at court for he had been one of

Edward's chaplains before 1547. He later became Dean of Chichester and prebend of Winchester and Westminster.[123] Dr Taylor had been master of St John's, Cambridge in 1538 and was promoted to the see of Lincoln in 1552. He was also a convinced Protestant and was sent to the Tower in Mary's reign after withdrawing from her first parliament at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, along with John Harley.[124] Dr Redman had been public orator at Cambridge in 1537, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity from 1538 to 1544 and again in 1549. He was also the first master of Trinity College.[125] His doctrinal views were the most dubious of this Lenten group as far as convinced Protestants were concerned. Gardiner claimed that he preached the doctrine of the Real Presence before Edward in his Lenten sermon, but Thomas Lever gave Roger Ascham a favourable account of Redman's beliefs.[126] In 1551 he preached the day following Bucer's funeral at Cambridge, and according to Nicholas Carr, he augmented the reformer's glory and esteem.[127] Following his own death a book was published containing his doctrinal views and a death-bed profession of faith.[128]

The outspoken boldness of a Latimer or a Hooper contrasts sharply with Redman's approach. These two men appear to have been Edward's favourite preachers and their influence over him was considerable. He attempted to implement some of the ideas advocated by them in their sermons and these can be detected in his writings, such as the oratio Omnes adulteros esse morte mulctandos, proposing the death penalty for adultery.[129] Edward also attempted to give personal assistance to the two preachers. He requested money to give to Latimer and interceded for Hooper over the vestments controversy.[130] When the Council gave

the bishop elect a hearing, Edward was so convinced by Hooper's oratory, that he personally erased the offending oath from the words of the consecration.[131] Hooper's influence over the young king was considerable. With Somerset as his patron, he had easy access to the court, and his correspondence shows him to have been on familiar terms with a number of the nobility, passing on greetings between them and the foreign reformers. During his frequent visits to court he picked up many snippets of gossip to pass on, and he had his own opinions concerning those who could be relied upon to further reform.[132] He held the king in high esteem and discussed matters of business with him in person, as well as addressing him from the pulpit.[133] He was present when Bullinger's book of sermons was presented to the king and was ordered to convey greetings and thanks to the author.[134] Hooper's standing with the foreign divines doubtless enhanced his standing with the king, since Edward showed great interest in church reform on the continent. The link provided by Hooper kept Edward informed on a more personal level than the official channels and this became increasingly important as he grew older and began to assert his independence.[135]

Hooper and his fellow reformers were not concerned to influence the king in isolation. The preachers had a special reason for exhorting courtiers to attend their sermons, since congregations in the royal household were largely composed of the aristocracy, and the reformers had assigned this section of society with a special role in the Reformation.

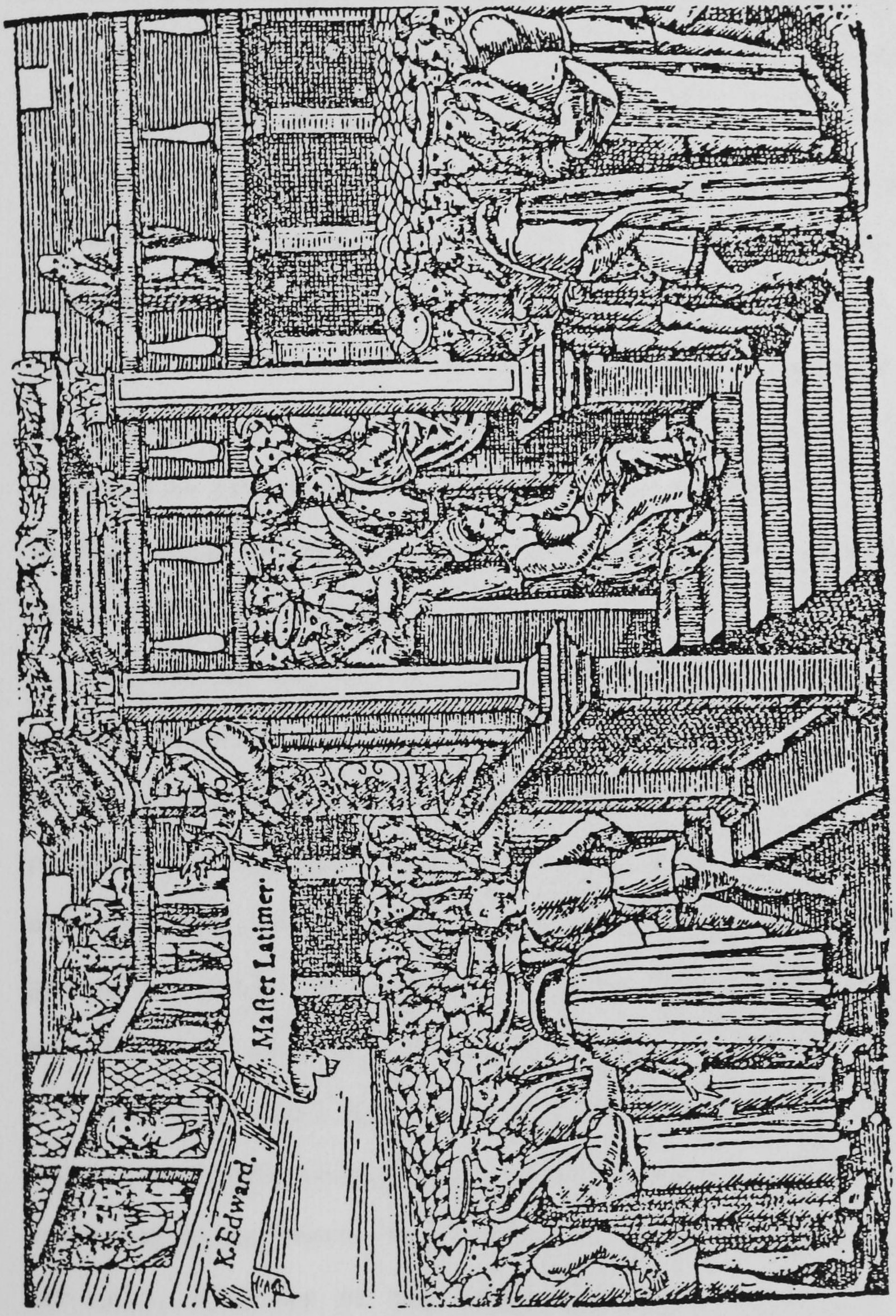


Figure V: Hugh Latimer preaching before Edward VI

The Response of the Edwardian Court

With preachers like Knox and Hooper it is certain that sermons at court were by no means dull perfunctory occasions, and this is a clue to their popularity. The successful preachers themselves tended to be strong personalities, gifted with eloquence and passionately convinced of the rightness of their views. Their zeal was further fired by the urgency of the task in hand: to rid England of the dregs of Rome and proceed to a complete reform of religious life. The iconoclastic teaching of men like Lever and Bradford was vigorous and stirring, while the courageous call for moral reform from Latimer was presented in language which was immediate and compelling. The latter was regarded as something of a prophet by the court according to Foxe, and in this guise he could address his audience with a directness which might otherwise have been misconstrued.[136]

It was for Latimer's benefit that new arrangements were made for sermons at court. Having attracted so large a crowd at St Paul's Cross on the occasion of his first sermon after leaving the Tower, a wooden pulpit was set up in the privy gardens at Whitehall.[137] The temporary structure was soon replaced by a permanent one where the crowds could gather to listen. When Latimer first preached there the king sat in the window of a gallery facing the pulpit, with Somerset at his side and the ubiquitous Cheke behind. The majority of the congregation stood around the base of the pulpit or walked up and down. In John Day's engraving there is a woman illustrated sitting with a Bible in her hand, symbolic of the centrality of scripture at the Edwardian court. The king was perhaps engaged in his customary note-taking on

this occasion as on others, but such images of concentration upon the Word of God were not always sustained in reality. The excitement at Gardiner's conroversial exposition which had prevented certain individuals from hearing the speaker was an exceptional instance, but Latimer had to tell the court to listen to their sermons without 'Huzzing and buzzing'.[138]

Hooper later commanded his clergy to see that the people were

> not to talk or walk in the time of the sermon, communion or common prayers but rather to behave themselves godly and devoutly at the same. (139)

The court, it seemed had once again failed by example.[140] Perhaps some excuse may be made for the congregation in view of the sheer length of some court sermons. Cranmer had advised that no sermon should be more than an hour long, but not everyone took his advice. Latimer once warned his congregation at court that he intended to speak for four hours.[141]

The reformers were well aware of the unique conditions which prevailed at court. Hooper advised that sermons delivered there should

> be well made, well borne away, and well practised. (142)

Nevertheless, he considered that what was suitable for the populace at large to hear, was suitable for the court. Thus he preached on the Gospel of St John in the City, and during Lent he proceeded to

> plainly and openly (handle) the same subject before the king and nobility of the realm. (143)

Latimer was prepared to be more adaptable on some occasions:

> If he preach before a king, let his matter be concerning the office of a king, (144)

but he also reminded the king that

> The poorest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. (145)

His sermon illustration were therefore couched in court language from time to time in order to enforce their relevance for his courtly congregation.[146]

Edward's regular attendance at court sermons served the interests of the regime by setting an example for others to follow. Stories of his careful attention to what was being said, his note-taking, and general support of the preachers were related among the reformers. It was said, for example, that he received a copy of every sermon and made his companions give an account of each one heard after dinner.[147] Edward clearly had an enthusiasm of his own for listening to sermons which his guardians further cultivated for their own ends. This was one very important reason for their increase during his reign. The entire court, however, seemed given to attending sermons and even after a new pulpit was erected at Whitehall to accommodate everyone, the scene was still one of overcrowding. The preachers rated very highly the habit of gathering to hear God's Word expounded, but the court seems to have been eager enough even without such exhortations. It was almost as though they experienced a masochistic enjoyment in having their sins paraded before them, and perhaps, in the absence of auricular confession, the sermons did have a cathartic effect upon their listeners.[148]

As an alternative to the school-room, a sermon served as a useful vehicle of communication. Preachers had a unique licence to address the king directly and under Edward they were particularly bold.

Latimer reminded Edward that

> The spiritual sword is in the hands of the ministers and preachers; whereunto all kings, magistrates, and rulers ought to be obedient, that is, to hear and follow so long as the ministers sit in Christ's chair, that is, speaking out of Christ's book. (149)

The Bible of course was the supreme authority , and it was important that every sermon had its source and inspiration there. Latimer told Edward to seek advice in the Bible, for it was the source of royal, as well as every other form of authority. Edward responded to this with enthusiasm to the extent that on one notable occasion he turned the scriptures back upon Cranmer and Ridley when they tried to persuade him with biblical examples that he could, in good conscience, allow Princess Mary her mass.[150]

Edward's youth may have loosened the restraint of his court preachers both by lessening their fear of rebuke and increasing their sense of responsibility in directing his course. Edward's preachers were also emboldened in their approach to the rest of their courtly congregation, however, and even became specific in their rebukes on occasions. Thus Latimer railed against moral and religious failure at court in general, but also named prominent individuals. In his Lenten sermons for 1549, he referred directly to Sir Thomas Seymour. He not only condemned the Lord Admiral for attempting to subvert the government, but also criticised his lack of piety:

> I have heard say, when that good queen that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer both before noon and after noon, the admiral gets him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. ... He was, I heard say a covetous man, a covetous man indeed: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were no more in England! He was, I heard say, seditious man, a contemner of common prayer: I would there

> were no more in England! Well: he is gone. I would he had left none behind him! (151)

Latimer clearly linked Seymour's treasonable behaviour with his lack of moral fibre, an important point when considering the criticisms of the court preachers of Edward's day.

Also worth noting here is Latimer's point that Seymour was by no means unique and there was room for improvement among others of the household. In his sermon against covetousness in 1550, Latimer asked the king to make adultery punishable by death.[152] This request came in the wake of the scandal of the Marquis of Northampton's divorce, followed by that of Lord Herbert, who divorced Katherine Grey in order to marry Mary Sidney.[153] In this sermon, Latimer refrained from naming the individuals concerned, but there would have been little doubt to whom he was referring.[154]

The major part of court criticism sprang from a genuine dislike of the life-style of the court, with its insecurity, ambition and power-seeking, rather than disapproval which sprang from religious convictions. The two cannot be wholly separated, so that a moral indictment like an anonymous sonnet against drunkenness at court[155] could easily have found strong echoes of support from the dwardian court preachers.[156] The latter's theocratic view of society caused them to highlight moral and religious failure in order to bring about repentance. Thus by making men more godly they would thereby become better citizens. The preachers of Edward's reign also had their stock criticisms of course. The essence of sin did not alter with the advent of the Reformation.

One of the issues which particularly troubled the preachers at

Edward's court was the prevalence of gambling. Once again the court was failing to set a godly example, and Hooper duly admonished the offenders:

> ... whereas God's laws forbiddeth dice and cards, and also the common statutes of this realm, (the more shame it is), it is to be used daily and hourly in the king's majesty's house ... That dice-house must be cast into the sea: if it be not, God will cast the maintainers thereof at length into hell. (157)

The threat failed to take effect, however, and two years later James Haddon informed Bullinger that while forbidding his servants to indulge in cards and dice, the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk entertained their friends by playing for money in their private apartment.[158] Gambling was a vice to which all the Tudors, including Edward were addicted, and there was little chance of eradicating the habit.

Not unconnected with the problem of gambling was another favourite theme of Edwardian court preachers, that of covetousness. It was returned to again and again by Latimer, Lever and others.[159] Latimer's 1550 sermon on this subject found its way into Edward's library in manuscript form.[160] Bernard Gilpin enumerated the sins of the people before Edward in 1552, declaiming that 'Covetousness is the roote of all'.[161]

Latimer, at least, was able to move his courtly audience to make a positive attempt to atone for its misdeamours. Upon one notable occasion he received £373 from various members of the royal household who had acquired money by underhand means, and, having been stung by the fiery preacher's protests, sought to make restitution.[162] Such a gesture, however, was little more than a drop in the ocean. Moral and ethical problems such as these stirred the Edwardian preachers more

than questions of doctrine, although they were still concerned by what they regarded as 'Romish dregs' in the Church. Latimer and Hooper attacked the mass,[163] while John Ponet also preached against it in 1550, his sermon being published in the same year.[164] The reformers saw a clear connection between doctrinal error and moral failure. A degenerate clergy would never eradicate false teaching, and Gilpin for example, complained that the clergy were of such poor quality because the nobles were giving livings to their own servants.[165]

The importance of reform at the highest levels of society could not have been put more clearly. The high attendance at court sermons, and their frequency, could have been a powerful tool of propaganda towards projecting the image of a godly court. Reading the contents of the sermons sheds a different light on the matter, for the realities were not spared by the outraged preachers. The nobility were expected to set an example, and their responsibilities in government and counsel meant this was all the more important. Hooper's hope was:

> ... that whosoever of wit and knowledge enter your grace's court, may see the majesty of a godly house, and perceive by the order of your family that God dwelleth in the court. (166)

Judging by the denunciations of the court by the men who preached and occasionally stayed there, it failed abysmally to offer a model of virtue for the rest of the nation. Not only did the people refuse to mend their ways, they made 'a common iesting stocke' of the preachers.[167] It seemed, indeed that all

> whose toungis wer not temperat by the halie watter of the Court

were held in contempt.[168]

The denunciations became more urgent towards the end of Edward's reign. In Lent 1553 Grindal complained of those of the court who railed against God's Word and those who preached it,[169] while Bradford prophesied God's vengeance against the authorities because they 'abhorred the true worde of the everlasting God'.[170] There was a general feeling that the Edwardian bishops and nobles did not share the king's zeal for attending to God's Word. When Edward's own attendance began to slacken with the onset of his final illness, there was even less occasion to keep up appearances. Thus, when Gilpin preached at court on the first Sunday after Epiphany 1553, Edward's chief councillors were missing. Gilpin complained bitterly about this and claimed that other preachers also had cause for complaint. By way of protest he announced his intention to preach to their seats.[171]

Such disregard for hearing God's Word could permanently damage an individual's reputation among the reformers. Looking back over Edward's reign, it seemed that one of the chief culprits who showed disregard for the Word of God in this way had been Somerset himself, who, according to Knox

> became so cold in hearing Godis word, that the year befoir his last apprehensioun he wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dainyie himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for heiring of a sermone. (172)

With such complaints, it may be wondered whether the preachers were not wasting their time trying to reform a profligate court. It did not matter whether they raged like Latimer, Lever, Bradford and Knox, or adopted a more gentle, cajoling approach of applying

> the wholesome plasters of God's word ... all sped in like. (173)

They went unheeded and the disease of the court increased 'daily'.[174]

As Latimer wearily sighed:

> But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended. (175)

Even when they heard the preachers out, it seems that they paid little attention. A work published in the first year of Mary's reign included the following comment in the preface, supposedly by Melanchthon:

> O Ingland Ingland they nobles were preached unto and told plainly enough by Gods prophets, that Gods wrath was at hand if they would not redress their enormities ... . It would never sink into their heads that God would so deal with them as the preachers out of the spirit of God threatened them. They thought peradventure that it was enough for them to pretend Gods true religion, how little soever they framed their lives thereafter. (176)

Despite the negative tone of the sermons, however, and the equally negative response provoked, sermons continued to be an important feature of court religion until the end of the reign. Some concession may be made towards preachers' rhetoric, but this should not detract from the passionate conviction of men like Hooper who believed they were God's chosen instruments for the purpose. Their failure to establish the godly kingdom was not due to lack of determination on their part.

The one person who did take the sermons seriously was the king himself. The preachers were afraid that Edward would be distracted and corrupted by the court and sought to keep him on the straight and narrow way. Soon after his accession, Latimer advised Edward to continue his studies, perhaps afraid that his new role would mean that they took second place. His fears were rapidly dispelled, however, and

in 1549 he was holding up the example of the king for all to follow:

> Have we not a noble King? Was there ever King so noble, so godly, brought up with so noble counsellors, so excellent and well-learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this ... His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than xx of his progenitors that I could name had at any time of their life. (177)

Such praise was an added incentive for Edward to attend sermons with eager expectancy. His close attention to sermons offers a significant clue to his growth and development, especially in view of his reputation as a pious and severely bigoted Protestant. It is true that he became very excitable at the mention of Romish practices still current in the Church, for example over the Black Rubric when references were made to 'popish dregs',[178] but it was observed that his attention was heightened when the issue of authority was mentioned, '... specially if it touched a king'.[179]

Gilpin tried to play on Edward's sense of his regality when he warned the king against neglecting further reformation of the Church:

> Your Realme ... shall become more barbarous than Scithia: whiche leaste God almighty lay to your graces chardge, for the suffering the sworde given to you (for the maintenance of the gospel) to ly rusting in the sheath, bestire nowe your selfe in your heavenly fathers busines. (180)

Calvin warned him of the special dangers which could easily deflect kings from godly purposes and

> dazzle their eyes ... causing them to forget the kingdom of heaven. (181)

Thus with a mixture of praise, exhortation and urgent warnings the preachers sought to help Edward appreciate his role as Head of the Church. The young king did not fail to respond. The spirit of Henry VIII clearly lived on in his son, and was reinforced by Edward's

upbringing. Cox, Cheke and his other schoolmasters may have inculcated Edward with a form of godliness, but his enthusiasm was fired by something more than religious fervour. His puritanical and rigid Protestantism went hand in hand with a heightened sense of his regal authority.

The key to Henry's policies had been the establishment and subsequent maintenance of the royal supremacy, and it was the authority of God's anointed which dogged Edward from birth, moulding his outlook and subsuming his natural inclinations beneath the mask of regality. Surely this is why there is no evidence of warmth of feeling even in his religious habits. He was too much at the mercy of policy makers who dictated the public image of king and court.

Now, having been made king at an impressionable age he was exposed to the principles of the Reformation where they were being expounded in the most earnest and vigorous of terms. The free rein given to the Protestant preachers in his reign, who could never have said what they did while Henry was alive, helps to explain Edward's upbringing and character. So we should understand Edward not as a Protestant from his cradle, but increasingly so after his accession, as he was exposed to reformed teaching at a concentrated level and accelerating rate.

Had Edward reached his majority he would almost certainly have grown into a convinced, if not a severely bigoted Protestant. He may not have turned out to be the godly Josiah hoped for by admirers.

Conclusion

The role of preaching in propagating the Reformation was vigorously exploited by the reformers under Edward. While there was always an element of risk involved in speaking out in public, the Edwardian preachers had much greater freedom than those of Henry's reign. Their zeal for reform was vented upon the court, fired by the prospect of an England purged of superstition and governed by a godly monarch. They believed that what had been only half completed under Henry would now be brought to full realisation.

The fluctuating position of the Henrician government had been a threat to security as well as a hindrance to establishing a stable doctrinal stance. It took time for even the most ardent reformers to develop their reformist theology, but at least under Edward they were free to expound Scripture and apply its principles to their congregations almost to the point of excess.

Footnotes

1. It is interesting to note that Whitford advised that if it came to a choice between hearing a sermon and hearing mass, the former was to be preferred 'yf (by case) they may not here both', Werke for Housholders, f.D IV^{v}.

2. Soon after the mid-fourteenth century sermons at the Cross were 'apparently an institution', MacLure: The Paul's Cross Sermons, p.5. The appointment of preachers at the Cross was normally the preserve of the bishop of London, although an influential person could put forward a nominee and in times of crisis the government could take control as happened during the Reformation period, ibid, p.13ff. See also the register of sermons at the end of the book.

3. J.O.W. Haweiss: Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan Age, Taken from the Contemporary Pulpit, L1844, p.9.

4. Myers, p.134.

5. In 1504 Lady Margaret founded a preachership at Cambridge which required the holder to preach 6 sermons per annum in specified places.

6. B.L., Add MS 21,481 f115^{v}. There were numerous instances of the religious preaching before the king.

7. V.C.H. Middlesex, 1, p.186. It is not known what the friars chose as sermon material, but for a late fifteenth century example cf B.L. Harl MS, 2321, ff.53-53^{v}.

8. Haweiss: Sketches of the Reformation, p.15. He preached at court on a number of occasions, eg, B.L. Add MS, 21481, 57^{v}.

9. Haweiss, loc.cit.

10. Allen, 3, 948, 4, 1126, 1127a.

11. John Fisher: Here after ensueth two fruytfill sermons, made & compiled by the ryght Reverende father in god, Iohan Fissher - Doctour of Dyvynyte and Bysshop of Rochester, S.T.C., 10909, 1532, f.B III.

12. He was still preaching in this vein in 1536, cf John Longland: A sermōd spoken be fore the kynge at Grenwiche, uppon good fryday, MCCCCC XXXVI, S.T.C.^{2}, 16795, 1536, f E II. He became the king's confessor after his translation to the see of Lincoln, cf. M. Bowker: The Henrician Reformation. The diocese of Lincoln under John Longland 1521-1547, Cam. 1981. On his preaching cf Blench: Preaching in England, pp.20ff, 75-6, 136ff, 211ff, 229ff, etc.

13. For preaching in general in late medieval England, cf Blench Preaching in England, passim; G.R. Owst: Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd ed., Cam., 1961.

14. Foxe, 7, p.454.

15. Fisher's sermon at the burning of Lutheran books in 1521 is one of the most well-known of the sermons which tackled the Reformation issue in its early stages. Preached in the vernacular, it was translated into Latin for the benefit of the learned, B.L. Cott. MS, Vitell, BIV, III.

16. MacLure: The Paul's Cross Sermons, pp.14ff.

17. Muller: Letters, 81, p.171.

18. Cal S.P., Span., IV, 2, 934, p.427.

19. P.R.O., S.P. 1/77, p.107; S.P. 1/78, pp.37ff, 57f, 84f.

20. Foxe, 5, App. XVI.

21. Cal. S.P., Span., IV, 2, 664.

22. Crome found himself before the king again in 1546, Wriothesley 1, pp.166-7.

23. Stype credited Butts with the appointment of Hugh Latimer as Henry's chaplain, E.M., 1, p.261.

24. Foxe, 8, p.33.

25. 1 Bec., 259.

26. Ibid, loc.cit.

27. Ibid, loc.cit.

28. 1 Tyn., 499.

29. Bodl Don MS C42 f28^{v}.

30. Ibid f29. Cf Chester: Hugh Latimer, ch.17 for further discussion.

31. 1 Lat., 155.

32. 1 Lat., 134-5.

33. L.P., VI, 1582.

34. Cal. S.P., Span, IV, 2,951, p.445.

35. Chester: Hugh Latimer, p.144. He spent time in the Tower at the end of Henry's reign.

36. Cf P. Cricco 'Hugh Latimer and witness' Sixteenth Century Journal, 10, no.1, 1979, pp.24ff.

37. Cf Blench: Preaching in England, especially chs 1 and 5.

38. 2 Lat., 230.

39. B.L. Cott. MS, Vitell. BXIV, f.127; Vesp. F.XIII.

40. Bodl. Don MS, C42, f31^{v}.

41. Note the conclusion of Clebsch: England's Earliest Protestants, p.272.

42. LP X, 615. Cf. S.E. Lehmberg: The Reformation of Parliament, 1529-1536, Cam. 1970, pp.244f.

43. O.L. 2, CCLXXXVII, p.624.

44. DNB, 51, p.453.

45. 2 Lat., 369n.

46. Bale, 218; Burnet: History of the Reformation, 1, p.538.

47. Lamentacion, f.DVIII^{v}.

48. B.L. Lans MS, 97, f.43.

49. 2 Lat., 241.

50. The first printed version of his court sermon of 1549 bore the duchess' coat of arms on the reverse of the title page. (S.T.C.^{2}, 15272.5). She subsequently received further dedications from him.

51. It is interesting that the deprivation of confessors often led to great reliance on preachers. Edward Dering was a notable example later in the sixteenth century, cf. P. Collinson: 'The Role of Women in the Reformation', Studies in Church History, 2, L1965, pp.258-272.

52. Hugh Latimer: 27 sermons preached by the ryght reverende ... maister Hugh Latimer ..., S.T.C.^{2}, 15276, 1562, preface.

53. Latimer: 27 Sermons, loc.cit.

54. S.T.C., 4827, 1548, f.H^{v}.

55. Foxe, 5, 2, p.553.

56. P.R.O., LC5/178; H.O., p.167.

57. McConica, p.215; A. Strickland: Lives of the Queens of England, 8 vols, L1851-2, 3, p.198. Dickens: Lollards and Protestants, pp.53ff suggests Katherine's second husband Lord Latimer may have introduced her to reformist ideas. Any evidence for this, however, is extremely tenuous. See C. Nicholson: The Annals of Kendal, Kendal, 1832, pp.226ff, for details of Katherine's early life.

58. 2 Cov., 526; O.L., 1, XIX, pp.31-2.

59. L.P., XXI, 1233.

60. 2 Cov., 526.

61. Parkhurst wrote a Latin verse to mark the occasion. For Parkhurst cf. D.N.B., 42, pp.308-9.

62. Parkhurst was one of two witnesses to Katherine's will. In 1571 he informed Bullinger that he had been her chaplain 'twenty three years since'. Z.L., 1, XCIX, p.257. He also wrote an epitaph for the queen, quoted in Strype: E.M., 2, App.

63. Jew, vi; Jewel went into exile in Mary's reign, cf. Garrett: The Marian Exiles, pp.198-9.

64. Z.L., 2, V, p.12, (Jan.16th, 1559).

65. Chapuys believed Katherine was being encouraged towards heretical beliefs by the duchess, along with the Countess of Hertford and the Lord Admiral's wife, Cal.S.P., Span., VIII, 386. On the Duchess of Suffolk cf. L.C. Goff: A Woman of the Tudor Age, L1930; E. Read: Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk. A Portrait, L1962.

66. No exact date can be pin-pointed, but it would seem that the duchess had moved to a reformed position by the end of the 1530s, cf. Read: Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk, p.51.

67. P.R.O., S.P., 1/113, f.100.

68. D.S. Chambers (ed.): Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549, L1966, p.75.

69. Parkhurst remained firmly attached to the reformist group at court. He wrote a number of poems during the late 1540s dedicated to various members of the group including Katherine Parr and the Duchess of Suffolk. They were published in 1573 entitled Ludicra sive epigrammata iuvenilia, S.T.C.^{2}, 19299.

70. Foxe, 5, p.448-9; Bale, 433, 441.

71. LP, XVIII, 2, 531.

72. Cf. Blench: Preaching in England, pp.263ff for the general themes of the Edwardian preachers.

73. Cal S.P., Span., IX, 45.

74. 1 Hoop., 558.

75. Ibid, 541.

76. Remains, 2, p.257.

77. O.L., 2, CCLX, p.561.

78. Ibid, 2, XXXIX, p.87. Sermons on Fridays at court were traditional.

79. See above, pp.340ff.

80. Foxe, 6, pp.143ff.

81. Ibid, loc.cit.

82. Foxe, 6, pp.151ff.

83. Ibid, loc.cit.

84. Ibid, p.161.

85. Ibid, pp.87ff.

86. 1 Lat., 148, 161-2, 164.

87. Hugh Latimer: A most faithfull Sermō preached before the kynges most excellente maiestye, S.T.C.^{2}, 15289, 1550 f. A7^{v}-8; cf. A.G. Chester: 'Milton, Latimer and the Lord Admiral', Modern Languages Quarterly, 14, 1953, pp.15-20.

88. Rid., 59; Cal S.P., Span, X, 591, 593; cf. Ridley: John Knox, p.105.

89. He believed that England was afflicted with the Plague at this time because of failure to eradicate vice, especially among the nobility, Knox: Works, 3, 167.

90. He was successful in winning the allegiance of those eager for more radical reform than the moderate policies of Somerset allowed. Hooper and John Ab Ulmis were two reformers who commended him in glowing terms, O.L., 1, XXXVIII, p.82; 2, CXCII, p.399.

91. O.L., 1, XXXV, p.70.

92. Ibid, 1, XXXVII, p.75.

93. O.L., 1, XXXVII, p.75.

94. 2 Hoop., xiiff.

95. Viz.Grindal, Bradford, Lever, James Haddon and Knox.

96. Ridley: John Knox, p.122.

97. Somerset took Thirlby at face value, but Edward was more suspicious of him, O.L., 1, CCXCIX, p.646.

98. Ibid, 1, XXXVII, p.75.

99. Ibid, loc.cit.

100. Burnet: History of the Reformation, 2, records no.4.

101. Cf. 2 Cran., 512-3 for the letter of instruction sent to all preachers who received licences.

102. Park, 40-1.

103. O.L., 1, XXXVII, p.75.

104. Rid., 59.

105. Ibid, loc.cit.

106. Knox: Works, 3, p.177 + note.

107. Ibid, loc.cit.

108. Ridley: John Knox, p.107.

109. The available information is cited in Remains, 1, pp.ci-v; cxxiv-vi; cliii; clviii; clxxviii-clxxx.

110. P.R.O., LC2/3. The Duke of Richmond similarly had four chaplains when his own household was first established, B.L. Harl MS, 589, f.192.

111. For details of the changes cf. Remains, 2, p.376f.

112. A.P.C., 4, p.148. The list in Edward's Journal replaced Horne and Knox with Estcourt and John Bradford, but the M.S. has their names crossed out. The Council Book supplied the full list as stated here, dated 21st October, 1552. Horne and Knox, however, may have been additions, since according to B.L. Cott. MS Julius BIX, f.27, Grindal, Bill, Harley and Perne, were appointed as chaplains in ordinary on 13th March, 1551.

113. Bill, Horne, Grindal and Perne were all members of the 'Athenian' group of scholars of Cambridge in the 1530s, as were Eyre, Tounge and Pilkington, cf. Hudson: The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, on this theme.

114. D.N.B., 24, p.397.

115. Remains, 2, p.377, n.2.

116. Ath. Cant., 1, p.210-11. Cf. above pp.287f.

117. Cf. D.M. Loades: 'The Last Days of Cuthbert Tunstal, 1547-1559', pp.10-22.

118. Remains, 2, p.464. He was proposed for the bishopric of Durham by Northumberland but when Horne cast aspertions on the sincerity of the duke's religious convictions he fell out of favour.

119. Remains, 2, p.377, nos 4, 5. For Grindal cf. D.N.B., 23, pp.261-4; for Perne cf. ibid, 45, pp.10-12.

120. Knox: Works, 3, pp.175ff; Ridley: John Knox, p.125.

121. P.R.O., E101/426/5, f.76.

122. Garrett: Marian exiles, pp.84-5.

123. D.N.B., 24, p.397; Ath. Cant., 1, 106. Cf. above p.214.

124. Ath. Cant., 1, 121; Remains, 1, p.civ. He died in 1554. The only preacher chosen to preach before Edward who retained his preferments in Mary's reign was James Curtop, Ath. Ox. 1, 107.

125. Ath. Cant., 1, 107.

126. Foxe, 6, pp.126, 267; O.L., 1, LXXVI, pp.150ff.

127. Strype, E.M., 2, p.302.

128. S.T.C.^{2}, 20827, 1551; cf. Foxe, 6, pp.266ff for Redman's confession.

129. B.L. Add MS, 4724, f.90, (printed in Remains, 1, pp.128-30).

130. S.P., Dom. Edward VI, IV, 31; O.L., 1, XXXIX, p.87.

131. O.L., 2, CCLXIII, pp.566f.

132. Eg. O.L., 1, XXXV-XXIXx, pp.69ff.

133. Ibid, 1, XXXVIII, p.82.

134. Ibid, I, XXXIX, p.88.

135. Cheke also maintained close links with the foreign reformers especially Bucer; cf. P.S. Needham: 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and Court', unpublished thesis, Harvard University, Cam. Massachusetts, 1971.

136. Foxe 7, pp.463-4. M. Hogarde: The displaying of the Protestants, S.T.C. 13557, 1556 noted that Latimer was 'ofte by the protestantes cõpared to the old prophetes' (f.44^{v}). Modern authors have continued to do the same, eg Davies: Worship and theology, p.238-9, compared him with Amos, and King: English Reformation literature, p.175 with Nathan.

137. Cf. Fig. IV. See also John Foxe: Actes and Monuments, S.T.C., 11222, 1563, p.1353, for an illustration of Latimer preaching before the king at Westminster, (Fig.V).

138. 1 Lat, 204.

139. 2 Hoop, 129.

140. Occasional vignettes of preaching scenes at court, like the above, afford important glimpses into the attitudes and expectations of their aristocratic congregations. Elizabeth, for example, once listened to a sermon in her Presence Chamber at Nonsuch delivered by a preacher in a white surplice who stood on the floor facing the queen (cf Dunlop: Palaces and progresses, p.109).

141. 1 Lat., 239. Elizabeth told the preacher at Nonsuch to cut his matter short and have done, (see above note).

142. 1 Hoop, 558.

143. O.L., 1, XXXVII, p.80.

144. 1 Lat., 87.

145. Ibid, 249.

146. Eg 1 Lat., 93, 168-9.

147. O.L., 1, XXXVIII, p.82. The notes which were apparently in the Royal Library in the early seventeenth century, are now lost, Remains, 1, p.i.

148. It is noticeable that the traditional stress on the transience of this life and the vanity of earthly things was superceded by zeal for reform. Denunciation of sin, however, continued unabated, cf. Blench: Preaching in England, pp.263, 268. See also N. Pocock:

'The condition of morals and religious belief in the reign of Edward VI', E.H.R., 10, 1895, pp.417-444.

149. 1 Lat., 86. Latimer conceded that the king might also correct the preacher. Elizabeth was frequently prone to do so in her reign.

150. Remains 1, pp.ccxxviii-ccxxix.

151. 1 Lat., 228-9.

152. 1 Lat., 244. Edward subsequently produced an oratio advocating the same. B.L. Add MS, 4,724, f.90 (printed in Remains, 1, pp.128ff).

153. 1 Lat., 228-9.

154. Hooper accused Sir Anthony Kingston of adultery. Kingston later claimed that Hooper had converted him from his evil life. DNB, 31, p.185.

155. Divorce became an issue at Edward's court largely because of incidences such as these. Preachers referred to it on a number of occasions and in 1550, Nicholas Lesse published The Censure and judgement of Erasmus: whyther dyvorsemente stondeth with the lawe of God, S.T.C., 10450, a work first published in Basle in 1516 in Novum Testamentum Graecam et Latinam.

156. Eg 1 Bec., 324, 325; 1 Lat., 169, 254; 2 Lat., 15, 61, 81.

157. 1 Hoop., 483.

158. O.L., 1, CXXX, 282.

159. eg Rid., 59; 1 Lat., 185-5, 241-2, 2436, 247, 280; 2 Lat., 107, 155 and see Parker Society Index under 'Covetousness'.

160. Remains, 1, p.cccxxxiv, (B.L., Royal MS, 18 B. XX).

161. B. Gilpin: A godly sermon preached before the court at Greenwich, S.T.C., 11897, 1581, p.65.

162. B.L., Add MS, 14,024 f.107, (Strype: EM, 2, p.451).

163. 1 Lat., 72-3; 2 Lat., 58, 60, 192; 1 Hoop., 500, 520-7.

164. J. Poynet: A notable sermon concerninge the ryght use of the Lordes Supper, S.T.C.^{2} 20177.

165. Gilpin: A godly sermon, pp.31ff. Calvin also wrote to Edward on this matter, O.L., 2, CCCXXXVI, p.710.

166. 1 Hoop., 482.

167. Holden: Beware the cat and the Funeralls of King Edward the Sixth, p.6.

168. Knox: Works, 3, pp.175-6.

169. Ibid, p.176.

170. Ibid, loc.cit.

171. Gilpin: A godly sermon, p.26.

172. Knox: Works, 3, p.176.

173. Rid., 59.

174. Ibid, loc.cit.

175. 1 Lat., 101.

176. Martin Luther: A faythful admonycion of a certen trewe pastor and prophete, sent unto the germanes ... translated by Eusebius Pamphilus, S.T.C.^{2}, 16980, 1554.

177. 1 Lat., 118.

178. Knox 'inveighed with great freedom' against kneeling in his sermon, O.L., 2, CLXXIII, p.591.

179. Remains, 1, p.cvi.

180. Gilpin: A godly sermon, p.38.

181. O.L., 2, CCCXXXVIII, p.714.

Chapter Nine

Royal Education and Reform:

Principles and Practice

Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.

Proverbs, ch.22, v.6.

The king's household is the chief academy for the nobility of England.

John Fortescue (1460s)

Introduction

The evidence examined in the previous chapters with regard to wills and to preaching show that with all the fervour in the world, the reformers could not effect an overnight change. That they had access to influence the influential, however, cannot be denied and in this chapter the aim is to examine the impact made by the Reformation on education at court. It is a particularly fruitful area for study in this period because of the emphasis placed upon learning by contemporaries and the availability of evidence concerning aims and methods. It is also possible to go some way towards assessing the results, since we can ascertain who was subjected to this kind of education. Even when we cannot discern what they themselves believed as a result, we can at least discover what others wished them to believe.

Furthermore, by tracing the subsequent careers of individuals associated with the court it will become clear that there are other factors to take into account which in some cases reinforced what was taught in the schoolroom, while in others it apparently militated against it.

We must also, however, look at the educators themselves before assuming that they came to their task already possessed of mature reformist views. Such an assumption will be questioned here. In the process of the examination it will be important to distinguish between myth and reality. Just as the preachers' image of the godly monarch may be open to question, so may the educators' image of a learned one.

The aim of Edward's tutors was not primarily to create the first thoroughly Protestant monarch, nor was it to make godliness Edward's outstanding characteristic. The beginnings of Edward's education under Henry provide sufficient evidence to dispel the notion of a Protestant, or even crypto-Protestant schoolroom in the royal household, with or without the king's approval.

The main task of Edward's tutors was to equip their young charge with the necessary skills to rule England. Essentially this meant that a model of his father was constantly held up before Edward, and the boy was told to emulate him. The highest acclaim afforded him was that he had surpassed his father in some respect, and to a large extent such praise was given to him by the Protestants who believed he would undertake a thorough reformation of the English Church. Thus Edward frequently appeared more Protestant than he was in reality. The Protestants based their eulogies on the sound evidence of his tutors who had good reason to claim success for the royal schoolroom. In their hands lay the hope of England's future, and as their own commitment to Protestantism grew, so did their confidence in Edward.

The scale and intensity of Edward's education is often portrayed as a wholly new phenomenon, but this is largely the result of two factors not directly related to the prince's curriculum. First, as already stated, there is a great deal of information available. Second, Edward had a natural aptitude for learning: he enjoyed it and therefore made frequent reference to it. Edward's aptitude for learning was another of the many traits he inherited from his father, for Henry VIII showed a remarkable capacity for imbibing knowledge.

The image of the old king haunted Edward in the schoolroom more than anywhere else because it was recognisably such a formative factor in his development. The degree of success achieved cannot now of course be measured because of the young king's premature death, but there are significant indications in his life and in those of his companions of the contribution which education made to the English Reformation.

The Tradition of Royal Education

The education of royalty was not, of course, something new. Household government required men of learning for the running of affairs, and so scholarship was traditionally associated with the court. Literacy had been claimed as a royal accomplishment from the time of the Norman Conquest[1] and it was not long before the court was seen as a school for training the offspring of noble families. In the fifteenth century Fortescue wrote that

> The king's household is the chief academy for the nobility of England. (2)

By this time the educational arrangements of the royal household were becoming increasingly formalised with clear aims and specialised teachers. There was a greater consciousness about education by the time of the Tudors than had existed previously[3] and the influence of the humanists at the sixteenth century court made this distinction even more marked. The teachers of Edward VI saw in the prince an opportunity to implement their ideals of a virtuous ruler enlightened by education and guided by wise counsel. In utilising humanist scholarship for Edward's benefit, Henry VIII provided an education

with new and different emphases from his own or his predecessors', up-bringing. Nevertheless, from the scanty evidence available, there are many similarities in aims, methods and results which serve to modify the picture of the impeccable 'godly imp' so often portrayed. It was usual, for example, for the heir to be taken from female company around the age of 7, as Edward noted in his Journal of his own experience.[4] Henry VI discharged his 6½ year old son's nurse in 1460 because he was now ready:

> to be committed to the rules and teachings of wise and strenuous men, and to understand the arts and manners of a man, rather than to stay further under the keeping and governance of women. (5)

It was also usual for the heir to be educated with a number of companions of a similar age.[6] These might be royal wards or the children of nobles and officials.[7] Edward IV had ordered that:

> the sonnes of nobles, Lordes and gentlemen being in householde withour sayd sonne ... be vertuously brought uppe; and taught in grammar, musicke, and other cunning exercises of humanyte according to their byrthes. (8)

Edward IV's Liber Niger supplies useful information concerning structural details, and casts some light upon the formal arrangements that king made for his son's education. His governor was Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, while his tutor was John Alcock, Bishop of Rochester.[9] He had a detailed timetable drawn up for him with lessons including

> grammer, musicke, and other cuninge and exercises of humanitye. (10)

The emphasis upon hearing divine service and protecting the young prince from any

> customable swearer, brawler, backbyter, common

hasorder, adventorer (11)

or other undesirable character was echoed in Edward VI's early childhood.

The praise lavished upon Henry VIII is well known, and has already been referred to. It gives substance to Erasmus' opinion that Henry was a universal genius,[12] and if it does not reveal the way in which Henry VII arranged for the education of his son, it does at least give evidence of the results. While details of Henry VIII's education are lacking, what is known fits in with the traditional pattern. Furthermore, in keeping with Henry VII's shrewd awareness of current trends, it may safely be assumed that the principles of the New Learning were included in the upbringing of Prince Arthur and Prince Henry. Thus the more fully-developed humanist education of Edward VI was not wholly unprecedented.

As with the latter, there were a number of specialist teachers involved with the schooling of Arthur and Henry.[13] Courses of study were drawn up for the royal pupils in both generations and these utilised the best scholarship available. A description of Arthur's reading by his tutor Bernard André, the blind French poet and historiographer, shows that Edward was not the first to be given a diet of the new Italian grammarians.[14] Prince Arthur also read the traditional classical authors, such as Cicero, Livy and Sallust.[15]

One of Henry's tutors was John Holt, the distinguished grammarian and friend of Thomas More. Holt wrote an elementary Latin grammar, Lac puerorum.[16] The tutor with the most influence on the youthful Henry, however, may well have been John Skelton, a member of the older group

of scholars at court, and much more conservative in outlook. He also prepared works for his protegé: a Latin grammar, treatises on 'royal demeanance', 'sovereignty' and 'honourous estate' and popular tracts from Latin and French. The latter included 'How men should flee sin' and 'The Art of Dying'.[17]

His 'Speculum principis' was also on a religious theme, this time a collection of moral sayings culled mainly from the Vulgate.[18]

Although Skelton himself was a man of considerable humanist accomplishment, he was suspicious of the More circle and in his poem 'Speak Parrot' he up-braided the New Learning.[19] The poem 'Good Order', ascribed to him by John Bale, which is a Lenten exercise on the virtues of abstinence and the superiority of vocal prayer over that of mental, reveals another side of the poet. Skelton denounced Lollardy and defended pilgrimages, and it would seem that he inculcated his values into his royal pupil.[20]

Whether or not Henry was destined for a career in the church as is sometimes supposed, it may be assumed that he was a pious youth. Religious instruction, both direct and indirect, would have formed a large part of his upbringing.[21] As far as Skelton's preference for vocal prayer is concerned, it is interesting to note that a prayer roll, specially prepared for the court and designed to be prayed aloud, may well have been used by Henry before his accession.[22] The prayers, addressed to the Five Wounds, Our Lady, St George and so on, do not reveal anything about Henry's inner personality, but at least they give some indication of his personal piety at this stage.

It is with the religious aspect of a courtly education that this thesis must primarily be concerned, and even from the scant references to Henry's education, it can be seen that this was included both directly and indirectly. Tracing the evidence back further verifies this. The timetable drawn up by Edward IV for his heir began the day with hearing matins and mass.[23] On holy days the entire divine office was heard and, on principal feast days, a sermon. Evensong was heard each evening before supper.[24] Such attention to regular religious devotion continued to be normal practice throughout the period. The Duke of Richmond said matins and vespers each day.[25] Cromwell's son heard mass daily before his studies began.[26] The Reformation altered the nature of practices of this kind, but it did not decry the principle of regular communication with God.

Royal children were introduced early to religious practices of the age such as pilgrimage, for they represented an important aspect of their public, as well as private lives.[27]

Sound religion and education were equated long before the humanists linked them together. Reading began with religious texts, first the Pater Noster, the Ave and Credo and then the Psalms and other parts of the liturgy.[28] These were the basics, but as literature became an increasingly important part of upper class life, so did the desire to be able to read religious literature. This went hand in hand with renewed emphasis on personal devotion, which added further stimulus towards literacy.[29] Scholarship and piety were thus firmly linked within the royal household, but the reception of humanist scholars there added a new dimension. The humanists struggled with the

problem of relating the classical concept of 'Virtue' with that of the Christian.[30] The step of Christianising 'Virtue' and equating it with godliness was achieved with varying degrees of ease, while the general pre-occupation with the moral content of education meant that certain authors were preferred to others for the purpose of study. In particular their pre-occupation with education and its importance for the ruling classes had far-reaching consequences for the English court.[31] They could not have made an impact, however, without the patronage and support of members of the royal household itself.

As in the days of Lady Margaret Beaufort, the succeeding generation of women at court was an important influence upon scholars and the place of learning there. Much of this influence found its source in Catherine of Aragon whose life epitomised the beneficial relationship between godliness and learning. Brought up by her mother at the Spanish court, Catherine soon displayed her love of learning when she came to England.[32] Indeed, books provided her only solace during her period of widowhood after the death of Prince Arthur.[33] Needless to say, these were books of theology and religious devotion, and from her patronage of humanist scholarship, it is clear that her first priority was the promotion of piety. Her recognition of the role of scholarship in this is worthy of remark. She was an active supporter of reform, but of a thoroughly orthodox kind. It is not surprising that she was fully aware of the growing conflict over Luther in Europe long before his teaching became an instrument with which to threaten her personally, and she recognised that an intellectual response was necessary.[34]

There was a further dimension to her interest in humanist scholarship which involved the education of her daughter, the Princess Mary. Catherine was aware of the ambivalent attitude of the humanists towards the education of women. Like men they were expected to be virtuous, but the whole point of 'Virtue' was to produce men fit to govern. Since women were not expected to undertake this task, the kind of education prescribed for a gentleman was usually considered unsuitable for his female counterpart.[35] Subjects, like authors, were evaluated according to their usefulness in inculcating moral standards. The typical sixteenth century gentlewoman received an education to equip her for her role as mistress of a household, and there were numerous books of etiquette available for the purpose.[36]

This type of education was inadequate for Princess Mary, however, for the likelihood that she would one day be ruler of England grew stronger with the passage of time. Catherine of Aragon realised this and sought a programme of education to equip her for the task. Her own upbringing must have inspired her with the confidence that this was possible. The humanists were full of admiration for her, Erasmus believing for example, that she excelled Henry in intelligence.[37] Richard Hyrd expressed his hope that:

> ... your dearest doughter Mary shall rede these instructions of myne/ and folowe in lyvyng/ whiche she must nedes do: if she ordre her self after thexāple that she hath at home with her of your vertue and wysedome. (38)

Taking charge of Mary's education herself, Catherine made the most of

one aspect of court life where women could exercise influence in an

indirect, but extremely fruitful way.[39] Catherine supervised Mary's studies and took an active part herself, teaching her the basics of reading and writing and correcting her Latin.[40] The first tutor she procured for Mary was Thomas Linacre who wrote a Latin grammar for the princess.[41]

The queen was greatly helped in her task by the moral and practical support of leading humanists associated with the court. Two in particular, Sir Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives had clear ideas concerning the education of girls, and they worked with Catherine in pursuit of her goal.

Thomas More taught that education was as important for girls as well as boys, at a time when the idea of the need for a gentleman to be learned was relatively new.[42] Expressing his views to William Gunnell, he wrote

> If [women] are worthy of being ranked with the human race, if they are distinguished by reason from the beasts; that learning, by which the reason is cultivated, is equally suitable to both. Both of them, if the seed of good principles be sown in them, equally produce the germs of virtue. (43)

More went further than simply writing about educational theory, for he put it into practice in his own household. Since he had three daughters of his own, plus a step-daughter, Alice Middleton, and a foster-daughter, Mary Gigs, but only one son, his household school must have been predominantly feminine in character.[44]

Vives was staying in the More household in May 1523 when he received his first introduction to court.[45] He brought to England his translation and commentary on St Augustine's De civitas dei which he

had dedicated to Henry the previous July.[46] The dedication praised the king's 'strength of wit and studies of wisdom', and ironically drew special attention to his defence of the sacraments which had confirmed 'the reputation of your mindes goodnesse'.[47] Vives was invited to the court personally by the king and queen late in 1523, when they had taken the unusual step of going to Oxford to hear his lectures.[48] By 1524 he was on both the royal pension lists.[49] According to Erasmus he was highly esteemed by them both,[50] but he was particularly close to the queen as the works he produced specially for her illustrate. In 1524 he published De institutione foeminae Christianae at Antwerp[51] and dedicated it to Catherine, believing that

> sub excellentibus et egreguis virtutibus alias ...
> Te semper ... praedicari. (52)

At the queen's request he produced study aids for Mary's education: De ratione studii[53] and a collection of moral maxims, Introductio ad Sapientiam: Satellitium sive symbola.[54] If Vives' ideas on educating girls now appear limiting, they were ahead of many of his contemporaries.[55] Grammar, rhetoric, scripture and moral philosophy were included as part of the curriculum. The books he prescribed included the New Testament, classical authors such as Plutarch, Livy and Seneca, the Church Fathers and modern works: Thomas More's Utopia and the works of Erasmus.[56]

Vives shared with Catherine of Aragon the deep concern that education and learning should lead to Christian values and a deeper piety. He believed that

> Since piety is the only way of perfecting man, and accomplishing the end for which he was formed, therefore piety is of all things the one thing necessary. (57)

Princess Mary imbibed deep and lasting religious convictions, largely from her mother whose Spanish and traditional brand of piety coloured her own. Her passionate loyalty for the Catholic church remained with her throughout her life, but it was more from the solace she found there than the result of the teaching in the schoolroom.[58]

The Schooling of Edward VI

Mary's educational upbringing lends some useful insights into that of Edward, which is the main subject of this chapter. The humanist influence is clearly discernable in the educational programmes of Mary, Elizabeth and Edward, but the two latter enjoyed circumstances very different from those surrounding Mary. None of them had such close relations with their parents for any length of time,and each were given a separate establishment from an early age.[59] Their upbringing was entrusted to tutors and governesses, as was that of Henry Fitzroy, Henry's illegitimate son.[60] Contact between the royal children was infrequent.[61] Richmond died before Edward was born, and the latter's household frequently moved, although he occasionally joined Elizabeth's establishment. Mary was older and out of favour much of the time, but she was expected to visit her brother, and did so occasionally.[62] She remained affectionate towards Edward until his death, and he returned her fondness, despite their religious differences.

It is interesting to note certain traits which were shared by Henry's children, particularly by Edward and Mary. A sense of loneliness and isolation, the absence of self-confidence, and at the same time an imperious, often bigoted attitude characterised both. Attempts to speculate as to why this was the case can only result in platitudes such as lack of parental affection and contact. Elizabeth also had certain pronounced psychological traits, and it must be concluded that the over-riding factor was the unique role assigned to them. Further examination of Edward's childhood and education will elaborate this theme.

As an infant, Edward had no shortage of female company. Brought up 'amoung the wemen'[63] until the age of six, Sibel Penne was his dry nurse and Lady Bryan, who had occupied the same post to Mary and Elizabeth, was the Lady Mistress.[64] These appointments reflect the familiar pattern of inter-personal relationships at court, and it is worthy of note that Lady Bryan was sister to John Bourchier, second Lord Berners and mother of Henry's intimate companion, Sir Francis Bryan.[65] Both men were engaged in literary pursuits and were closely associated with the patronage and production of humanist works within the court.

When Katherine Parr came to prominence at court, she seems to have taken on a maternal role vis à vis Edward, although physical contact between them was limited by Edward's movements. Edward had little opportunity to develop natural ties of affection except at a distance, but his letters to Katherine reveal an ordinary affectionate child

seeking love and approval. He acknowledged Katherine's influence on him through her

> loving and tendre letters, which do geve me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such thinges wherein your grace bereath me on hand that I am already entered. (66)

By this time Edward's household had undergone some degree of re-organisation in order to begin the prince's education in earnest. Edward was removed from female company and placed in the care of tutors. Some reshuffling took place as well as new appointments.[67] Edward himself noted the changes as a turning point, observing that from that time he began to be brought up

> in learning of toungues, of the scriptures, of philosophie and all liberall sciences. (68)

The extent of Katherine Parr's responsibility in the enterprise is difficult to gauge. While it may be going too far to assign her sole charge of Edward's school, there seems no reason to deny her a significant role. During his absence in France at the time, the king had, after all, left Katherine as Regent.[69] Henry must have had a certain degree of confidence in Katherine, even if the position was largely nominal.

Katherine's own intelligence has already been verified, and her knowledge of court scholarship through her familiarity with the royal household by this time would place her in a good position from which to involve herself. Moreover, her piety and appreciation of the role of learning in promoting Christian truth closely reflected the

attitude of Catherine of Aragon. She may have modelled herself on that queen to some extent, and having no children of her own sought to foster such values in Edward. The fact that this had to be largely indirect influence does not negate its existencee or its importance. Katherine certainly encouraged Mary in the pursuit of intellectual piety,[70] and her influence over the education of Elizabeth was both decisive and direct.[71]

Since any influence of this kind had to be exercised at a distance, as far as Edward was concerned, the immediate influence of the prince's household officers and more importantly his schoolmasters becomes apparent.

Strype claimed that the papists were 'jealous of this prince' even before he became king, 'liking neither his instructors nor his way of education'.[72] One of the most intriguing questions of the English reformation period which has not received a satisfactory answer is why Henry should have allowed his son to be brought up as a Protestant. An examination of the tutors involved in Edward's upbringing sheds further light on 'his way of education', besides helping to explain the choice of tutors and their alleged Protestantism.

The argument followed here is that Henry chose Edward's tutors on the grounds of their academic ability and loyalty to the principle of Erastianism. That they were reformers in education did not necessarily mean they were also favourers of religious reform, although the probability was higher that this should be the case. The circumstances of the following reign and the personal development of the personnel

involved led to a court with an increasingly partisan tone, but this is simply to say that the situation in 1553 was not what it was in 1544 or even 1547.

Edward's Tutors

The most senior member of Edward's school was Richard Cox, who was already Dean of the establishment when the reorganisation of 1544 took place.[73] He had been chaplain to the king and to Archbishop Cranmer[74] and it was most likely on the latter's recommendation that he moved to supervise the upbringing of the heir.[75] He was now appointed to be Edward's Almoner with continued responsibility for Edward's studies.

Cox was well qualified to educate the prince for he had made a name for himself in the university by this time. Educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, he had imbibed the teachings of the New Learning, and from 1528-34 he was Master of Eton, where he made some important innovations in the curriculum, mainly in order to emphasise the classical authors and the critical works of contemporary humanists.[76] If he indeed supervised the revision of William Lily's Grammar, as has been claimed,[77] his influence in this sphere spread far beyond the royal nursery. The Commentaries on William Lily's Construction of the Eight Parts of Speech was published in 1540, and in 1543 a royal proclaim decreed that no other grammar book was to be used by any schoolmaster or grammer teacher in the realm.[78]

The proclamation concluded with the admonition to

> fail not to apply your scholars in learning and godly education (79)

the twin principles governing Edward's schooling. Cox's methods

included features which were a recognisable part of Edward's educational programme: learning grammar by application to easy examples, teaching the reasoning behind the rules, reading books of the pupil's choice, English to Latin translation, and, most familiar of all in Edward's case, continual study.

Following his time at Eton, Cox returned to Cambridge and became more involved in public service to the state, though he retained his educational interests.[80] Cox's involvement in public affairs illustrates the important link between the court and the university and the easy flow of men and ideas from one to the other. As long as the Tudor court showed itself willing to welcome and assimilate scholars, it could not avoid laying itself open to invasion of new thought, and the consequences which inevitably arose.[81]

Evidence of Henry's continued confidence in Cox appeared with his appointment as the first Dean of Christchurch, Cambridge in 1546.[82] Cox also won the confidence and affection of his most important pupil who addressed his schoolmaster as mi elemosynarie charissime and signed himself as Discipulis tui amantissimus.[83]

Despite his reputation for learning and his standing at court, Cox had a somewhat unorthodox past which demands an explanation. In the late 1520s Cox had been forced to leave Oxford because it became known that he entertained Lutheran views.[84] There is no record that he ever recanted these, but they may have undergone modification as time went on. His beliefs included a commitment to the Erastian principle which enabled him to accept the English reformation as it progressed on the king's terms. He demonstrated his concurrence in a number of ways

before his appointment to the royal nursery.

He contributed to the doctrinal discussions on the Sacraments in 1540,[85] he was a member of the commission appointed to produce an authoritative version of the Bible, and of that which produced A necessary doctrine and erudition of a Christian man.[86] His answers to the series of questions circulated among the bishops by Cranmer in 1540 suggest that by that time he leaned towards Martin Bucer, as did so many of his Cambridge colleagues.[87] Although some of his answers were radical enough, his overall outlook was tempered by Erastianism. Cox, moreover, was primarily a scholar whose interests were in bringing a humanist critique to bear upon traditional learning.

As a man of such learning and public prestige he found himself taking part in the trials of some of the more notorious heretics of the time, notably Robert Barnes, Edward Crome and Anne Askew. This in itself should be sufficient to cast doubt on the idea that he was secretly indoctrinating Edward with Protestant beliefs in Henry's reign but closer examination of the three trials should also prevent Cox from the indictment of hypocrisy or time-serving. In the case of Barnes for example, he was appointed as an 'indifferent hearer' to arbitrate between the reformer and his accuser, the Bishop of Winchester, whose sermon Barnes had confuted at St Paul's Cross.[88] As neutral arbiter it should be remembered that Cox was at least as likely to be sympathetic towards Barnes as towards Gardiner, since it is generally thought that the bishop aimed to attack the authority of Cromwell through Barnes.[89]

His part in the trial of Anne Askew was small and was summarised

by Anne herself in her comment that they 'could not agree'.[90] Since she maintained overtly sacramentarian views this is not surprising. Furthermore, as a heretic, Anne Askew posed a threat to authority, and where either extremism or instability threatened, Cox was firmly on the side of authority.

Moderation and Erastianism continued to colour Cox's position in Edward's reign, where he supported the official move towards further reform. His most important contribution beyond the court was to introduce Peter Martyr and John Ab Ulmis to Oxford, and to provide them with financial and moral support.[91] He was regarded highly by the continental reformers, particularly by Bullinger, and their correspondence reveals that Cox was instrumental in maintaining open links between the Edwardian court and the continental reformers.[92] Cox remembered Bullinger in his private prayers and sought his counsel for the pursuit of the public reformation of the court.[93] Their views 'entirely coincide [d] ' on one very telling point, that

> all things in the church should be pure, simple and removed as far as possible from the elements and pomps of this world. (94)

This must have been a powerful source of pressure to simplify the ceremonial of court worship at this time. Cox also perused the reformer's books[95] and was confident that they would be well received at court because of the influence of the queen dowager and the pious noble men there, but above all because of the zeal of the king.[96] It was probably Cox who, in his capacity as Royal Librarian caused a number of the continental reformers' books to be placed in Edward's

library.[97] They included Tractatio de sacramento eucharistise by Peter Martyr Vermigli;[98] A traoedie or dialoge of the uniuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome by Bernadino Ochino,[99] and La Somme de theologie by Philip Melanchthon.[100] Cox had the highest hopes of his young sovereign in whose upbringing he had played such a part, and the hopes of the continental reformers in their turn were doubtless based in no small measure on the praises of Cox.

Cox was in every way intimately connected with the Edwardian Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552, and his devotion to the second governed his activities in exile at Frankfurt during Mary's reign.[101] There he led the Prayer Book party in its struggles against Knox and his supporters.[102] Upon Elizabeth's accession he returned to England to pick up the threads of influence in learning, public service and ecclesiastical affairs, working on the same Erastian principles as before. He was prominent in setting the tone of official religious policy at the beginning of the reign, largely through his preaching. Early in 1559 he preached three times at court in less than two months and was appointed to preach the opening sermon to parliament that year also.[103] This latter sermon was fiercely anti-Catholic and in demanding the destruction of all images erected to saints,[104] recalled his desire for the 'pure' and 'simple' in religious life of former years.[105] In view of this his clash with Elizabeth over her retention of candles and a crucifix in her chapel, was in keeping with his general attitude towards worship.[106]

The man appointed as 'a suppliment to Mr Cox'[107] was confirmation that Henry was in touch with the intellectual climate and seeking to

employ the best minds available '... for the bettere instruccion of the Prince ...'.[108] Sir John Cheke was a humanist of the highest calibre, and, like Cox, had already made a name for himself at the university. As a fellow of St John's, Cambridge, he was greatly loved and respected. Roger Ascham maintained that

> literarum fundamenta te auctore, in hoc collegio nostra iacta sunt ... (109)

Indeed, Cheke was one of the chief figures among a whole new generation of scholars which had siezed the initiative by the 1530s and he was a strong influence upon a great many well-known Tudor humanists.[110] With an emphasis on the classics and reform as their key interests, they would suit the purposes of the government well. Cheke's father died in 1530, and following this his 'great friend, counsellor and the encourager of his studies'[111] was Dr Butts, who first brought him to the notice of the king. Thus, when Henry founded a new Greek chair around 1540, he made Cheke the first Professor and he was also the university Orator until he went to court.[112]

This transition took place in 1544, the year following his first publication of two homilies of St John Chrysostom with Greek and Latin texts, dedicated to the king.[113] In 1544 he edited one of the homilies which had been translated into England by one of his pupils at St John's, Sir Thomas Chaloner.[114] Such a work of scholarship on what was in fact a religious text is indicative of the interests of so many Christian humanists of the mid-Tudor period, not least of Cheke himself. They believed in virtue, and in cleansing the Church from ignorance and superstition, but they were primarily scholars, not religious reformers. Cheke's other literary associations bear this

out. There was one piece of religious polemic by Edmund Gest dedicated to him in 1548,[115] but more typical were classical works such as Thucydides' History translated from French by Thomas Nicolas, and dedicated to Cheke.[116] It was as much his scholarship as his commitment to reform which brought about his involvement in the revision of the Prayer Book also.[117]

All this is in no way to deny Cheke's own religious convictions which were evident enough to his contemporaries.

Ridley called him 'one of Christ's special advocates'.[118]

Roger Ascham thought the court could not be more fortunate

> quam quod Joannem Chekum, ad praeclaram doctrinam et veram religionem, adolescentiae suae doctorem nactus sit. (119)

According to Strype, Cheke was chiefly responsible for

> instilling such good principles of sound Christianity in the head and heart of ... his royal scholar, (120)

but went on to make a more revealing statement concerning the way Cheke

> gave his helping hand to learning and religion which appeared more manifestly afterwards when his royal scholar ... was advanced to the crown. (121)

Although the last statement suggests some form of well-intentioned indoctrination, it is reasonable to assume that 'good principles of sound Christianity' do not necessarily constitute Protestantism. It was generally expected that royal tutors should instil their pupils with '... learning, manners and religion'[122] but as Strype's second statement maintains, Cheke's position when Edward was king, was not what it had been in Henry's lifetime.

As with Cranmer and others, a gradual evolution of Cheke's religious position can be traced. During his early life at St John's Cambridge

> reading privately the holy Scriptures and Luther's books (123)

questions had stirred his mind, particularly over the mass. Gradually,

> he became confirmed in this opinion of the spiritual sense, partly by reading the late books of the learned Germans ... and partly by taking notice of the providence of God in this realm, that is in King Edward's days wherein this doctrine was generally embraced. (124)

At his recantation Cheke maintained that it had not been his office to teach the king matters concerning religion for that 'was committed to others', although he confessed he

> did no less to confirm and set forward the same in his mind, and all the rest of the youth than any other. (125)

Cheke was here speaking under duress and referred to his own Protestantism as his 'pestilent error'.[126] The important points are that he understood his brief to be schoolmaster to the king and his companions and not religious instructor, while at the same time he acknowledged that such close dealings with Edward rendered his personal influence inevitable.

Cheke was an important figure in the affairs of state during Edward's reign,[127] but his close proximity to the king is of greater significance in the present context. He was one of the few for whom Edward expressed spontaneous affection and he in turn clearly held his sovereign in very high regard.[128] He had the capacity to arouse this

kind of devotion among his pupils, among whom Roger Ascham and William Cecil stand out as his most ardent admirers.[129]

Men like Cheke, however, could not avoid the public glare even if they tried and Cheke's prominence in the state as well as in the Privy Chamber brought about an unhappy end to his life during Mary's reign. Having supported Northumberland's coup on account of 'fears of the return of Popery'[130] he fled abroad, was subsequently arrested and brought to recant, dying soon afterwards a broken man.[131] His recantation, however, was obtained with difficulty, and most Protestants refused to believe he had betrayed their cause.

The two very different ends of Edward's two senior tutors bears witness to the unpredictability of circumstances rather than the inconsistencies of human nature. While they had charge of 'England's future hope' they set about their task in earnest, and together sought to give him the best education available.

From time to time, other scholars were involved in the educational work of the royal nursery, thought not on the same permanent basis as Cox and Cheke.

Sir Anthony Cooke was also greatly respected for his learning and he moved easily in court circles through wide-ranging family connections. His own household gained a reputation similar to that of Thomas More, since he produced four daughters who were all classical scholars in their own right. Cooke taught them along the lines prescribed by Erasmus and Vives, and followed by More himself.[132]

His family connections, plus his own reputation for erudition secured an entre for Cooke into the circle around Edward.[133] Cooke's

involvement in Edward's education may not have been the result of a formal appointment, and it seems likely that he was there to undertake responsibility during Cheke's absence in 1549. Ascham claimed the choice fell on Cooke

> qui propter suam eruditionem in erudiendo Rege Joanni Checo socius adiunctus est. (134)

He translated a work on prayer by St Cyprian and dedicated it to the king, in keeping with the Christian humanist tradition of loyalty to the ruler and interest in piety.[135]

Little is known of his own religious learnings prior to Edward's reign, although the firm Protestant commitment of his daughters suggest that they were nurtured in that tradition at home as part of their educational upbringing.

Cooke's Protestant stand carried him into exile in Mary's reign and he became a leading Elizabethan statesman upon his return,[136] but at the time of his association with the late Henrician and early Edwardian court, his views must have been in general accord with the rest of the royal educational establishment. Cooke was one of a number of specialist tutors who seem to have been employed by the court on a temporary or ad hoc basis.

Roger Ascham, who played an important part in Elizabeth's education, was also employed on Edward's behalf from time to time in order to instruct him in writing.[137] His activities helped to maintain links between the two households, for although Elizabeth would occasionally join Edward's household, she was more often apart from him. Ascham was called to Edward's Privy Chamber by Cheke who had helped secure the post of royal tutor, showing kindness to him 'et in

Academia et in Aula'.[138]

Elizabeth spent much of her time in the home of Sir Anthony Denny who was closely involved with the old king and with the circle around the prince.[139] In 1544 Ascham had sent copies of Toxophilus,[140] his work on the art of shooting, to numerous courtiers, including Denny, and Edward and his companions.[141] He had dedicated it to Henry and presented a copy to the king and queen.[142] Katherine Parr's influence was over-ridden in the case of Ascham's appointment as Grindal's replacement, for she and her husband, Sir Thomas Seymour would have preferred Francis Goldsmith.[143] The episode reveals, however, that Katherine was still closely involved in the education of the royal family at this date, and indeed in education generally, since Ascham had written to her the previous year on behalf of Cambridge, thanking her for her letter to that university, encouraging her to maintain the link.[144]

Another interesting and enigmatic character involved in the royal programme of education was Edward's French master, John Belmaine. Born a Frenchman, Belmaine settled in England and began to tutor Edward in 1546.[145] It seems that Belmaine was a more permanent member of Edward's establishment than Cooke or Ascham. He became a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and was in receipt of lands.[146] He may have been promoted by Cox who later came to share Belmaine's religious sympathies. Cox's relatively radical views in Elizabeth's reign were as yet mild in comparison with Belmaine, however, who was known as a 'zealous Protestant' from the beginning.[147] The evidence for Belmaine's activities in the royal schoolroom comes chiefly from the

nature of the French exercises he gave to Edward. Three of these survive, each concerned with religious topics. The first two are collections of scriptures, one against idolatry and one on faith, while the third is a treatise against the supremacy of the Pope written in 1549. There is, furthermore, a translation into French by Belmaine himself of the English Prayer Book of 1552,[148] and also a French translation of St Basil's epistle to Gregory the Great concerning the solitary life, which he dedicated to Elizabeth.[149]

These studies reflect Belmaine's chief pre-occupation and offer the strongest evidence that any of Edward's teachers directly influenced the prince through his studies in any certain direction. Edward may have had a natural inclination towards topics of a religious nature, and there can be little doubt that he was brought up to have the highest regard for the authority of scripture. In 1549 Edward prepared to make a classified list of quotations from the Bible in one of his exercise books. A random selection of topics reads as follows:

Loci de Divinitate Christi
De Primatu Papae
De predestinatione
De authoritate verbi
De Eucharistiae (150)

They show an interest in theological debate akin to that of Henry VIII.[151] Belmaine's approach at least reinforced the direction of Edward's personal development and may well have been responsible for his youthful zeal to a degree far beyond his ostensible role in the royal household.

There were undoubtedly others employed in the royal school from

time to time in a specialist capacity. The continued importance of music at the Tudor court, for example, was reflected in the direct involvement of individual musicians with Edward. Philip Van Wilder, a member of the Privy Chamber, taught Edward to play the lute.[152] He also taught Mary, and thus provided another link between the separate royal establishments.[153]

The assertion that Christopher Tye taught Edward is an extremely tenuous one, based largely upon a play by Samuel Rowly, published in 1605.[154] Tye was first a choir boy at King's College, Cambridge. Cox went there in 1519 and many years later ordained Tye at Ely where the musician had been Master of the choir boys.[155] Such close links with Edward's tutor and Almoner may have strengthened the idea that Tye also instructed Edward. He became a gentleman of the Chapel Royal and published a metrical version of the Acts of the Apostles, dedicating it to Edward.[156] Tye acknowledged that in preparing this work he had imitated Thomas Sternhold, who had published a metrical version of the Psalms, also dedicated to Edward.[157] Although Sternhold is not recorded as having taught Edward in any official capacity, he could claim some influence over him, having formerly entertained him in singing, and now presenting his metrical psalms

> trustyng that as youre grace taketh pleasure to heare them songe sometimes of me, so ye wyll also delight, not onelye to see and reade them youre selfe, but also to commaunde them to bee songe to you of others. (158)

It seems that Sternhold was seeking to stir up an evangelical zeal in his young and impressionable sovereign.

It remains to point out the significance of one other person of influence in Edward's life who, like the last-mentioned individual, was not a tutor in the royal school. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, however, was by no means the least influential person around Edward. Cranmer's influence over Edward was more often than not subtle and behind the scenes, as it had been with Henry, but he was actively concerned to enable Edward to develop and grow. As Edward's godfather, Cranmer had been concerned with the prince from his birth. He was the recipient of the earliest surviving letter written by Edward dated 18th June, 1545,[159] and took a close interest in the prince's schooling. He helped to set up the prince's first separate establishment, and was associated with Butts and Denny in supporting reform at Henry's court.[160] His support is evident when Edward's household was reorganised and Cheke was appointed to assist Cox.[161] Edward's tutors kept Cranmer informed of his progress, and Cranmer wrote to Edward to encourage him in his studies.[162]

Cranmer's own religious development reflects very closely the gradual move from Henrician Catholicism to a more certain Protestantism. His presence at the Edwardian court could thus act as a brake on radicals who wished to plunge England into an extreme Protestant position. At the same time, he believed passionately in the position of the monarch as head over the Church, and was deeply committed to reform. Cranmer clearly thought as highly of Edward as he had of Henry VIII, and was eager to see him grow into the godly monarch envisaged by reformers: one who would indeed be a second Josiah.[163]

Edward's Reputation

Edward was held up from the beginning as a child prodigy, not only by his tutors, but also by distant on-lookers. Cox concluded his report on Edward's academic progress in 1544 by describing him as

> a vessel apt to receive all goodness and learning, witty, sharp and pleasant, (164)

while Cheke thought he accomplished more during infancy than most others could manage at a mature age.[165]

Ascham told the Swiss reformer Sturmius many details of the king's educational activities, commenting

> fortunam in principe nostro aliquot natura: utramque superat virtus: sive, ut Christianum hominem loqui decet, multiplex gratia Dei, cupiditate optimarium literarum, studio rectissimae religionis voluntate, judicio, et, quam tu in studiis unice laudas, constantia, aetatem suam mirifice praecurrit. (166)

These three pronouncements came at different times from men who were closely involved with the young king's development. They had a vested interest in producing a star pupil, and they were also writing within a long-established tradition of praise for the intelligence of royal offspring. The man who wrote that

> he gave so many proofs of his liberal education, of polite, nay rather scholarly attainments far beyond his age ... (167)

might have been describing Edward. In fact he was writing in 1483 to describe another Prince Edward, the heir of Edward IV[168]

The survival of many of Edward's school exercises suggest that he was not an especially bright child.[169] As prince he was encouraged to write letters in order to exercise his hand, sharpen his wits and

improve his style.[170] He frequently quoted the maxims of authors he had studied and his correspondence was on the whole formal and somewhat artificial, as may be expected of school exercises. These gave way to orationes after his accession, likewise designed to improve his style, and although they may reflect some of Edward's own ideas, they were not particularly profound or original.[171] What Edward lacked in original genius, he made up for in application. Foxe marvelled that

> in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study, using the same with as much intention till time called him again from his book to pastime. (172)

Cheke told how he would

> sequester himself from all companions into some chamber or gallery to learn, without book, his lessons with great alacrity and cheerfulness. (173)

Reports of his abilities stress the amount of learning he had assimilated and bear further witness to Edward's capacity to apply himself to hard work, besides indicating the pace of his education.[174] In content and method it represented the ideas of the humanists. The best classical authors were read along with contemporaries like Erasmus and Vives. Before Edward was nine, he had read

> almost foure bookes of Cato ... besides thynges of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, (and) Aesop's Fables. (175)

He continued his study of classical authors as king, reading Isocrates, Cicero, Pliny, and later, Aristotle. He thus mastered Latin and went on to Greek, in accordance with humanist methods.[176]

Erasmus had prepared the preliminary steps for the study of almost every classical author, and Edward had a copy of his textbook on letter-writing.[177] Vives had also provided detailed instructions for the education of a prince in his de Disciplinis, and his methods as well as his writings found a place in Edward's schooling. Vives stressed note-making, for example, a method which formed an integral part of Edward's approach to study, and one which he took beyond the classroom into the realm of religious activities.[178]

Edward also followed methods prescribed by his own tutors. Cox had developed his ideas at Eton, basing the curriculum there on strict classicism, training in good manners, and exposure to the critical works of the Renaissance.[179] Cheke on the other hand suggested the idea of keeping a journal,[180] while the practice of double translation described by Roger Ascham in The scholemaster was also advocated by him.[181] Content and method were always directed towards one end, however, and it is this which makes a discussion of Edward's education relevant in the present context.

It is not difficult to see how Edward became regarded as a godly imp, and why the reformers had such high expectations of him. They linked his natural aptitude for study with an innate piety which they interpreted from their own point of view. They did not do so from an uninformed position, since from early childhood, Edward's studious nature had been widely advertised by his tutors. The impression was given, no doubt truthfully, that Edward was an ideal pupil. Thus foreign ambassadors like Soranzo, could report that Edward

> attended to his studies with marvellous success. (182)

A number of scholars were impressed by Edward early on in his life.

William Thomas was moved to exclaim:

> Such a spirit of capacity, learnyng the thinge taught hym by his schoolemasters, that it is a wonder to heare say. (183)

Little was said about Edward's inclination to piety at this stage. Once he became king, the reformers took a much closer interest in his progress, and clearly held out great hopes of a full reformation of the English Church. It was therefore of the utmost importance that he should be diligent in his support of the Truth. Edward's godliness was seen as a sign of divine favour on England, and the reformers were encouraged to have regard for his progress and pray for him. News of his educational progress was eagerly passed on in correspondence, and his doings were carefully noted. In September 1548 Traheron told Bullinger that

> We have a king who is firm, learned and pious beyond his age, (184)

and went on to speak of his

> incredible piety, most holy manners, prudence altogether that of an old man, with a firmness at this age altogether unheard of. (185)

Eighteen months later, Hooper told him that there never had been

> these thousand years so much erudition united with piety and sweetness of disposition, (186)

and the same year Bucer recorded that Edward was 'godly and learned to a miracle'.[187]

By now the young king's piety and learning were firmly linked together, and the sense of loss at his death was very real as the

reformers reflected on what might have been. John Sturmius wrote to Paget soon after Edward's death:

> Luctuosissimuma quidem nobis ad audiendum fuit, et adhuc ad recordandum acerbissima est, Regis mors: qui in tanta fuit expectatione clementiae, prudentiae, doctrinae, religionis, ut non vester solum, verum etiam noster, et omnium rex hominum fore videretur. (188)

Foxe commented that

> if (Edward) might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josiah's reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to this church and realm. (189)

Bibliander applied another Old Testament analogy to the dead king:

> ex cordatis hominibus multi crediderint, ipsum, tantqua Salomonem altenum, ad sapientiam ac virtutem e throno coelesti veniente adspirasse. (190)

This image of Edward was not altogether unfounded, but it is difficult not to conclude that it was magnified and embellished by his government for political purposes. His exercises show that his tutors worked hard to inculcate piety of a reformed variety into their charges at court, and Edward played his part well. The interest taken in Edward by the reformers has naturally helped to foster the idea that he was a Protestant almost from his cradle upwards. Thus Foxe wrote

> There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. (191)

This was a natural assumption given the environment in which he was brought up and his education continued with the same earnestness after he had become king. Somerset echoed the views of Erasmus and Vives

when he pointed to the close relationship between education and godliness:

> If learning decay which of wild men maketh civil; of blockish and rash persons wise and goodly counsellors, of obstinate rebels obedient subjects, and of evil men good and godly Christians; what shall we look for else but barbarism and tumult? (192)

It would seem that there was no need to fear such a thing in Edward's day. Ascham noted that

> this court never lacked many fair examples, for young men to follow. (193)

Hooper held out great hopes for the future because England's youth was being taught godliness and good learning.[194]

Leading scholars of the day were involved in the tutoring of the young nobility as they had been in the past. In the earlier part of the century Oxford had lost its most advanced scholars to the court, now it was the turn of Cambridge.[195] Some of the men who took on the instruction of Edward's contemporaries had been Henrician exiles. They included Walter Haddon, who taught Henry and Charles Brandon for a time, and Bartholemew Traheron, who taught at both Oxford and Cambridge, and became Edward's librarian. From 1549 to 1550 Traheron was also a tutor in the Suffolk household, and from this position he acted as patron to young Protestants from abroad who came to study in England. It was Traheron who promoted John Ab Ulmis to the position of tutor to Lady Jane Grey.[196] Coverdale and Hooper, who had also been abroad in Henry's reign, returned to become royal chaplains and then bishops, while William Turner became chaplain and physician to Somerset after his return.[197]

By Edward's reign there was a great deal of contact between England and the Continent, and it was not only Edward's English subjects who were filled with admiration for him. A number of reformist leaders abroad took it upon themselves to write words of encouragement to him and Calvin was among his correspondents.[198] Edward was said to always pay close attention to letters from Bullinger and this was one important means of offering guidance and advice to the king.[199] Other reformers were privileged to preach before him, or perhaps present him with written work dedicated to him. Nicholas Udall's 'Epistle Dedicatory' which accompanied his contribution to the translation of the Paraphrases served not only to extol the king's virtues but to offer pious advice early on in the reign.[200]

Those who could not address Edward in any other way could at least pray for him, and the reformers believed it was important to do this. Traheron appealed to Bullinger to pray for the king in his public prayers in September 1548.[201] Bucer asked Calvin to 'redouble' his prayers for Edward in 1550 to protect him from the papists,[202] and Peter Martyr told Bullinger of the need to

> entreat God with most fervent prayers very long to preserve him to the kingdom and to the church. (203)

The foreign reformers were somewhat sceptical of the soundness of many of the nobility at court and also the bishops, so it was all the more important that Edward should be preserved.

There was little fear that Edward would be led astray by his tutors, who emerged as open supporters of reform early on in the new

reign. Many of the foreign leaders of reform were well-informed of the activities of Edward's court, and they had the utmost confidence in the royal tutors. In March 1550, Hooper told Bullinger that Cooke and Cheke

> as well as the king have a pious understanding of the doctrine of the eucharist. (204)

Others saw their aims and teaching methods in a completely different light. Van Der Delft wrote

> ... there is no man of learning, or bishop so ready to argue in support of the new doctrine as the king - according to what his masters tell him. (205)

Van Der Delft even thought that Edward wrote the sermons which were delivered before him.[206] A final observation from the Catholic standpoint will substantiate the point that it was only after Edward became king that he came to be revered as a godly Protestant. Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, was the the grand-daughter of Edward's Chamberlain, Sir William Sidney, and as a child she was sometimes sent for to keep Edward company.[207] She believed that

> (Edward's) inclination and natural disposition was of great towardness to all virtuous parts and princely qualities; a marvellous sweet child, of very mild and generous condition. Afterwards, when his father died ... mischievous and heretical governors, contrary to his father's will abused his tender age; who ruling to effect their own ends notoriously injured the natural good inclinations of this gentle and noble prince. (208)

The King's School Companions

When Cheke was appointed as Cox's assistant in the royal school, he was required not only for Edward's sake, but also for

> the diligent teaching of suche children as be appointed to attend uppon him. (209)

Ascham referred to

> ... reliquo illo nobilissimorum juvenum comitatu qui hactenus una cum rege nostro, in Graecis literis et Latinis educati ... (210)

in 1550 and sent copies of his Toxophilus

> ad Regiam Majestatem et reliquum illum nobilissimum chorum. (211)

In 1546 Edward referred to 'alii pueri qui hic sunt', in a letter to Cox.[212]

It is not easy to determine strictly who fell within the boundary of the royal school and who thus shared the king's upbringing on a more intimate basis. The itinerant nature of the household and the fluctuations in personnel meant that different youths would join Edward and a core group of companions for lessons on a temporary basis. It is possible therefore to surmise in a number of instances who may have done so.

There were the customary henchmen resident but they had their own Master[213] and were taught by the Master of Grammar.[214] In Edward's reign the latter post was held successively by John Nowell, William Buckley and Clement Adams, none of whom was attached to the royal school.[215] A sure route to promotion at court for youths of high birth was to become one of the royal henchmen, and a number of influential figures may have sought such a place for their sons at Edward's court.[216] Nine henchmen walked in Edward's funeral procession, but they were not named.[217]

Other youths at court would include the children of the chapel Royal and numerous pages hoping for a successful court career. There were various references to young lords at Edward's court, but they did not necessarily refer to the king's school fellows. 'Fower yonge lordes' resident at court at the time of Edward's death were named as

the lorde Thomas Howarde, the lorde Gyles Poulet, the lorde Lumley and the lorde Mounte Joye,[218] and they may represent four of his former school fellows. The fullest list of names referred to young lords to be sent as hostages to France in 1550. They were the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, Lord Talbot, Lord Fitzwarine, Lord Maltravers, Lord Strange, Lord Lisle, Lord Russell and Lord Hastings.[219] Six of these young nobles finally went to France and were the youths referred to by Ascham as

> una cum rege nostro, in Graecis literis et Latinis educati. (220)

They were selected because of their high rank and were all closely connected with the court. If Ascham's statement can be trusted, then they were among Edward's fellow pupils.[221]

Disregard for age among contemporary educators makes the task of delineating the royal school all the more difficult. Both Henry and Charles Brandon were educated at court, one born in 1535, the other in 1537.[222] Both youths showed great promise as scholars, and continued to receive the best tuition available after they had left the confines of the court for Cambridge. At St John's, they were instructed by Thomas Wilson and Walter Haddon, while Cheke taught Henry Greek, and Ascham taught the same to Charles, and hand-writing to them both.[223]

Henry and Charles Brandon died prematurely in 1551, but there is little doubt that they would have grown up as firm supporters of Protestantism. This cannot be said of all Edward's peer group. At the time of the formation of the school there was no question of selecting its pupils exclusively from families who sympathised with the ideals of those behind it.

Like the two Brandon youths, Henry Lord Maltravers died before reaching full maturity.[224] As the son of the 12th Earl of Arundel, he also merited a prominent position at court, and indeed he deputised

for his father as Chief Butler at Edward's coronation banquet.[225] Named as one of the hostages for France in 1551, it is almost certain that he shared Edward's schooling. Roger Ascham linked him with Henry Brandon as examples to the court,[226] and contemporaries cited him as a paradigm of learning, and 'a moste righte courtier'.[227] Maltravers came from a family which appreciated education. His father, who, according to the earl's anonymous biographer, was 'not unlearned',[228] collected a library which eventually found its way into the Royal Library, via his son-in-law Lord Lumley.[229] Lumley, also a probable member of Edward's school, married Arundel's daughter Jane, and she and her sister Mary (later Duchess of Norfolk) were classical scholars in their own right.[230]

Maltravers may have received some schooling in his father's household, besides the court school, which he left in 1549 to go to Cambridge.[231] From there he seemed set for a promising career, and for this he could rely on his own merits as much as his family's influence. His intellectual abilities were acknowledged by Lord Morley who dedicated a translation of Petrarch to him in 1555.[232] He spoke Spanish, and this brought him into immediate prominence in Mary's reign when Philip II of Spain arrived at the English court. He was appointed gentleman of the Chamber to Philip, and it was with the authority of this intimate position that he left England as ambassador to Maximilian of Bohemia in 1555.[233] He died the following year while still abroad, thus cutting short a career made possible by the combination of personal merit and acceptance of the new regime.

The eldest son of the Earl of Derby was also named as one of the

hostages bound for France. The Stanleys, like the Fitzalens and others of Edward's entourage, were an important and influential family.[234] Henry, Lord Strange was some years older than Edward,[235], but he was certainly close to the king during his reign. In 1547 he was knighted and made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. The influence he had with Edward was exploited by Somerset, who arranged for him to marry his daughter, the Lady Margaret.[236] At Somerset's trial in 1551 Lord Strange was required to give evidence, and according to Edward

> confessid how the duke willed him to sturre me to mary his third daughter the lady Jane, and willed him to be his spie in al mattieres of y^{e} doynges and saynges, and to knowe when some of my counsel spake secretly with me. (237)

The Earl of Derby had accepted Henry's break with Rome, but he remained one of the conservative peers of the realm. He became a member of Mary's Privy Council,[238] and his son was made a member of Philip's Privy Chamber in 1554.[239] With Mary's blessing, he married Margaret Clifford, daughter of the second Earl of Cumberland.[240] The wedding, which took place in the Chapel Royal, could not have been anything other than traditional Catholic, and marked the union of one conservative family with another even more conservative family, but in spite of this, Henry, Lord Strange showed no long-term commitment to the old religion. Under Elizabeth he persecuted recusants, and served the queen in a number of capacities, one being as commissioner for ecclesiastical affairs.[241]

A different outcome from circumstances similar to those of Lord Strange, may be seen in the career of George, Lord Talbot, who was also mentioned in the hostage list of 1551. The Talbots were another

old and influential family with a well-established tradition of court service. George was the son of the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury.[242] Despite the acquiescence of the fourth earl in the Henrician Reformation,[243] his son remained faithful to the old ways, was loyal to Mary and refused to accede to the Act of Supremacy in 1559 or to the Prayer Book.[244]

George, Lord Talbot did not follow in his father's footsteps with regard to religious loyalties. He may be included in Edward's entourage because of his name being on the list of 1551, and like Lord Maltravers and Lord Strange, he was appointed to Philip's Privy Chamber in 1554,[245] though he was a good deal older, having been born in 1528.[246] Since he was destined for court service, however, he must have been a familiar figure at Edward's court and was present at his coronation, for example.[247] Little is known of his educational abilities except that it has been commented that his writing is 'surely the most illegible scribble to survive from the Elizabethan period'.[248] He succeeded to the earldom in 1560, and proved himself completely loyal to Elizabeth, who assured him that she trusted him in return. Though he was considered to be 'half a Catholic', Elizabeth demonstrated her trust by committing to Shrewsbury's charge, Mary Queen of Scots, whom he guarded for 16 years.[249]

John Bourchier, Lord Fitzwarine was the son and heir apparent of the Earl of Bath, who was the first peer to declare for Mary,[250] and he may therefore be classed among the more conservative families represented in Edward's school. He died during his father's lifetime, and little is known of him except that he was a member of the royal

household in Edward's reign, and a companion of the king, since he is mentioned in Edward's Journal as taking part in tilts.[251]

The rise of Hertford and Lisle towards the end of Henry's reign, and their triumph at Edward's succession, made it inevitable that their sons should be placed in close proximity to Edward himself.

Edward Seymour, the eldest son of Hertford's second wife, Anne Stanhope was born in 1539, and was a cousin of Edward.[252] His brother Henry, born a year later may also have participated in the royal school, although he does not receive a mention. Not only was Hertford one of the leading figures at court during the 1540s, the period when Edward's schooling began, but he and his wife were closely connected with the circle immediately involved with the royal nursery. The Countess of Hertford was a close friend of Queen Katherine Parr, and remained so, until the latter's marriage to Thomas Seymour created an irreparable breach.[253] In 1544, the year of the reorganisation of the royal nursery, Hertford was appointed Lieutenant of the kingdom under Katherine Parr's regency while Henry was in France and at the end of the reign he was in constant attendance at court. It is therefore logical to suppose that his son Edward, should also frequently be at court. Two Latin letters survive, written from Edward to Cognato meo suavissimo in praise of his virtues and abilities.[254] Hertford was one of those sent to France in 1550, but little else is known of him in this period. He seems to have been regarded as an intelligent youth and Edward's first letter especially praised his virtues and abilities.[255] His father's fall cut short his own rising career, but he was restored in blood by Elizabeth in 1559. He incurred her

displeasure by marriage to Lady Catherine Grey, who inherited the Suffolk claim to the throne.[256] There is little to indicate the personal religious sentiments of the Earl of Hertford, but a number of book dedications suggest that he was regarded as a faithful member of the Elizabethan establishment. These included a translation of Calvin's commentary upon St Paul's Epistle to the Romans by Charles Rosdell in 1583,[257] and a sermon by John Pelling in 1607,[258] besides numerous secular works.[259] He also received the dedication of A treatise of morall philosophie by William Baldwin in 1547 which may be an acknowledgement of his participation in the royal school.[260]

If the Earl of Hertford secured a place for his offspring in the royal household, the Earl of Warwick was not to be outdone. His children were prominent at court in Edward's reign, and through Warwick's influence they occupied important positions and were attached to prominent families. He took care to give them a good education, and this may have included some lessons with Edward.[261] The eldest son, John was appointed Master of the Horse in 1552[262] which gave him a place of residence at court. He was older than the king, and had already achieved a reputation for his intelligence according to Thomas Wilson, who was a staunch adherent of the Dudleys. He dedicated his work The Arte of Rhetorique to John Dudley in 1553.[263] John died in 1554,[264] and his brother Guildford was executed in the same year. Ambrose was recorded by Edward as being present at many court festivities and taking part in the tilting.[265] Having survived Mary's reign and secured her pardon, he rose in favour in Elizabeth's, and showed himself to be a supporter of the Puritans. He was Captain

General of the force sent by the queen to aid the Huguenots, and at home one of the positions he held was that of governor of the possessions and revenues of the preachers of the gospel for Warwickshire.[266] His younger brother Robert was the same age as Elizabeth and was frequently in her company in this period. This may have included occasional lessons together.[267] Towards the end of the reign he was even more in the company of Edward, since he was appointed as one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in 1551.[268] Edward noted this appointment in his Journal, naming Robert Dudley and his favourite companion, Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[269]. The following year he succeeded his brother John as Master of the Buckhounds when the latter became Master of the Horse.[270] His career under Elizabeth as courtier, politician and patron not only of literature and drama but of the puritan controversialists is well known.[271] It has been argued that he did not adopt any ideological stance until Elizabeth's regime was well established.[272] While this may be true of his public commitment to the puritans, there seems little doubt of where his personal inclinations lay. At the very beginning of the reign he was asked to secure employment for twenty eight

> godly preachers which have utterly forsaken antichrist and all his Romish rags. (273)

Although instances could be cited to reveal inconsistencies in Leicester's life, it is best to allow the individuals themselves in such circumstances to have the last word. Writing to Thomas Wood in 1576, Leicester claimed that:

> My doings are plain and chiefly in the causes of religion. I take Almighty God to my record, I never altered my mind or thought from my youth touching my religion, and you know I was ever from my cradle brought up in it. (274)

His sisters Catherine and Mary married two other probable members of Edward's royal school, who were prominent Protestants in Elizabeth's reign.[275] The Dudley family therefore, despite its near destruction after Northumberland's plot was the product of the period which saw the growing strength of Protestantism.[276]

Catherine Dudley was married to Henry Lord Hastings in 1553 at the same time as Jane Grey married Guildford Dudley and Catherine Grey married Lord Herbert.[277] The certainty that Henry Lord Hastings belonged to the royal household school comes from Hastings himself in relating an anecdote about Edward from the days when he had been bred 'up in his childhood with King Edward'.[278] In his maturity, Lord Hastings exemplified all that a devout Protestant nobleman should be, and was doubtless all that his godly preceptors in the royal school hoped for. Neither circumstances nor family loyalty swayed his religious convictions, and in this case at least the extravagant eulogies concerning his virtues and abilities which he received as a youth did not turn sour in the eyes of the reformers. One such came from the pen of Thomas Paulfreyman in his version of William Baldwin's Treatise of morall phylosophie,[279] which is also a comment upon the kind of education believed to have been given to Edward and his noble companions:

> ... I have bn already sufficiētly perswaded y^t^ your honor evē frō y^e^ cradle have been trained up in the pathway of vertue and according to y^e^ professiō of a godly and true christiā have received instructiōs aswel in y^e^ sacred scriptures, as also otherwise in profāe lernīge ... (280)

There was too much subsequent diversity among Edward's companions for this to be taken at its face value although Edward and Hastings themselves may have concurred in the judgement. John Cheke added his praises of Hastings to those of other admirers in a prefatory letter to Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Il Cortegiano.[281]

One further eulogy of Hastings shows how deeply rooted was the conviction that godliness and sound learning had been part of his upbringing:

> Hic veterum libros ineunte aetate studendo. Qui Graece sophiam, vel qui scripsere Latine Voluit; collusor puero post seria Regi Magnorum antiqua Regum de stirpe propago. Praeconem hic sacrum Satrapas attentior audit. Exprimit et vita morum pietate relucens. (282)

Through his marriage to Catherine Dudley, the failure of Northumberland's plot placed Hastings in a very precarious position. He owed his survival to the protection of highly placed relatives who prospered under Mary: his father's brother Sir Edward Hastings, a loyal Catholic, Privy Councillor and Master of the Queen's Horse, and his great uncle Cardinal Reginald Pole.[283] His mother, the Countess of Huntingdon, was also a loyal supporter of Mary, and the queen did not forget that the Countess' grandmother was the Countess of Salisbury, her own godmother and governess, and the faithful friend of Catherine of Aragon.[284] With connections like these, the depth of Lord Hastings' Protestant convictions is all the more remarkable. His father conformed, and he, still only 17 on Mary's accession, acquiesced. In 1554 he was appointed to Philip's Chamber.[285] In consequence of such a background as this, Elizabeth needed to be sure that Hastings was trustworthy, especially because of his proximity to the throne. It was

1572, therefore, before he received a worthy office, in spite of the fact that he had showed unquestionable loyalty to the regime. Since succeeding to the earldom in 1560, he had used his resources to promote the Protestant faith. He patronised Protestant authors and returning Marian exiles, and the dedications he received during his lifetime show the confidence placed in him by the godly.[286] An indication of his appreciation of the upbringing he received at the court is to be found in the provision he made for his relatives and the children of close friends. The latter included the orphaned children of the Earl of Essex, Thomas, the son of Sir Philip Sidney and Edward Russell the heir of the second Earl of Bedford.[287]

Anthony Gilby, a Marian exile involved in the production of the Geneva Bible became a resident of the 3rd earl's household, and helped him to transform it 'into a Protestant seminary in miniature'.[288] According to his brother Francis, the earl's care:

> ... was not wanting to do them any good either to train them up in learning or otherwise dispose of them as their inclinations did lead them in the knowledge of God and his gospel ... (289)

The careers of the brothers of Henry Hastings offer a salutary comment upon placing too much importance on the influence of a reformist education, or for that matter on the influence of family connections in tracing the origin of religious convictions. The earl provided for the education of three of his brothers, two of whom, Francis and Walter, certainly went to Oxford. Yet while Francis followed his brother's deep Protestant convictions, Walter was a Catholic sympathiser.[290] That element of personal decision must always be the ultimate determining factor whatever the external pressures or

attractions.

The only young lord listed among the nine original hostages not so far discussed was Lord Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford. Like the Lords Lisle and Hastings, Russell did not go to France after all,[291] but he is at least as likely as any of the other eight, to have shared Edward's upbringing. His father, John, the first Earl of Bedford was a Privy Councillor, and an important member of the Privy Chamber.[292] The Venetian ambassador went so far as to single him out as Henry's special companion.[293] Bedford had friends among both conservative and reformist camps. He was respected by Norfolk[294] and was a close colleague of Sir Anthony Browne, while at the same time being linked with Cromwell's party by the French ambassador Marillac, and patronising men like Sir Peter Carew and Edward Underhill in parliament.[295]

His most important connections for the present discussion were with the humanist circle at court. Here too, they covered a broad spectrum, from Reginald Pole, whose writing on the Divorce he promised to present to the king,[296] to Miles Coverdale who later became his chaplain.[297]

As a member of the Privy Chamber from 1526, Russell was in a good position to gain access to the king, and was once singled out as Henry's special companion.[298] He avoided factional intrigue,[299] and yet he was known as one who would 'dare and wyll speke to the king the tryth'.[300] In 1536, for example, he openly supported Princess Mary without losing his place at court, and his wife was especially close to the princess who named her her 'an [c] her nexte the kynges

maiesty'.[301] Russell's place at court, (Lord Privy Seal from 1542 until his death in 1555), his humanist interest, and his familiarity with the royal family would have enabled his son Francis to gain an easy access into the royal school, even though he was some years older.[302] But he was not one who would 'bend to every wind'[303] as his father did, and while the latter continued to occupy a prominent place at court after Edward's death, Francis openly opposed the reaction. He became a committed Protestant and refused to compromise. Even after inprisonment he opposed Mary and was involved in Wyatt's plot. He eventually went into exile to Geneva.[304]

The influences on Russell's life which led him to make a decisive commitment to Protestantism must be sought in his early life. He shared both Edward's religious zeal and his love of learning. He corresponded with the zealous reformer John Bradford and with Edward Underhill and he was clearly committed to Protestantism well before he left England to go into exile.[305] Upon his return to England, he was reported as promoting Christ's religion and repressing the 'insolence' of the papists.[306]

As to his learning, his library and the dedications of various authors are adequate evidence of his own interest in the patronage of scholarship.[307] His library consisted of 221 books and 4 manuscripts, of which 161 were theological in nature. Thus, while they 'reflected the taste of an Elizabethan gentleman of standing',[308] they also testify to his avid theological interest, which was distinctly Protestant. They included titles such as A booke of ye pope confuted,[309] Display of popish practises by Theodore Beza,[310] Foxe's

Acts and Monuments[311] and works by Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Luther and Calvin.[312] One volume entitled Ye right use of ye Sabbath by Humphrey Roberts,[313] dealt with such topics as working on the Sabbath, plays and games, taverns and alehouses, popish priests and careless ministers. This suggests a puritanical zeal which would have met with Edward's keen approval, though such sentiments were somewhat removed from court life.

Many of the dedications to the second earl are very personal and speak of his benevolence and friendship. They also express confidence and approval of his religious constancy:

> They that have best knowen you, say that you began a good course in your youth, that you witnessed a good confession in the last time of persecution, that your constancie hath been testified by your troubles at home and travels in forraine countries: you have continued your profession in the midst of your dignitie, Lordships and living left by your parents, and in the seat of govern-ment, wherein our Soveraigne and most gracious Queene hath placed you, not falling a sleepe in securitie in this so peaceable a time. (314)

The dedication is in part an indirect tribute to those influences in the earl's youth which set him on his 'good course'. His subsequent life was one which Edward's preceptors would have held up as exemplary, and for one so closely connected with the court, and of noble status, he epitomised the model envisaged by those of an increasingly Protestant stance. It was men like the second Earl of Bedford whom the reformers sought to influence and were dependent upon for leadership and the furtherance of the Reformation in England.

As to continuing his profession, he returned to England at the start of Elizabeth's reign to take an active and prominent part in the

religious settlement. Elizabeth made him a Privy Councillor and he spent the rest of his life in public service, and in the service of religion, 'not falling a sleepe in securitie...'[315] True to the new tradition of the godly Protestant noble, he made provision at his death for University College Oxford, and for the founding of a free school at Woburn.[316]

The earl's books are also of interest because of other relationships which they reveal. There were a number dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, his son-in-law, while Calvin's The institution of Christian religion was dedicated to both Ambrose and his wife Anne, Bedford's daughter.[317] Another dedication to Warwick was a sermon by William Kethe, who may have met Bedford in Switzerland during Mary's reign.[318] Warwick, like Bedford, was a patron of Puritans during Elizabeth's reign. A work by Coverdale Ye olde Faith of ye Patriarches prophettes[319] is a reminder of the author's associations with the earl, while a copy of The Familiar Epistles of Sir Anthony of Guevara[320] recalls another dedication to his father, Sir Francis Bryan's translation of the same author's A looking glasse for the court.[321]

The dedication of two parts of Thomas Becon's Worckes[322] again reflects the earl's decidedly Protestant position, and also recalls both his exile and the circle around Edward, since Becon also dedicated his Worckes to Richard Cox.[323] Russell was also connected to Sir Anthony Cooke through the marriage of one of his sons to Cooke's daughter Elizabeth, the widow of Thomas Hoby.[324] Bedford himself took

as his second wife, Bridget Hussey, the widow of Sir Richard Morison, who had been a gentleman of Edward's Privy Chamber and close to the king.[325] Morison was also an associate of Roger Ascham, who had been his secretary when he acted as ambassador to the Emperor 1550-3.[326] The link with the Husseys adds a contrast to the Protestant associations hitherto mentioned, for it echoes the traditional and conservative, though learned and humanist, circle of Catherine of Aragon and the Princess Mary.[327] Likewise, the dedication of Francis Seager's Certayne Psalms to Bedford in 1553[328] adds a mellow touch to some of the more vigorously partisan works dedicated to him.

It cannot be said that the list of hostages for 1551 was an exhaustive record of Edward's school companions, since there are three certain pupils not mentioned there. Two were from Ireland, and while never achieving the power and eminence of Bedford, they each merit attention in their own right. The first was Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormonde who was sent to England in order that he

> might attende apon my Lorde Prince's grace and be brought up in his right noble courte. (329)

His grandfather Pierce Butler, 8th Earl of Ormonde had been Chamberlain to Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's queen, and a person of some influence at court.[330] He was also step-father to William Blount, and so would have been well acquainted with the opportunities offered by a courtly education. His father died of poison at Ely House in London in 1546, and his will referred to his

> sonne and heyre being in the Prince's grace's court. (331)

Thomas Butler became more intimately connected with the Edwardian

court when his widowed mother remarried, to Sir Francis Bryan.[332] He remained at the English court until 1554, when he returned to Ireland. There he became Lord Treasurer in 1559.[333] Thomas Butler was the same age as Henry, Lord Strange, so the certainty that he shared the prince's upbringing illustrates the slight regard paid to age by Tudor educationalists. It also adds force to the claim made by Ascham concerning

> clarissimo duce Suffolciense, et reliquo illo nobilissimorum iuvenum comitatu qui hactenus, una cum rege nostro, in Graecis literis et Latinis educati, ... in Galliam profecti sunt. (334)

It may be a comment on Edward's severe and lonely upbringing that he chose the 'son of an obscure Irish peer'[335] as his most intimate companion. In fact, Barnaby Fitzpatrick was the son and heir of the Baron of Upper Ossary, and cousin to the Earl of Ormonde.[336] He was retained at the English court as a hostage for the good behaviour of his father,[337] and may have arrived at the same time as the Earl of Ormonde in 1544 when the royal school was reorganised and augmented. He was there by the following year for he received a letter from Roger Ascham telling him to follow the example of Prince Edward.[338] Even at that early stage Ascham could allude to

> locus iste quem prae ceteris apud Regiam Majestatem tenes (339)

Barnaby and Edward were set the same work in the royal schoolroom. One of Edward's surviving exercise books compiled in 1548 contains 12 leaves at the end in Barnaby's hand, in which he set down the same exercises as the king.[340]

There is some doubt as to whether the 'Earl of Ireland' referred to by John Ab Ulmis in his correspondence was

Thomas Butler or Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[341] A number of reasons seem to make it more likely that it was the latter. John Ab Ulmis remarked that he was 'a youth of the same age with the king',[342] but Thomas Butler was born in 1532 and therefore five years older, sufficient to make an obvious difference and thereby avoid mistaking the two youths to be of the same age. While the date of Barnaby's birth is unknown, the close friendship between himself and Edward make it more likely that he was nearer the latter in age. That friendship itself moreover reinforces the likelihood that Ab Ulmis was here referring to Barnaby, for he did so in a manner suggesting a great familiarity between the 'earl' and the court. He was said to be very fond of Bullinger,[343] and in May 1551 Ab Ulmis wrote again to the latter to tell him that 'the earl' was pleased to receive the reformer's greetings and had also written to Bullinger himself.[344] Ab Ulmis had tried to see 'the earl' on this occasion, but he had been summoned to the king, as happened frequently with Barnaby. In May 1548 Edward wrote to 'suo charissimo et amantissimo Barnabae' to say he had requested that he be summoned to court.[345] Finally the original text of Ab Ulmis' letter of November 11th, 1550 employed the phrase 'Comes Hiberniae'.[346] Barnaby was sworn as a gentleman of the Privy Chamber along with Sir Robert Dudley in August 1551.[347]

Soon afterwards Edward was deprived of the company of his friend because Barnaby was sent to the French court

> to study the tongue, and see the manner of the court, and advertise (the king) of the occurrences he shall hear. (348)

Edward's correspondence with Barnaby while the latter was abroad sheds

a little light on the king's religious predilections and implies that Barnaby shared them. One particularly revealing comment on Edward's part says much of the influences prevalent during their upbringing. Hearing that Barnaby had 'ben procured once to goe a pilgrimag' he forbade him to repeat the exercise. In making his excuses, Edward commanded:

> that as yow are loth to offend the French king bicause yow have bene soe favourablie used, so with sauf conscience yow can not doe any such thing, being brought up with me and bounden to obey my lawes. (349)

In the same letter he allowed him to attend mass

> but in the meane season reade the Scripture, or som good boke, and give no reverence to the masse at all. (350)

Barnaby's conduct in religious matters while abroad was of double importance because he was helping to project an image of England and of its sovereign in particular which was godly and Protestant. On leaving England he had been told by Cecil that

> ... you will think, wheresoever you go, you carry with you a demonstration of the King's majesty, coming a latere suo, and bred up in learning and manners with him ... and let them perceive what the king is, when one brought up with him habeat virtutis tam clarum specimen. (351)

Barnaby continued to be a faithful subject, an excellent governor in Ireland until his death in 1581, and a loyal Protestant.[352]

The third name known without doubt to have been associated with the prince's upbringing was that of Sir Henry Sidney, son of Sir William Sidney, the Chamberlain of Edward's household. He was a student at New College, Oxford for a brief time,[353] but most of his boyhood was spent at court, and there are a number of references to this.

Edward liked him a great deal and the affection was returned, for in Sidney's own words:

> as he grew in years and discretion, so grew I in favour and liking of him. (354)

He was mentioned a number of times by Edward in the latter's Journal as taking part in tilts, and he was clearly much in evidence at court.[355] His political career has been dealt with above.[356]

Sidney enjoyed a reputation as a cultured and learned man in later life. Writing to his son he dwelt on the importance of education and the lessons to be learned in youth.[357]

Four other youths at court in this period who were very likely participants in the educational activities of the royal household, were 'the yonge lordes' resident during his reign. These were Lord Thomas Howard, John Lord Lumley, James Blount and Giles Poulet.

Lord Thomas Howard, the son of the Earl of Surrey, was born in 1538. His grandfather, the 3rd Duke of Norfolk was the leader of the conservative group at court during Henry's reign. He was not a particularly religious or learned man, and vigorously opposed any innovation beyond the initial break with Rome.[358] He chose competent tutors for his sons, however, and the Earl of Surrey was taught by John Clerke, the duke's secretary and an associate of Richard Pace,[359] while John Leland, the antiquary, taught Surrey's brother Thomas.

Surrey was himself a member of the Duke of Richmond's household from 1529-32, and was praised for his learning by John Clerke in his preface to the latter's translation of Lamant mal traite de sa mye which he dedicated to the earl.[360] The precedent for placing his eldest son in the royal school was therefore already established in

Surrey's mind. Thus, while his father was alive and about the court, Thomas Howard may have joined Edward for some of his lessons. At his home, Kenninghall Palace, he was taught by Hadrianus Junius, a scholar of great note in Europe. Upon his father's execution, Thomas was placed in the care of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond who was both learned and a favourer of reform. She appointed John Foxe as his tutor.[361] As soon as the fortunes of the old Duke of Norfolk were restored, however, he took over the supervision of Thomas Howard's upbringing along with the rest of his family. Foxe was dismissed and Thomas was placed under the tuition of John White, soon Bishop of Lincoln and then Bishop of Winchester.[362] Thomas Howard thus passed from one extreme to the other and although his affection for his old tutor remained, he readily embraced the new Catholic regime.

He assisted at Mary's coronation, and when Philip came to England, he received the prestigious post of First Gentleman of the Bedchamber.[363] He was also restored to the dukedom in 1554 and married Mary Fitzalen, daughter of the Earl of Arundel. Although he was not a prominent political figure in Mary's reign, he was a magnate of great wealth and local power, and as such Elizabeth did not wish to alienate him. His later schemes to marry Mary Queen of Scots, however, cost him his life.[364] A few days before his death he wrote a letter to his children in which he advised them to take time to read the scriptures.[365] He denied that he was a papist claiming that

> I never since I knew what religion meant, I thank God, was of other mind than now you shall hear that I die in. (366)

Howard requested a visit by Foxe while in prison awaiting execution and left Foxe £20 per annum.[367]

In 1569 Norfolk appointed Gregory Martin as tutor to his sons. Martin was a lifelong friend of the Jesuit Edward Campion and subsequently went to Douai himself.[368] For a man in Norfolk's position, the godly life-style demanded by the reformers was no easy option, and his inner convictions, whatever his outward stance must remain obscure, except perhaps to Foxe during those few final days when he ministered to his former charge.

John Lord Lumley was one of the most learned youths at Edward's court. One of the 'fower yonge lordes' resident at the time of the king's death, he probably shared in some of Edward's schooling, especially since he joined the Arundel household, matriculating at Queen's College Cambridge together with Lord Maltravers in 1549, and marrying the latter's sister Jane in 1552.[369] His reputation for learning became firmly established in later life,[370] though his early achievements were a sign as to where his interests lay. In 1550 he translated Erasmus' Institutio principis Christiani and dedicated it to the Earl of Arundel.[371]

The influence of the royal school upon aristocratic households[372] in close proximity to the court is suggested by another translation from the Arundel family circle, this time a Latin translation of Katherine Parr's Prayers or Medytacions by John Ratcliffe, the earl's step-son.[373] The work strengthens the possibility that Lord Lumley, as well as Lord Maltravers was connected with the royal school.

Upon the death of Lord Maltravers in 1556, Lord Lumley took his place in the Arundel household and adhered closely to his father-in-law.[374] He attended Mary's coronation and took a prominent role during her reign, but he was also cultivated by Elizabeth, probably because of his relationship with Arundel. He survived Elizabeth's reign,[375] despite implication in the political intrigue of the Ridolphi Plot, for which he spent time in prison. His family alliances were a much stronger pull on Lumley than any Protestant influences he might have experienced at Edward's court, and for this reason he remained conservative in his religious outlook. He would perhaps not have been regarded as a failure by his teachers, however, if noble virtue and good learning were the true goals of the royal school.[376] Lumley was said to have epitomised both, and as for his religion, he might have said with Robert Southwell that he accepted it as

> the belief, which to all my friends by descent and pedigree is in a manner, hereditary. (377)

If Lord Lumley's family connections were of a learned nature, those of James Blount, 6th Lord Mountjoy, were even more so. As another of the 'fower yonge lordes' the possibility of his sharing in the upbringing of Edward must be considered if only because of his family's association with learning and with the court.[378] The line of continuity is illustrated by the attempt of Charles Blount to secure the services of Roger Ascham to tutor his son James and represent him at court.[379]

His half sister, Mary, married Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, thus establishing a link with the Parrs and the Bryans,[380] and a

closer association with the circle around Edward. It would have been a very natural step to place James in Edward's school for a time.

It would be difficult to predict how James would develop in adulthood from such circumstances as those outlined above. On the one hand he was among the vanguard of Edward's household, and exposed to all the influences tending towards further reform and Protestantisation, but on the whole the Mountjoy family was ambivalent in its attitude. While firmly embracing the aims of humanist educational reform and a devout piety, and surviving the upheavals of Henry's policies, the Mountjoys remained openly loyal to Catherine of Aragon and her supporters, giving protection to such as Richard Whitford.[381] It was likely that James would at least continue the influential patronage of learning, however, probably with the same discretion his father and grandfather. In fact, James, who became the sixth Lord Mountjoy, did not remain in the public life of the court, nor did he pursue an illustrious path of scholarship.[382] Instead, having been created a Knight of the Bath at Mary's coronation, he retired into obscurity for most of the rest of his life, his greatest claim to fame being his study of alchemy.[383]

The fourth of the 'yonge lordes' resident at Edward's court was named as Giles Poulet. The Paulet family had been attached to Wolsey's household, and Sir William Paulet was made the king's Master of the Wards in 1526, with further household offices following.[384] Further honours came to Sir William in Edward's reign, when as Lord Treasurer, he was created Earl of Wiltshire in 1550 and Marquess of Winchester in 1551.[385] He was an able administrator and official and was able to

steer clear of the religious and political turn-abouts of the period. He was well-placed to secure a place for Giles, his fourth son, in Edward's household.[386] Giles seems to have left little or no mark with which to speculate his sympathies in later life.

Another name familiar in Edward's household, was that of the Cottons. Edward's coronation book lists Mr Cotton as one of the 'Young lords and gentlemen'.[387] There were five brothers, two of whom were in the royal household in Henry's reign. Sir George was esquire of the body to Henry and became Chief Gentleman of the Duke of Richmond's household, while Sir Richard was Comptroller of the same.[388] Following Richmond's death, Sir Richard continued to serve the king and his family eventually becoming Controller in 1552.[389] His eldest son, George was therefore frequently present at Edward's court both before and after the latter's accession and may well have shared his educational upbringing as well as undertaking other duties. His uncle Sir George, had been involved in the school in Richmond's household, where he clashed seriously with the duke's tutor Sir Richard Croke over his teaching methods, and so the educational interests of the family can be verified.[390] Little else is known of the family in the period. Sir Richard's eldest son lived until 1596, while a younger, Henry became Bishop of Salisbury. Elizabeth had become Henry's godmother when she was twelve years old, which illustrates the closeness of the Cottons to the Tudor household.[391]

While speculations could extend the list of pupils in the royal school almost indefinitely, one other name is worthy of some detailed attention.

When Henry, Lord Hastings married Catherine Dudley in 1553, Henry, Lord Herbert married Catherine Grey. There are sufficient close connections between the Herbert family and the Edwardian court to merit the claim that this youth shared in Edward's upbringing. Lord Herbert's mother was Lady Anne, the sister of Queen Katherine Parr, and by the time of Henry VIII's death, his father Sir William Herbert was Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and a Privy Councillor.[392] Lady Anne Herbert remained close to Katherine after she became queen, and Edward sent her a special greeting in one of his letters.[393] The careers of father and son were similar in a number of ways, since both attracted Philip's favour and Henry attended him as a gentleman of the Chamber. He also followed his father in espousing Protestantism. Under Elizabeth he was regarded as a partisan of the Earl of Leicester and had close ties with him.[394]

It was said of Lord Herbert's father that he could neither read nor write, a wholly spurious claim since there is documentary evidence to the contrary,[395] but whatever the educational attainments of the father, he gave his son opportunity to imbibe the best education available, which moulded him into a well-educated and cultured nobleman.[396] Allowance must be made for the possibility that this included some schooling in the royal household itself.

The list of names of possible companions and schoolfellows at Edward's court might be continued using a variety of criteria, and no such register could claim to be complete. The itinerant character of the household, the comings and goings of its personnel, and the transitory nature of court politics did not make for stability at any level, and this inevitably had repercussions upon the constituent

members of the royal school. Thus, for example, when he went to Ashridge, as in 1543, he would be joined by Jane Dormer, for some lessons. At other times Princess Elizabeth joined him.[397]

Of the criteria alluded to above, the hostage list of 1551 has been dealt with exhaustively, and the 'fower yonge gentlemen' known to be resident at court in 1553 have been fully discussed. Other possible claimants are among the nominations made for knights of the Bath to be created at Edward's coronation.[398] This list comprised forty names and obviously they could not all have grown up at the court, nor even be well-known to Edward personally. There are a number of familiar names, however, members of families whose lives were closely bound up with the court: 'The lord Windsor's son and heyre'[399] or 'Sir Anthony Browne, son to the Master of the Horse'.[400] They may not have shared lessons with the prince, but they were familiar with the court and on this occasion were ranked among his close companions.

There were others more directly connected with the official core of Edward's establishment, whose relatives could legitimately be considered as possible participants in the royal school. Just as Sir William Sidney introduced his son to the circle, so might Sir Anthony Denny have brought in his three sons, Henry, Anthony and Charles, and possibly their cousin Francis Walsingham. The latter's place among leading Elizabethan statesmen adds a further name to that group: Bedford, Leicester, Huntingdon, Sidney, Cecil and Cooke, who were connected with the Edwardian court. The attitudes they imbibed there were reflected in their subsequent careers. The twin pillars of learning and sound religion were strong motivators, and these men held key positions in government. Bedford, Leicester, Huntingdon and

the other. The freer atmosphere and external influences of Edward's reign enabled those who were most affected by these factors to strengthen and develop their own positions vis à vis Protestantism. For the majority, the experiences of Mary's reign were the ultimate deciding factor which led them to the creation and maintenance of the Elizabethan settlement. That this was not a purely political expedient can be illustrated by the support given to further reforms in the Church by some of Edward's former companions. A further warning against reading too much into the decisive moulding effect of the royal schoolroom is the example of those youths who clearly did not share the sentiments of their peers. While it can never be guaranteed that a child of any age can be successfully indoctrinated, it may safely be concluded that Edward's teachers were not aiming to produce religious bigots, even though Edward himself came dangerously close to becoming one. There were other influences at work, and so while some of Edward's companions grew up with conventional or possibly indifferent religious attitudes, others like Lord Lumley, remained adherents of the old religion. Christian belief, especially Protestantism, with its emphasis on the individual's relationship with God, must always ultimately be a personal decision. It will have become clear, however, that external pressure, and the general trend, are not without a certain influence. Moreover, people must be taught that a personal response to belief is required if they are to make a choice of their own. The beginnings made in Edward's nursery by men only 'tainted with a touch of heresy' were to have far reaching results.[403]

Footnotes

1. N. Orme: English Schools in the Middle Ages, L1973, pp.21ff. On the education of medieval kings cf. V.H. Galbraith: 'The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings', Proceedings of the British Academy, 21, 1935, pp.201-38.

2. S.B. Chrimes (ed.): John Fortescue: De laudibus legum anglie, Cam., 1942.

3. Cf. N. Orme: 'The Education of a Courtier', passim.

4. He was brought up 'amoung the wemen' until the age of six, Remains, 2, p.209.

5. C.P.R., 1452-61, 567.

6. Provision had been made for this in the cases of Mary and Henry Fitzroy.

7. These were not the same as royal henchmen, cf. Myers, p.126f. Edward VI had both.

8. H.O., p.29.

9. C.P.R., 1467-77, pp.401-417.

10. H.O., p.29.

11. Ibid, loc.cit.

12. Eg Allen, 821, 834, 964, 1028.

13. Orme: English Schools in the Middle Ages, pp.28ff; W. Nelson: John Skelton, Laureate, L1939, pp.71-6.

14. Bernadus Andreas: Historia regis Henrici Septimi, ed. J. Gairdner, L1858,p.43.

15. Orme: English Schools in the Middle Ages, p.28; Nelson: John Skelton, p.19. On the use of classical authors by humanist scholars cf. R.R. Bolgar: The Classical heritage and its Beneficiaries, Cam., 1954, chs 7, 8.

16. S.T.C., 13604, 1510 .

17. H.L.R. Edwards: Skelton: The Life and Times of an Early Tudor Poet, L1949, p.58; Nelson: John Skelton, pp.71ff.

18. The text has been reprinted by F.M. Salter: 'Skelton's speculum principis', Speculum, 9, 1934, pp.25-37. The poem provides useful information concerning the contents of Henry's education.

19. Cf. Nelson: John Skelton, pp.158-184 for analysis.

20. Cf. Bevington: Tudor Drama and Politics, pp.54ff for further analysis of Skelton.

21. This very likely reflects the influence of Lady Margaret Beaufort.

22. Durham, Ushaw MS, 29. I am indebted to Dr J.T. Rhodes for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

23. H.O., pp.27ff.

24. Ibid, loc.cit.

25. J.G. Nichols (ed.): 'Inventory of the household of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond', (Camden Miscellany 3), 1855, p.xlvi.

26. J. Simon: Education and Society in Tudor England, Cam. 1966, p 155.

27. Examples cited by Orme: 'The education of a courtier', pp.82ff, include the daughters of Edward III listening to a sermon on Palm Sunday 1341, at eight and nine years old; Henry IV taking his teenage sons to Bardney Abbey in 1406; Henry VI at twelve years old praying before the shrine of St Edmund at Bury.

28. Cf. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth (eds): The Lay Folks' Catechism, (E.E.T.S., o.s., 193, 1901); M. Deanesly: The Lollard Bible, Cam., 1920; G.H. Russell: 'Vernacular instruction of the Laity in the later Middle Ages in England: some texts and notes', Journal of Religious History, 2, 1962, pp.98-119.

29. Cf. above, ch.2.

30. On the difficulty of reconciling Christianity and humanism cf. Bolgar: The Classical heritage, pp.333ff.

31. Cf. above ch.1 for further discussion and see especially McConica: passim.

32. Cf. Mattingly: Catherine of Aragon, pp.11ff, for her early life.

33. Ibid, loc.cit.

34. Hence her request to her Confessor de Villa Sancta that he should write against Luther.

35. Since study was believed to liberate the mind, the possible effects this could have upon women were considered dubious.

36. There is an increasing body of literature on the Renaissance education of women, see especially R. Kelso: Doctrine for a Lady of the Renaissance, Urbana, 1956.

37. Allen, 1581.

38. J.L. Vives: A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the instruciō of a christen womā, turned out of Laten into Englysshe by R. Hyrd, S.T.C.^{2}, 24856, [1529] .

39. For the relationship between Mary and her mother in the former's early lifetime, cf. Loades: The Reign of Mary Tudor, ch.1; see also H.F.M. Prescott: Mary Tudor, L1952, ch.1.

40. Prescott: Mary Tudor, loc.cit.

41. Thomas Linacre: Rudimenta grammatices, S.T.C.^{2}, 15636, [1525?] ; cf. Ath. Cant., 1, pp.30f; D.N.B., 33, pp.266ff.

42. E.F. Rogers (ed.): The Correspondence of Thomas More, Princeton, 1947, no.60, pp.111ff.

43. Ibid., loc.cit.

44. For More's educational system cf. Thomas Stapleton: The life and illustrious martyrdom of Sir Thomas More, translated by P.E. Hallet, L1928, pp.98ff; P. Hogrefe: The Sir Thomas More Circle, Urbana, 1959, pt1, ch.5.

45. He was introduced by Erasmus, Allen, 1145. It was Vives' goal to be at court, cf. C.G. Norena: Juan Luis Vives, The Hague, 1970, pp.82ff.

46. S.T.C., 916, 1610.

47. Ibid, preface. This edition includes a letter of reply from the king dated 24th January, 1523. Thanking Vives for the work, Henry promised 'our favor and good will shall never faile in your affaires, whatsoever occasion shalbe offered, that may tende to your availe.'

48. J.L. Vives: Litterae virorum eruditorium ad Franciscum Cranveldium, ed. H. de Vocht, Louvain, 1929, 90, vv6-25.

49. He secured a pension from the queen with More's help, Allen, 1222.

50. Allen, p.481.

51. Translated by Richard Hyrd, (S.T.C.^{2}, 24856, [1529?] , it is noteworthy that the dedication to Catherine was retained by the publisher, Berthelet. Hyrd was a tutor in More's household and added to the preface of his translation his own wish that women might have the opportunity to be educated. (cf. ibid., f.All^{v}, AIII).

52. Ibid, preface.

53. Cf. J.L. Vives: Opera, Basle, 1555, v.1.

54. Published in Paris, 1527. It was translated by Richard Morison in 1540 (S.T.C.^{2}, 24847) and was used by Edward VI in his schooling.

55. Cf .F Watson (ed.): Vives and the Renasence Education of Women, Cam., 1912; passim; Norena: Juan Luis Vives, ch.9, 'Vives on Education'.

56. The Instruccio of a Christen Woma, S.T.C., 24856, f.EII. This was a list very similar to that later prescribed for Edward VI; cf. below.

57. Vives: de tradendis disciplinis, Bk 1, ch.2, (trans. with introd. F. Watson: Vives: On Education, Cam. 1913.)

58. Mary was not a particularly intelligent child, Loades: Mary Tudor, pp.7-8.

59. At the age of nine Mary was established at Ludlow with her own household and council, Loades: Mary Tudor, pp.9f.

60. Cf. Nichols: 'Inventory of ... Henry Fitzroy' passim for details.

61. The royal children were together with the King and Queen for Christmas 1543, S.P., IX, 570.

62. For Edward's movements cf. Remains, 1, Introduction, passim.

63. Remains, 2, p.210.

64. Eg L.P., XIV, 1, 1354, (54).

65. McConica, p.214, drew attention to the relationship between these families for the purpose of his Erasmian thesis.

66. B.L., Cott MS, Nero, C X, f.4.

67. Eg William Sidney, formerly Edward's Chamberlain, took the new post of Steward and was replaced by Sir Richard Page who had previously been Vice-Chamberlain in the Duke of Richmond's household, Remains, 1, p.30.

68. Remains, 2, p.210.

69. S.P., I, 763.

70. Cf. her efforts to persuade Mary to complete her contribution to the translation of Erasmus' Paraphrases, above p.192.

71. Cf. L. Wiesener: The Youth of Queen Elizabeth, 1533-58, trans. C.M. Yonge, 2 vols, L1879, for further details of Elizabeth's early years. It should be noted that Lady Jane Grey also spent time in Katherine Parr's household as a child.

72. Strype: E.M., 2, p.8.

73. Remains, 1, p.xxxii. For background and general biographical details of Cox, cf. R. Vander Molen: 'Richard Cox, 1499-1581, Bishop of Ely', unpublished thesis, University of Michigan, 1969.

74. L.P., XVII, 362; Remains, 1, p.xlv.

75. Remains, 1, pxlv.

76. Molen: 'Richard Cox', pp.26ff; see also ibid, pp.78ff for his educational ideals. Molen sees Cox's work in institutionalising educational reform at the basic level as of the greatest importance in producing the religious and political leaders of the later sixteenth century.

77. S.T.C.^{2}, 15604, 1540; cf. Simon: Education and Society, p.190; McConica, p.193. See also C.G. Allen: 'The Sources of Lily's Grammar', The Library, ser.5. 10, 1954, pp.35-103.

78. Hughes and Larkin, 216, p.317.

79. Ibid, loc.cit.

80. Eg He was a supporter of the proposed annulment of Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves, S.P., I, 629.

81. Cf. F. Seebohm: The Oxford Reformers L1896; Zeeveld: Foundations of Tudor Policy; McConica et al on this general theme.

82. D.N.B., 12, p.412; Ath. Cant., 1, 437-45. In 1547 he was appointed Chancellor of Oxford and held the post until 1552, Ath. Ox.1, 466.

83. B.L., Harl MS, 5087, nos 1, 3.

84. D.N.B., 12, p.412.

85. L.P., XV, 826.

86. D.N.B., 12, p.412.

87. Cf. Hudson: The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559, pp.58ff. Cox's answers to Cranmer's questions are fully discussed by Molen: 'Richard Cox', pp.65ff.

88. Foxe, 5, p.431.

89. Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.289f. For details cf. Foxe, 5, pp.430ff.

90. Bale, 206; for Cox's part in the trial of Crome, cf. S.P., I, 843.

91. They were invited to England by Cranmer. Cox was subsequently closely involved with the continental reformers as a Marian exile, Garrett: Marian Exiles, pp.134ff. On Peter Martyr cf. P. McNair: 'Peter Martyr in England' in J.C. McLelland (ed.): Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform, Waterloo, Ontario, 1980, pp.85ff; M.A. Overell: 'Peter Martyr in England, 1547-53: an alternative view', Sixteenth Century Journal, 15, no.1, 1984, pp.87-104.

92. O.L., 2, LVIII-LXI, pp.119ff.

93. Ibid, 2 LX, p.122

94. Ibid, loc.cit.

95. In 1549 he wrote to thank Bullinger for the dedication of one of the reformer's books, O.L., 2, LVIII, pp.119f; see also H. Bullinger: Bullae papisticae ante biennium contra reginam, Elizabetham promulgatae refutatio, S.T.C., 4043, 1573.

96. O.L., 2, LIX, p.120.

97. For the contents of Edward's library cf. Remains, 1, pp.cccxxvff.

98. S.T.C.^{2}, 24673, 1549.

99. S.T.C.^{2}, 18770, 1549. Translated into English by John Ponet.

100. Geneva, 1551, (BL, 849, e.5).

101. Garrett: Marian Exiles, pp.135ff.

102. For a brief survey of Cox at Frankfurt cf. Molen: 'Richard Cox', pp.179ff.

103. Machyn: Diary, pp.189, 190, 192 (8th Feb; 25th Feb and 28th March); Cal S.P. Ven, VII, (1558-80) 23.

104. Cal. S.P., Ven., loc.cit.

105. O.L., 2, LX, p.122, (1551).

106. For his opposition cf. Strype: Annals, 1, pt 2, pp.500f.

107. S.P., I, 764.

108. Ibid, loc.cit.

109. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, LXXIX, p.148.

110. Cf. Hudson: The Cambridge Connection, pp.53ff.

111. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.6.

112. Ibid, pp.13, 20f.

113. S.T.C.^{2}, 14634.

114. S.T.C.^{2}, 14637. This was dedicated to Sir Anthony Denny whose support may have been enlisted by Dr Butts in promoting Cheke at court, Needham: 'Sir John Cheke', p.165ff.

115. A treatise against the prevee masse, S.T.C., 11802.

116. S.T.C.^{2}, 24056.

117. Cf. Gasquet and Bishop: Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, pp.269ff; Dugmore: The Mass and the English Reformers, pp.157ff. He was one of the disputants at the 1551 Disputation concerning the doctrine of the Real Presence at the home of Robert Cecil, Strype: Life of Cheke, pp.69ff.

118. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.47.

119. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, XC, p.226.

120. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.177.

121. Ibid, p.26.

122. Ibid, p.22.

123. Ibid., p.5.

124. Ibid, p.174. The doctrinal disputes of Edward's reign all focused on the Eucharist, cf. Dugmore: The Mass and the English Reformers, pp.117ff.

125. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.125.

126. Ibid., loc cit.

127. He became the third Secretary of State, along with Cecil and Petre.

128. When Cheke was once apparently on his deathbed, Edward wrote to him with great concern, cf. also the anecdote of Edward's prayer for Cheke's recovery, Strype: Life of Cheke, p.88.

129. Eg, Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1 LVII; pt 2, XCIV, CX; cf Hudson: The Cambridge Connection, pp.53ff.

130. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.91.

131. Garrett: Marian Exiles, pp.114ff. Strype believed that the chief reason for Mary's determination to make Cheke recant was that 'he had been the great instrument of good religion unto King Edward, and other noble youth of the court, more than any other'; Life of Cheke, p.128.

132. Ascham wrote of Mildred Cooke: 'nata sit nobile viro Antonio Coco patre eius et praeceptore ...' Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, CV, p.228. Cf. R.H. Bainton: 'Feminine Piety in Tudor England' in P.N. Brooks, (ed.): Christian Spirituality, Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp, L1975, pp.185, 201.

133. All four daughters made distinguished marriages: Mildred to William Cecil, Anne to Nicholas Bacon, Elizabeth to Thomas Hoby, Katherine to Henry Killigrew. Links with Cheke through this network were made particularly strong. Cecil's first wife was Cheke's sister, and Cheke had been Cecil's tutor at Cambridge, (C. Read: Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, L1955, pp.27-8, 34-5). Hoby had been at Cambridge with Cheke and published a translation of Il Cortegiano in 1561 (S.T.C., 4778), with a prefatory letter by Cheke and a dedication to Henry, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, one of Edward's former schoolfellows.

134. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt.2, XC, p.228. There are other allusions in T. Wilson: The Rule of Reason, S.T.C.^{2}, 25809, 1551, f.A5ff; J. Parkhurst: J. Parkhursti ludicra sive epigrammata iuvenilia, S.T.C.^{2}, 19299, 1573, p.58. His epitaph in Romford chapel reads: 'Dominus Antonius Cooke, ordinis equestris miles, ob singularem prudentiam et pietatem regis Edwardi institutor constitutus'.

135. P.R.O., S.P., 6/12, ff.14-25.

136. Garrett: Marian Exiles, pp.124ff. In 1562 Cooke was made a member of the newly authorised High Commission, as was Cox, Simon: Education and Society, p.307.

137. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt.2, CXXXIX, p.332; L. Van Ryan: Roger Ascham, Stanford, 1963, p.107.

138. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt.2, XCIV, p.174.

139. Joan Champernown, Elizabeth's governess, was Lady Denny's sister-in-law, Denny: 'Biography of Denny', p.202.

140. Published the following year, (S.T.C., 837), cf. Giles: Whole Works, 3.

141. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, XXXVI, pp.82-3; XXXVIII, pp.84-5.

142. Ibid, 1, pt 1, XXXII, p.77.

143. Ibid, 1, pt 1, LXXXV, pp.160ff.

144. Ibid, 1, pt 1, LVIII, p.111.

145. He was given free denizenship, B.L. Cott MS, Julius B. IX, f.100^{v}. According to Cox, Edward began French lessons in 1546.

146. e.g. B.L. Cott MS, Julius, B. IX, f.100^{v}; Strype, Life of Cheke, p.35.

147. Belmaine corresponded with John Calvin, whose religious views he had espoused.

148. This was in Edward's library, (B.L. 20A XIV). Belmaine promised Calvin that he would send this to him in May, 1552, W. Baum, et al (eds): Iohannis Calvini Opera Omnia, 14, 1875, cols 324-5. Belmaine must have been closely involved with the new Prayer Book since this letter was written some months before the 1552 version was published.

149. B.L., Royal MS, 16E, I.

150. B.L., Arundel MS, 510. There are 27 categories, but only a few are filled in.

151. It is worth noting from this and other references that the Bible was not given special place in Edward's studies. As in medieval times, it continued to be used as one text among many.

152. He was sent by Henry to instruct Edward, B.L., Harl MS, 5087, f.15.

153. He frequently figured in her privy purse expenses, Madden: Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, pp.9, 29, 34, 60 etc. See also Nicolas: Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII, pp.25, 26, 86, 100 etc.

154. Samuel Rowly: When you see me you know me, S.T.C.^{2}, 21417; cf. Remains, 1, pp.liv, n.b., lxxi, n.b.; Ath. Cant, 1, pp.309ff, but cf. ibid, p.559.

155. Cf. D.N.B., 42, pp.410-13.

156. The actes of the apostles, translated into Englishe metre, and dedicated to the Kynges most excellent Majestye, by Christopher Tye, Doctor in Musyke, and one of the Gentlemen of hys graces moste honourable Chappell, S.T.C., 2984, 1553.

157. T. Sternhold: Certayne psalms (19) chose out of the psalter of David and drawē into Englishe metre by T. Sternhold, S.T.C., 2419ff. Such metrical versions of the scriptures became very popular at court, cf. King: English Reformation Literature, pp.217ff.

158. Sternhold: Psalms, f.AIII. Sternhold owed his rise at court to Cromwell, (L.P., XIII, 2, 1184, (ii)). He went on to become Groom of the Robes to Edward, (L.P., XVIII, 2, 241 (6)). His career is illustrative of the remarkable continuity within the musical establishment of the royal household under the Tudors. Despite associations with heresy he was left £100 in Henry's will, (P.R.O. E23/4/1f.16). John Marbecke was another individual who survived similar threats, cf. Foxe, 5, p.482ff.

159. Remains, 1, p.1.

160. The association is brought out most clearly in the plots against Cranmer's life, cf. Nichols: Narratives of the Reformation, pp.254ff; Foxe, 8, pp.24ff. See also M.L. Zell: 'The prebendaries plot of 1543: a reconsideration', J.E.H., 27, 1976, pp.241 ff.

161. Both Cox and Cheke were known to Cranmer and kept the Archbishop informed of Edward's progress.

162. A report by Cox to Cranmer, and a letter from the latter to the king are quoted in Foxe, 6, p.351.

163. Among the numerous anecdotes preserved illustrating Edward's precocity and godliness is one concerning his adamant refusal to allow Princess Mary to have mass in her household. At this, Cranmer exclaimed 'Ah! Master Cheke, you may be glad ... that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies.' Foxe, 5, p.701.

164. P.R.O., S.P. I/195, f.213v.

165. O.L., 1, LXXI, p.141.

166. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, CX, p.226.

167. Quoted from a report by Dominic Mancini in C.A.J. Armstrong: The Usurpation of Richard III, L1969 (2nd ed.), pp.92-3.

168. Similar praise was lavished on the duke of Richmond by one of his councillors, who concluded 'Hard it wolbe to fyende any creature lyving of twise his age hable or worthy to be compared to hym'. S.P., (Scotland and the Borders), IV, 1868, p.408.

169. These are B.L., Arundel MS, 510; Bodl. Bernard's Catalogue 3,071; Bodl. MS, 899.

170. He acknowledged this himself in his letters, B.L., Harl MS, 5087, nos 13, 14.

171. The orationes as originally written by Edward are found in B.L., Addit. M.S., 4724. A number have been printed in Remains, 1, pp.99ff.

172. Foxe, 5, p.700.

173. Strype: E.M., 2, p.384.

174. Cf. Cox's report to Cranmer in 1546, Foxe, 6, p.351.

175. Ibid, loc.cit.

176. For the scheme of Edward's education, cf. T.W. Baldwin: William Shakespeare's small Latine and lesse Greeke, 2 vols Urbana, 1944, 1, chs 10, 11.

177. Ibid, 1, p.101.

178. Watson: Vives: On Education, p.108.

179. Cf. Molen: 'Richard Cox', pp.26ff.

180. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.57.

181. Giles: Whole Works, 3, p.169.

182. Cal. S.P., Span, V, 934.

183. B.L., Harl MS, 353. Written shortly after Edward became king.

184. O.L., 1, CLI, p.321.

185. Ibid, loc.cit.

186. Ibid, 1, XXXVIII, p.82.

187. Ibid, 1, CCLII, p.543.

188. Remains, 1, p.ccii, n.a.

189. Foxe, 5, p.699.

190. J. Bale: Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie, Basle, 1557, p.673.

191. Foxe, 5, p.699.

192. W. Harrison: The Description of England, ed. F.J. Furnivall (from the first two editions of Holinshed's Chronicles, A.D. 1577, 1587), New Shakespeare Society, 1877, 1, p.88f.

193. Giles: Whole Works, 3, p142.

194. O.L., 2, CCLII, p.543.

195. Simon: Education and Society, p.209. Fisher persuaded Richard Croke to stay at court to tutor Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, when Warham, More, Linacre and Grocyn all wanted him at Oxford, Ath. Cant., 1, 178.

196. Garrett: Marian Exiles, p.308.

197. Simon: Education and Society, p.262.

198. O.L., 2, CCCXXXVI, pp.707ff.

199. Ibid, 1, XL, p.93.

200. S.T.C., 2854.

201. O.L., 1, CLI, p.321.

202. Ibid, 2, CCLIII, p.548.

203. Ibid, 2, CCXXVIII, p.482.

204. Ibid, 1, XXXVIII, p.81.

205. Cal. S.P., Span., X, p.63.

206. Ibid, loc.cit.

207. Clifford: Life of Jane Dormer, p.59.

208. Ibid, p.60.

209. S.P., I, 764.

210. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt.1, XCIX, pp.190f.

211. Ibid, 1, pt.1, XXXVIII, p.85.

212. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, XXXVIII, p.85.

213. Myers, p.126.

214. Ibid, pp.137f.

215. Remains, 1, pp.lxxvif.

216. Robert Tyrwhitt, for example, 'sun and heir to olde Turwhites son of Lincolnshire' was one such henchman in Edward's court, John Leland: The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, published by T. Hearne, 8 vols, Ox. 1710-12, 4, p.19. On the position of henchman, cf. Remains, 1, p.lxxv.

217. Ord: 'The account of Sir Edward Waldegrave', p.388. Henry also had nine, but in this case they were named.

218. Ibid., p.375.

219. Edward listed their names in his Journal, Remains, 2, pp.252-3; cf. ibid, 2 p.251, n.2, for discussion of the custom of exchanging hostages during the period of a peace treaty, and also for the letters from the Council summoning the hostages.

220. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, XCIX, pp.190f. Lisle, Hastings and Russell stayed behind in the event, Remains, 2, pp.251ff.

221. All the named hostages, except for Lord Fitzwarine were created knights of the Bath at Edward's coronation, as were Lord Charles Brandon and the Earl of Ormonde, Remains, 1, pp.ccxcix, f.

222. Henry VIII and William Blount were educated together, though the latter was eleven years Henry's senior.

223. Ath. Cant., 1, p.105; Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, CVIII, p.222.

224. Born c.1537, he died in 1556 on embassy to Bohemia, Ath. Cant., 1, p.548.

225. The office was hereditary in the family. His father served as High Constable on the occasion. Cf. 'Life of the last Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel', pp.210ff.

226. Giles: Whole Works, 3, p.142.

227. 'Life of Arundel', p.214; cf. Tottell, Songes and Sonnetts, 163, pp.113f: 'Upon the Death of the Lord Mautravers', 'A worthyer wight save Edward, did in England never dwell', (L.43).

228. 'Life of Arundel', p.212.

229. It was purchased by James I for Prince Henry.

230. McConica, p.261.

231. Ath. Cant., 1, p.548.

232. S.T.C., 1981.

233. Cal. S.P., Span, XII, 397-9.

234. Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby, had been married to Margaret Beaufort. Henry, Lord Strange, who became the fourth Earl in 1572, was in direct line of descent from the first. G.E. Cockayne: The Complete Peerage, ed. V. Gibbs & G.H. White, 12 vols, L1910-53, 10, pp.205ff, (hereafter cited as G.E.C.).

235. He was born in 1531.

236. Tottell: Songes and Sonnetts contains an acrostic poem addressed to Henry Lord Strange and a companion poem addressed to Margaret, (nos 246, 247, pp,284ff).

237. Remains, 2, p.361.

238. He had also been a member of Edward's Privy Council, but only made one brief appearance, Hoak: The King's Council, pp.66ff.

239. Cal. S.P., Span, XII, 397-9.

240. Remains, 1, p.lxv.

241. His wife was one of Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting.

242. The fourth earl had borne the sword at the coronations of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, and was the latter's Lord Steward until 1538, G.E.C. 10, pp.706ff.

243. He died in 1541, (1538 according to G.E.C.10, p.709).

244. Bodl. Gough MS, Liturg. 7 is a collection of private prayers written for George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, c.1500. A full page miniature depicts the earl kneeling at a prie-dieu, with the coronation of the Virgin above, and his arms encircled with the garter in front, ($f12^{v}$). Bodl Rawl MS, Liturg. f.36 is a further collection of private prayers for a member of the Talbot family, and it would be interesting to speculate which member of the family preserved these traditional aids, and presumably continued to use them.

245. Cal. S.P., Span., XII, 397-9.

246. G.E.C., 11, p.712 suggests c.1522.

247. Remains, 1, p.ccxcix.

248. G.R. Batho (ed.): Calendar of Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers, H.M.C., L1971, 2, p.xii, (introduction).

249. D.N.B., 55, pp.314f. He died in 1590, G.E.C., 11, p.713. For further information cf. Batho: op.cit., passim.

250. Loades: Mary Tudor, pp.74f.

251. Remains, 2, pp.384, 388.

252. For Seymour's background cf. D.N.B., 51, pp.299ff; Seymour Papers 1532-1686, H.M.C. Bath 4, ed. M. Blatcher, L.1968.

253. Cf. Burnet: History of the Reformation, 2, p.115. The most adequate explanation for the quarrel seems to rest in the differences between their husbands, the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Seymour. The countess of Hertford was one of the ladies of Henry's court who espoused the cause of reform and she maintained her position until her death, cf. her will B.L., Lans MS, 50, art.90, (P.C.C. 36 Spencer).

254. One is dated 9th June, 1547 and the other is undated, Remains, 1, pp.42ff, 52f.

255. Remains, 1, pp.42ff. But cf. Nichols' comment on Edward's motive, ibid, p.43.

256. He survived the reign, however, and indeed most of the following, dying in 1621.

257. S.T.C., 4399.

258. S.T.C.^{2}, 19567.

259. Cf. Williams: Index, p.168.

260. S.T.C., 1253. Subsequent editions were dedicated to Henry, Lord Hastings, also a member of Edward's school, and one edition was dedicated to them both, S.T.C., 1258, 1564; cf. Williams: Index, p.243f.

261. Cf. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, LXVIII, p.125.

262. Remains, 2, p.407.

263. S.T.C.^{2}, 25799. On Wilson's work cf. W.S. Howell: Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700, Princeton, 1956.

264. Following Northumberland's fall, John and his brother Robert were confined in the Tower where they paraphrased Psalms 55 and 94 respectively. Psalm 55 was a personal plea to God for vengeance, Tottell: Songes and Sonnetts, 289, 290, pp.338ff.

265. Remains, 2, pp.384, 388, 389.

266. D.N.B., 16, p.98.

267. Robert was taught French by Nicolas Bourbon, a protege of Anne Boleyn and erstwhile favourer of reform, Lowinsky: 'A music book for Anne Boleyn', p.231, n.92.

268. For Robert Dudley's youth cf. D. Wilson: Sweet Robin, L1981, ch.1.

269. Remains, 2, p.338.

270. History of Parliament, 2, pp.66-7 for an outline of his career.

271. Cf. E. Rosenberg: Leicester, Patron of Letters, L1955.

272. W. MacCaffrey: The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime, Princeton, 1968, p.85; M.M. Knappen: Tudor Puritanism, A chapter in the history of idealism, Chicago, 1939, p.191.

273. Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepysian Library MS, Papers of State, 2, 701. Quoted by D. Wilson: Sweet Robin, p.105.

274. P. Collinson (ed.): Letters of Thomas Wood, Puritan 1566-1577, B.I.H.R., Special Supplement 5, 1960,pp.13f.

275. Henry, Lord Hastings and Sir Henry Sidney respectively.

276. The remaining son, Henry, was killed at the battle of St Quentin in 1555, D.N.B., 16, p.111.

277. Remains, 1, p.cxci.

278. Strype: Life of Cheke, p.115.

279. A treatice of Morall philosophye ... nowe once againe augmented, & y^e^ third tyme enlarged, by Thomas Paulfreyman S.T.C., 1257, 1557. (For original version by Baldwin, dedicated to the Earl of Hertford, cf. S.T.C., 1253, 1547).

280. A treatice of morall philosophye, fAII.

281. S.T.C., 4778. Dedicated to Hastings.

282. Written by C. Ocland. Quoted by M.C. Cross: The Puritan Earl, L1966, p.10; cf. this entire work for biographical details of Hastings.

283. Cross: The Puritan Earl, pp.15ff.

284. Ibid, pp.14f.

285. Cal. S.P., Span, XII, 297.

286. Williams: Index, p.89.

287. Cross: The Puritan Earl, pp.54ff.

288. Ibid, p.24.

289. Quoted in Cross: The Puritan Earl, p.28.

290. Ibid, pp.34f.

291. Remains, 2, p.252, note.

292. On the first Earl of Bedford cf. D. Willen: John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, (Royal Historical Society studies in History, no.23), L1981.

293. Cal. S.P., Ven., VI, III, App.18, p.1635.

294. Norfolk wanted him to be placed in command in the north of England against the Scots, L.P., XVI, 944.

295. Willen: John Russell, p.42.

296. Cal. S.P., Ven., 575, p.244.

297. 2 Cov., xiii.

298. Cal. S.P., Ven., VI, III, App.118, p.1635.

299. Willen suggests this made him unobtrusive and less likely to leave a mark, but it also facilitated his survival, ibid, John Russell, p.32.

300. P.R.O., S.P., 1/111, f.142.

301. B.L., Cott. MS, Vesp., F. XIII, f.280.

302. He was born in 1527.

303. This was the opinion of Marillac, Kaulek, 227.

304. Garrett: Marian Exiles, p.276.

305. History of Parliament, 3, p.231. Not all who went abroad in Mary's reign were religious exiles, cf. Garrett: Marian Exiles, introduction, especially p.63. Russell requested a passport from Philip and Mary which allowed him to travel for two years in Europe, ibid, p.276. Russell was the only noble from the list of hostages or from Edward's peer group to go into exile, although he was by no means the only member of Edward's household to do so.

306. Z.L., 2, XIV, pp.19f.

307. Cf. M. St Clare Byrne and G. Scott Thompson: '"My Lord's Books". The library of Francis second Earl of Bedford, in 1584', The Review of English Studies, 7, 28, 1931, pp.385-405. For dedications to Russell cf. Williams: Index, p.161.

308. St Clare Byrne and Scott Thompson: art.cit., p.385.

309. S.T.C., 11241, 1580.

310. There is no known surviving copy of this.

311. 1583 ed., S.T.C., 11225.

312. For complete list cf. St Clare Byrne and Scott Thompson: "My Lord's Books'", pp.396ff.

313. S.T.C.^{2}, 21090, 1570. There is a unique copy of this in Bishop John Cosin's Library, Durham, I.v. 34. g.

314. John Calvin: A harmonie upon the three Evangelists ... translated by E.P., S.T.C., 2962, 1584, dedication.

315. D.N.B., 44, 432; cf. Ath. Cant., 1, p.532.

316. For Russell's will cf. P.C.C., 45 Windsor.

317. S.T.C., 4415.

318. S.T.C.^{2}, 14943; cf. St Clare Byrne and Scott Thompson: "'My Lord's Books'", p.401, n.8.

319. S.T.C., 4071.

320. S.T.C.^{2}, 12432.

321. S.T.C., 12448.

322. The Worckes of Thomas Becon whiche he hath hitherto made and published, with diverse other newe Bookes added to the same, 2 vols, S.T.C., 1710, 1564, The Christian knight and The monstrous merchandise of the Romish bishops were dedicated to Russell.

323. S.T.C., 1710.

324. D.N.B., 44, p.433. His daughter Anne's marriage to Ambrose Dudley was a further link.

325. Ibid, loc.cit. For Morison cf. Ath. Cant., 1, pp.143ff.

326. Garrett: Marian Exiles, pp.229ff.

327. Hussey had been Princess Mary's Chamberlain. He had also been connected with Lady Margaret Beaufort, (L.P., I, 189 (1278).

328. S.T.C.^{2}, 22134.

329. S.P., III, 496, (James Butler, ninth Earl of Ormonde to Henry VIII, 6th May, 1544).

330. D.N.B., 8, p.73.

331. Cited in Remains, 1, plxix, n.b.

332. Ibid, 1, p.lxix.

333. There was subsequently bitter animosity between the earl and Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, also a former companion of Edward VI, D.N.B., 8, p.80; ibid, 52, pp.212ff.

334. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 2, XCIX, pp.190f.

335. The usual description applied to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.

336. Remains, 1, pp.63f.

337. Ibid, 1, p.63.

338. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, XXXVIII, p.84.

339. Ibid, loc.cit.

340. Bodl, Autogr MS, e.2. Needham: 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and Court', p.100, n.29 describes a companion work to this volume of exercises.

341. O.L., 2, CXIX, p.423; CCII, p.429. Nichols took the reference to mean Barnaby Fitzpatrick, (Remains, 1, plxix).

342. O.L., 2, CXIX, p.423.

343. Ibid, loc.cit.

344. Ibid, 2, CCII, p.429.

345. Remains, 1, p.65.

346. O.L., 2, CXIX, p.423, n.3.

347. Remains, 2, p.338.

348. Ibid, p.68.

349. B.L., Add MS, 5845,

350. Remains, 1, p.72.

351. Ibid., loc cit.

352. Cf. Ibid, 1, pp.63ff for a brief survey of his life.

353. Ath. Ox., 1, pp.180f; History of parliament, 3, p.318.

354. D.N.B., 52, p.210.

355. Remains, 2, pp.368, 384, 389.

356. Cf above, pp. 279f.

357. Sir Henry Sidney: A very godly letter made, ... unto Phillip Sidney his sonne, S.T.C.^{2}, 22533a.5.

358. In 1540 the duke was reported to have remarked that 'it was mery in yngland affore the new lernyng came up', P.R.O., S.P., 1/163, p.43.

359. D.N.B., 28, p.23.

360. S.T.C., 546, [1543] . He also dedicated Opusculum plane divinum de mortuorum resurrectione et extremo iuditio, S.T.C., 5408, 1545 to Surrey.

361. Foxe, 1, pp.9f; Ath. Cant., 1, pp.302ff. For Howard's early life cf. N.J. Williams: Thomas Howard Fourth Duke of Norfolk, L1964, chs 1, 2.

362. Williams: Thomas Howard, pp.29ff.

363. Cal. S.P., Span, XII, 397-9.

364. Cf. Williams: Thomas Howard, pp.127ff for his dealings with Mary, Queen of Scots.

365. B.L., Harl MS, 787, no.112, printed in Williams: Thomas Howard, pp.239ff. He repeated his testimony in public on the scaffold.

366. B.L., Harl MS, 787, no.112, (Williams: Thomas Howard, p.241).

367. D.N.B., 28, p.70.

368. L.I. Guiney: Recusant Poets, L1938, p.167.

369. D.N.B., 34, p.273.

370. His continuation of the library bearing his name, which was accumulated by the Earl of Arundel exemplifies this.

371. B.L., Royal MS, 17A, XLIX.

372. The Dorset household is another obvious example. The Marquis of Dorset was regarded as one of 'the two most shining lights of the church of England' (O.L., 2, CVCII, p.399), and the learning and staunchly religious nature of Lady Jane Grey are well known.

373. B.L., Royal MS, 7D, IX. Ratcliffe was the son of Arundel's second wife from her previous marriage to the first Earl of Sussex. Lady Sussex, wife of the 2nd Earl was a friend of Katherine Parr. Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe was a secret 'favourer of the Gospel' in Mary's reign according to Edward Underhill. (Nichols: Narratives of the Reformation, p.65).

374. Arundel nominated him as his successor as Lord High Steward of Oxford in 1559, for example, D.N.B., 34, p.273.

375. He died in 1609.

376. Blezzard: 'The Lumley Books', pp.128-30, discusses the interesting survival of early Protestant Church music in a Catholic household. Lumley collected works with a strongly traditional flavour such as Bodl. Laud Misc. MS, 188, a devotional work from the late fifteenth century, possibly written for Mary Bohun, first wife of Henry IV. (The Lumley name is on the last two fly-leaves.) It would be interesting to speculate what determined Lumley's choice of works: religion, family heirlooms or some other reason.

377. C. Devlin: Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr, L1956, p.17.

378. Cf. above pp

379. Giles: Whole Works, 1, pt 1, pt 1, XIX, XX, pp.35ff. Ascham refused though he praised the family for its learning.

380. Cf. McConica, p.261.

381. Knowles, 3, p.221.

382. He received three dedications, which were of a Protestant nature, S.T.C., 1881, 10880; S.T.C.^{2}, 24685.

383. D.N.B., 5, p.240.

384. G.E.C., 12, pt.2, pp.757ff; Elton: Reform and Reformation, p.121. See also C.A.H. Franklyn: A Genealogical History of the Families of Poulet, Bedford, 1963.

385. He held the office of Lord Treasurer from 1550-1572, cf. Elton: Reform and Reformation, pp.352, 355.

386. Cf. W.Dugdale: The Baronage of England, 2 vols in 1, L1675-6, 2, p.376. Remains, 1, p.lxviii, and McConica, p.217, both support the claim that he was in Edward's school.

387. P.R.O., LC2/3. The others were Lord Butler, Lord Strange, Mr Browne and Mr Barnaby.

388. Nichols: 'Inventory ... of Henry Fitzroy', p.lxxiii.

389. S.P., Wolsey papers, ser.1, 193, see above p.268.

390. Nichols, 'Inventory ... of Henry Fitzroy', pp.xxxviiff.

391. Ibid., pp.xcvff for further details.

392. D.N.B., 26, p.221.

393. B.L., Harl MS, 5087, no.10.

394. Calendar of the manuscripts of the ... marquis of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, 18 vols. 1883-1940, 2, 154; 3,137.

395. Viz. his signature on various documents, cf. D.N.B., 26, p.223.

396. It was his cultivated manners which drew the attention of Philip's envoy, the Marquis de las Navis and led to his appointment to the Privy Chamber. In later life he was a patron of antiquarians and heralds, had his own company of players and was the friend of Sir Philip Sidney, D.N.B., 26, pp.189f.

397. Lady Jane Grey may also have joined Edward for some lessons in view of the Suffolk family's commitment to the Edwardian regime, her own associations with the household of Katherine Parr and Sir Thomas Seymour and Northumberland's plans for her marriage.

398. Cf. Remains, 1, pp.ccxcixf.

399. Ibid, loc.cit. Lord Andrew Windsor was Keeper of the Great Wardrobe to Henry VIII until his death in 1543.

400. Edward recorded having stayed with the young Sir Anthony Browne, Remains, 2, p.436.

401. Note the 'batch of young noblemen' who went to university in Edward's reign, remarked upon by Simon: Education and Society, p.246, n.1.

402. Cecil took care of Cheke's sons after the latter's death, Simon: Education and Society, p.344.

403. L.B. Smith: 'Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph', American Historical Review, 71, 1966, p.1247.

Conclusion

The evidence examined in the foregoing chapters leaves no doubt as to the centrality of the royal household during the tumultuous years of the Reformation. Household government, which could make and unmake ministers as powerful as Wolsey and Cromwell, also made possible the implementation of the Reformation, and for the most part the court led the way.

In tracing the impact of the Reformation at court, its complexities are abundantly evident, for here the confusion arising over the fluidity of doctrinal definitions was compounded by the moving pressure for religious change. The latter rose and fell unpredictably and far from being the eye at the centre of the storm, the court received the full impact.

The need to foster religious devotion behind the public façade of the court was clearly there, but it could not remain a private affair, conducted in the seclusion of a closet. Court piety was deeply affected by its unique circumstances. If the worship of the Chapel Royal now appears artificial, the image of the court presented here shows that it could not be otherwise. The life-style of the court impinged on every aspect of existence for those who spent any length of time there. The court existed to serve the monarch, but the royal relationship with God was a crucial component of this which all the Tudors took seriously. The monarch's role in the religious life of the court runs through the period as a connecting thread which the

Reformation altered, but did not destroy.

The medieval flavour of Henry VII's court is conveyed strongly by the examples of pious activity found there, especially the quantification of religious deeds. Much of this continued on into Henry VIII's reign, when, as a pious young king, Henry sought to fulfil the obligations which his upbringing had laid upon him. The sense of continuity was reinforced by Catherine of Aragon who carried on the traditions of generations of female members of the royal family. The real break in this tradition came with the advent of Anne Boleyn, yet she did not depart altogether from the ways of her predecessors. The same motivation to encourage devotion was there, the same leadership from an important female member of the household, and many of the activities remained the same. If Anne Boleyn encouraged her maids to read the Bible instead of Walter Hilton or the Legenda aurea, she was continuing an oft-repeated practice using new tools.

The religious life of the court at this time shows how the English Reformation caused the old to be suddenly confronted by the new. The confusion in people's minds over the Break with Rome and the official Reformation of religion is as clear at court as in the country at large. Coming so close to the centre of affairs it highlights the uncertainty, the lack of direction and the apprehension of the king and his government at what they had unleashed. This is not to say that the men and women who took their religion seriously at the time of the Reformation should be seen as totally confused in their beliefs. A small number embraced the Reformation whole-heartedly and may be counted among England's genuine early Protestants, but equally

important for an overall understanding of the English Reformation were those who experimented with new teachings while retaining what was already precious to them from traditional forms. From the foregoing study of Katherine Parr and her circle, it is clear that this was the common experience of many people operating from an informed position. Their importance lies not as forerunners of English Protestantism, but as a group in their own right, who lived at a time of great uncertainty, and who found a way of maintaining an equilibrium within it.

The pitfalls confronting the historian who tries to define the religious positions of such individuals in the early stages of the Reformation are highlighted by examining their personal responses to the new teachings. Ascertaining personal response at this remove is the first difficulty, but the realisation that individuals were often unable to find a firm footing in a situation where definitions themselves remained fluid, is a warning against adopting clear-cut labels. The study of courtier wills clearly illustrates this. While the wills bear out the other known biographical details of each individual, it is impossible to perceive any pattern of consistency in the evolution of religious definitions or in personal responses to the changes taking place.

It is, however, important to try to measure the response to the Reformation in order to see whether there was any lasting impact. The studies of preaching and of education offer some insight here for they were among the chief tools used by the reformers in propagating the Reformation. The dramatic increase of preaching gave ample opportunity

to denounce the old ways, explain the Scriptures and chide or encourage people to reform. The preachers made the most of this opportunity with various results. The young king Edward at least took seriously what he heard from the pulpit and sought to live up to the ideal. His accession marked a new beginning in terms of rule and royal personality and the image of the 'young Josiah' caught the imagination of the reformers. Here was a child full of promise, who, with the guidance and training of godly preceptors, would grow up into the godly monarch who would lead his people faithfully in the ways of the Word of God. The association of learning and godliness is evident all the way through Edward's upbringing. Godly exercises in the schoolroom were expected to lead to a godly lifestyle outside.

The learned pursuits of most of Edward's companions in adulthood point to the excellence of the schooling provided at his court, and also the importance placed on learning as a quality of the gentleman. Commitment to the Erastian principle and the subsequent regime were also by and large successfully inculcated. It is not possible to claim that Edward and his companions received a Protestant education, however, for during most of the king's formal schooling doctrinal definitions remained fluid and the tutors themselves were not clear about their religious stance. The subsequent diversity of belief among Edward's companions reinforces the point, although it must also be said that commitment to a particular doctrinal stance can never be guaranteed, nor indeed can any degree of religious faith.

Those who took their piety seriously had to battle against human nature, as did Christians in every walk of life. They also had to

overcome the peculiar circumstances of the court, which in almost every way negated the values of simplicity and self-effacement normally associated with the quest for spirituality. As a consequence, the preachers of Edward VI's court made the same moral indictments against its members as those of Henry VIII's. It is therefore all the more important to realise that throughout the period there was another side to the picture, wherein a vital thread of private devotion thrived on literature, prayer, personal contact and a striving after spirituality. It becomes easier to discern the element of personal struggle involved in this towards the end of the period in question.

Looking back from 1553, religious practices, both public and private, moved a long way in a little over half a century, with most of the changes occurring during the last five years. The rapidity of the changes goes some way to explaining why many traditional vestiges remained. The evidence strongly suggests that the transition was often painful, because while many were eager to grasp the fresh vigour and evangelical fervour of the reformers to make it their own, they were also reluctant to let go of tried and tested ways. Furthermore, since the implementers of reformation had not yet reached the completion of their own internal revolution, they had yet to come to terms with the practical implications of the Reformation for their private lives.

Before the Reformation there were few choices to make. One either took one's religion seriously, or one did not. Outwardly the practice of religion was the same. The difference lay in the inward commitment. After the Reformation, Protestantism and Catholicism were clearly divided by their external practices as well as tenets of belief.

Styles of worship and traditions were different. All this is apparent to the outside observer. But what about the private devotional aspirations and inner convictions of individuals on each side? One might pray with the help of a rosary while the other debated the scriptures, but were their aspirations really so different? Surely both were striving after God, and a deepening of their sense of His presence? Whatever the external constraints, when they finally withdrew to the privacy of their closet, and laid aside the masks they wore in public, the desire of Protestant and Catholic, of king and scullery boy alike was to find the 'peace which passeth all understanding'.[1]

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George DAY	PCC F 22	Ketchyn
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Henry FITZALEN		
12th Earl of Arundel	PCC 1	Arundel
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