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A STUDY OF THE ENGLISH PROTESTANT EXILES IN
NORTHERN SWITZERLAND AND STRASBOURG 1539-47,
AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

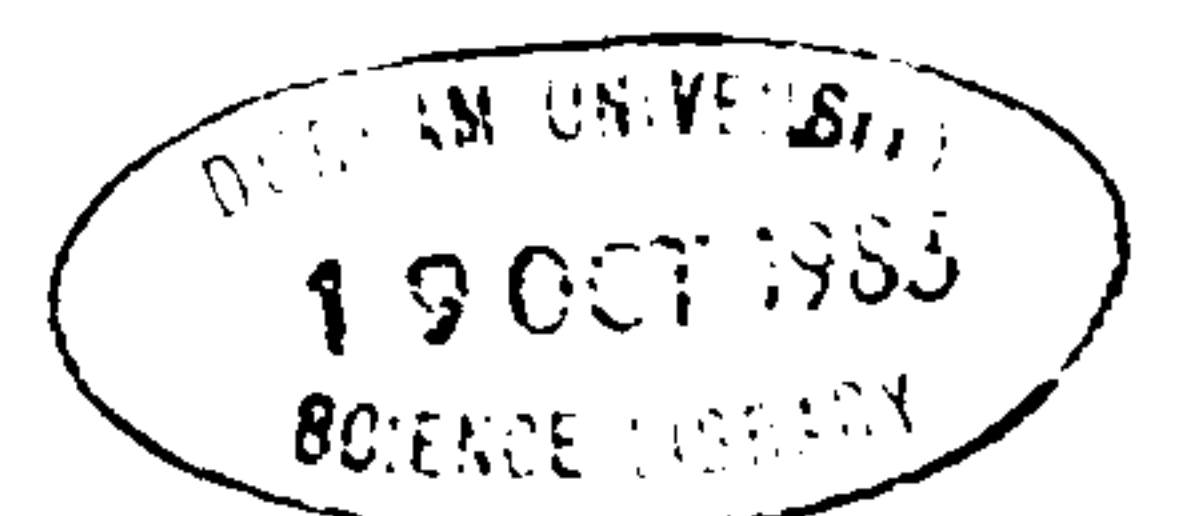
ESTHER FRANCES MARY HILDEBRANDT

Ph.D. Thesis

University of Durham
Department of Modern History

1982

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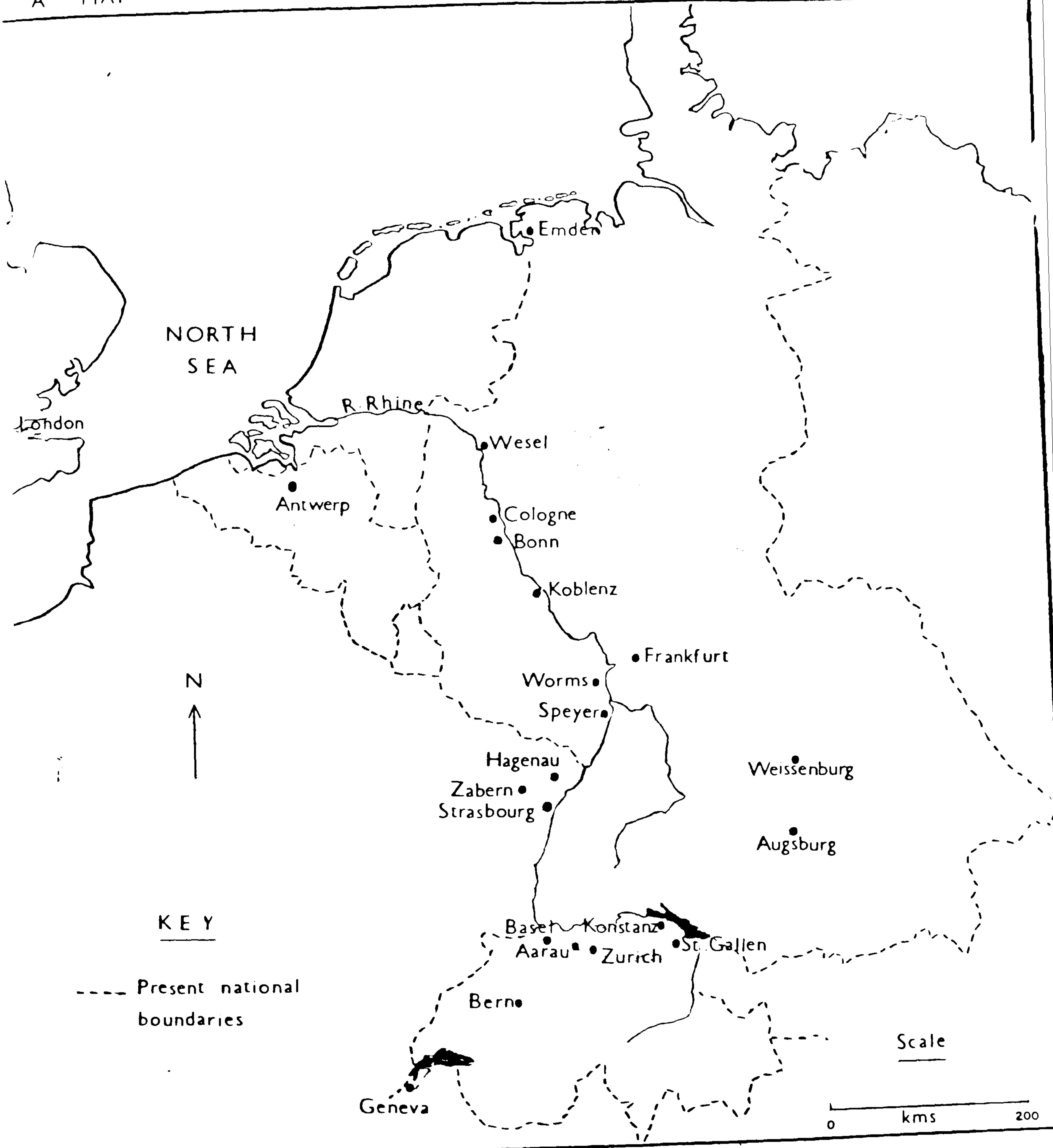
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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the handful of English Protestants who fled to northern Switzerland and the area around Strasbourg as a result of the hostile environment which existed in England after the passing of the Act of Six Articles in 1539. They did not constitute part of a 'mass exodus' such as that which occurred during the reign of Mary Tudor; the Protestants who fled to Europe in Henry VIII's reign were very much isolated individuals. But the fact that a dozen Englishmen regarded the Zürich-Basel-Strasbourg region as a haven in a time of crisis was to prove of some significance to the development of the English Reformation after 1547, and the reasons for their motives in coming to these parts are analysed. It was thanks to these men that communications with the Swiss, and particularly with Bullinger, were established on a firm footing, thus encouraging Swiss students to visit England in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Similarly, the Englishmen who fled to northern Switzerland and Strasbourg after 1553 found that the way had already been paved for them by the Henrician exiles. The study concentrates on the biographical details of these men, and on the way they related to each other, and to Bullinger in particular, as well as their contacts with other Reformers. It also examines the attitudes of the men who fled: how they regarded the political and religious developments in England; their own religious sympathies; and the way they adjusted to life abroad. Theological aspects are dealt with only in passing, insofar as the subsequent careers of the clerical refugees, in particular Coverdale, Hooper and Turner, were affected by their experience in exile.

A MAP TO SHOW TOWNS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE EXILES



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Note about dates

The English calendar in this period began on March 25th, so that an English letter dated 13. 1.1549 would in fact be 13. 1.1550. The dates in this thesis are according to the modern method. Where printed works were consulted, the assumption has been made that dates have already been brought into line with modern practice, unless it is patently obvious that they have not. Where manuscript sources were used, the context was taken into consideration when deciding on the correct date. It seems that generally letters of Englishmen written to Europeans at this time (i. e. the vast majority of letters quoted in this thesis) were dated according to the modern calendar.

Note concerning quotations

Unless otherwise stated, quotations are exact reproductions of the text consulted, but Latin abbreviations have been expanded. Where a word was illegible, or an abbreviation was unclear, ----- has been used to denote this. Where a Latin word seems unlikely, I have reproduced the word with (?) attached. Unusual German and English forms I have left intact, as the sense is usually clear despite this, and there are many very odd words.

Abbreviations commonly used in footnotes

Arch. St. Thomas	Archives de St. Thomas, Strasbourg
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
L. & P.	Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII
O. L.	Original Letters
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, London
S. P.	State Papers
S. T. C.	Short Title Catalogue
V. C. H.	Victoria County History
Z. L.	Zürich Letters
Z. St. Arch.	Zürich Staatsarchiv
Z. Z. B.	Zürich Zentralbibliothek

PREFACE

The Henrician exiles who fled to Switzerland and Strasbourg after the passing of the Act of Six Articles have been sadly neglected by historians, although the 'Marian' refugees are of course quite well known. This is understandable; the events of Mary's reign were quite straightforward enough to catch people's imagination, and the numbers of English Protestants who fled abroad after Mary's accession was considerably greater than that of Henry VIII's time. But some of the Henrician refugees were significant figures in themselves: Tyndale and Barnes must have been among the best known of the early English Protestants. It is reasonable to assume that if at least a few English Reformed theologians took refuge in Europe in Henry VIII's time (when the English reformation is recognised as having got under way), there must have been other less distinguished figures in a similar situation. Similarly, much has been made of the impact on the later English Reformation, of the European Reformers who took refuge in England under Edward VI, and also of the experience of the Marian exiles who returned from Europe after 1558. But no attempt has been made to establish whether the links between the English and European Reformers, particularly the Swiss, might have had their origins considerably earlier, i. e. in the contacts and friendships which the Henrician refugees made while they were abroad.

It was with this idea in mind that I began my work. A preliminary inspection of the State Letters and Papers revealed that Europe was indeed host to, if not quite seething with, English exiles of various kinds throughout Henry's reign. Stephen Vaughan's letter to Cromwell

of August 3rd, 1533, is a typical specimen. It mentions Friar Peto, a Catholic Observant, loyal to Catherine of Aragon and to the old faith, who had fled abroad and whom Vaughan was trying to trace. Vaughan then went on in the same letter to tell Cromwell of one George Gee, who had 'fled out of England for the new learning' and was now in Antwerp.¹

The subject as I had originally envisaged it thus proved to be unmanageable. Apart from a couple of distinct circles of exiles such as the Catholic one centred on Pole at Padua, or the concentration of refugees at Antwerp, probably attracted thither by Tyndale's presence and the hospitality of the House of the Merchant Adventurers, the Henrician refugees proved to be very much individualists, going where they fancied, or circumstances allowed. It became abundantly clear that to study all of them would entail a lengthy trail round France, West and East Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy - at the very least. But as my initial reading progressed, I became aware of the existence of a reasonably homogeneous group of refugees in the south, based on the triangle around Zürich, Basel and Strasbourg.

It would be fruitless to deny that expediency thus influenced my eventual choice of a research topic. This group of refugees proved to be a reasonable option for a three year project; the study necessitated spending six months abroad working on primary material. The Zürich archives provided many of the documents I required; there is probably more information to be gleaned from Basel and Strasbourg, but it is very difficult to get at. Unfortunately, thanks to the bombing in the last war, there was very little useful corroborative documentation to be found in Frankfurt. But in Zürich, various dedicated archivists have been busy cataloguing correspondence, council records etc. since the end of the last century, and the indexed Bullinger archive must

surely be unique. It contains some 12,000 letters, 10,000 of which were written to the Antistes, and comprise over 90% of the total he received. The other 2,000 are from Bullinger, and must make up one quarter to one third of his total output. The whole operation appeared to be tailormade for a three year research project such as this, but that is not to deny that there is still plenty of work to be done on the southern exiles' northern contemporaries, and also on their predecessors.

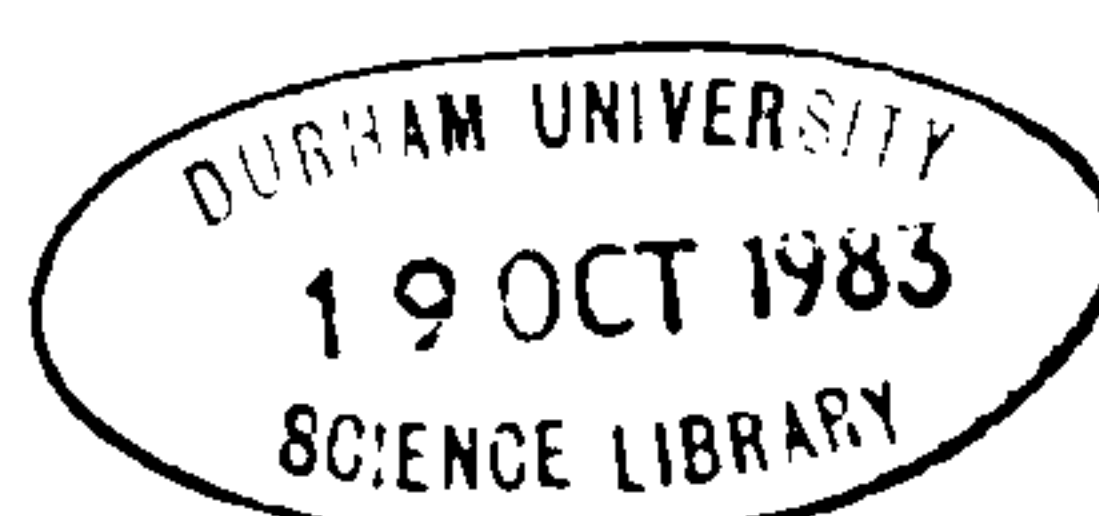
From a preliminary inspection of the nominal roll of Englishmen who settled in the southern region in this period, it appears that only a few were significant figures in terms of Reformation history. Coverdale and Hooper stand out as theologians of some stature who certainly had an impact on the development of the English Reformation; Coverdale both before and after this period in exile, thanks to his early work on biblical translation, and Hooper after his return to England, when he made his reputation as 'the father of English Puritanism'. Nor is William Turner, scientist and theologian, a person to be ignored. Other names on the list could well mean nothing to most readers - Butler, Burcher, Hilles, Dodman, Allen and Rose were all apparently unremarkable men. But there was a great deal more to these people than has been commonly realised. It is the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that it was not so much the achievements or literary output of these individuals that would influence the course of the Reformation in England, but the very fact of their presence abroad at a crucial time would have repercussions far beyond what they themselves anticipated. Their presence in this southern region raises a lot of questions which must be tackled. Why did they flee in the first place? Why did they choose this area to

settle? Why and how did a kind of cohesion develop, making a real 'group' out of these people (although not everyone in the circle was acquainted with everyone else), thus distinguishing its members from the other 'loner' Henrician exiles? What did the existence of this group do to further Anglo-Swiss relations in that critical period for the English Reformation, after 1547? These are some of the questions which this thesis explores and attempts to answer. The theological aspects of the subject have been dealt with recently by a number of people, better qualified than I to come to grips with that side of things, so I have felt justified in concentrating purely and simply on the historical material.²

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Although this thesis is concerned solely with what I came to call the 'southern network', some kind of context must be established so that its distinctive features can be appreciated. The religious climate of Henry VIII's reign did not favour out-spoken Protestants of any shade of orthodoxy at any time, unless they were also favoured political animals. Robert Barnes, who had worked for the English government in the 1530s at a time when the king was interested in a German alliance,³ and who had had a share in Lambert's downfall, reporting him to the authorities when he took too extreme a line on the Eucharist,⁴ found that his earlier loyalty to the government was of no avail in the aftermath of the Act of Six Articles. In view of his previous career and commitment to Lutheran doctrines, this is not really surprising. He had been a leading member of the White Horse Inn circle at Cambridge while he was head of the house of Austin Friars there. In 1525 he had his first unpleasant encounter with Wolsey, having preached a sermon against litigiousness in Cambridge, and as a result he was forced to do public penance. He fled to Wittenberg late in 1528, and began to write under the name 'Antonius Anglus'. By the end of 1531 he had produced two works, Sententiae ex doctoribus collectae quas papistae valde hodie damnant (which proved to be a useful handbook on patristics for reformers); and a supplication to Henry VIII which was full of straightforward Lutheran teaching on Justification by faith. He paid a short visit to England



late in 1531,⁵ but did not linger to tempt More's wrath, and he soon returned to Europe to live in Hamburg for a while. In 1533 it suited Henry to make overtures to the German princes, and Barnes was an obvious tool in the negotiations, as we have seen. But his place in royal favour was precarious; Henry's original and instinctive dislike of the man, and Barnes' violent attack on Bishop Gardiner at Paul's Cross in March 1540 proved to be his undoing, and Barnes, along with Jerome and Garrett (who had also been abroad)⁶ were the first three Protestant victims of the 'whip with six strings', together with three orthodox Catholics.⁷

There were other leading Protestants who did not find it possible to remain in England while progress in reforming the church was so slow. William Tyndale realised early in the 1520s that his vocation was to translate the Bible into English, and applied to Bishop Tunstall for help, which was not forthcoming.⁸ There is some debate as to whether he went to Wittenberg in 1524,⁹ but we do know that by the spring of 1527 he was in Hamburg collecting £10 which had been left with merchants there for safekeeping. By then his translation of the New Testament was well on the way to completion. He and his assistant William Roy then moved on to Cologne, where the printing of the New Testament began, but this was hindered by the activities of Cochlaeus, and the two Englishmen were forced to flee to Worms, where the printing work was completed. His movements thereafter are uncertain, but it seems likely that he moved on to Antwerp which he used as a base while travelling around Europe. An imperial edict of October 1529 had banned the printing of heretical books, which explains why Tyndale took pains to disguise his whereabouts. After his translation of the New Testament was accomplished, he proceeded to work on the Old

Testament, which he decided to have printed at Hamburg. But he was shipwrecked and lost all his work, and in December 1530 he returned to Antwerp where he had the advantage of the support of English merchants, and eager printers. By the summer of 1530 his translation of the Pentateuch had been accomplished; meanwhile in the years 1528-30 he had also been busy with The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, The Obedience of a Christian Man, and The Practice of Prelates.

Cromwell was interested in persuading Tyndale to return to England, despite his controversial publications, thinking he might be of some use to the government, and Stephen Vaughan was instructed to negotiate with him. But Tyndale was right to be wary; in 1530 his brother was arrested with Thomas Patmore and charged with receiving and selling New Testaments from abroad, and also with writing and sending money to Tyndale. Tyndale stopped his contact with Vaughan, and continued his work in Antwerp; in 1531 his translation of Jonah appeared, soon followed by the Exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532 he wrote a short commentary on the will of William Tracy, again controversial. By 1534 he was living in the headquarters of the English merchants in Antwerp, who seem to have given him considerable moral and financial support. This enabled him to work on his second edition of the New Testament, and to translate some more books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Chronicles, which were found in manuscript form after his death. He was betrayed to the imperial authorities in May 1535, and imprisoned until his execution some eighteen months later.¹⁰

According to his most recent biographer, Tyndale seems to have been the central figure towards whom refugees from England looked for advice. He was, during the 1520s and early 1530s, the most determined

and authoritative interpreter of Luther;¹¹ in the early days of the English Reformation Luther was of course regarded as the key theologian by the English Protestants.¹² It was really only in the 1530s that interest in Zwingli began to grow. Tyndale's death was perhaps a factor in this, but the concentration of English exiles in Switzerland confirmed the trend.

It does not appear that a real network functioned around Tyndale during his period in exile. He had a series of assistants, it is true, but these must be regarded as temporary partnerships which, once they were terminated, did not develop into a looser kind of cohesion among former or future helpers of the biblical translator. It is worth taking a closer look at these assistants, as their story gives a good impression of the sort of men who were forced into exile in the 1520s and 1530s.

William Roy was Tyndale's first assistant. Having started his career as an Observant friar at Greenwich,¹³ he left England early in 1525, helped by Humphrey Monmouth, Tyndale's patron.¹⁴ He matriculated at Wittenberg in the summer of 1525, and soon afterwards he joined Tyndale.¹⁵ Discretion was not one of his gifts, and Tyndale was forced to dismiss him in the spring of 1526.¹⁶ It seems likely that he then moved to Antwerp where he may have contacted the source of income for the English Protestants on the continent, Richard Harman.¹⁷ Strasbourg was his next port of call, as Tyndale reported in his Parable of the Wicked Mammon :

"After we were parted, he (Roy) went and got him new friends which things to do he passeth all that ever I knew and there when he had restored to him of money he got him to Argentine where he professed wonderful faculties and maketh boast of no small things." 18

William or Jerome Barlowe (also a former Observant friar) joined him there in 1527.¹⁹

By this stage Roy was attracted to Zwinglian rather than Lutheran doctrine, which he found too confusing (and orthodox) for his taste. The religious climate in Strasbourg proved congenial for his literary work; although he was neither a great theologian nor an original thinker, he excelled at making Reformation thought palatable for the great mass of uneducated people.²⁰ Strasbourg at this stage was just beginning its Reformation, and the Protestant leaders' primary concern was to retain unity among themselves in the face of Catholic pressure, and thus they had to find a way of reconciling Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines which had by then penetrated into the city's churches. Bucer's main concern was not with dogma, but with the preaching of the gospel, and he was supported in this by the city council.²¹ Roy fitted into this scenario very nicely, and it is easy to see how he got away with his famous dialogue Rede me and be not wrothe, which was based on the idea that the Mass was a person who had died in Strasbourg and had to be buried.²²

Barlowe and Roy found a publisher for their popular works in Jean Schott, who agreed to co-operate with them when he was assured that the English merchants would finance him. But he was justifiably cautious, and only produced 1,000 copies of The Dialogue between a Christian father and his stubborn son and The Burial of the Mass, the printing of which was completed early in 1528. Not surprisingly, these publications incurred the wrath of Wolsey, and a European manhunt was launched for the two malefactors who, despite brief visits to England in 1528-9, managed to avoid capture.²³ By the summer of 1529 Roy and Barlowe were both in Antwerp, supervising the publication of their works, and the hunt was called off, Wolsey being then preoccupied with saving his own skin. There is no evidence that they were in contact

with any other English refugees in Antwerp, where Roy stayed until at least the spring of 1531. He then moved on to Portugal, where he was apparently burnt for heresy sometime that same year.²⁴ Barlowe returned to England in due course, and recanted in 1533.²⁵

Coverdale was another of Tyndale's assistants; he began working with him in Hamburg, and then probably followed him to Antwerp before he embarked on his independent career as a biblical translator.²⁶ It is interesting to note here that his brother-in-law was also an exile. This was John MacAlpine, or Maccabeus, who was one of the Scottish clergy who left Scotland in the autumn of 1534 after Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom. He served for six years as a canon under Shaxton, the then reforming bishop of Salisbury. He, like Coverdale, left England in 1540 and went to Wittenberg, where he became a student of Melanchthon. He remained there until the autumn of 1542 when he moved to Copenhagen as chaplain to Christian III and professor of theology.²⁷

George Joye, a Cambridge graduate (as were Tyndale, Coverdale and Barnes), was summoned to Westminster in 1527 to answer a charge of heresy, but he escaped to Antwerp where he remained for approximately seven years.²⁸ He became another of Tyndale's helpers, but their friendship collapsed in 1534 when Joye pirated an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, with some important alterations which he had made of his own accord.²⁹ During his first exile, Joye published a number of works, including a translation of Isaiah, and an English translation of Bucer's Latin version of the Psalms, together with his English Hortulus.³⁰ He moved on to Calais after Tyndale's arrest, because of the increased danger, and apparently then returned to England and worked as a printer in London for a time.³¹ He fled abroad again after Cromwell's fall, and remained in the vicinity of Antwerp until

the end of Henry's reign, moving around a good deal to avoid arrest. During his second exile he produced a number of books, some original and some translated, most of which were concerned with a defence of clerical marriage. He returned to England in Edward's reign, and was eventually instituted to the living of Ashwell in Hertfordshire. He died in 1553.³²

John Frith must have been one of the most persecuted of Tyndale's colleagues. He too had been a student at Cambridge, and a member of the White Horse Inn circle.³³ Wolsey invited him to move to Cardinal College, Oxford, where he got involved in the heresy scare, and escaped abroad. After a couple of years he returned to England, but was arrested. Leonard Cox procured his release, but not long afterwards he was imprisoned again. In August 1528 he was allowed to go, and he fled to Europe.³⁴ In 1529 he helped Tyndale for a while, and published a tract Antithesis, wherein are compared together Christ's acts and our holy father the Pope's. His return to England in 1532 led to his imprisonment as a result of betrayal to More for holding unorthodox views on the Lord's Supper. He was distinctly Zwinglian on this, and although he did not deny his beliefs when examined, he protested that they had been expressed in private and had not been intended for publication. His protest was of no avail, and he was burnt for heresy in 1533.³⁵

The author of the famous Supplication of the Beggars, Simon Fish, was another who took refuge in Antwerp in the late 1520s. The ostensible reason for his flight was that he had taken part in a play which satirised Wolsey, and that Wolsey's wrath made escape imperative, but apparently the play was performed in 1526, and Fish only fled to Antwerp in 1528. There is evidence that this radical

lawyer was involved in other Protestant activities in the intervening years, which would have made him even more of a target for Wolsey's wrath; by late 1526 he had obtained early copies of Tyndale's New Testament from Richard Harman, and was distributing them in London. What he did in Antwerp is not known; he did not stay abroad for long, and he died a natural death in London in 1530.³⁶

John Lambert was also a member of the White Horse Inn circle.³⁷ He spent some time with Frith and Tyndale in exile, and was a chaplain to the House of Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp. Apparently he returned to England because of More's insistence that he should be sent back to answer various charges of heresy. He managed to stave off the attack, and remained in comparative freedom in London until the autumn of 1538 when he became involved in a disputation on the Eucharist. His views on the Lord's Supper were not Lutheran, which antagonised Barnes and other potential supporters from the reforming camp. Henry himself participated in the trial, which was played up deliberately for foreign policy purposes, the king at that stage being anxious to placate the Catholic powers.³⁸

Another chaplain to the House of Merchant Adventurers was John Rogers, the author of the Matthew Bible. Cranmer brought this to Cromwell's attention in August 1537, and it is to Cromwell's credit that Henry allowed its sale in England, an amazing achievement in view of the fact that everyone knew that Rogers had worked with Tyndale and Coverdale.³⁹ In 1537 he married Adriana Pratt;⁴⁰ in November 1540 he matriculated at Wittenberg and translated four tracts by Melancthon during his stay there. He then became Lutheran pastor and superintendent at Meldorf, in Dietmarsch, north-west Germany, where he remained until Edward's reign.⁴¹ On his return he was

given a prebend at St. Paul's, London, and remained in that job until Mary's accession.⁴² He had the dubious privilege of being the first Marian martyr.

These then were the early Henrician Protestants who found themselves in exile in Europe before the religious climate changed very definitely in 1539. Despite the common factors of Tyndale, and the House of Merchant Adventurers, which most of them shared, they were very much individuals who found their way to Europe, and were answerable only to themselves when they were there. With regard to their actual role in the transmission of reformed teaching to their own country, A. Hume's comments are worth noting:

"The exiles were not creators, but purveyors, of Protestant theology. But it is surprising to see the number and variety of foreign Reformers from whom they took their material. They showed an immediate readiness to pick up whatever lies to hand, undeterred by the fact that many of the books they printed contradicted each other. There was an energetic haphazardness about quoting Luther, Bucer, Capito, Brunfels, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Erasmus, Manuel, Wyclif, Purvey, Thorpe, and Oldcastle! None of the exiles produced any large, systematic survey of the Christian faith, worship, and life. Generally they showed a... slight tendency to pull to the left: Tyndale followed Luther, but was more radical on the sacrament of the altar, and auricular confession. Roy followed Capito, but was more radical on the Lord's Supper and predestination. Frith was a disciple of Oecolampadius, but Zwinglian on Communion." 43

Other Protestants remained in England. Cranmer survived the vicissitudes of Henry's reign, despite his occasional public opposition to his master's policies, and it appears that his longevity was due less to his own political skill than to the fact that it suited Henry to have him around. His most recent biographer concluded:

"It was advantageous to have Thomas Cranmer in Council and Convocation as a balance to the power of Gardiner and Norfolk, and as an advocate of the moderate Reformation, who would be useful if Henry should decide to move in this direction. Cranmer remained in office because he was a learned Reformer who was sufficiently subservient to make it possible for Henry to retain his services." 44

Nicholas Ridley was another survivor; when the Act of Six Articles was passed, confirming the non-revolutionary nature of Henrician Protestantism, he adopted the safe policy of lying low and attempting to safeguard as far as possible the gains won for Protestantism under Cromwell's regime.⁴⁵ In fact, he probably only changed his mind on the issue of transubstantiation in 1545, and therefore was not completely out of step with the Henrician Reformation. But he kept quiet about his conversion until December 1548, and as late as November or December 1547 he was preaching sermons which conveyed the impression that he believed in the corporal presence.⁴⁶

It was, of course, the Six Articles which gave the impetus to flee from England to the men who eventually settled in Switzerland or Strasbourg (or, in the case of John Burcher, the change in the religious situation which followed Lambert's execution). On May 5th, 1539, Audley read to Parliament a royal address, reporting that the King

"desires above all things that diversity of religious opinions should be banished from his dominions; and since this is a thing too arduous to be determined in the midst of so many various judgements, it seems good to him to order a committee of the Upper House to examine opinions, and to report their decisions to the whole Parliament." 47

The committee which was eventually chosen was evenly divided between sympathisers with the Reformation, and conservatives: Cranmer, Capon of Bangor, Goodrich of Ely, and Latimer of Worcester on the one hand; and on the other, Lee of York, Tunstall of Durham, Clerk

of Bath and Wells, and Aldridge of Carlisle.⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, after ten days of wrangling the committee had reached no agreement; Norfolk then took the initiative, doubtless acting on Henry's orders, and proposed that the full House of Lords should examine six questions which he proceeded to lay before them.⁴⁹ What materialised from this was the Act of Six Articles, which affirmed the Real Presence in the Eucharist; declared that Communion in both kinds was not necessary; it forbade the marriage of priests and declared that vows of chastity must be observed; it approved of private masses; and maintained that auricular confession was necessary.⁵⁰ The act was not passed without a struggle; it seems that while the peers were largely in favour of the statute, Cranmer and his reforming colleagues maintained their opposition to the measure in the presence of the king on more than one occasion, although it is unlikely that the archbishop argued against the first article as his views on the Real Presence were still orthodox at this juncture.⁵¹ However, when it became clear that theirs was a lost cause, Cranmer did capitulate, and may even have felt compelled to speak in favour of the proposed statute to demonstrate his loyalty to the king.⁵² He certainly voted for the bill; he was present in the House of Lords for its first reading, although Latimer and Shaxton absented themselves. At the second reading, Shaxton was still away, but for the final stage all the bishops were present, which suggests that they were under strong pressure to attend and support the bill after their earlier opposition to it.⁵³

As we have seen, Cranmer's career was not damaged by the attitude he had adopted during this critical period. Shaxton and Latimer were less fortunate; Cromwell forced them to resign their bishoprics, perhaps unfairly.⁵⁴ But it is important to note that they

were not deprived of their sees.⁵⁵ Shaxton, after a brief period when his liberty was curtailed, did an about turn, and conformed.⁵⁶ Latimer was not so compliant. We know that he had some contact with the Swiss Reformers, because in March 1539 John Butler and his friends had written to Conrad Pellikan and his colleagues in Zürich: "The letter of Bibliander has been written to the bishop of Worcester, who will, we think, send him an answer."⁵⁷ On July 6th, 1539, shortly after the Act had been passed, Thomas Warley reported to Lord Lisle that Latimer had been found at Gravesend, presumably caught while trying to escape to the continent.⁵⁸ In view of his contact with the Swiss, it is possible that he hoped to find refuge in Switzerland. He, like Cranmer, had no objection to the article affirming transubstantiation, but his doubts about the others resulted in his being entrusted to the bishop of Chichester (Sampson) for safekeeping in London until the spring of 1540, when Sampson himself was arrested. He used his greater freedom to support Robert Barnes in his time of trouble, but this did not preclude him from benefitting from the general pardon extended to all offenders against the Act of Six Articles, published in July 1540. He was, however, prohibited from preaching, or from coming within six miles of Oxford, Cambridge, or his own diocese. Exactly what he did during the years 1540-6 is not known; the next information we have is for May 1546, when he was brought before the Council and accused of supporting Crome, who was in trouble for his preaching. Latimer proved obdurate and was imprisoned in the Tower where he remained until Henry's death.⁵⁹

The extent of the problems the Protestants in England faced in the period immediately following the passing of the Act of Six Articles was not as great as must have been expected at first, thanks to the general pardon mentioned above. Canon Dixon described the

situation graphically:

"... the abhorrence of the nation for all heretics was directed by the orthodoxy of the king. The laymen of London instantly became the most active ordinaries that the Church had ever had: and proved that the powers of ecclesiastical law had but slept in the arms of the much decried bishops. They formed a court or inquest upon heretics, which sat in the Mercers' Chapel. To sit on this tribunal none were admitted who had read any part of the Holy Scripture in English, or who favoured any of those who had read it, or who loved the preachers of it. So ardent were the citizens in the pursuit of heresy that they were not content with enquiring after offenders against the statute; they enquired after offenders against their own interpretation of the statute. They not only enquired who spoke against masses, but who went seldom to mass; not only who denied in the Sacrament the natural Body and Blood of Christ, but who held not up their hands, who smote not on their breasts at the moment of sacring or consecration. They sought to discover who went seldom to church; who refused to receive holy bread or holy water, when it was offered them in church by the priest; who read the Bible in church; who contemned priests in their conversation, or images in churches; all of which particulars they termed "branches of the statute". In the space of fourteen days they had indicted and presented on suspicion of heresy five hundred persons! There was not in the city a preacher, or any person of note, who had spoken against the authority of the Bishop of Rome that had not been brought within the danger of the statute. The prisoners were not tried in the courts of the Church, but by the juries, and a considerable number were convicted and put in prison ... In the end, however, of this first persecution under the Bloody Bill, the zeal of the citizens was frustrated for the king, not being prepared to illuminate his capital with so many flames, was compelled to pardon all the convicted prisoners in a body, and to set them at liberty." 60

In view of this, it is scarcely surprising that Protestant sympathisers were alarmed in the summer of 1539, and that some should have decided to play safe, and leave England. Dixon made some comments which are worth noting about the persecutions of the 1540s; he pointed out that it is wrong to lay the blame for them at the clergy's door as Hall, Foxe, and others did. These were lay persecutions in the main.⁶¹ Nor was the period from 1540 to 1547 a long uninterrupted time of terror; the persecutions were 'sporadic and partial outbursts,

three or four in number, which in time and place followed the humour of the king!⁶² The second wave came early in 1541, and was confined largely to London. Two hundred people were arrested, but in the end only three suffered in London, although an outstanding and notorious example was the fate of the fifteen year old boy, Richard Mekins.⁶³ The third outbreak marked the marriage of the king to Katherine Parr in the summer of 1543, but this again was quite limited. In July, four men were condemned: Antony Pearson, Henry Filmer, Robert Testwood, and John Marbeck. The first three of this list were burned, and Marbeck was pardoned.⁶⁴ The final persecution saw the death of Anne Askew, Lascelles, Belenian or Otterden, and Adams, in 1546.⁶⁵ This came after Parliament had modified the Six Articles, prohibiting any trial to be held unless presentments and accusations were made on the oaths of twelve or more men. Presentment had to be made within a year of the alleged offence, and authority to proceed was confined to a member of the Council, or two justices, or two commissioners, one of whom must be lay.⁶⁶ Froude commented that 'the object was not any more to ensure the infliction of penalties but to throw obstacles in the way of persecution!'.⁶⁷

It was not only the Act of Six Articles that acted as a trigger to various potential refugees to Europe. By 1539 there were signs that Thomas Cromwell, patron and protector of several of the men who ended up in Switzerland, was in difficulty himself. His desire to draw England and Henry closer to the German princes had not convinced Henry, and by the spring of 1539 when the Schmalkaldic delegation reached England, the prospects of any kind of alliance were not bright. Francis I had broken his agreement with the emperor and had reopened negotiations with England which Henry

rightly understood to signal a breakdown of the temporary (and unlikely) entente.⁶⁸ There is no evidence that Cromwell opposed the passage through Parliament of the Act of Six Articles,⁶⁹ but he must have experienced some grave doubts when Norfolk took the initiative in producing the six propositions for the House of Lords to discuss. Professor Elton has remarked:

"It may be suggested that the duke and the bishop of Winchester, free while Cromwell's committee debated and absorbed his time, managed to swing the king to their way of thinking, with which he was in any case in sympathy. The fact that Norfolk was chosen to make the proposal was ominous enough; the common practice of this Parliament was for the chancellor to introduce all ordinary bills, while Cromwell handled those to do with religion. In this case, Cromwell was left out completely, in the preparing and proposing of the measure. He had lost the second round." 70

Cromwell managed to regain some of the ground he had lost on this occasion, however, when a couple of measures were introduced to soften the effect of the clauses concerning the putting away of clergy wives, and the duty of observing the vow of chastity.⁷¹ The manoeuvrings of his enemies Gardiner and Norfolk, and the débâcle of the Cleves marriage were what proved ultimately fatal for him, as the events of 1540 illustrated.⁷²

The substance of the charges made against Cromwell in the Act of Attainder were that he was an overmighty subject, and a heretic, both of which would weigh heavily with Henry.⁷³ The heresy charges are particularly illuminating, not because there was substance in them (they were vague in the extreme), but because they demonstrate the points on which the king felt especially vulnerable at this time. Number six read that 'being a detestable heretic and . . . utterly disposed to set and sow common sedition and variance among your true and loving subjects', he had spread heretical literature, caused heretical writings

to be translated into English (assuring the translator, who protested, that the stuff was sound doctrine), and asserted that 'it was as lawful for every Christian man to be a minister of the said sacraments, as well as a priest'. Number seven maintained that as the king's vicegerent in spirituals he had abused his position to license heretics to preach and teach. And the eighth maintained that by the same authority, and falsely pretending the king's consent, he caused heretics to be set at liberty, and refused to listen to accusations of heresy, rebuking the accusers, 'the particularities and specialities of which said abominable heresies, errors, and offences ... been over tedious, long and of too great number here to be expressed, declared or written'.⁷⁴

Exactly what Cromwell's religious beliefs were has been, and will remain, a favourite topic for debate among historians. It seems that he was a careful Protestant sympathiser; he told the Saxon delegation in 1539 that 'he would believe even as his master, the King, believed'.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that the English Protestants, theologians and others, did look to him for support. Among the group of English refugees in Switzerland, well over half of them had had contact with Cromwell at some stage, either having been in his employment or having simply asked for his help: John Bale, John Burcher, Miles Coverdale, Richard Hilles, Thomas Rose, William Swerder, and possibly William Turner.⁷⁶ It is interesting to note too that Bartholomew Traheron, one of the English visitors to Zürich in the 1530s, entered Cromwell's service after his return to England.⁷⁷ And in January 1539, Nicholas Eliot, one of Traheron's companions in Switzerland, and formerly a holder of a royal stipend,⁷⁸ wrote to Cromwell from Guildford, inspired by Cromwell's 'zeal for religion',

because he saw in him his only refuge in poverty.⁷⁹ His letter bore fruit; the next we hear of Eliot is in a letter from Richard Hilles to Bullinger of May 1542, which reported that:

'Eliot is studying the civil law, or, to speak more properly, the laws of our realm, in which he has made such proficiency, that he is now holding an office, from whence he derives an annual income of nearly two hundred florins.'⁸⁰

Traheron's and Eliot's association with Cromwell is worth noting because they returned from Switzerland full of enthusiasm for what they had seen, and the people they had met.⁸¹

Cromwell had also had contact with the earlier refugees; he was sympathetic towards Tyndale;⁸² he gave Barnes cautious support during his period of usefulness;⁸³ and he may well have enabled George Joy to return to England in 1535.⁸⁴ But to balance this, in fairness it must be said that he was also the patron of some distinguished conservatives. Bishop Bonner owed his promotion to Cromwell, and Sampson, Lee, and Thirlby were also very much in his debt.⁸⁵ Their careers did not suffer as a result of Cromwell's disgrace, and several of Cromwell's Protestant protégés managed to remain in the country after the summer of 1540. Richard Morison stayed at court, and eventually moved into the diplomatic field.⁸⁶ Richard Taverner continued as a signet clerk, but stopped his religious and literary activities. He was briefly arrested by Gardiner in December 1541, but was soon restored to his former office.⁸⁷

It would therefore be a gross exaggeration to maintain that Cromwell had attracted a number of able Protestants to his service, officially or unofficially, and that his fall made them targets for Cromwell's enemies. Elton has commented with regard to his Protestant circle: 'The reality of the situation was more personal

and purely intellectual, less exclusively political, than is commonly understood.⁸⁸ But it is reasonable to suggest that with his departure from the scene, Protestants of all shades of opinion and backgrounds felt that they had lost a valued ally at court, and the outspoken ones among them must have felt threatened. Richard Hiller wrote sadly:

'Our sins have doubtless deserved this change in our affairs, because, when God sent forth his word amongst us, it was not regarded by us as the word of God, nor were we sufficiently thankful to its author ... The Lord ... has taken away, together with purity of doctrine, those individuals also upon whose wisdom we so much depended for support; willing that his providence should herein be shewn forth, by frustrating and destroying our expectations from men ... He has taken them all away. (And here I mean queen Anne, who was beheaded, together with her brother; also the Lord Cromwell, with Latimer and the other bishops.)'⁸⁹

Cranmer's hands were very much tied after 1540. He had never been an outspoken supporter of the Protestant cause (nor, for that matter, had Cromwell), but he had made a valuable contribution towards its support in the 1530s. Latimer, for example, had been helped considerably by the archbishop. In the summer of 1533, having been condemned for heresy the previous year, he was given a licence by Cranmer allowing him to preach anywhere in the province of Canterbury. The next year Cranmer arranged for him and Shaxton to preach some of the Lenten sermons before the king. And when new licences were issued to preachers after April 1534, Cranmer employed Latimer to examine the candidates and decide which of them should be granted a licence, no small favour for the cause of the reformation, and an act which required some courage.⁹⁰ But the situation in the 1540s was somewhat different, and does not reflect to Cranmer's credit, although it would not be fair to condemn the line of action he took. True, he did nothing to assist the young Richard Mekins when

he was condemned for heresy, nor did he try to help Richard Turner, who was eventually aided by Cranmer's secretary Morice.⁹¹ But he wrote to Henry on Cromwell's behalf in 1540,⁹² and must have felt that his position was extremely precarious when Cromwell was accused of having encouraged Barnes and other heretics, and of having disseminated heretical literature, since he had done as much as Cromwell in this line, if more unobtrusively.⁹³ Flight was out of the question for him in 1540; he was a loyal Henrician first and foremost, and the arrival of an exiled primate in Europe would have reflected badly on his lord and master.⁹⁴ Unlike those who did take refuge in Europe, Cranmer was not 100% Protestant at this stage anyway; he probably became converted on the issue of the Real Presence as late as 1546 – an indication that he did not lack courage, as to change one's mind on such an important issue aged 56 was a brave step.⁹⁵ He had to be content during what remained of Henry's reign to mark time, and to concentrate simply on preserving what had already been gained.⁹⁶

It is indisputable that Cranmer was a complex man of many apparent contradictions, and it would require more space than is available here to attempt to get beneath his skin and to understand exactly what his frame of mind was in the 1540s. But it is quite certain that he knew he had to watch his step, particularly in the years 1540–3 (after the thwarted Prebendaries' Plot he would have felt considerably more secure), and was therefore unlikely to encourage disillusioned Protestants to come to him for consolation and assistance. The same can be said for the noble patrons of the exiles. Thomas, Lord Wentworth, an ally of the Boleyn connexion, must have been relieved when his former protégé John Bale fled abroad; William Turner, another exile, also had links with this

courtier, but presumably when the Boleyn faction was eclipsed, Wentworth's usefulness to these men was considerably reduced.⁹⁷ Sir Thomas Arundel, Hooper's patron and employer in the early 1540s, was not the kind of man to risk his neck for a religious radical. His own biographical details illustrate that this courtier was a true Henrician survivor, able to blow with the wind, although his luck changed in Edward's reign; he had been a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Wolsey, and was knighted at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Thus his action in sending John Hooper to bishop Gardiner to be put on the 'right' religious track was scarcely surprising.⁹⁸

Given this background to the political and religious situation in England from 1539, it is easy to understand why there should have been another influx of refugees to the continent at this time. England had no room for outspoken Protestants. But it is interesting to note that the vast majority of the later exiles did not settle in the north of Europe as their predecessors had done. George Joy was an exception; he returned to the area where he had been before, and remained in the Netherlands until it was safe to go home. But apparently he led a very disturbed existence, chased from place to place, trying to avoid arrest. He blamed Gardiner for this, and it is not altogether out of the bounds of reason that Gardiner had agents in this area, and an understanding with the imperial government, as Antwerp was, after all, not far from England.⁹⁹ This may have been a factor in persuading other Protestants to go further south.

The area which became home for these exiles was not unknown to their contemporaries. English trade was well established along the Antwerp-Frankfurt-Strasbourg route, as the evidence provided in the State Letters and Papers shows. Cloth was the most important

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commodity concerned: the total woollen exports from England per annum rose from 80,000 pieces at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign to over 120,000 pieces by the end of it, the greater part of which went to Antwerp. A survey carried out in 1550 showed that 20,000 people in Antwerp lived for the most part on trade brought by the English.¹⁰⁰ Frankfurt was the next major market on the Rhineland route, and English cloth of various types was one of the leading products in the Frankfurt cloth trade.¹⁰¹ But Frankfurt was even more famous for its book fair which attracted publishers and booksellers from all over Europe.¹⁰² As a result, the book fair had become the focal point for the financial transactions of both booksellers and cloth merchants, and attendance at this event, held twice a year, had become essential for buyers and sellers.¹⁰³

It is likely that the exiles were attracted still further south by the reports they heard from English visitors who had recently been to Switzerland and Strasbourg. Heinrich Bullinger recorded in his diary for August 1536:

*'In Augusto venerunt ad me Tigurum Angli tres nobiles adolescentes, Io. Butlerus, Nicolaus Patrigius et Wilhelmus Udreffus, religionis et literarum discendarum gratia.'*¹⁰⁴

Conrad Pellikan recorded in his Chronikon for the same time: *'Mense autem Augusto die 18. ingressi sunt Angli duo, Joannes et Wilhelmus, quibus ad tempus adfuit tertius, qui et Wilhelmus'*.¹⁰⁵ John Butler would later be an exile for religion, who got to know Zürich and its inhabitants very well;¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Partridge came from a reforming family in Kent;¹⁰⁷ unfortunately we know nothing about William Woodroffe's or William Peterson's origins.

They had arrived in Zürich armed with a recommendation from Bucer to Bullinger, which indicates that Strasbourg had been their

first port of call. This is understandable in view of the city's geographical position. Bucer had written:

'Commendo tibi hos tres Anglos, qui Christum querunt; maxime videtur Nicolaus non vulgaris spei iuvenis. Johannes quoque Christum plane ardet, sed nimis diu abfuit a literis; Wilhelmus pro suo modo regno Christo studebit prodesse. Fuerunt mensem mecum.' 108

They clearly made as favourable an impact on Bullinger as they had on Bucer. He wrote to Vadian of St. Gallen in very glowing terms a few days later; this letter is worth quoting because it reveals what the common attitude of the Swiss reformers to Cranmer must have been at the time:

'Venerunt hisce diebus Tigurum tres iuvenes Angli, nobilibus orti parentibus, ingeniis longe pientioribus et nobilioribus, nec alia causa huc appulerunt, quam religionis descendae gratia. Hi mirifice praedicant Cantuariensis episcopi pietatem et humanitatem.' 109

The presence of these English students in Zurich inspired Bullinger to use Partidge as a postman when he returned to England in January 1537 for six months, accompanied by Bullinger's foster-son, Rudolph Gualther, with whom he had become very friendly.¹¹⁰

Kessler reported his return in the summer of that year:

'VIII junii veniunt ex Anglia adolescens ille meus una cum d. Nicolaeo Partigio, Anglo, qui in januario ex aedibus meis visendae patriae gratia abiierant. Ducunt secum adhuc tres Anglos, sunt enim nunc VI Tiguri honesto loco nati et opulenti literis incumbentes. Hi multa retulere iucunda et leta. De his autem cum in praesenti scribere non liceret, placuit autem communicare archiepiscopi Cantuarensis epistolam, ex qua licebit, totum aestimes negocium, utut res gerantur in Anglia.' 111

The three new arrivals were Bartholomew Traheron, Nicholas Eliot and possibly John Finch. Little is known about the backgrounds of these men, apart from the fact that Traheron had been one of those caught in the heresy scare at Cardinal College in Oxford in 1527-8.¹¹²

Thanks to a letter from Bullinger, we know that Eliot was in receipt of

a royal stipend.¹¹³ In November 1537 all the visitors moved off on their travels again. Bullinger recorded in his diary:

'Tandem 1. Novenbris una cum omnes Gebannas sunt profecti, ut et eius ecclesiae pariter et Bernensis instituta viderent et audirent, deinde redirent in Angliam.' 114

He sent with them a letter of recommendation which specifically mentioned Eliot, Butler and Traheron, perhaps because they intended to stay in Strasbourg for a longer period.¹¹⁵ It does seem certain however that Finch, Peterson and Woodroffe did not accompany the others to Berne, but must have made their own way home.¹¹⁶

Although the group broke up after their stay in Zürich, it appears that they did keep in touch with one another after their return home; the Original Letters series contains several letters from one, or a group of them, to their European friends, reporting their news. Among the documents in the Zürich Council records for 1540 is a lengthy letter from Butler, Eliot, Partridge, Woodroffe, and Traheron, written in the most enthusiastic terms, praising the Zürich church leaders, and thanking them for their friendship.¹¹⁷ Once back in England, they moved in university and court circles, and the reputation of the southern Europeans, and particularly the citizens of Zürich, for hospitality must now have become established. That there was a direct link between the first exiles from the England of the Six Articles, and these visitors, is borne out by a letter from Bullinger to Vadian, written in October 1539, which probably referred to Butler or Peterson:

'Ex Anglia non admodum laeta audio. Venerunt Tiguri profugi et exsules ex Anglia duo viri docti et pii. Venit cum illis et eorum unus, qui superioribus annis in convictu meo fuerat; sed is nunc rediit mercium gratia. Duo isti et Tiguri studio sacrarum literarum incumbunt et meliorem exspectant fortunam.' 118

Other possible links with this area may have been found in the person of Simon Grinaeus of Basel, who had visited England in 1531,

and was employed by Henry VIII to collect favourable opinions in Europe for the divorce.¹¹⁹ And of course Roy and Barlowe had been in Strasbourg in the late 1520s, publishing their popular Protestant works; it is possible that there was some kind of English Lollard connexion between them and Richard Hilles, but this is pure conjecture.¹²⁰

Once the exiles had made their way south, they discovered that each city had its own attractions. Zürich proved to be the least viable for the aspiring merchants among them; it was not a market centre, and there were several restrictions on foreigners there, which prevented them from trading with the citizens. Only wholesale production was permitted, and this had to be for export, not for local consumption. Men like Burcher, however, did manage to build up some kind of trading network there, encouraged by Bullinger, and the later refugees from Locarno managed very well.¹²¹ The Zürich council was not very helpful when it came to granting rights of citizenship to foreigners, if John Burcher's experience was anything to go by, but John Butler was more fortunate, perhaps aided by the fact that he had already had special privileges granted to him while he was resident in Konstanz.¹²² The real lure of Zürich was the fact that this was the home of Heinrich Bullinger and his colleagues, who had been so welcoming to the Englishmen who had visited a few years before, and who were to prove hospitable beyond the bounds of duty and politeness where the exiles were concerned.

We do not know if Dodman or Allen, two of the exiles in the southern area, ever went to Zürich. According to Strype, Thomas Rose stayed there for a while;¹²³ Coverdale planned to visit in 1542, along with Butler and Richard Hilles, but did not make it because of

illness.¹²⁴ He may in fact only have visited Zurich during his Marian exile, a period of which he spent in Aarau, some twenty miles away.¹²⁵ Hilles certainly did visit in 1542; although he settled in Strasbourg, he kept up a regular correspondence with Bullinger.¹²⁶ Hooper arrived in the city in the spring of 1547, when he could no longer be termed an exile, and stayed for two years; Butler took refuge there in 1548 after Konstanz fell to imperial troops; and John Burcher lived there intermittently from around 1539 until he left Europe for good, in 1562. William Turner may have visited briefly in 1541-2, according to Gessner who commented in 1555 that he had been there some fifteen years before.¹²⁷

Basel had more to offer impecunious students. Burcher, Butler, Hooper, Rose and Turner all spent time there. All may have studied at the university. Hooper certainly matriculated there in 1545-6; either Butler, or Burcher, or both may have benefitted from the Erasmus Stiftung, a fund established under the terms of Erasmus' will to support needy scholars.¹²⁸ The other major attraction of Basel was its printing presses. William Turner may have made use of them, although this is by no means certain.¹²⁹ There is no doubt that the young publishing industry could, and did, provide a welcome employment for needy refugees, even if they were not authors themselves. Burcher lived with the printers Oporinus and Falcon for a time, and was employed as a printer's assistant for some of the time that he lived in Basel, during the years 1540-5.¹³⁰

Strasbourg's position on the Rhine made it a convenient base for conducting trade via Frankfurt and Antwerp to London. English cloth found a good market there, because thanks to English trade regulations its quality was ensured before it was sold, a great advantage at a time when German goods were coming under attack for their poor quality.¹³¹

Richard Hilles took advantage of the favourable market conditions Strasbourg could offer; he and John Burcher both spent significant periods of time there during the 1540s. Similarly, it was the most handy reformed city for non-Lutheran refugees from England, and personal contact had already been established by the English visitors in the autumn of 1537, and the year before. In April 1536 Bucer had dedicated his commentary on Romans to Cranmer, and referred to a scheme for a general Protestant alliance; and from then on his interest was constantly directed towards England.¹³² Hooper visited Strasbourg in 1546; and Coverdale, Allen and Dodman all looked to Strasbourg as their nearest religious and market centre. In terms of personal relationships with leading Reformers and other citizens, Strasbourg does not seem to have had anything out of the ordinary to offer the English refugees, although it had established a reputation as a welcoming refuge for Protestants from all over Europe, Zell's hospitality being especially famous.¹³³ Perhaps its real, long-term attraction lay in the very ordinariness with which the exiles were treated there. Richard Hilles and John Burcher became fully occupied with their cloth trade; Coverdale, Allen and Dodman, all of whom must have spoken reasonable German, worked as schoolmasters or assistants to the clergy in neighbouring towns and villages.¹³⁴ The Strasbourg council proved to be very obliging, and gave Richard Hilles permission to reside in the city, and the city's protection, without forcing him to become a citizen; Christopher Mont, the German born English diplomat, applied for, and was granted, permission to live in Strasbourg in 1548.¹³⁵ There is no evidence for the other exiles acquiring official status, but the clergy probably did not need it, and Burcher's application for Zürich citizenship may well have confused matters for him. It really does seem that these three main

centres, Zürich, Basel and Strasbourg, which were to be the exiles' focal points in the 1540s, had something to offer everybody. It is significant that in none of their letters which have survived is there any evidence to be found of disenchantment with the reception they met. The situation in England which had forced them to leave was their main source of disillusionment, and they were only too willing to look on their new homes with favour.

PREFACE AND CHAPTER 1

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18. Fries, D. , *op. cit.* , p. 108, quotes Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon (preface, p. 109).
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23. *ibid.* , pp. 167-70.
24. *ibid.* , p. 187 (quotes Foxe, J. , Acts and Monuments, vol. 4, p. 696).
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38. *ibid.* , pp.238-40.
39. *ibid.* , p.187.
40. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit. , p.121.
41. Rupp, E. G. , Six Makers, p.26.
42. Foxe, J. , op. cit. , 6, part 2, p.592.
43. Hume, A. , op. cit. , pp.534-5.
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75. *ibid.*, p. 206.
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77. O. L. 626. Details as in note 57.
78. *ibid.*
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80. O. L., pp. 225-6, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 5. 1542.
81. *ibid.*, pp. 619-624. Eliot to Bullinger, without place or date.
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86. Robertson, M. L., "Thomas Cromwell's Servants: the ministerial household in Early Tudor Government and Society", (University of California Ph.D., 1975), pp. 304-5, 402.
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89. O. L., pp. 203-4. Hilles to Bullinger, London, 1541.
It is interesting to note in this context Anne Boleyn's intercession on behalf of Richard Harman, Merchant Adventurer, of Antwerp, who had been in trouble for selling Lutheran New Testaments in 1528 (L. & P., vol. 4, part 2, p. 195, no. 4569ff.). In May 1534 she wrote to Cromwell on his behalf (L. & P., vol. 7, p. 255, no. 664) and Harman was apparently reinstated, and employed by Cromwell on occasion (L. & P., vol. 9, p. 254, no. 746).
90. Ridley, J., Thomas Cranmer, p. 88.
91. *ibid.*, pp. 218, 224, 244.
92. *ibid.*, pp. 202-3.
93. *ibid.*, p. 204.
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113. Herminjard, A. L. , Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les pays de langue francaise 1512-44, (reprint Nieuwkoop 1965-6), vol. 4, p.309, no.665.
114. Egli, E. , Bullingers Diarium, p.26.

115. Herminjard, A., op. cit., vol. 4, p.309, no.665. Compare with O. L.p⁶⁰⁹: Partridge reported to Bullinger, 12. 4.1538, that Butler and Traheron were staying in Strasbourg with Sapidus.
Also O. L.p⁶¹². Partridge to Bullinger, September 1538: by the autumn of 1538, Eliot was in England.
116. O. L. 623. Butler, Partridge, Eliot and Traheron to Bullinger, without place or date, but evidently written later in the tour.
117. Z. St. Arch., BVI 254, 182.
118. Arbenz & Wartmann (eds.), op. cit., vol. 7, p.92, no.64. These two exiles could have been Allen, Burcher, Dodman or Rose - see next chapter.
119. L. & P., vol. 5, p.67, no. 145.
O. L. pp.552-6. Grinaeus to Bucer, September 1531.
120. In view of Hilles' early interest in the Epistle of James (see next chapter), it seems he may have moved in Lollard circles in his youth; Roy and Barlowe certainly catered for Lollards as well as Protestants in their literature. See D. Fries, op. cit., pp.226-7. Also Nicholson, op. cit., p.12.
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125. Garrett, Christina, The Marian Exiles, (Cambridge, 1966, reprint), p.133.
126. O. L.p. 230. Hilles to Bullinger, December 1542.
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128. See Chapter 2.
129. See Chapter 2.
130. See Chapter 2.
131. Schmoller, G., Die Strassburger Tücher-und Weberzunft, (Strasbourg, 1879), p.508.
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CHAPTER 2

The lives of the exiles

This chapter is intended to provide a skeleton of background information which the succeeding chapters will clothe. The exiles are dealt with in alphabetical order, to facilitate the reader when he or she finds it necessary to refer to this section again. The details given here are strictly biographical; analysis and historical conjecture follow in the remainder of the thesis.

Edmund Allen was a native of Norwich, and took his B. A. from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1534-5. He was made a Fellow of the College in 1536, and became M. A. in 1537. According to Venn & Venn, he was probably ordained deacon at Lincoln in April 1536. He became steward of his college in 1539, but shortly afterwards he obtained leave to go abroad and study.¹ When the period of absence he had been given had almost expired, we are told that

¹His friend Sir Henry Knyvet wrote to the Master and Fellows (dated from the Court at Westminster on 12th May) requesting a further indulgence of 2 or 3 years, both on account of the Wars, which rendered his return unsafe: and of his being in a situation where he had an opportunity of making considerable advances in learning . . . Whereunto the President (Mr. Porie), in the absence of the Master, with the consent of the rest, returned a favorable answer (dated May 27th), granting leave of absence for 2 years longer; but withall exhorting him to advise Mr. Alen in his next letter "to use himselfe in all points Pristelike in Holinesse and Devocion, whereof we here otherwise; but as all Reports be not true, so I trust this is not". Mr. Alen, upon the receipt of Sir Henry's letters, wrote a long answer to the President (March 22, 1545 from Landaw in High-Duchland, wherein he stiles Sir Henry his worshipfull old Master and Patron), wherein he makes his acknowledgements for the favour shewn him; and purges himself from the slanderous reports, by solemnly declaring in the presence of God they were all utterly false. He then intreats Mr. Porie to

continue to him both his Friendship and good Offices with the Society, and to remit him his stipend, whereof he had great need, by reason of "the extreme Dearth that hath bene here so great thes three yearys, as no man lyving can remember any like." He adds that he was frequently obliged to change that place of his Abode on many necessary Considerations; more particularly to hear the divers Gifts of God in good men, whereby he thanked the Lord, he found no little profit.¹ 2

With regard to his studies abroad, it is quite possible that he took his B.D. in a European university, since there is no record of this at Cambridge.³ There is no doubt about either his academic ability or his Protestant convictions. In the period before Henry VIII's death he was responsible for producing an English translation of Melanchthon's work Super utraque sacramenti specie, et de autoritate episcoporum, published in 1543 'in partibus transmarinis'.⁴ Small wonder that he wrote this abroad; near the end of the tract he stated:

'And we did mervel sore at the actes of Inghland concerning religyon the which where as no maner of reformacyon of the abuses of the masse is ones mencyoned, yet the private masse is plainly stablissed and confirmed. We wonder sore that the bisshops of Inghland dare be so bold as to affirm the pryvate masse to be necessary, seing within these iiii hundreth yeres the pure primatyve church had never hard thereof.'⁵

Probably from the same period were his English translations of Alexander Alesius' De Autoritate Verbi Dei, and Conrad Pellikan's work on the Apocalypse.⁶ His scholarship was well known in England; he was one of those chosen (presumably in his absence) by Katherine Parr and Nicholas Udall to assist with the translation of the Paraphrases of Erasmus.⁷

By March 1544 he was in touch with Coverdale, who was working at Bergzabern, near Strasbourg.⁸ Coverdale was a real friend; on April 10th of that year he wrote to the Strasbourg pastor Conrad Hubert about Allen:

'that he might obtain admission into some situation connected with education resembling that in which we are engaged, I have exerted myself to the utmost for the last three months; . . . nor can I doubt of a most prosperous issue, even though he should meet with boys educated in the worst manner; and therefore his undertaking of the school at Landau will on this account be especially rendered a very difficult task.' 9

There were apparently some English boys at this school, but who they were, and where they came from, is not clear from the letter.

Allen was indeed appointed to the school at Landau, twenty miles north of Bergzabern. According to Gelbert (who confused Allen with Grindal, whose first name was also Edmund), after a period in Strasbourg, where he stayed with Pastor Hedelin, and with Bucer, he took over the school at Landau in April 1544.¹⁰ Here he worked in close conjunction with Pastor Johannes Bader, the senior minister of the village who, having once supported Bucer and subscribed to the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, had become increasingly sympathetic to other Reformers, thus causing great concern among the Strasbourg pastors, and Coverdale. Allen wrote to Hubert from Landau on June 26th, 1544, mentioning Bader's comfort, advice and assistance with gratitude, but he went on to say that he hoped Bucer would be able to help Bader with regard to the things that troubled him, and he prayed for a successful outcome to their discussions. He complained of difficulties with the language, and of the neglect and apathy of his pupils, but resolved to do his best in a difficult situation. The letter contains greetings from Allen's wife, about whom unfortunately no more is known, but it is quite likely that he had married while he was abroad.¹¹

Exactly what he did in the years immediately after Henry VIII's death is unclear. In 1549 he became chaplain to Princess Elizabeth;¹²

in the same year his long since commissioned Paraphrase upon the Revelation of St. John, translated from Leo Jude, Zürich (second tome of Erasmus' Paraphrases) was published in London. The Edwardian years were moderately productive ones for him at a literary level. In 1548 the first edition of A Christian introduction containing the principles of our faith and religion was published; in 1550 he translated an epistle of Dr. Matthew Gribald, professor of law at Padua, on The Tremendous Judgement of God¹³ and also wrote the introductory letter to William Harris's The market or fayre of Usurers. A new Pasquillus or Dialogue against Usury . . . Newly translated out of the high Almaine, by William Harrys!¹⁴ This tract was a criticism of the usury practised at the Frankfurt fair of which Allen would certainly have been aware after his period abroad. 1551 saw the publication of another Christian handbook, A Catechism i.e. a Christian instruction of the principle points of Christ's religion.¹⁵

It is possible that during Edward's reign he was also rector for some time at Welforde in the diocese of Salisbury, from which he had resigned by November 1552.¹⁶

Understandably, he went into exile again when Mary came to the throne, but where he went and what he did is not known.¹⁷ He returned very early in Elizabeth's reign to England, and became involved in European diplomacy; in June 1559 Mont wrote to Cecil that he had received letters from 'Mr. Alen, Queen's chaplain, at Antwerp'.¹⁸ He was clearly destined for a distinguished career, and was appointed Bishop of Rochester in July 1559, but died before his consecration could take place.¹⁹

John Bale was a Henrician exile, who spent the years 1540 to 1548 in Europe. He has already been the subject of various studies which have focussed particularly on his career as a playwright and actor, and there is little point in going over old ground here.²⁰ But the facts concerning his earlier exile are relevant to this study, and are interesting. He was a self-confessed refugee:

'I have for that purpose (i. e. refuting Bonner) geven myselfe over unto poverte, and unto a peynefull exyle with my wyfe and chyl dren, and schall not (I trust) refuse the death also, yf yt come that waye.'²¹

He was born in Suffolk in November 1495, and educated at the Carmelite monastery at Norwich, then at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his B.D. in 1528-9.²² He must have embarked upon his literary career almost immediately, as the 1530s found him reasonably secure in the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, in charge of Cromwell's acting troupe.²³ Thomas, Lord Wentworth, a Protestant courtier and a friend of the Boleyns, was also a patron, and it was to him that Bale afterwards attributed his conversion to Protestantism, probably around 1533.²⁴ With powerful friends like these, Bale managed to keep out of real trouble for some time, although it seems that he was sailing rather too close to the wind in 1537, when he was in difficulties with the Privy Council.²⁵ He managed to get out of this with Leland's support, and by writing an apology, promising to behave 'with more soberness' in future.²⁶ It was Cromwell's fall in 1540 which proved too much for him, in view of the fact that he was now married. Thus flight appeared to be his only option.

Where he went in the 1540s is not clear. Fairfield suggested that he spent most of his time in Antwerp, working for the printers there, and only moved on to Wesel in 1546 where he worked for the

printer Dirik Van der Straten, who published ten of his works over the next two years.²⁷ Apart from the colophons of his books, there is no evidence to show that Bale spent any time in Switzerland during his first exile. True, in his introduction to the Acta Romanorum Pontificum of 1558, he thanked Bullinger for the hospitality which had been shown him, and for the friendship he had experienced from the other Swiss reformers.²⁸ But this could well have applied to his period of exile in Mary's reign. The Bullinger archives in Zürich have been preserved to a remarkable extent, yet not a single letter from Bale, Stalbrydge, or Harrison (pseudonyms) is to be found, apart from one written from Basel in 1559.²⁹

The evidence of the colophons is clear, but quite unreliable. Under the name of John Harrison he produced Yet a course at the Romyshe Foxe, apparently published in Zürich. According to the last page, this was printed by Olyver Jacobson, a very English sounding name but one that is almost unknown in Zürich printing histories.³⁰ This was followed in 1544 by The Epistel Exhortatorye of an Inglyshe Christian, written under the pseudonym of Henry Stalbrydge, and published by an unknown printer at Basel.³¹ In the preface he stated 'Wrytten from Basyle 1.8.1544', but this may have been a decoy, and the work could well have been published by Michael Wood of Geneva, who produced Bale's A Mystery of Inyquyte in 1545.³² To confuse matters still further, Vetter suggested that this last named work may have been published in London, not Geneva.³³ The art of disentangling colophons is clearly a matter for experts, and it is to be hoped that someone will embark on the very painstaking work required to sort out Bale's movements from publisher to publisher in this period.

The most plausible explanation is that Bale spent the years 1540 to 1547 in 'inferiori Germania' as he indeed stated in his Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae Catalogus,³⁴ ('inferiori Germania' being northern Germany, or the Low Countries). Perhaps he sent his works to Switzerland to be published, or perhaps he even travelled to Zürich, Basel and Geneva to superintend their progress, but it is more likely that he used the names of Swiss towns and publishers as red herrings to assure his safety, wherever he was. Although he was careful to attack only Henry VIII's advisors and not the king himself in his various tracts, he was a proscribed author,³⁵ and allegations such as those he made in Yet a course at the Romyshe Foxe, accusing the English bishops, and especially Bonner, of having misled Henry, were bound to aggravate the English establishment. Tyndale's fate was recent history, hence the subterfuge to which Bale was compelled to resort in order to disguise his whereabouts.

He probably returned to England in 1547,³⁶ and rejoiced publicly at the changed situation there. In his dedication to Edward VI of The laboryouse Journey and serche of John Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees (1549), he wrote:

'As in your pryncelye begynynges ye apere unto us a very Josias both in your tendre youthe and vertuose educacyon, so our specyal hope is, that in your dayly procedinges ye wyl styl persever the same. The lykelyhodes indede are very aparaunte, Gods name be prayed for it. Ffor by your gracyouse commaundement, hath bene taken awaye the abhomynacyons of the ungodlye. Whyche is a plane token, that ye have dyrected youre noble harte to the lyvyng Lorde, intyndyng to set up hys true worshyppynges agayne.'³⁷

On his return, he found a new Patron in Mary Fitzroy, the Protestant Duchess of Richmond and widow of Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's illegitimate son.³⁸ During Edward's reign there was no shortage of work to keep him occupied. He began as Vicar of Thorndon in

Suffolk,³⁹ then became chaplain to Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in the spring of 1551; Ponet presented him to the rectory of Bishopstoke, five miles south of Winchester in June of that year.⁴⁰ In the same year he was made Vicar of Swaffham, Norfolk.⁴¹ In February he was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, but remained there only until September when he was again forced into exile after Mary's accession.⁴² His exact movements during the next five years are not entirely clear, but it seems he moved around the popular centres for the exiles quite extensively, beginning at Antwerp, then perhaps moving on to Emden or Wesel. He settled in Frankfurt for a time, where he supported Knox in the Prayer Book controversy which had arisen there, but by 1555/6 he was in Basel where he matriculated at the university.⁴³ He returned to England again in 1558, and was made a canon at Canterbury in 1560. This was to be his last preferment, as he died there in 1563.⁴⁴

John Burcher was probably of good birth, although his origins remain obscure. Garrett suggested that he may have been the illegitimate son of John Bouchier, Baron Berners, Lieutenant of Calais.⁴⁵ In view of his later career, it is also possible that he was related to Sir John Bourghier who was involved in the cloth trade in 1529.⁴⁶ His respectability was vouched for by Richard Hilles, who wrote to Bullinger in April 1545 and told him that Burcher had been forced to abandon excellent prospects in England, having been born some seven or eight German miles from Hilles' own native place, i. e. either Milton in Kent or London.⁴⁷ Garrett pointed out that the same letter portrays Burcher as reluctant to get testimonials from England to prove that he was born in lawful wedlock. That he was

still a young man in 1540 is borne out by sundry comments of contemporaries, and himself. He wrote to Rudolph Gualther from Basel around this time: 'You have done me no small service in making your mother, as it were, a mother to myself; and in providing a father for me',⁴⁸ and John Butler wrote to Bullinger in November 1542 that Burcher seemed to be 'an honest and godly youth'.⁴⁹

There is no doubt that he considered himself an exile for the sake of religion. Myconius wrote to Bullinger in January 1545: 'In mensa sermo perpetuis erat de rebus divinis, quarum causa ex patria et eictus est, et nunc in totum exclusus.'⁵⁰ Hilles described him as suffering for the sake of the Gospel,⁵¹ and despite the fact that he had not known him personally at home, he had heard rumours while still in England himself to the effect that 'he had not left the country for any other reason than because he was discovered to maintain the orthodox opinion concerning the Eucharist'.⁵² (As this letter was addressed to Bullinger, 'orthodox' can safely be taken to have meant Zwinglian.) This must have happened before Cromwell's fall from power, as Burcher apparently wrote to him asking for support in his troubles. Hilles claimed he had seen this letter, but no copy has survived. However, he gave Bullinger the gist of what was written:

'the only scope of his appeal was to this effect, that since he had been in many ways so unjustly dealt with, as that the impious bishops were within a very little of passing sentence of death upon him, he (Cromwell) would deign to obtain for him, through his influence with the king, that without denying the truth (for that he constantly declared he would not do) permission might be granted to him to return to England in safety from the fury of his enemies.'⁵³

In an earlier letter Hilles fixed the date of his friend's flight when talking of the execution of Lambert, 'who was condemned by the king himself . . . a short time before Burcher fled from England' (i. e. 1538).⁵⁴

His earliest years abroad were spent in Zürich, Strasbourg and Basel. The evidence for his movements throughout his career has been drawn from correspondence; there is nothing in the records of any of these cities to endorse what follows. No trace could be found of the name of Burcher, or Burchier, or of any similar variation, although there is no lack of references to Burckharts etc., which may well have been the form which the city officials used, despite the fact that his friends called him Burcher or Burkerus. In 1540 he already knew Rudolph Gualther and his family, who were Zürich citizens; he had spent some time in Strasbourg before he moved to Basel where he lived with the printers Oporinus, Falcon, and then with the reformer Myconius.⁵⁵ According to Myconius, he was employed as a printer's assistant while in Basel.⁵⁶ He was probably the person to whom Gualther referred in his letter to Bullinger of 26. 4. 39:

'Anglo hinc, de quo ante scripseras, conditionem nullam adhuc reperi nec ullam me inventurum spero; correctores enim sunt plurimi, qui huius modi inhiant conditionibus.'⁵⁷

He may have been the poor English student referred to in the archives of Basel University in 1541 by Bonifacæ Amerbach who was responsible for the administration of the Erasmus Stiftung, a fund established by the terms of Erasmus' will to support needy scholars. There are two significant entries; both may have applied to the same individual, or they may have referred to two separate students.⁵⁸ The problem is that John Butler was probably in Basel at the same time, and was just as likely a candidate for charitable aid.

By 1542 Burcher was involved in the bow-stave trade. John Butler wrote to Bullinger in November thanking him for his support for Burcher given to the Zürich magistrates,

'to second his endeavours to procure wood for making bows. He (Burcher) told us that this kind of wood is produced in great abundance in a certain wood belonging to the authorities of Zurich; from whom, relying on the aid of your good offices, he hoped to obtain a licence for selecting trees suited to his purpose.' 59

The reason behind the attempt to procure Zürich citizenship for Burcher in 1545 was to facilitate his business activities, but there is no evidence to show whether this attempt was successful.⁶⁰ By this time he had married. Myconius, when he wrote his letter of recommendation to Bullinger on 27. 1. 45 said: 'Burcherus Anglus heri scripsit, apud vos se duxisse uxorem, et cupere civitatem vestram.'⁶¹ It is just conceivable that the entry in the Taufbuch of the Grossmünster for the marriage of Hans Burkhart to Adelheit Kümpli on 9. 11. 1544 refers to him, but this is by no means certain.⁶²

According to the Parker Society correspondence, Burcher appears to have been based, or at least to have been a regular visitor, in Strasbourg after 1546, rather than any of the other centres, although his wife may have remained in Zürich.⁶³ In February 1547 he travelled in the Rhineland and Holland on business, and was an associate of Richard Hilles, which put him in a good position to take over Hilles' Strasbourg business when Hilles returned to England the following year.⁶⁴ It is possible that his links with England were re-established even before Henry's death, as an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council for February 1546 granted to John Boursier, among others, the licence to trade overseas, and a safe-conduct whilst so doing.⁶⁵

Burcher's career after Edward VI's accession is one of the most interesting to trace among the Henrician exiles. Although he may have visited England early in 1547, before Henry's death, this

trip was of no significance, as far as one can tell.⁶⁶ He returned to his former way of life, dividing his time between Zürich and Strasbourg, where he set up a permanent residence, when Richard Hilles departed. Hilles wrote to Bullinger in June 1548:

'We have agreed to carry on our business in partnership for two or three years, or even longer, should it seem expedient; and on this account he has purchased a convenient residence in this town, which he will begin to occupy as soon as he shall have returned from the next Frankfurt fair.'⁶⁷

Despite the change of abode, Burcher retained a strong affection for Zürich, calling himself an 'Anglo-Züricher' in 1550,⁶⁸ and he was a frequent visitor there, as the Parker Society Correspondence bears out.

During Edward's reign, his life appears to have run along familiar lines; he travelled a good deal, acting as messenger between the Swiss, Strasbourg and English circles, and he visited England in the autumn of 1550.⁶⁹ But as time went on his interests were diverted into new channels. A. Lätt suggested that Burcher eventually handed over his side of the Hilles business to Barnabas Hilles, but supplied no evidence to back this up, and also no date.⁷⁰ During Mary's reign, Burcher may have experienced some difficulties as Hilles appears to have severed his contacts with Europe, certainly in the field of letter writing. Michael Reniger, a Marian exile, wrote to Bullinger:

'It would savour of too much want of moderation, and intolerable importunity, to expect any increase of allowance from master Burcher, who has, besides, written very doubtfully respecting his own affairs, and that he would continue this pension some time hence, should his circumstances admit.'⁷¹

This letter may well have been written around the time that Burcher was getting involved in the 'Holzsparkunst' or 'Holzkunst'.

This was, according to Conrad Zwick of St. Gallen, the method by which one could save a considerable amount of fuel in heating and cooking by building ovens in a new way.⁷² Michael Toxites, a respected academic figure in Strasbourg, and shortly to become Professor of poetry at Tübingen, had become interested in this technique while on a trip to Venice, and had offered Zwick his help in developing and publicising his invention by translating Zwick's work into Latin, but he lacked the leisure for the job at the present time, and wrote to Bullinger on September 24th, 1556, recommending that Burcher should be involved in the project.⁷³ It is worth quoting that letter here, as it makes it plain that Burcher had previously worked for Toxites in an unknown capacity, that he was now unemployed, and Toxites was so concerned that he did not want to recommend him to Zwick personally, lest his motives be suspect.

'Nosti quam artem Conradus Zwickeius habeat, de parcendi lignis in cogendo, ac calefaciendo conclava: ad ea promulgandam pluribus opus tum hominibus. Cum autem Burcherus nunc, homo sit in multis rebus versatus prudens, atque sollers; quoque latinam linguam non intelligit, modo, sed probe loquitus: puto illum Zuiccio nostro ea in re fore utilem si a te illi commendetur. Nec credo Zuiccium tuam commendationem parvum facturum esse. Velim autem ut meam mentionem nullam apud eum facias: quoniam is mea opera iam fere annum ea in re usus est, ac deinceps etiam uteretur: ne quid de me sinistre suspicetur: quam res Burchero potius fraudi quam emolumento esset. Videtur mihi haec omnino via esse, qua Burcherus iterum invenius; quod ego ex animo cupio ...' ⁷⁴

Burcher's involvement in the 'Holzsparkunst' was to occupy him until early in 1560, and was one of the most interesting episodes of his career. It was this which took him to Poland on a long visit from November 1557 until early in 1559.⁷⁵ Bullinger made this plain when he wrote to John à Lasco on June 6th, 1558:

'Joan. Burcherus Anglus vir valde bonus qui apud vos in Polonia fuit ac privilegium artis focariae der holtzsparkunst a sereniss. rege impetrare voluit orat atque observat, ut omni oera diligentiaque cures privilegium ipsi concedi, et mitti, sicuti a te coram postulavit ...' 76

Burcher's trip was not an outstanding success. Its main aim had been to secure a licence to trade, presumably based on the patent for the new oven.⁷⁷ In March 1558 he wrote to Bullinger:

'Nothing has done more injury to this business of mine, than the unreasonable parsimony of mistress ab Ulmis. For it is certain that unless there had been a lack of presents for distribution among the clerks, I should long since have obtained my patent, and no despicable advantage from it. Respecting my affairs, there is now some doubt, whether the seal of the kingdom of Poland can be obtained; especially as my opponents, who claim the invention of the art for themselves, have promised the chancellor five hundred florins to obtain a patent for them. But this is my chief comfort, that the king's majesty has long since granted me this privilege. God grant that he may some time or other send it me confirmed with his seal.' 78

Over the spring and summer he left Poland, and probably returned to Switzerland and/or Strasbourg briefly, having visited Vienna en route. The reason for this journey was not given, but may well have had something to do with his domestic and financial difficulties, which he described to Bullinger in a letter of October. This letter was written from Cracow, and he concluded sadly:

'There is not much hope of my making any profit here by this trade of mine. For my licence is not sealed with the Polish, but with the Lithuanian seal, which is only valid in Lithuania.' 79

His last letter from Cracow, dated November 30th, asked Bullinger to commend him and his affairs to the Polish nobility and princes.⁸⁰

Evidently he then gave up and started back to Switzerland; Utenhovius wrote to Bullinger from Querceto on January 27th, 1559:

'Dominus Burcherus, cui omnem Dominus me -----
(illegible) hascus exhibuit humanitatem quibuscum
potuit modis dudum hinc isthuc versus se proripuit.
Is enim ut referebat necessitas non poterat hinc
diutius, sine magno rerum suarum dispendeo,

subsistere. Nihil interim officiorum, fideine ac diligentiae in eo quis merito desiderare queat. Sed quid faceret, ----- (illegible) Burcherus necessitate ita ferete ...' 81

His troubles now increased. He had been a business partner of Ambrosius Blaurer's sister, on whose behalf Blaurer wrote to Bullinger in February 1560.⁸² The partnership must have been wound up as Blaurer's sister had requested, as no further reference to Burcher's involvement could be found. It seems that over the next three years his attention was concentrated on settling his personal problems and moving back to England, as Blaurer had said he wanted to do.⁸³ His marriage may already have been in trouble in March 1558, when he wrote to Bullinger:

'I commend my wife to your kindness, and pray you to continue towards her that paternal regard, with which you have hitherto honoured us both, in this unfavourable juncture of our affairs. I know she is much distressed at my long continued absence; but she will, I hope, comfort herself with the thought that everything will turn out to the glory of God, if not to my individual benefit. I will perform the duty of a faithful husband; let her not forget the duty of a good wife and mother of a family.' 84

It may have been the case that Burcher, on his visit to England during the spring of 1560, decided that he wanted to return to his native land to live, and that this proved the last straw for his Swiss wife; at any rate by the autumn of 1560 the marriage was over, as Bullinger reported to Christopher Mont: 'Burcher has repudiated his wife on account of adultery, and has gone abroad, but where is not known'.⁸⁵

What he did over the next eighteen months will probably remain a mystery, but in August 1562 Bishop Jewel wrote to Bullinger:

'John Burcher has lately returned to us, very wretched and miserable as it seems to me. I have promised him whatever I can, though I hear that he did not leave Zürich very respectably.' 86

It is most frustrating that the last piece of information that could be found about Burcher does not go into more detail. But it does at least imply that he ended his life happily, after an unsettled period of twenty five years. John Abel reported to Bullinger in August 1563:

'John Burcher is now become a clergyman in the country not far from London, where he preaches the word of God faithfully, and is much beloved, and does much good. His wife has been delivered of a little girl, and is also well and hearty.'⁸⁷

In view of this, it is not very likely that the following piece of information applied to our man, but as so few John Burchers feature in the records of this period, it is nevertheless worth some attention. A John Burcher, clerk, died in 1573, leaving (in the absence of close family) £630 to Henry Hampshaw 'my man' and £100 to poor prisoners.⁸⁸

John Butler was deemed worthy of mention by Strype, who wrote in his Ecclesiastical Memorials:

'So to prevent the danger (and severity of these times) many betook themselves into other countries, and turned into Exiles for Religion ... Among these noble young Men and Scholars, there came one John Butler, of a noble Family, who lived Abroad in great State and Plenty. Having travelled about Germany, and thence into France, and afterwards into Italy, he seated himself at last in Zürich.'⁸⁹

He frequently signed himself 'J. Butlerus, Solhilensis', referring to Solihull in Warwickshire. Catherine Hore, heiress to Whitacre and Elmdon manors, married John Butler, gentleman, of Solihull, in 1506.⁹⁰ He died in 1512, leaving all his lands in Warwickshire and elsewhere in England to his wife during the nonnage of their son, and twenty pounds to each of their daughters on their marriage, the implication therefore being that they had only one son.⁹¹ Catherine Butler died in 1517, when John was six years old, whereupon he was put into the custody of Sir Edward Ferrars.⁹² His fourth sister,

Frances, later married one Edmund Felton, which accounts for the relationship with Dunstan Felton mentioned in the Zürich Letters.⁹³

John Butler junior was very well connected; in 1539, when on a brief visit to England, it seems he could have had a post at court had he so desired.⁹⁴

In August 1536 he visited Strasbourg with two friends, and Bucer sent them on to Bullinger with his recommendation.⁹⁵ The details of the first 'round tour' which he made with his friends, taking in Berne and Geneva after Zürich, are dealt with in Chapter 1; Bullinger endorsed Bucer's view that interest in religion was the main reason behind their venture and wrote to Calvin and Farel: 'Viri sunt sancti et docti qui Deum et veritatem quaerunt ex animo'.⁹⁶

Butler seems to have settled for a short time in Strasbourg in or around 1538 'devoting himself to literature in the house of master Sapidus'.⁹⁷ From the correspondence in the Zürich Staatsarchiv it appears that after this he travelled a good deal between Basel and Zürich.⁹⁸ In the spring of 1539 he was in England with his friends from the European tour, but was evidently unsettled, having 'an abhorrence of the courtier's life'.⁹⁹ The following year he paid his native country another visit; according to Hilles:

'Our brother Butler returned to England after the last Frankfort fair; but so miserable was the state of things in that country, that he did not remain more than eighteen days.'¹⁰⁰

Apart from Strype's comments, no explicit reference to Butler's having been an exile for the sake of religion can be found. But the implication is always there, in his correspondence, which was characterised by a concern for all religious matters, and in the letters of his acquaintances. It is after 1539 that he appears to have acquired

more or less permanent status in Swiss circles and was no longer regarded as a visitor. Already in 1539 Gualther referred to him as 'mercator Myconio familiarissimus', who travelled to Antwerp taking letters for the Swiss.¹⁰¹ He had probably become involved in the wood business with his friend William Peterson; in March 1540 he wrote very knowledgeably about the mistakes Peterson had made in a big transaction at Glarus:

'for the very material of the bows gave the clearest intimation of such a loss before he left Basel. For, whereas each bow-stave ought to be three fingers thick, and squared, and seven feet long, and to be got up well polished, without any knots, scarcely one of them answered to this pattern and description. He therefore most earnestly entreats you, in his letter to me, that you would be kind enough to acquaint those individuals with the damage he has sustained, that they may try all the pieces by the pattern I have just described.'¹⁰²

In May he wrote again, promising that if Peterson did not arrive safely in Switzerland

'We English, God permitting, will take care that Schentzius shall not suffer any great loss; unless indeed I should be deprived at the same time of all that I possess in England . . . I am writing in this strain, because England is now in a most disturbed state.'¹⁰³

He was probably over sensitive to the dangers of losing his English property, as there is nothing to indicate that he was a genuine refugee, who had left England without a licence. But he took no chances. Hilles reported in May 1542 'My brother Butler, as I hear by letter, sold his whole patrimony in England last Lent; but he had not then received the whole amount'.¹⁰⁴ Hilles' fears for Butler's safety were unfounded, as Butler was back in Basel by November of that year.¹⁰⁵ It may have been financial necessity that compelled him to sell his land; we have no indication of how well his

trading connexions were going, and if the Basel University records of 1541 applied to him, and not Burcher, he must have been in dire straits for a short time.¹⁰⁶

Concern for business affairs by no means precluded his interest in religious matters. In May 1540 he went to Frankfurt with Gualther to visit some English refugees there.¹⁰⁷ The Frankfurt archives could provide no further information about this, but Gualther wrote to Bullinger in more detail:

'Basilea abibo nec diebus plus octo illie commorabor idque D. Butleri causa, quem Franckfordiam usque comitem habiturus sum. Nolim tamen id cuiquem indices, donec a Franckfordia Butlerus redierit; nemo enim ne Basileae quidem illum praeter me solum discessurum novit. Sunt, proh dolorum, Anglorum res in novaculae acie, quod aiunt, constitutae. Venit ad eum Anglus quidam hisce diebus sua causa ex Anglia huc missus, quem statim literis datis ablegavit; ipse sequetur nunc Franckfordiam usque, ubi nonnulli (ut opinor) Angli illum conveniunt, viri pii et mihi non ignoti, quos certe exules esse metuo.' 108

It is unfortunate that the names of the exiles were not given, but it is quite possible that they included some of those dealt with here. Frankfurt was a central clearing house for all of western Europe, and May 1540 was a likely time for English exiles to have been passing through.

In July 1543 Butler felt sufficiently familiar with northern Switzerland and the surrounding region to make up his mind where he wished to settle. He wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer from Basel that it was to Blaurer's own town, Konstanz, that he wished to move,¹⁰⁹ and the town records for August 27th, 1544, put the official seal on his decision. The entry reads:

'Johannes Büttler ein Edelman uss Engelland dem 3 September 1543 bewilligt ward sampt seinem Vetter bym Schulmaister zu sein. Ist dazu bewilligt hie zu sitzen, Wie ein andere Insäss so lange dem im gefallt. Das Satzgelt solle im die herren uff dem hus bestimmen.' 110

This gave him and his relation 'Insässer' rights, i. e. not full citizenship, but permission to live in the town, and to enjoy its protection for a small fee.¹¹¹ The reason for the move was apparently a religious one; he commented to Myconius, who passed on the compliment to Ambrosius Blaurer:

'Butlerus aliquando mihi dixit serio: "Equidem vidi multas ecclesias, in quibus verbum dei sonuit clare atque hilariter; verum nulla sic placuit unquam et Constantiensis; nam vita plane consensit cum verbo."'¹¹²

It was in Konstanz that he realised his dream of finding a wife, and beginning his own family. He had been on the hunt intermittently since 1540, and various of his Swiss friends had been active on his behalf, Myconius in particular.¹¹³ In 1546 he achieved his aim, and on May 16th married Elsbeth von Rotberg.¹¹⁴ She may have been the daughter of Jakob von Rotberg, Landvogt zu Roteln, Herr zu Bambach and Rheinweiler, and the Elizabeth who later became the widow of Heinrich von Ostheim, thus equal in social status to Butler.¹¹⁵ They remained in Konstanz until shortly before the invasion by imperial troops in October 1548, although Butler, true to form, did a fair amount of travelling around the area during these years.

The Butler family seems to have moved to Zürich before the calamity occurred. Butler commented that Hooper was staying with him when it happened, but this may be taken as a reference to the growing tensions experienced in the town during 1548.¹¹⁶ It is probable that Hooper's visit took place in late July or early August, since Blaurer wrote to Bullinger on August 27th that he was sorry that he had not been able to see more of Hooper but had been very busy at the time of his visit.¹¹⁷ Hooper had chosen an awkward time, as Butler must have been in the process of moving. The book of Council proceedings in Zürich has a significant entry for August 20th, 1548:

'Butler uss Engelland so vor 3 oder 4 Jar hir
gessein ist erlaubt bis uff weiterem bescheid
sambt seiner hussfrau hie sein.' 118

During the first half of that year he had certainly been a frequent visitor to Zürich; Blaurer thanked Bullinger for a timely piece of writing brought by Butler in May of that year,¹¹⁹ and by the autumn he was evidently firmly established in Zürich as Blaurer asked Bullinger to convey his greetings on numerous occasions.¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that Hooper reported in October that Butler was in Konstanz, but this must only have been for a short visit.¹²¹

The Council book entry gave him 'Hintersässer' rights, similar to those he had enjoyed in Konstanz, according to a later entry in the book for 1570, which supplied a testimonial for Henry, John's son, and affirmed: 'Nachdem vergangenen Jahren der Edel und Vest Johann Buttler von Solisheim selig, alhie in unser Statt syn hushaltliche Wohnung, in hintersessen Wyse gehept ...'¹²²

His son Joseph was baptised in the Grossmunster on August 20th, 1548. On May 4th, 1550 the baptism of his son Henry was registered (which dovetails nicely with a reference by Blaurer to Butler's pregnant wife in November 1549).¹²³ And on January 7th, 1552, the christening of another son, Conrad, was entered in the Taufbuch.¹²⁴ He may have had other children who were not baptised in the Grossmünster; a letter of August 1552 to Thomas Blaurer, Ambrosius' brother, asking for help in finding a babysitter in his absence, implied that there were at least three young Butlers: '... wie woll ich nit mehr dan zwey kind daheim werd lassen ...'¹²⁵

How he maintained his wife and family is not immediately obvious. There is a possibility that he was involved in the wine trade. His correspondence with Pastor Johannes Stumph of Stammheim from the autumn of 1550 referred to shipments of wine, the prices of transportation, etc., but it is not clear whether these consignments were

for his own personal use, or whether they were part of a small business venture.¹²⁶ Several of his letters in 1549 and 1550 were written from Winterthur, a small town near Zürich, in the centre of the wine-growing region of northern Switzerland.¹²⁷ He was also concerned with the writing of a historical work, but nothing is known about this other than Blaurer's comment to Bullinger in September 1549: 'Butlerus nihil adhuc dedit contexte a se historiae'.¹²⁸ But that he was still a man of some means can be inferred from the fact that he was able to lend money on a considerable scale, and by February 1550 had decided to buy some land. He wrote to Thomas Blaurer with this in mind on February 16th:

'It remains for me, most excellent sir, to remind you touching the payment, at the day appointed (namely the first of March next ensuing), of the money you borrowed from me; which nevertheless, so God love me, I do most unwillingly. But I am now so circumstanced that I can no longer do without it: for I am desirous of purchasing a small estate; in which event (which I expect will shortly take place) I shall have occasion for five hundred florins from whatever source I can procure them. I therefore entreat you with all the earnestness in my power, not to disappoint my expectation in this matter.'¹²⁹

He was firmly committed to his life in Switzerland, and Hooper's appeal of August 1551 that he should return to England and work for the Reformation there was of no avail.¹³⁰ His state of health may have been a factor in this; he complained of 'adverse valitudine' to Gualther in June 1551,¹³¹ and in August 1552 he was forced to take a spa cure as he wrote to Thomas Blaurer:

'...dan das ich nun meher bi 3 monaten nit woll uff gesin, han also ein Catarr und hust mit steochen gehabt, dersalberm mich die doctores einheylich ins bad geratten, und bin also rettig worden (mit Gottes hilff) dahin zu zihen.'¹³²

On September 24th Stumph junior wrote to his father that Butler had just returned to Zurich from the thermal baths at Baden.¹³³ In

February 1553 he reported: 'D. Buttlerus lento quodam morbo in dies magis videtur absumi'.¹³⁴ In the July of that year his father wrote in the margin of a letter that mentioned Butler: 'D. Ioannes Buttlerus, Solhillensus Anglus, obiit Lyndanii hac aestate circa mensem Iulium 1553.'¹³⁵ The Lindau referred to was a small village near Zürich, not the town on Lake Konstanz.

Miles Coverdale was one of the best known of the Henrician exiles. J. F. Mozley gave a detailed and very accurate description of his early career in his book, Coverdale and his Bibles. This Reformer was born in York around 1487, became an Augustinian friar, and studied at Cambridge, where he was known as a supporter of Robert Barnes and was probably a member of the White Horse Inn circle of young English Reformers. He was ordained priest, probably in 1514; by 1528 he had given up his friar's habit and was a wandering preacher in Essex. Bishop Tunstall's campaign against unorthodox preachers and teachers sent him abroad for the first time at the end of that year. He remained abroad until 1535, as an assistant to Tyndale in Hamburg at the outset, and then in all likelihood followed him to Antwerp where he appears to have worked as a printer's assistant.¹³⁶ It was in 1534 that he began his official career as a biblical translator in his own right. His English Bible was printed in Zürich in 1535.¹³⁷ In 1538 his reputation procured him a job as official reviser of the Matthew Bible, which was to be 'the' English Bible; for this he went to Paris where he remained until the end of 1538 or early 1539, when government disapproval in France forced him to return to England.¹³⁸

As early as 1527 he looked to Cromwell for patronage and support:

'For so much as your goodness is so great towards me, your poor child, only through the plenteousness of your favour and benevolence, I am the bolder of your goodness in this my rude style.'¹³⁹

Cromwell was responsible for putting him in charge of the Paris operation, and when Coverdale returned to England, he continued to work for him in a more private capacity, keeping an eye on religious activities in Newbury.¹⁴⁰ Cromwell's fate, and the Act of Six Articles inevitably forced such a well-known Protestant into a second exile. By this time he was married to Elizabeth Macheson, sister of Agnes, who with her Scottish husband, John Maccabeus, ended up in Denmark in 1542.¹⁴¹

It seems that Coverdale went straight to Strasbourg after he left England. In a letter to John Calvin in 1548 he commented that he had been in exile for eight years, and sent greetings to Calvin and his wife, 'who deserved so well from me and mine when we went up to Strasbourg.'¹⁴² Calvin married in August 1540, and stayed in Strasbourg for another year after that, before returning to Geneva.¹⁴³ The treatise of Standish which attacked Barnes was printed in the autumn of 1540, and Coverdale read it on December 7th when he was already abroad, as he informed his readers when he wrote his reply.¹⁴⁴ It seems therefore that he must have arrived in Strasbourg in the autumn of 1540.¹⁴⁵

He stayed there for most of the period 1540-3, and occupied himself with his studies and literary work. His doctorate from Tübingen University must date from this period, as by Edward's reign this was one of his acknowledged qualifications:

'Milo Coverdalu, ordinis Augustiniani monachus quandoque (e comitatu Eboracensi oriundus, Theologiae Doctor Tubingae in Germania creatus, sed Cantabrigiae incorporatus) sacratus est in Episcopum Exoniensem Augusti 30. 1551.'¹⁴⁶

His literary works for this period were numerous. The list includes Faithful Lessons Upon the Passion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension

and Sending of the Holy Spirit etc., Marburg 1540; The Old Faith, a translation of Bullinger's Der Alt Gloub, Antwerp 1541; Confutation of that Treatise which one John Standish made against the Protestation of D. Barnes in 1540, 1541 Zurich; Bullinger's The Christian State of Matrimony, translated by Coverdale, Antwerp 1541; The Acts of the Disputation in the Council holden in Regensburg (1541), set forth by Bucer and Melanchthon, translated from Latin to English by Coverdale, Antwerp 1542; a translation of the Supplicacyon whych the lower countres and cyties of Osteryke made . . . unto king Ferdinandus, Antwerp, 1542; The manner of saying grace after the doctrine of holy Scripture and A Short Instruction to the World, Antwerp c. 1543.¹⁴⁷

At the end of 1542 he made a short visit to Denmark to visit his exiled brother-in-law, who was by then chaplain to Christian III and professor of theology at Copenhagen. How far he was involved in the events of the Danish Reformation is not clear, but he may well have had a hand in the 1543 revision of the Danish Bible.¹⁴⁸ He was certainly an interested observer, as his production of 1544 showed: The Order that the Church and Congregation of Christ in Denmark, and in many places, countries and cities of Germany, doth use, not only at the holy supper of the Lord, but also at the ministration of the blessed sacrament of baptism and holy wedlock, set forth by Miles Coverdale.¹⁴⁹

From being a student of the Reformation, somewhat in the style which Hooper was to adopt, in September 1543 Coverdale moved on to other things. On May 10th, 1543 the ageing and over-worked chief pastor at Bergzabern, Nicolaus Thomae, had written to Conrad Hubert:

'Who will find me in my ill-health a colleague pious, learned and experienced in things of God, to whose erudition I can quietly submit myself?'¹⁵⁰

Coverdale, who must by then have been fluent in German, was invited by Hubert to fill the vacant post of schoolmaster there.¹⁵¹ It was not

a sinecure, as church discipline had evidently become rather lax.

He wrote to Hubert in April 1544:

'The business of catechizing, which we attempted two previous weeks in the church, we now, God be thanked, find succeed prosperously and to be not without fruit. May God grant, that what we have begun to plant and water, may increase more and more to his glory.' 152

He was obviously conscientious, taking care to order the school books he wanted, and he showed concern for both the physical and the spiritual well-being of those under his care.¹⁵³ In February 1545 he commented gloomily on the irreverent behaviour of his congregation, and complained that 'Our magistrates here appear to be so luke-warm, and to divest themselves of all care for religion.'¹⁵⁴ It is therefore not surprising that he complained of being 'continually overwhelmed with a great press of business' when he was worried about the influence of the Anabaptists on his flock.¹⁵⁵

His literary works were understandably proscribed in England, yet his criticism of the English government was always mild and inoffensive in comparison with the hot propaganda which Bale could produce.¹⁵⁶ In 1540 he wrote about the death of his friend and ally, Robert Barnes:

'Neither is it my mind or will to meddle with his (i. e. Barnes') offence (if he committed any against the king), neither to defend this his protestation with any hand or weapon of men, but by the scriptures to bear record unto the truth.' 157

The situation in England at this time was at its most grim, and a rather more emotional attack might have been expected in the circumstances.

Similarly, in his preface to the translation of the Supplicacyon to King Ferdinand he advised:

'Though thou canst not have thy lawfull request, yet leave not thy dewtie undone, make no disturbance, be peaceable, committ the cause to God, and considre, that our synfull lyves have deserved no better, and

that it is even the heavy indignation of God, that so many princes and rulers had rather be deceived with hypocrites ...' 158

Many of his actions during his second exile point to an explanation for the low profile which this leading English reformer maintained while he was abroad. He spoke German, he took up a normal job in a remote village,¹⁵⁹ he was exceedingly busy, and he was pacific by nature. Haaland commented with regard to all the Henrician exiles, but it seems particularly applicable to Coverdale:

'Their wilderness (i. e. exile) was not a place of suffering or penance, but was of great value; it was better than Egypt, and a very propitious locale ... It served to edify them. Therefore they embraced it by entering into a close relationship with the ecclesiastical structures in and around Strasbourg. The church in a given area was merely the local body ... the reality of the church ... into which any believer, resident or alien, could enter.' 160

After Henry's death, Coverdale was in no hurry to return home. He waited until he was invited, and by June 1548 he was established again in England.¹⁶¹ That he was well thought of in high places was made plain by his appointment as almoner to Katherine Parr very soon after his arrival, and he preached her funeral sermon in September 1548.¹⁶² He wrote from Windsor Castle, along with Cranmer, to invite Fagius to come to England.¹⁶³

Until 1551 he was an active, respected and popular free-lance preacher, particularly in London and the west country. The Acts of the Privy Council for Edward's reign record two payments of forty marks for his services in 1549 and 1550.¹⁶⁴ Thus his nomination and subsequent consecration on 30th August, 1551 to the see of Exeter would have come as little surprise to interested observers.¹⁶⁵ Like Hooper, he was a committed and conscientious bishop at local level, although he did spend some time in London, and sat on the commission

appointed in February 1552 to reform canon law.¹⁶⁶ His work now allowed him little time for literary pursuits and he only produced three works in Edward's reign: his share in the second volume of Erasmus' Paraphrases (1549), a translation of Otto Werdmüller's popular Precious Pearl (1550) - (Werdmüller was a Zürich pastor); and a new edition, published by Froschover in 1550, of his 1535 Bible.¹⁶⁷

On Mary's accession, he was quickly deprived of his see, on 28th September, 1553.¹⁶⁸ He was fortunate; although he did nothing to protect himself, and even aligned himself with his Protestant colleagues in signing a declaration of their faith in May 1554,¹⁶⁹ his Danish contacts came to the rescue and prevailed upon the king of Denmark to write to Mary appealing for permission for Coverdale to leave England.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that at most he was under house-arrest at the beginning of Mary's reign, and in the spring of 1555 he was given licence to go to Denmark.¹⁷¹ C. Garrett went into considerable detail about his Marian exile; here it is only necessary to say that he moved about a good deal, in contrast to his earlier experiences. After a few weeks in Denmark, he went to Wesel, then back to Bergzabern for a period. He settled in Aarau near Basel with an English refugee congregation for two years, and finally moved to Geneva in the autumn of 1558, probably to assist with the production of the English Bible there. He returned to England in August 1559, nearly a year after Mary's death.¹⁷²

It is a matter for conjecture whether he was offered his old bishopric of Exeter and refused it, or whether in fact he was never given the option of return to Devon. Mozley, quoting Hooker, thought he was offered it, but declined on the grounds of his deepening Puritan commitment;¹⁷³ Collinson is uncertain.¹⁷⁴ There is a striking lack

of documentation on this point, but it is interesting to note that in some of his correspondence in the 1560s he signed himself 'Miles Coverdale, quondam Exon.' Was this a hankering after the past, or merely a desire to establish his ecclesiastical respectability in letters to Cecil and to Archbishop Parker?¹⁷⁵

He was given no preferment immediately after his return to England, but filled his time with numerous preaching engagements and in the spring of 1564 his friend Bishop Grindal succeeded in persuading him to accept the wealthy London living of St. Magnus.¹⁷⁶ He remained in this post for just over two years, resigning it in 1566 out of protest over the storm which had blown up over vestments in 1565 and which had resulted in the deprivation from their livings of several London clergy. After his resignation he 'resumed the life of a fugitive preacher, administering in clandestine circumstances'.¹⁷⁷ The main Puritan separatist congregation was at the Church of the Holy Trinity, near the Tower of London, and it enjoyed the patronage and protection of the Duchess of Suffolk, a friend of Coverdale's from his Marian exile days. Coverdale preached some of his last sermons there, before his death on January 20th, 1569.¹⁷⁸

His increasing commitment to the Puritan cause is worth noting, as this must have arisen, at least in part, during his time abroad. When he was consecrated bishop in 1551, he wore the regular clerical attire for the occasion, but when he participated in the consecration of Archbishop Parker in 1559 he stood out in his plain black preaching gown.¹⁷⁹ Yet, as Fuller pointed out, he cannot have been against the office of bishop, or he would not have taken part in the ceremony at all.¹⁸⁰ As early as 1551 he and his wife were given a licence, with five or six guests, 'to eat flesh and milk foods in Lent and other fasts,

notwithstanding the Act of 2 Ed VI'.¹⁸¹ More significant of course was his role in the Elizabethan vestment controversy; at first the non-conformists had been anxious to minimise their differences with the ecclesiastical authorities, and the vast majority of the twenty clergy who appealed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in March 1565, requesting their forbearance, eventually conformed. Only three of them stuck to their more radical views until they died, and Coverdale was one of them.¹⁸² But he died a man respected by the establishment and the non-conformists alike, a kind of English Bullinger - it is significant to note in this context that he resigned his living of St. Magnus, and was not deprived of it.¹⁸³

John Dodman was another exile about whose early career little is known. Were it not for Coverdale's correspondence, his presence in the Strasbourg area during the 1540s would have escaped attention. At the end of 1542 the minister at Bissweiler, near Bergzabern, fell ill, and was unable to fulfil all his duties. Coverdale then wrote to his friend Hubert:

'Therefore Eschnavius, our most excellent prefect, being desirous of making provision for this distress, wishes that my pious brother and countryman, John Dodman, should be invited thither to the assistance of Erasmus . . . and who, I trust, has by this time made such proficiency in the German language, that I doubt not of his being able to discharge the duties of his office to the benefit of the church. I beg, therefore, that in your kindness to the church of Christ you would signify this to this same countryman of mine, Dodman, that, in the case of his being summoned to Bissweiler, he may repair thither the more readily, under the certainty of receiving from the prefect an acceptable return.'¹⁸⁴

This is all we know about his period abroad during Henry's reign. His age, status, and reasons for being abroad will probably remain a matter for conjecture, but it is reasonable to assume that he was a

refugee, as only a committed Protestant could have helped out in a German parish.

It is also impossible to be definite about his later career. Dodman was not an unusual name, and in none of the references which can be found for the time after 1547 is there any mention of his having been an exile. What follows here may therefore not have applied to the Dodman of Bissweiler. Garrett stated that he was ordained deacon in 1552, but apart from this, there is nothing to be said about his Edwardian career.¹⁸⁵ A Dodmer wrote to Calvin in December 1553, describing in detail the recent events in England. This letter was written from Lausanne.¹⁸⁶ Garrett made no mention of a Marian exile of this name, but from the first line of the letter, it seems quite likely that the writer was English:

'Accipies . . . huc dudum advenisse quendam conterraneum nostrum qui ex Anglia egressus est 13. die Novembris, qui mihi declaravit ordine quo res omnis in statu erat in decessu suo.'¹⁸⁷

This could in fact have been the John Dodman who matriculated at Basel University in 1556-57.¹⁸⁸

Strype referred to a Mr. Dodman's preaching activities at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when, with regard to the 1558 proclamation against preaching without licence,

'The queen herein showed herself impartial. For on which side soever they were, she punished the breach of her proclamation: which evidently appeared in that two Protestant preachers, viz. Mr. Pullen and Mr. Dodman in Colchester, were commanded to be sent up to the Lords under safe and sure custody.'¹⁸⁹

This report is confirmed in the Acts of the Privy Council for April 1559.¹⁹⁰ The Calendar of Patent Rolls later indicated that in January 1561 'John Dodman, clerk, (was presented) to the rectory of Estmersey, in the diocese of London' and that by June of the following year he had died.¹⁹¹

Richard Hilles was probably the son or grandson of the Richard Hill who served as a warden of the Merchant Tailor Company in 1490 and 1493, and was Master in 1504.¹⁹² From the College of Arms records for 1568, when Hilles was granted arms, comes this entry:

'Richard Hilles alias Hills of Milton in the county of Kent married Ann Elizabeth the daughter of Beard and by her has issue Richard. Richard Hilles of London, citizen and Merchant Taylor of the same citie married Agnes the daughter of Christopher Lacey of Yorkshire, gentleman, and by her had issue John, Gerson, Barnabas and Daniel.' 193

This was without any doubt the same man as the Henrician exile.¹⁹⁴ From the fact that he attained the freedom of the Merchant Tailor Company in 1535 (a privilege which was normally given at the age of twenty one), can be deduced that he was born around 1514.¹⁹⁵

He first attracted attention when he was a mere apprentice, by getting into trouble with the authorities in London, and appealing to Cromwell from 'Roone' in France to help him out:

'I was of late apprenticed with a good merchant called Nicholas Cosyn on London Bridge, and it pleased God, I do heartily thank him, to give me some knowledge of his son Jesus Christ, in so much that on a certain Sunday at afternoon when I was idle, I thought that I would go about some good thing to keep me from idleness, and then I remembered how that a good honest young man did once require me to shew him my mind in writing how I did understand that part of St. James' epistle that said how Abraham was justified by works, in so much that I went about it and made as long a profession about it as you do see in this treatise that I have sent your mastership ... When I was in Flanders I had word that of a truth the bishop of London had the treatise that I did make and also knew that I did make it.' 196

Cosyn begged Hilles to revoke what he had written, or he could no longer employ him. Hilles refused, and Cosyn reacted by refusing in his turn to have anything more to do with Hilles, apart from ordering him to go to Paris to have a discussion with a doctor of divinity there, the results of which would probably have been most unpleasant for the

young man. Hilles was about to carry out his instructions when he wrote to Cromwell, begging him

'for the passion of Christ to obtain that I may serve any merchant in any realm out of England, and the merchants to have no danger thereby, neither in England nor anywhere else ... My master would gladly have me occupy for him in France and if he durst not yet there are many that would.' 197

Cosyn's fears were justified; the terms of Hilles apprenticeship would have made him an inmate of Cosyn's household, and subject to his control. Therefore if his treatise were heretical, Cosyn would be held responsible, at least in part.¹⁹⁸ How the problem was resolved is not clear, and there is nothing to indicate that Cromwell helped him. But Hilles must have managed to reinstate himself in his master's favour somehow, in order to obtain the freedom of the company, of which Cosyn was also a member.¹⁹⁹

It is interesting to speculate just what Hilles' religious convictions were at this stage in his career. The epistle of James was a favourite Lollard text;²⁰⁰ Strype mentioned that when Barnes was at the house of the Austin friars in London in 1526, two Lollards from London visited him, John Tyball and Thomas Hilles.²⁰¹ In 1527 Thomas Hilles, servant of Christopher Ravens of Wittham, 'Tayler', was in trouble for heresy.²⁰² It is tempting to conclude that this was a relation, but in view of the fact that Hilles was not an uncommon name, no definite conclusion can be drawn. No trace can be found of Richard Hilles' treatise, so one is forced to rely on what Hilles had to say some years later on the subject of religion. From his letters, it appears that he was a keen Protestant, not particularly expert in theological niceties, but very interested in the subject, and determined to improve his knowledge - or to project a favourable image of himself to Bullinger and his fellow ex-patriates.²⁰³

By the summer of 1540 he was in trouble again. In January of that year he and William Peterson had written in an optimistic vein to John Butler about the religious situation in England.²⁰⁴ In August he wrote his first letter to Bullinger from an unknown address, probably Strasbourg:

'When I perceived that there was no place left for me in England, unless, as Ustazades replied to the king of Persia, I chose to become a traitor both to God and man; I forthwith left the country, but on the pretext of carrying on my trade in this place . . . I have determined not to return thither, unless it please God to effect such a change, as that we may serve him, there without hinderance, and without being forced to sanction what is evil.' 205

On a later occasion he elaborated on this, saying that he got into trouble with the bishop of London after the death of Anne Boleyn (this must therefore have been Stokesley) for refusing to subscribe to the fund for the placing of large wax candles in the church before the crucifix and sepulchre. He escaped real trouble thanks to the efforts of his mother who, unknown to Hilles at the time, paid the requisite sum for him 'for one or two years, that she might appease the fury of the dogs, and that I might not fall into worse peril, as she much feared would be the case'. Nevertheless it appears that Hilles in fact only narrowly escaped the clutches of Gardiner, or so he would have had Bullinger believe, as he continued:

'The day after I left London for this place, or at least for Antwerp, Winchester . . . to whom I had probably been known by name, (for his diocese extends to the middle of London Bridge), being openly about to examine some of my neighbours who were apprehended before my departure, endeavoured to fish out of them something about me.' 206

Hilles must have headed almost immediately for Strasbourg. His letter of August 1540 lacked an address, but the contents point to this:

'I certainly intended to have gone into Switzerland this present August . . . but my brother Butler, who is now

busily engaged in courting a widow of Strasburgh, has been away with her relatives the whole of this month.' 207

He had a wife and family to support,²⁰⁸ and lost no time in establishing himself in trade. His first letter to Bullinger told of plans to set up in business, and asked for information about potential buyers of English cloth.²⁰⁹ His acceptance of the conditions for a Strasbourg residence permit in June 1541 began 'Ich Reichart Hilss, genandt schneider', indicating that he was by then already known as a cloth merchant or tailor.²¹⁰ He must also have had a hand in the wood trade with which Peterson had become involved in the 1530s; that he knew Peterson well is shown by their joint letter to Butler in January 1540.²¹¹ In the autumn of 1546 he had to ask the help of English diplomats to obtain the release of wood for bowstaves which had been confiscated at Mainz

'upon pretext of a licence from the Emperor and King of the Romans for the sole export to England of this kind of wood. Such wood was lately purchased in Switzerland by certain English merchants ... the wood belongs to an honest Englishman called R. Hilles.' 212

His was a small business, with a limited amount of capital involved, if the small debts which Falckner owed him, and Hilles' concern about them, is any indication,²¹³ although it is of course worth bearing in mind that much business was transacted using credit at Frankfurt at this time.²¹⁴ But he appears to have kept a foothold in England in this period:

'At Strasburgh I have no domestics, except one female servant. I have left them all but one in England, for I still have an establishment in that country.' 215

He was anxious not to jeopardise his business in any way, and declined to apply for full citizenship rights in Strasbourg for fear of losing the privileges he already had in England and Brabant.²¹⁶ The Strasbourg

Council was very cooperative, giving him permission to reside in the city, and the city's protection as well as the right to trade there, for the sum of ten florins per annum.²¹⁷ They also gave him a passport when he required one.²¹⁸ Hilles had played his cards well; he was thus able to move around Europe freely, up the Rhine to Frankfurt and Antwerp, and even home to England when business required it.

Early in 1548 Hilles visited England briefly. Bullinger reported his return to Vadian on January 13th: 'Rediit ex Anglia 8 huius mensis D. Richardus Hilleus, Anglus communis noster amicus'.²¹⁹ In June of that year he wrote to Bullinger to say that he was planning to return to England permanently, and in August he and his family were on their way home.²²⁰ Although it cannot be said that the moment Henry VIII died Hilles was ready to move, the eighteen months or so that elapsed were used to prepare the business and his family for what a return to England would entail. By the time he left Strasbourg, Burcher had moved there, and was ready to take up a partnership in Hilles' business.²²¹ Hilles renounced his Strasbourg privileges in August 1548.²²²

He kept up his interest in continental trade even after his partnership with Burcher had lapsed, although he appears to have transferred his base to Antwerp. Johannes Stumph, a student at Oxford, wrote to his father in August 1551 that Hilles was 'in transmarinis partibus . . . neque, ut ex certis hominibus didici, ante Michaelis festum reveretur.' He went on to say:

'Cum literas has scripsissem, meosque Conterraneos Londinum usque comitatus essem, forte in D. R. Hyllem incidi (qui ob pestem, ut conjicio, quae Antwerpiae regnat, discessit) quem ubi conveni negavit se quicquam daturum, nisi quod literis fuerit iussus.'²²³

In July 1564 William Peterson and Hilles, among others, were made freemen of the Company of Merchant Adventurers 'trading to Holland, Zealand and Flanders'.²²⁴ Two years later Hilles spent some time in Antwerp, and wrote from there to Bullinger that he had been there fourteen weeks and was 'tormented by innumerable cares and anxieties (those namely arising from my calling as a merchant)'.²²⁵ But he was not alone in his business; his sons were by then active on the continent as well, particularly at the Frankfurt fairs.²²⁶

But it was his career in London which became the dominant factor in his life after his return. His ties with the Merchant Tailor Company were quickly reestablished; his former master, Nicholas Cosyn, was master of the Company in 1549-50, and probably helped Hilles to fit back into the structure.²²⁷ He was called to the livery in 1549.²²⁸ He took an active role in resolving the disputes between the tailors and cloth workers which occurred in 1552, and which involved a parliamentary inquiry.²²⁹ By 1555 he was a warden in the company, and was probably senior warden in 1556.²³⁰ Although no record of his election to the mastership has survived, we know this happened in 1561 because the celebration dinner for that event was recorded.²³¹

It was in 1561 that he achieved his greatest claim to fame when he donated £500 of the total sum of ~~£566~~ 13s 4d which was paid for the acquisition of the 'Manor of the Rose' in St. Lawrence Poultney for the Merchant Tailors' school.²³² This was a school

'of the new learning, in which Greek was to be taught, and the principles of the National Church were to be inculcated, and also the Catechism, and instructions in the Articles of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in Latin.'²³³

It is interesting to speculate how far the Strasbourg school had caught Hilles' fancy, and perhaps influenced his decision to donate so generous

a sum to the London foundation.²³⁴ His generosity towards the school did not stop there; he augmented the Chief Usher's salary by ten pounds per annum in the years 1561-8.²³⁵

He continued to be an active member of the Company after his period of mastership was over. He was a regular attender at the Company court; in 1565 he was made custodian of one of the keys of the treasury, which honour he only resigned in 1585 as 'an indication of his wish to retire from the more active business of the Company'.²³⁶ In 1569 he was appointed Auditor, and probably continued in that post for some years.²³⁷

Hilles died early in 1587, and his will gave another indication of how much he considered himself to be bound up with the Merchant Tailors. The major bequests were charitable; he bequeathed land and cottages on Tower Hill to be developed and used as almshouses for widows and poor of the Company.²³⁸

Everything about his life after he returned to England points to his desire to reestablish himself and his family firmly in their native land and to pursue his career as merchant to the utmost of his ability. He was partly responsible for one of the last acts of Parliament in Edward's reign, in March 1553, which gave his children, who had been born abroad, the same privileges and rights as those born in England.²³⁹ His rapid rise in the London business community (by 1553 he was probably already a member of the Common Council of London)²⁴⁰ is illustrated by the fact that he was one of the four Merchant Tailors who were called upon to countersign the Letters Patent of March 21st, 1553, which were created to ensure the accession of Lady Jane Grey.²⁴¹ It is interesting to note that when he wrote to Bullinger in July of that year he described that event in detail, but he did not admit that he himself had played a part

in it.²⁴² This may have been the result of genuine modesty, or it may have been because of some anxiety about what the future would hold. He certainly must have been watched by the authorities after Mary's accession because of that signature, but he succeeded in keeping a sufficiently low profile on the political and religious front to be able to continue business as usual. Strype listed him as one of the 'maintainers' of the exiles abroad, but where he found the evidence to substantiate this is not clear.²⁴³ It seems that the attitude he held was typical of many of his colleagues:

'Under Mary, Roman Catholics and Protestants, pro-Marians and anti, within the company, seem to have tried to sink their differences and to have acted together where the interests of the Guild were threatened.'²⁴⁴

Osborn Hilles went on to suggest that at this stage in Hilles' life the repercussions of exile on his health, property and career would have been far greater than those he had faced before.²⁴⁵ At any rate, there is no doubt about his apostasy during Mary's reign. In November 1554, William Salkyns, a servant of Hilles, wrote to Bullinger informing him that his master was now in the habit of attending Mass.²⁴⁶ Hilles himself admitted his guilt when he wrote to Bullinger in February 1559.²⁴⁷

There is no doubt that he achieved his aims of attaining wealth and respectability; his name appeared on a list of 'names of sondry the wisest and best merchants in London to deale in the weightiest cares of the citie as occasion is offered', which was probably drawn up some time after 1582 because of some names which did not feature. The list included some one hundred names, twenty seven of which were Merchant Tailors.²⁴⁸

John Hooper has a place in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials. He talked of one 'Hooper, once a monk at Gloucester. He lived long in Germany, especially in Switzerland, where he became well-known to Bullinger'.²⁴⁹ He later went into more detail:

'He had been a monk of Clive, of the Cistercian order, saith one. About 1535 or 1536 I meet with one John Howper, a Black Fryer of Gloucester, whether our John Hoper or no, I cannot affirm; who with 6 monks or more, of the same House, desired license from Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal, and the king's Vicar Spiritual, to change their habit. In whose behalf one Richard Devereux, a visitor in these parts, under Cromwell, writ a letter to the Vicar General.' 250

The monastery at Cleve was dissolved in 1536, at which date Hooper would have had to leave, if he had not already done so.²⁵¹

He was born around 1495 in Somersetshire, the son of a reasonably wealthy man, and received an Oxford degree in 1519.²⁵² It was after this date that he entered the monastery, dissatisfied with the kind of life he had been leading:

'After I had arrived at manhood, and by the kindness of my father enjoyed the means of living more unrestrainedly, I had begun to blaspheme God by impious worship and all manner of idolatry, following the evil ways of my forefathers, before I rightly understood what God was.' 253

The most recent research dates Hooper's conversion to Zwinglian doctrine at around 1539, when he may have returned to Oxford to embark on an intensive course of religious study.²⁵⁴ He mentioned this to Bullinger:

'I thought it well worth my while, night and day, with earnest study, and an almost superstitious diligence, to devote my entire attention to your writings.' 255

He was probably identical with the Hooper, of unknown college, who submitted a dual supplicat in Oxford in 1543.²⁵⁶ At the same time, he was involved in life at court; it may even have been a fellow courtier who first drew his attention to the works of Zwingli.²⁵⁷

By 1543 he was running into trouble with the authorities because of his Protestantism, and sought refuge with Thomas Arundel, his court patron, who was on intimate terms with Gardiner and who arranged a meeting between the two men which resulted in Hooper's flight from England, most likely towards the end of 1543.²⁵⁸ He first went to Paris, where he stayed for only a short time before returning to England and taking up residence with the St. Loo family. The time sequence is rather hazy at this point. Foxe commented that he remained with them until it was no longer safe to stay in England, when he escaped through France to higher parts of Germany, and got to know 'learned men at Basel and Zürich'.²⁵⁹

After his arrival in Basel, it is easier to be accurate about his movements. He was a late arrival in the circle of exiles already based in that region, but there was never any doubt about his own exile status. The situation in England in 1546 sickened him:

'Idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our king has destroyed the pope, but not popery ... The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of the saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.' 260

Although he acknowledged that it was possible to remain in a country where idolatry was practised, and yet to remain untouched by it, he decided after a visit to England in 1546 that this was not the course for him:

'You (Bullinger) considered it more advisable and consistent with godliness, that I should rather endure the loss of home and fortune for Christ's sake, than participate in the ungodly worship of the mass. I reverence and cherish this advice, and willingly come into the same opinion.' 261

Unlike most of his fellow refugees, Hooper did not combine exile with work in any official or money earning capacity. He was

a student first and foremost, and used his time abroad to further his studies. He matriculated at Basel University for the year 1545-6.²⁶² Just before he left Basel for Zürich in March 1547 he had been living with Grinaeus, as Dryander reported to Bullinger.²⁶³ But he also spent some time in Strasbourg, as Hilles reported in January 1546:

'If there is any news from here, or from England, you will learn it from the letter of a certain country-man of mine who is studying here, whose name is John Hooper ... He was sick at my house, almost unto death.' ²⁶⁴

It was in Hilles' house that he met his future wife, Anna de T'Serclaes, a refugee from Belgium who with her sister was likely to have been a member of the household of Jacques de Bourgogne, Seigneur de Falais, and a former school-fellow of Charles V, who had fled with several others from the Netherlands to escape religious persecution.²⁶⁵ By February 1547 Falais and his entourage were established in Basel.²⁶⁶

It was there that Hooper married, just before he moved to Zürich.

Dryander described Hooper's wife in these glowing terms:

'Duxit ante paucos dies uxorem in hac urbe, genere quidem Belgium, sed ingenio, doctrina, gravitate, constantia et vera religione supra mulieris sortem plane coelestem.' ²⁶⁷

Unfortunately, no record of the marriage survives in the Basel archives.

Hooper's marriage to a foreign born woman has been taken as evidence of his intention to settle abroad for an indefinite period. But his intention was manifest long before 1547; the reason for his dangerous trip to England in 1546 was

'to bid farewell to the honours, pleasures and friends of this world; and I will then endeavour, if possible, by the assistance of my friends, to obtain at least some portion of what I am entitled to, wherewith I may be able to subsist upon my slender means among you at Zürich: and should God ... see fit to visit me

with poverty and want . . . I will bear it with an undisturbed mind, and choose rather, as an exile, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.' 268

This letter must have been written early in 1546, when Henry VIII was still very much alive, and the opinion expressed is therefore easily understood.²⁶⁹ By February or March 1547, however, the situation in England had changed drastically. Hooper's decision to remain abroad may have been influenced by a number of factors, such as an uneasy relationship with his family at home,²⁷⁰ and the fact that English politics and religion were then very much in the melting pot, and he preferred to bide his time. Also he had long held an ambition to visit Zürich.²⁷¹ It is worth noting that his period in Zurich, which was to play such an important part in his life, began when he could no longer claim to be an exile.

He arrived in Zürich in March 1547, as Bullinger reported in his 'Diarium':

'Venit ad me ex Anglia Ioannes Hopperus una cum uxore nobili Anna von Tserclas 29. Martii, et egit in aedibus meis aliquot diebus.' 272

Myconius and Dryander had supplied him with recommendations to ensure that he would receive a warm welcome.²⁷³ Bullinger certainly did his best for him, as he reported to Myconius in April:

'Anglum illum, Joannem Hoperum, per te mihi commendatum, coatus sum in meas recipere aedes: aegre enim commodum hospitem invenit. Coactus tamen dico ex phrasi, nam libenter et ex animo illum, quia syncerus esse videtur, recepi. Nanciscetur hospitem opinor D. Joannem Jäcklj, qui praetorem urbis egit, iam vero collegii nostri camerarius est, vicinus olim tuus ex opposito.' 274

In fact, according to later letters, it appears he did not stay with Jäckly but with the Zink family.²⁷⁵

He used his time in Zürich well. Augustine Fries was responsible

for producing his first three publications: 1) An Answer unto my lord Winchester's book entitled "A detection of the Devil's Sophistry", wherewith he robbeth the unlearned people of the true belief in the most blessed sacrament of the Altar, 1547; 2) A Declaration of Christ and his office, a rare example of a sixteenth century study in christology, also 1547; 3) A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments.²⁷⁶ This actually appeared late in 1549, after Hooper's departure, but the work must have been sufficiently advanced by the time he left Zürich to have made it worth while to leave it in Fries' hands despite the difficulties the Swiss faced in printing English works.²⁷⁷

He seems to have stayed in Zürich from March 1547 until he left in March 1549, apart from his visit in the summer of 1548 to John Butler in Konstanz.²⁷⁸ His daughter Rachel was born in Zürich in March 1548.²⁷⁹ Although he was in no hurry to return to England after Henry's death, he was in touch with developments at home, even to the extent of receiving letters from court, as he reported to Dryander in October 1547: 'ante quatuor dies literas ex aula regis accepi'.²⁸⁰ Perhaps his earlier career in England had accustomed him to moving in royal circles; after he had reluctantly taken leave of Zürich in the spring of 1549, he took the opportunity while he was in the Netherlands of calling at the imperial court.²⁸¹

The decision to return to England was not taken lightly, and Foxe believed that he had an inkling of how his life would end before he left:

'At length . . . master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. . . . He gave to master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all time towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of

theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find it in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country; if there was nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do . . . "And therefore you shall be sure", said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me burned to ashes." 282

Unfortunately, Foxe is the only source for this conversation. Hooper left Zürich on March 24th.²⁸³ Hence Dryander's letter to Bullinger of March 25th was unnecessary with regard to influencing Hooper. It is however worth quoting as it shows how respected Hooper was:

"I wish he would perform the duty he owes his country, which is sadly distressed at this time for want of good preachers. And in a calling the most honourable of all others, to lend one's aid to the churches is the duty of a man not only of eminent talent, but of heroic courage; and I think he would do this with dignity." 284

He was an instant success in England. Strype commented: "He was so admired by the people that they held him for a prophet; nay, they looked upon him as some deity".²⁸⁵ He was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, but his career was not hindered by Somerset's fall.²⁸⁶ He continued his lectures at St. Paul's, although for some time he no longer acted as court preacher.²⁸⁷ He regarded the Earl of Warwick, Somerset's successor (and rival) as a "holy and fearless instrument of the word of God".²⁸⁸

By February 1550 his career was definitely in a very healthy position. Johannes Stumph reported to Bullinger: "D. D. Latomero, Concionatori Regio, oblatum ajunt Episcopatum, in cujus locum Dom. Hopperus noster successit".²⁸⁹ Hooper himself reported that "Cranmer has ordered me in the name of the king and council to preach before his majesty once a week during the ensuing Lent".²⁹⁰ It is obvious that he was being groomed for higher office, and it would have come

as no surprise to his contemporaries that he was offered the bishopric of Gloucester in the summer of 1550.

The ensuing storm over his consecration and vestments has been dealt with at length elsewhere.²⁹¹ It dominated the religious scene in England from May 1550 until February the next year, when after a brief period in prison (the purpose of which had been to hold him incommunicando, to prevent further trouble from being stirred up), Hooper eventually submitted. Opie concluded:

'Hooper had become aware, for the first time, of his isolation from the English clergy, the government, leading continental reformers, and public opinion. Despite his passionate devotion to radical reform, he could not justify a revolution which would overthrow the church.'²⁹²

He was finally consecrated on March 8th.²⁹³

Even while trouble was brewing in the summer of 1550, Hooper's activities continued at their normal pace. Utenhovius remarked in June:

'D. Hopperus ex iussu magistratus eras(?) proficiscitur in Essexiam, quae est regio Angliae plena periculi, ut ubi superiori estate maxime subortae sunt tragediae, distans hinc itinere unius diei. Illis autem est concionaturus ad dies decem aut eo amplius, quos verbo dei audito ad se redeant ac in officio retineantur. Ubi vero ipse Hopperus redierit, existimo eum ex templo episcopatum suum aditurum esse.'²⁹⁴

Hooper explained to Bullinger that he was being sent to Essex and Kent to deal with the Anabaptists there.²⁹⁵

Once the vestment controversy had been resolved, and Hooper was established in his new post, his energy remained unabated. Foxe gave a glowing account of his work as the bishop of Gloucester, and this was heartily substantiated by a couple of Swiss visitors who had heard from their landlord:

'Es hat dieser Bischof in sinem Ampt und bischoflicher Verwaltung so grossen Ernst und User angewendt, dass er auch nit die geringsten Kilche und Dörfli übersehen . . . In allem Werk der Reformation hat er zu Glocester nit minder als 8 Wuchen aneinanderen täglich drümal gepredigt; folgends aber sine bestimpten Predigtag am Suntag und in der Wuchen und zu den Festen und Fyrtagen mit stetem Flyss versehen.' 296

His literary flow continued;²⁹⁷ He also paid frequent visits to London, both in his capacity as a member of the House of Lords, and because he sat on the commission formed in 1552 to revise the ecclesiastical laws of England.²⁹⁸ In March 1552 Cranmer informed Bullinger that relations between himself and Hooper were so far improved that 'he is at this time living in my house upon the most intimate of terms, during the sitting of Parliament.'²⁹⁹ In December 1552 he became responsible for the diocese of Worcester in addition to that of Gloucester, and was supposed to live for six months in each place.³⁰⁰ He was always aware that there was more work to be done, and complained to Cecil:

'Doubtless it is a great flock that Christ will save in England. I see none worse than we ourselves that have good and true knowledge, and yet not the effect in fruits. There lacketh nothing among the people but sober, learned and wise men.' 301

Mary's accession brought Hooper's career to an abrupt end. In August 1553 he and Coverdale were summoned by the Council; Coverdale had friends in Denmark who intervened on his behalf, but Hooper appears to have made no effort to help himself.³⁰² In February 1555 he went to the stake.³⁰³ He had clearly made up his mind that this time it was important to stay in England and make a stand for the Protestant faith, even if it should cost him his life. His letter to Calvin written in September 1553 asked for his prayers 'ut alacri et infracto animo Christo gloriam quaeramus, et mortem ipsam gloriosissimam pro nomine illius sustineamus!'.³⁰⁴

Thomas Rose was another clerical exile. He apparently spent some time in Basel after the Six Articles had forced him to flee, but he left no trace of his visit there, and does not seem to have featured in the exiles' circle, as far as one can see from their communications with one another.³⁰⁵ He came from Devon, and worked as a curate in Hadleigh in Suffolk, where he had a difficult career as a preacher of Protestant doctrines.³⁰⁶ Cranmer wrote on his behalf to the inhabitants of that parish in March 1534, asking them to: 'Leave your grudges, and accept him favourably', after he had encountered opposition because of a sermon in which he maintained 'a man's goods spent for his soul after his death prevaieth him not'.³⁰⁷ Strype supplied more details about his stormy career, and with Foxe is our only source of information about this man:

'At Hadley he had preached against purgatory and worshipping images . . . whereby he had brought many to the knowledge of the truth in that town. About 1532, when certain persons, out of their zeal against idolatry, had stolen by night the rood out of the church at Dover Court in Essex, for which, being found guilty of felony, they were hanged; Rose seemed to have been privy hereunto; for with the rood they conveyed away the slippers, the coat and the tapers belonging to it: which coat Rose burnt. Whether for this, or some other thing, he was complained of to the council, and brought before them, and by the Bishop of Lincoln was committed to prison . . . Thence he was removed to Lambeth . . . , in 1533, and . . . (Cranmer) set him at liberty. Afterward he was admitted by Crumwell to be his chaplain, that thereby he might get a licence to preach. After various tossings from place to place, for safety of his life, he fled into Flanders, and Germany, and came to Zürich, and remained with Bullinger, and came to Basil, where he was entertained by Grinaeus. After some time he returned back to England: but was glad to fly beyond the sea again. Three years after, in his voyage back to his own country again, he was taken prisoner by some French, and carried into Diep, where he was spoiled of all he had. His ransom was soon after paid by a well-disposed person, who also brought him over into England. Then the Earl of Essex received him, and his wife and child,

privately into his house. But when this was known, the Earl sent him a secret letter to be gone, and so he lurked in London till the death of King Henry VIII. ' 308

A Thomas Rose matriculated as a pensioner at Christ's College, Cambridge, in November 1547, which fits in with his having kept a low profile until after Henry's death, if this was the same man. He took his B.A. in 1549-50.³⁰⁹ He must have impressed the authorities with his ability. Strype mentioned that in January 1551

'The seal was passed for a presentation to the vicarage of West Ham, in Essex to be enjoyed by Thomas Rose, that had endured much imprisonment and danger for his godly zeal towards Religion; and was so well thought of by Archbishop Cranmer that he was nominated also for the Archbishop of Armagh, at the same time with Turner. ' 310

When Mary came to the throne, he was either deprived of, or gave up, his post and came to London. An anonymous letter of 1555 took up the story:

'Thomas Rose, who has now been for many years a constant preacher of the gospel, having secretly assembled some brethren on the first of January, administered to them in a godly manner, and according to Christ's institution, the supper of the Lord, preceded by a sermon, in which he prayed for the conversion of the queen in this way, either that God would soon convert her, or remove her yoke from the necks of the godly, he was adjudged a traitor by the bishop of Winchester, as guilty of treason, and is kept in prison with all who communicated with him, twenty-eight in number, who are all of them condemned to the flames, unless perhaps the above-named Rose be forced to undergo that more cruel death usually awarded to traitors. ' 311

In prison he would have been looked after by the Swiss pastor Augustine Bernher, who ministered to the Protestant underground congregation in London, because Strype mentioned that they were colleagues.³¹² He was also in touch with Lady Vane, one of the 'maintainers' of the Protestants who fled abroad under Mary, and comforted those in prison in England.³¹³ Strype went in to

considerable detail about the last years of this man's career, making it clear that he did not perish under Mary:

'Being deprived upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was sometime preacher to a congregation in London. But was taken at one of their meetings in Bow Churchyard. Which was, I suppose, in the year 1555. For then he was in the Tower: and thence, in the month of May, by the council's letters, he was delivered to the Bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or to proceed against him according to law. Much imprisonment and many examinations he underwent, both from the bishops of Winchester and Norwich; but he escaped at last, by a great providence, beyond the sea, where he tarried until the death of Queen Mary. And after these harassings up and down in the world, he was at last, in Queen Elizabeth's happy reign, quietly settled at Luton in Bedfordshire, where he was preacher, and lived to a very great age.' 314

William Swerder may not merit a place in this thesis. There is nothing to indicate that he was a religious exile in the 1540s. But Hilles suggested him to Bullinger as a possible referee for Burcher in 1545, describing him as 'a gentleman in whom with zeal for learning are united piety and sobriety of life ... he is now on business at Strasburgh.'³¹⁵ What he was doing abroad is not made clear; Cranmer wrote to Cromwell about him in August 1538 in rather cryptic terms:

'I thank you for your goodness toward William Swerder, desiring you to continue the same. I have intended ... to sent him into France or Italy, except you be otherwise minded to set him forward, as truly I would be right glad it might please you so to do: therefore I have sent him unto you that he should inform your lordship of his mind, desiring you to be good lord unto him for his passport.' 316

It is likely that he held some merchant-cum-courier position, which would have given him the contacts and status necessary to vouch for Burcher, but Hilles' mention of him was the sole reference to this man made by any member of the exiles' circle, in contrast to the respect and esteem in which Abel was held.³¹⁷ Swerder later became master of St. Thomas' hospital, Eastbridge, Canterbury.³¹⁸ In 1575 a William Swerder, gentleman, of Harlow, Essex, died.³¹⁹

William Turner was a religious exile who passed through Switzerland and Strasbourg in the 1540s, although he apparently had nothing to do with his fellow ex-patriates while he was in their vicinity. As in the case of Bale, a great deal of work has been done on Turner, both with regard to the events of his life, and his literary works.³²⁰ He was born at Morpeth in Northumberland, around 1510, and was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, from 1529 onwards. He took his B. A. in 1529-30, became Fellow of Pembroke in 1531, Junior Treasurer of the college in 1532, and commenced M. A. in 1533; he obtained the college title for holy orders in 1536-7, and was made Senior Treasurer in the following year.³²¹ He was ordained deacon at Lincoln in 1536 at the same time as Edmund Allen, i. e. Easter.³²² While at Cambridge, he became friendly with Ridley and other members of the White Horse Inn circle.³²³ His patron, shared with Bale, was Thomas, Lord Wentworth, who 'with his yearly exhibition did helpe me, beyng student in Cambridge of physik and philosophy'.³²⁴ He may have been identical with the William Turner who wrote to Cromwell from Wittenberg in 1536 asking for a living in view of his long service, but because of his mention of a period in loyal service to Cromwell, this is unlikely as it does not fit in with what we know about his early career.³²⁵ However, he had already begun work as a translator of German Protestant works in 1534, with his translation of Joachim von Watt's A Work entytled of ye olde god and the newe, published by John Bydell, which was an attack on idolatry. This was followed in 1537 with a translation of Urbanus Rhegius' A comparison between the old learning and the new, printed by Nicholson.³²⁶

Around 1540 he left Cambridge, and embarked on a career as itinerant preacher of the Reformation. This resulted in a period of

imprisonment on a charge of heresy, and how he managed to secure his release is a mystery.³²⁷ Similarly, we do not know when, and how, he fled abroad.

He probably began his work in Europe in Italy, where he took his M.D. at either the university of Ferrara or that of Bologna, later incorporated at Oxford.³²⁸ From there he moved on to Zürich; Conrad Gessner, the famous Reformer and scientist (as Turner himself was to become) referred to his visit in 1555:

*'Ante annos XV aut circiter cum Anglus quidam ex Italia rediens, me salutaret (Turnerus fuerat, vir excellentis tum in re medica tum: aliis plerisque disciplinis doctrinae, an alius quispiam, vix satis memini).'*³²⁹

If Gessner's words are taken literally, this means that Turner was in Zürich as early as 1540, having already spent some time in Italy. This obviously is not feasible, and the fifteen years referred to must be taken as an approximation, as the 'aut circiter' allowed for. It is more likely that he was in Zürich around 1541-2.

His moves thereafter are uncertain. The evidence of his publications is not incontrovertible. The huntynge and fyndynge out of the Romishefox, apparently published under the pseudonym of William Wraghton at Basel in 1543 has an identical typesetting to The rescuyng of the Romishefox, which bears the colophon 'imprynted have at Winchester 1545 . . . by me Hanse hit prik'.³³⁰ Knappen suggests that Geneva was in fact the place of publication, whilst the STC moots Bonn.³³¹ As a general comment concerning the publication of English books in Switzerland at this time, it is worth noting that they had to travel a long way before reaching England, in contrast to those printed further down the Rhine and in the Low Countries. They therefore ran a greater risk of being apprehended by the authorities. The Basel

printers preferred to stick to Latin works in general, which would have a circulation in Europe as well. Any attempt to establish the whereabouts of the exiles using the evidence of their publications is fraught with difficulties; here it is only necessary to note that the evidence for Turner's residence in Basel in 1543 is far from conclusive.³³²

His next works were probably published in Cologne. These were Avium praecipuarum . . . 'Coloniae excudebat Joan. Gymnicus, anno MDXLiiii' and Dialogus de avibus . . . 'Coloniae excudebat Io. Gymnicus, Anno MDXLiiii'. Then came The Rescuyng of the Romishe fox other- vvyse called the examination of the hunter devised by Steven Gardiner with the baffling 'Hanse hit prik' colophon, which may have been L. Mylius in Bonn.³³³ Turner was certainly well acquainted with the route along the Rhine, as he admitted in The Rescuyng of the Romishe f ox:

'I wrote it of experience for in the chirches appointed for preachyng at cure (Chur), surek (Zurich), Basule, Strasbourg and bon where as I have bene i am suer that all service was song in the mother tong and none in Latin.'

His travels took him even further afield than this, as can be ascertained from the list of places he cited in his Herbals which he said he had visited to collect plants, including Holland and Friesland where he worked for a time as physician to the Earl of Emden.³³⁴

By June 1546 Turner was a proscribed author in England, a fact which cannot have surprised him in view of his attacks on popery, idolatry, and bishop Gardiner.³³⁵ Yet he, like Bale, had been careful to exclude the king from any criticism apart from the sin of weakness, perhaps, as the full preface to The huntynge and fynding out of the Romishe fox made clear:

'Whosoever happeneth upon thys book, if he love god better than man, et the kynges hyghness better than the bysshoppes fals hypocrisi, let hym give it to the kyng, that he may rede it before the bysshopes condemn it.'

The tract was dedicated to Henry VIII! But Turner was very aware of the problems that faced Protestants in England.

'Is not the fox of rome other wys called Papa among you? ... if ye say that he is dryven out of England i will not beleve you for i saw blode lately of hys sheddyng in London stretes ... ye have Deceyved the kyng whych commanded you to drive hym out of the realm and ye have changed and scraped out hys name and so kepe him still.' 336

He was plainly embarrassed by the English religious confusion.

'They that sit ot home and have not bene in far countrees cannot tell what reporte goethe abroad in other landes of our nacion. But they whiche ar and have bene in strange landes ar compelled sumtymes to heare it that they wold not heare very gladly of our cowntre for holdyng of such doctrine and ordinances as all the worlde knowethe to be of the bisshop of romes makyng and contrary to the holy worde of God.' 337

The implication is that he was moving in the Reformers' circles, but exactly which circles these were is still a mystery.

The date of his return to England is uncertain, but Strype reported that in 1547 he was a regular attender at court, where he came in contact with the Anabaptist Robert Cooke, and was inspired to write a book confuting his heresies on Original Sin: A Preservative, or triacle, against the poison of Pelagius, 1551.³³⁸ His first Edwardian appointment was as physician and chaplain to the duke of Somerset, preceding Hooper in this post.³³⁹ Early in Edward's reign he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford, and also probably at Cambridge.³⁴⁰ He did not find life at court congenial; a letter to Cecil written in September (from the context it seems this must have been 1548) began:

'In mediis meis cruciatibus et humana omni consolatione destitutum, humanitatis tuae literae ita subito me recrearunt, ut omni doloris senso excuso . . . Hoc tamen mihi vos exorandi estis . . . ut si casus tulerit optioque nobis libera contigerit, eo loci me constituatis qui longissime a nostra aula sit dissitus.' 341

The pressures of court life were too much for him, and he was eager that Cecil should help to find him a university post (e. g. as president of Magdalen College, Oxford) if possible.³⁴² This did not prove easy.

In November 1550 he complained to Cecil:

'The papists will live out their time in the colleges and benefices, and get yet more promotions, whether ye, and all other good men that would to the contrary, will or no; the law of man is so much on their side . . . I pray you heartily, seeing that I cannot have my health in England, and am every day more and more vexed with the stone, help me to obtain licence of the king's majesty and Council that I may go into Germany . . . If that I might have my poor prebend coming to me yearly, I will, for it, correct the whole New Testament in English, and write a book of the causes of my correction and the changing of translation. I will also finish my great Herbal, and my book of Fishes, Stones, and Metals, if God send me life and health.' 343

The prebend he referred to was that of Botevant in York, which he received in February 1549-50.³⁴⁴ In July 1550 the Privy Council sent letters for his election as provost of Oriel College, Oxford, but the position had already been filled.³⁴⁵ He may also have held a canonry and prebend in the college of St. Mary and St. George the Martyr in Windsor Castle, as a William Turner had been deprived of this post by March 1554, under the Marian regime.³⁴⁶ But his main appointment under Edward was to the deanery of Wells which had become vacant because of the pluralism of the previous incumbent, one Goodman. This preferment was made in March 1551.³⁴⁷ The reasons behind

Turner's appointment are revealing:

'In consideration that William Turner, dean of the cathedral church of Wells, by the king's licence, has resolved to instruct the king's subjects both within the said church, and in divers other places of England by pure, sincere and perfect preaching and doctrine of the Gospel: Grant to the said William Turner of all daily distributions and other profits of his deanery during his absences in preaching.' 348

Goodman did not take kindly to his dismissal, and Turner's promotion was marred by constant bickering with his predecessor which went on in to Elizabeth's reign.³⁴⁹ Goodman was reinstated under Mary, then deprived again under Elizabeth when Turner was restored to the deanery.

In addition to being a free-lance preacher, Turner appears to have sat also as a member of the House of Commons.³⁵⁰ He was ordained priest by Ridley, Bishop of London, on December 12th, 1552.³⁵¹

He fled abroad in September 1553, very soon after Mary's accession, and resumed his former role of wandering scholar in Friesland and the Rhineland; Garrett went into considerable detail for this period in his life.³⁵² The exact date of his eventual return to England is not known, but Strype reported that he preached at St. Paul's on September 10th, 1559.³⁵³ He was destined for a turbulent career even under Elizabeth; in addition to his continuing difficulties with Goodman, he found himself in the Puritan camp within the Church of England, probably largely as a result of his continental experience. In the event, he turned out to be a conservative, non-separatist Puritan, but his clashes with the authorities in the 1560s must have been traumatic.³⁵⁴ His name was included on the list of an embryo party of those not wholly at ease within the Elizabethan establishment which was drawn up for Lord Robert Dudley sometime between 1561 and 1564, which informed him of twenty eight 'godly preachers which have utterly forsaken anti-Christ and all his Romish nags', and mentioned Coverdale, Whittingham, Gilby, Cole, Wiburn, Humphrey, Sampson, Crowley, and Lever among others.³⁵⁵ In 1563 he found himself in trouble as a result of calling

'the bishops Whitecoats, and tippet gentlemen, with other words of reproach; contemning moreover their office, and asking, "who gave them authority more over me, than I over them, either to forbid me preaching, or to deprive me, unless they have it from their Holy Father the Pope?"' 356

In March 1563 the Bishop of Wells complained to Cecil:

'I am much encombred with doctor Turner, for his indiscrete behavior in the pulpitt, where he medleth with all matters, and unsemelie speaketh of all estates, more than ys standinge with discredyt: I have advertysed him by wrytynges, I have admonished secretly by his owne friendes . . . but he persists.'

He went on to say that he had told Parker of his difficulties, but as yet had no answer. Please would Cecil write to Turner, for 'I knowe it wold staie him indiscrete doynge'.³⁵⁷

Whether Turner heeded the reprimands or not on this occasion is uncertain, but the controversy over vestments, which developed soon after this, resulted in his suspension from the Wells deanery in 1566, whereupon he moved to London.³⁵⁸ His suspension did not result in his dismissal however; in July 1567 the Chapter of Wells ordered that 'William Turner is to enjoy the dividends etc. of his deanery, despite absence for ill-health'.³⁵⁹ He died in London in July 1568.³⁶⁰

CHAPTER 2

Footnotes

1. Venn, J. & Venn, J. , Alumni Cantabrigienses ... From the earliest times to 1751 , (Cambridge, 1922), vol. 1, p. 17.
2. Masters, R. , History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (1753), pp. 213-4.
3. Cooper & Cooper, Athenae Cantab. , p. 198.
4. Tanner, T. , Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, (London, 1748), p. 27.
5. Allen, E. , A newe work concerning both parts of the Sacrament, etc..... the chapters whereof are contained in the next leafe made by Philip Melanchton and newly translated out of Latyn, (1543).
6. Masters, R. , op. cit. , Appendix, p. 85.
7. Garrett, C. , Marian Exiles, p. 70. Garrett thought he had returned to England by 1543, but this cannot have been the case, unless it was only for a short visit.
8. Coverdale, Remains, p. 506.
9. ibid. , pp. 506-7.
10. Gelbert, J. P. , Magister Johann Bader's Leben und Schriften, Nicolaus Thomae und seine Briefe, (Ludwigshafen, 1868), pp. 277-8.
11. Strasbourg, Archives St. Thomas (henceforth Arch. St. Thomas), no. 157, f. 493. See Appendix A.
12. Garrett, C. , op. cit. , p. 70.
13. D.N. B.
14. In British Library Catalogue.
15. D.N. B.
16. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Ed. VI (ed. R. H. Brodie etc. , London), vol. 4, p. 268.
17. Garrett, op. cit. , p. 70.

18. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1558-9 (ed. W. Turnbull, London), p. 322, no. 867.
19. Le Neve, J. , Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, (Oxford, 1854), pp. 3, 50.
20. Fairfield, Leslie Parke, John Bale, (West Lafayette, Indiana, 1976).
Harris, Jessie, John Bale, (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. xxv, no. 4).
Pineas, R. , "John Bale's Non-dramatic works of Religious Controversy", Studies in the Renaissance, (1962), p. 9.
21. Bale, J. , Yet a course at the Romyshe Fox, (Zurich, 1543), p. 6.
Parkhurst, J. , Ludicra sive Epigrammata Iuvenilia, (London, 1573), p. 27, endorses this story.
22. Venn & Venn, op. cit. , p. 75.
23. Robertson, M. L. , "Thomas Cromwell's Servants", p. 101.
24. Fairfield, L. , op. cit. , p. 34.
25. ibid. , p. 42.
26. ibid. , p. 48. Cites British Library, Cotton, MS Cleopatra, EIV, f. 167 for Bale's letter to Cromwell. Leland's letter is in the P. R. O. , SP 1. 115, f. 63.
27. ibid. , p. 89.
28. Vetter, Theodore, Relations between England and Zürich during the Reformation, (Address to the 23rd Anglican Church Congress, 1904), p. 24.
29. Vetter, T. , Litterarische Beziehungen zwischen England und der Schweiz im Reformationsalter, (Zürich, 1901), pp. 38-9.
30. Vetter, T. , ibid. , p. 10. Staedke, J., Anfänge und Erste Blütezeit des Zürcher Buchdrucks, (Zürich, 1965), p. 16 mentions Oliver Jackson, who began as a printer's assistant in Froschover's business, and later set up on his own.
31. Vetter, T. , Litterarische Beziehungen, p. 10.
32. Welti, Manfred, Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien, (Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, ed. E. Bonjour and W. Kaegi, vol. 93), p. 11.
33. Vetter, T. , Litterarische Beziehungen, p. 12.
34. Vetter, T. , Relations between England and Zürich, p. 23 contradicts this viewpoint.
35. L. & P. , vol. 17, p. 177.
Hughes, Paul L. & Larkin, James F. , Tudor Royal Proclamations, (Yale, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 270-76, 374. The proclamation of 1538 named no one specifically, but that of 1546 mentioned Bale among others.

36. Fairfield, op. cit. , p. 90, suggests 1548.
37. Bale, The laboryouse Journey and serche of John Leylande for Englandes Antiquities (London, 1549)
38. Fairfield, op. cit. , p. 90.
39. Venn & Venn, op. cit. , p. 75.
40. Fairfield, op. cit. , p. 90.
41. Venn & Venn, op. cit. , p. 75. No dates are given but I can only surmise that his appointments occurred in the order given above. He may have held more than one post at a time.
42. Fairfield, op. cit. , p. 91.
43. Garrett, op. cit. , p. 78.
44. Venn & Venn, op. cit. , p. 75.
45. Garrett, op. cit. , p. 100.
46. Ramsey, P. , "The Merchant Adventurers in the first half of the sixteenth century. " (Oxford University D. Phil. , 1958), p. 216; in November 1529 Sir John Bourgchier is recorded as having bought 1 bale of Ulm fustians at £28. 6s. 8d. , etc. (Boke of Remembrance of Sir Thomas Kitson, f. 6v.).
47. O. L. , pp. 247-8, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
48. O. L. , p. 637, Burcher to Gualther, 1540.
49. O. L. , p. 633, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
50. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 336, 211.
51. O. L. , pp. 247-9, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
52. ibid.
53. ibid.
54. O. L. , p. 201, Hilles to Bullinger, 1541.
55. O. L. , p. 638, Burcher to Gualther, 1540.
56. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 336, 211.
"In laboribus literariis fuit diligens ac fidelis, id quod Typographi testabantur. "
57. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2781.
58. Basel Univ. Library, MS C VI a, vol. II, f. 131. See appendix C.
59. O. L. , p. 632, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
60. It seems probable that he failed in this; the city records are generally quite full and reliable, and the lack of evidence indicates that he did not procure citizen status.

61. Z. St. Arch., E II, 336, 211.
62. Z. Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters.
63. O. L., p. 256, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 1. 1547.
O. L., p. 259, Hilles to Bullinger, 25. 2. 1547.
O. L., p. 639, Burcher to Bullinger, 31. 12. 1546.
64. O. L., p. 259, Hilles to Bullinger, 25. 2. 1547.
O. L., p. 262, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
O. L., p. 641, Burcher to Bullinger, 24. 8. 1548.
65. Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-7 (ed. J. R. Dasent, etc., London), p. 338.
66. O. L., p. 357, Knight to Bullinger, 23. 1. 1547.
O. L., p. 670, Burcher to Bullinger, 10. 8. 1548. This letter may imply that this visit did not come off: "I have determined to go into England after the next Frankfurt fair, on a visit to my friends, whom I have not seen for twelve years."
67. O. L., p. 262, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
68. O. L., p. 671, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 9. 1550.
69. O. L., p. 573, Micronius to Bullinger, 13. 10. 1550.
O. L., p. 668, Burcher to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1550 and 10. 8. 1550.
O. L., p. 671, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 9. 1550.
O. L., p. 719, Froschover to Bullinger, 19. 11. 1550.
and passim.
70. Lätt, A., The First Anglo-Swiss Trader, (Zürich, 1946), p. 8.
71. O. L., p. 376, Reniger to Bullinger, without date.
72. Schmidt, Charles G. A., Michael Schütz, genannt Toxites; Leben eines Humanisten und Arztes aus dem 16. Jahr hundert, (Strasbourg, 1888), p. 60.
73. *ibid.*, Basel Univ. Library has a small print with the title "Holzkunst. Verzeichnusz der Figuren und neuwen Oefen. Von der ersparung der neuwen erfundenen Holzkunst. Gedrückt zu Mühlhausen, 1563." It is six pages long, without text, with illustrations of various ovens. The Zürich Zentralbibliothek has an example for 1564. If this is Zwick's work, there was nothing to translate but the title and headings for the pictures. But Toxites' letter implied that there was a text. No Latin edition could be found.
74. Z. St. Arch., E II, 345, 421.
75. O. L., p. 689, Burcher to Bullinger, 16. 2. 1558.
O. L., p. 694, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 3. 1558.
O. L., p. 697, Burcher to Bullinger, 16. 3. 1558.
Presumably this wood oven of Burcher's had something to do with the 'ars cerevisiam coquere' or 'art of brewing', Epistolae Tigurinae (ed. Parker Soc.), pp. 446-7.

76. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 342, 370.
77. For trading links between St. Gallen and Poland, see H. C. Peyer, "Les relations commerciales entre la Suisse et la Pologne aux XIV, XV et XVI siècles." Travaux Histoire Ethico Politique vol. 4, Echanges entre la Pologne et la Suisse du XIV au XIX siècle, (Geneva, 1964), pp.13-16.
The Zwicks, with whom Burcher had dealings, were a famous St. Gallen family. By the end of the 15th century, there was hardly one trading family in St. Gallen which did not have links with Poland. These did not begin to disappear until near the end of the 16th century. The Swiss exported various materials from western Europe, ranging from coarse locally spun cloth through to luxurious Italian velvets. In return, they imported furs etc. from Poland. This of course would have fitted in well with Burcher's experience in the cloth trade. For his links with St. Gallen, see O. L, pp.693, 694, 698, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 3.1558 and 27.10.1558.
78. O. L. , p.697, Burcher to Bullinger, 16. 3.1558.
79. O. L. , p.701, Burcher to Bullinger, 27.10.1558.
80. O. L. , p.702, Burcher to Bullinger, 30.11.1558.
81. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 338, 1574.
82. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 357, 469.
83. *ibid.*
84. O. L. , pp.694-5, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 3.1558.
85. Z. L. I. , p.70, Jewel to Martyr, 5. 3.1560.
Z. L. I. , p.73, Sandys to Martyr, 1. 4.1560.
Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1560-61, p.401, no. 726.
86. Jewel, J. , Works, (Ed. Parker Soc.), vol.4, 1252.
87. Z. L. 2. , p.109, Abel to Bullinger, 24. 8.1563.
88. P. R. O. Wills proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 27. Peter.
89. Strype, J. , Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol.2, part 1, p.308.
90. Victoria County History (henceforth V.C.H.), Warwickshire, vol.4, pp.257, 749.
91. Public Record Office (henceforth P. R. O.), Wills proved in P. C. C. , 9. Fetiplace.
92. P. R. O. , Chanc. Inq. post mortem (series 2), xxxii, p.40.

93. P. R. O. , Early Chanc. Proc. , 632, no. 61.
Z. L. 2, p. 180.
This must mean 'son-in-law', but it is understandable that Hilles was confused about the relationship.
94. O. L. , p. 626, Butler, Eliot, Partridge and Traheron to Pellikan et al, 8. 3. 1539.
95. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 347, 71. See introduction.
96. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 369, 69.
97. O. L. , p. 605, Peterson to Pulbert, without date.
O. L. , p. 609, Partridge to Bullinger, 12. 4. 1538.
98. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2760.
E II, 359, 2759.
E II, 359, 2781.
99. O. L. , p. 626, Butler et al to Pellikan et al, 8. 3. 1539.
100. O. L. , p. 199, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
101. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2786.
102. O. L. , p. 629, Butler to Bullinger, 29. 3. 1540.
103. O. L. , p. 631, Butler to Bullinger, May 1540.
104. O. L. , p. 225, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 5. 1542.
V. C. H. , Warwickshire, vol. 4, 68: In 1542, John Butler sold the manor of Elmdon to Thomas Marowe. *ibid.* , p. 257, he sold his part of Whitacre Manor to the same Thomas Marowe, in the same year.
105. O. L. , p. 632, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
106. See above, section on Burcher.
107. O. L. , p. 632, Butler to Bullinger, May 1540.
108. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 335, 2033.
109. Schiess, Traugott, Briefwechsel der Bruder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer 1509-68, (Freiburg i. B. , 1908), vol. 2, p. 195, no. 1024.
110. Konstanz Stadtarchiv, Konstanz Bürgerbuch.
111. His married brother had been with him from at least 1542,
O. L. , p. 634, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
112. Schiess, T. , *op. cit.* , vol. 3, p. 170, no. 1825.
113. O. L. , p. 197, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
Schiess, T. , *op. cit.* , vol. 2, p. 199, no. 1030.

114. Konstanz Stadtarchiv, Ehebuch 1546: "Uff den 16. Tag May habent die Ee miteinander bezugen Hanns buttler von Solhyl und Elspeth Rotenbergin von Lindau."
115. Zwingliana, vol. 4, p. 155 (1923, no. 1, band IV, no. 5).
Merz, W., Die Burgen des Sisgaus, (Aarau, 1910), vol. 2, p. 117, has a family tree
116. O. L., p. 635; Butler to T. Blaurer, 16. 2. 1550.
117. Schiess, T., op. cit., vol. 2, p. 730, no. 1562.
118. Z. St. Arch., B II, 71, 13.
119. Z. St. Arch., E II, 357, 268.
120. Schiess, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 739, no. 1572.
p. 745, no. 1577
p. 748, no. 1581
p. 755, no. 1590
121. Zurich Zentralbibliothek (henceforth Z. Z. B.). Simmler Sammlung (henceforth S), 68, 114.
122. Z. St. Arch., B V, 18, f. 245.
123. Zurich Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters.
Schiess, T., op. cit., vol. 3, p. 64, no. 1668.
124. Zurich Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters.
125. St. Gallen Stadtarchiv, Vadianische Briefsammlung, VII, f. 203.
126. Z. Z. B., S73, 196, 197, 198. See appendix F, nos. 1-3.
127. Z. Z. B., S71, 186
S., 72, 73
O. L., p. 635, Butler to T. Blaurer, 16. 2. 1550.
128. Z. St. Arch., E II, 357, 808.
129. O. L., p. 636, Butler to Blaurer, 16. 2. 1550.
130. O. L., p. 94, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
131. Z. Z. B., F37, 147.
132. St. Gallen Stadtarchiv, Vadianische Briefsammlung, VII, p. 203.
133. Z. Z. B., S78, 95.
134. Z. Z. B., S79, 17.
135. Z. Z. B., S79, 169; S80, 92.
136. Gelbert, op. cit., pp. 275-6.
Mozley, op. cit., p. 6.

137. Pollard & Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue, no.2063.
(henceforth S. T. C.)
138. Mozley, op. cit. , p.7.
139. Coverdale, Remains, p.490.
140. ibid. , pp.498-502.
141. Mozley, op. cit. , p.8.
142. Coverdale, op. cit. , p.526.
143. Wendel, C. , Calvin, (Fontana, 1978), pp.66-8.
144. Mozley, op. cit. , p.329.
145. Haaland, op. cit. , pp.107-8.
146. Godwin, Francis, De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius,
(London and Cambridge, 1743), p.476.
147. Mozley, op. cit. , pp.328-30.
148. Haaland, op. cit. , pp.152-4. He could have made a useful
contribution, drawing on his knowledge of Latin and Greek,
even if he did not speak Danish (for which we have no
evidence).
149. Mozley, op. cit. , p.330.
150. ibid. , p.10
Gelbert, op. cit. , p.276. The source of this quotation is
not given.
151. Coverdale, Remains, p.504.
152. ibid. , pp.508-9.
153. ibid. , p.509.
pp.514, 518.
154. ibid. , p.518.
155. ibid. , p.521.
156. Mozley, op. cit. , p.13.
157. Coverdale, op. cit. , p.330, (Confutation of Treatise of John
Standish).
158. Coverdale, The Supplicacyon, whych the lower countres and
cyties of Osteryke made ... etc.
159. O. L. , pp.247-8, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4.1545.
160. Haaland, op. cit. , pp.110-11.
161. Mozley, op. cit. , p.13.

162. *ibid.*, p. 14.
163. O. L., p. 32, Coverdale to Fagius, 21. 10. 1548.
164. Acts of the Privy Council 1547-50, p. 291; 1550-2, p. 89.
165. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
166. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
167. *ibid.*, p. 17.
168. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
169. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
170. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
171. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Garrett *loc. cit.*
172. Garrett, *loc. cit.*
173. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
174. Collinson, Patrick, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, (London, 1967), p. 46.
175. British Library, MS Lansdowne VII, f. 67, letter to Cecil, asking for exemption from first fruits of St. Magnus, 1564. Lambeth Palace Archives, 2019, fl, letter to Parker and other bishops about vestments, 1565. Coverdale, Remains, pp. 530-32.
176. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
177. Collinson, P., Archbishop Grindal 1519-83, (London, 1980), p. 170.
178. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
179. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
180. Fuller, T., Worthies of England, (1840), vol. 3, p. 412.
181. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Ed. VI, p. 4152.
182. Collinson, P., The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 74-5.
183. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
184. Coverdale, Remains, p. 517.
185. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
186. Calvini Opera, vol. 14, p. 703, no. 1872, (Corpus Reformatorum, ed. Baum, Cunitz & Reuss, vol. 42).

187. *ibid.*
188. Die Matrikel des Universität Basel, ed. Hans Georg Wackernagel, (Basel, 1951), vol. 2, p. 101
Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 357.
189. Strype, J., Annals of the Reformation under Elizabeth, (Oxford, 1824), vol. 1, part 1, p. 63.
190. Acts of the Privy Council, 1557-70, p. 88.
191. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1560-63, pp. 41, 405.
192. Clode, Charles M., Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, (London, 1888), vol. 2, pp. 338-9.
193. Hilles, Osborne, Richard Hilles (London, 1927), p. 32.
194. Compare the children's names with Z. L. 1, pp. 270-71, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1572.
195. Clode, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 63.
196. L. & P., pp. 6, 39, no. 99. A full transcript and photocopy of the original (in the P. R. O., SP. 1) is in Clode, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 352. I have modernised the English.
197. *ibid.*
198. Clode, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 63.
199. Clode, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 63-4.
200. I am grateful to Dr. West of Bristol Baptist College, for this comment.
201. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, (Oxford, 1822), vol. 1, part 2, pp. 54-5.
202. *ibid.*, p. 75.
203. O. L. *passim*.
204. O. L., p. 627, Butler to Bullinger, 24. 2. 1540.
205. O. L., p. 198, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
206. O. L., p. 232, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
207. O. L., p. 197, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
208. Hilles, O., *op. cit.*, p. 32; his son, John, was born in 1538.
209. O. L., pp. 198-9, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
210. Strasbourg Archives Municipales (henceforth Strasbourg), Mandats et Reglements 1521-1643, p. 32.

211. O. L. , pp. 627-8, Butler to Bullinger, 24. 2. 1540.
212. L. & P. , vol. 21, part 2, p. 144, no. 313, (P. R. O. , SP1, 226).
213. O. L. , p. 216, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
214. Dietz, A. , Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse 1462-1792, p. 7.
215. O. L. , p. 217, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
216. O. L. , p. 218, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
217. Strasbourg, Mandats et Reglements 1521-1643, 30-32.
218. Strasbourg, Chambre des Contrats, 1545-47, 190.
219. Arbenz & Wartmann, Die Vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen, Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte, vol. 6, p. 696, no. 1588.
220. O. L. , p. 262, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
O. L. , p. 641, Burcher to Bullinger, 24. 8. 1548.
221. See above, section on Burcher.
222. Brady, Thomas A, Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, ed. H. Oberman, XXII, (Leiden, 1978), p. 378.
223. Z. Z. B. , S75, 145.
224. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1563-6, p. 179, no. 922.
225. Z. L. I. , p. 173, Hilles to Bullinger, 20. 12. 1568.
226. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1566-68, p. 368, no. 1817.
Z. L. I. , p. 270, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1572.
227. Clode, Early History, vol. 2, p. 94.
228. *ibid.* , p. 95.
229. Hilles, O. , *op. cit.* , p. 19.
230. Clode, *op. cit.* , vol. 2, pp. 144, 149.
231. *ibid.* , p. 162.
232. *ibid.* , p. 161.
233. *ibid.* , p. 163.
234. Fournier, M. & Engel, C. , Gymnase, Académie et Université de Strasbourg 1525-1621, (Strasbourg, 1894), gives an account of the early history of this celebrated institution.
Haaland, *op. cit.* , p. 87.

235. Clode, op. cit. , vol. 2, p.167.
236. ibid. , p.195, 229-30.
237. ibid. , p.195.
238. ibid. , pp.232-33. Also Clode, Memorials of the Merchant Taylors' Company, p.16.
239. Journal of the House of Lords, vol.1, pp.442, 445.
Journal of the House of Commons, vol.1, p.26.
240. Clode, Early History, vol.2, p.95.
241. ibid. , p.119.
242. O. L. , p.272ff, Hilles to Bullinger, 9. 7.1553.
243. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol.3, part 1, p.224.
244. Hilles, O. , op. cit. , p.20.
245. ibid. , pp.24-25.
246. O. L. , p.345, Salkyns to Bullinger, 26.11.1554.
247. Z. L. , pp.2, 14, Hilles to Bullinger, 28. 2.1559.
248. Clode, Early History, vol.1, p.257.
249. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol.2, part 2, p.170.
250. ibid. , vol.3, part 1, p.282.
251. Opie, J. , "The Anglicizing of John Hooper", Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 59, 1968, p.152.
252. ibid.
253. O. L. , p.34, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1.1546.
254. Scales, Derek, "John Hooper's Early Life - a reassessment"
(typescript in Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,
Zürich University. Quoted with author's permission.)
255. O. L. , p.34, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1.1546.
256. Scales, op. cit.
257. O. L. , p.33, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1.1546.
258. Scales, op. cit.
Fuxe, Acts and Monuments, vol.6, p.637ff.
Opie, op. cit. , p.152 suggests 1539 for these events.
259. Scales, op. cit. , quotes Fuxe, loc. cit. and suggests this happened in 1543.

260. O. L. , p. 36, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1. 1546.
261. O. L. , p. 40, Hooper to Bullinger, without date.
262. Die Matrikel der Universität Basel, II, 1532-1601, p. 44.
263. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 366, 36. See appendix D, no. 2.
264. O. L. , pp. 251-2, Hilles to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1546.
265. O. L. , p. 38, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1. 1546.
266. Scales, op. cit. , Anna was the younger daughter of Jacques de t'Serclaes, seigneur de Tilly, and was then aged 27.
267. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 366, 36. See appendix D, no. 2.
268. O. L. , pp. 34-5, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1. 1546.
269. cf. O. L. , pp. 254-5, Hilles to Bullinger, 30. 4. 1546.
270. O. L. , p. 86, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
271. O. L. , p. 38, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1. 1546.
O. L. , p. 42, Hooper to Bullinger, without date.
272. Egli, E. , Bullingers Diarium, p. 35.
273. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 343, 347: Myconius to Bullinger, 24. 3. 1547:
"Anglum, Joannem Hoperum, qui venit ad vos, habeto commendatum:
habet enim speciem pietatis et doctrinae sanae, quod obrem
dignum arbitror, ut cui a vobis bene fiat. Uxor multo piissima
est."
Z. St. Arch. , E II, 366, 36, see appendix D, no. 2.
274. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 342, 170.
275. O. L. , p. 55, Hooper to Bullinger, 8. 4. 1549.
O. L. , p. 70, Hooper to Bullinger, 7. 11. 1549.
276. Gulley, F. , op. cit. , p. 55.
277. Vetter, T. , Litterarische Beziehungen, pp. 15-16.
278. See above (section on Butler).
279. Z. Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters, March 1548.
280. Arch. St. Thomas, 40, III, 21-22, f. 847.
281. O. L. , p. 57, Hooper to Bullinger, 26. 4. 1549.
282. Foxe, J. , op. cit. , vol. 6, pp. 637-8.
283. Egli, Bullingers Diarium, p. 35.

284. O. L. , p. 350, Dryander to Bullinger, 25. 3. 1549.
285. Strype, J. , op. cit. , vol. 2, part 1, p. 66.
286. Burnet, G. , History of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 267.
287. Opie, J. , op. cit. , p. 157.
288. O. L. , p. 89, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
289. Z. Z. B. , S72, 87.
290. O. L. , p. 75, Hooper to Bullinger, 5. 2. 1550.
291. Scales, D. , "Heinrich Bullinger and the Vestment Controversy." "
West, W. , "A Study of John Hooper." "
Opie, J. , op. cit. , pp. 150-174.
292. Opie, J. , op. cit. , p. 171.
293. ibid. , p. 150.
294. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 338, 1487.
295. O. L. , p. 87, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
296. Foxe, J. , op. cit. , vol. 6, pp. 643ff.
Josua Maler, "Selbst Biographie eines Zürcherischen Pfarrers
aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts", Zürcher
Taschenbuch, (1885), p. 158.
297. Hooper, J. , Early Writings and Later Writings, (Parker Soc.),
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 4, p. 354 (12. 2. 1552).
298. O. L. , pp. 23-4, Cranmer to Bullinger, 20. 3. 1552.
299. ²⁹¹
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 4, p. 231, (8. 12. 1552).
300. Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury preserved
at Hatfield House (Historical MSS Commission), vol. 1, p. 107,
no. 422.
301. Strype, J. , op. cit. , vol. 3, part 1, pp. 77, 153.
302. Garrett, C. , op. cit. , p. 132.
303. Foxe, J. , op. cit. , vol. 6, p. 668.
304. Calvini Opera, vol. 14, p. 604, no. 1786 (Corpus Reformatorum,
vol. 42).
305. It is possible that the following letter of Myconius, written to
Bullinger on November 14th, 1542, referred to Rose (Z. St.
Arch. , E II, 343, 251): "Treddecim coronatos mittit Thomas
Anglus Joanni Burchero Anglo, et te rogat, ut huic reddas, si

est in urbe: sin aliter, ut eos apud te retineas donec venerit. Et ego rogarem nomine utriusque, verum non opus est: Scio diligentiam tuam in his, quae committo. Nescivit Thomas, cui tutius pecuniam istam custodiendam committeret, quantius, ut ego nescivi, ad quem eandem libentius darem, ut cui interea salutem quoque passem adscribere. Curabis itaque rem, qualiter ambo tibi confidimus."

If this did refer to Rose, he must have known Burcher, if not as a friend, then at least as a fellow Englishman abroad, who had perhaps helped him out financially at some stage.

306. Foxe, J., op. cit., vol. 8, part 2, p.581ff.
307. Cranmer, Works, (Parker Society), vol. 2, p. 280.
308. Strype, J., Memorials of Cranmer, (Oxford, 1812), vol. 2, p. 395ff.
309. Venn & Venn, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 487.
310. Strype, J., Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 2, part 1, p.523. The Turner mentioned here was Richard, not William.
311. O. L., p. 773.
312. Strype, J., op. cit., vol. 3, part 2, p. 147.
313. ibid., vol. 3, part 1, p. 226.
314. Strype, J., Memorials of Cranmer, vol. 1, part 2, p. 396. Venn & Venn, vol. 3, p. 487, bears this out. Foxe, J., op. cit., vol. 8, part 2, p.584ff. gives details of his examination before Gardiner, and his subsequent escape.
315. O. L., p. 247, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
316. Cranmer, Works, vol. 2, p. 374.
317. See below, Chapter 4.
318. Strype, J., Life of Matthew Parker, (Oxford, 1821), vol. 1, p. 566.
319. 7th Report of the HMS Commission, vol. 6, part 1, p. 628.
320. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit., pp. 256-7. Turner, W., The Names of Herbs, 1548, (Facsimiles with introductory matter by James Britten, B. Daydon Jackson and W. T. Stearn, 1965). Pineas, R., "William Turner and Reformation Politics", Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance, vol. 37, no. 2, pp. 193-200.
321. Turner, W., op. cit., p. 15.
322. Venn & Venn, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 277.

323. Turner, W., op. cit., p. 16.
324. Hodgson, J., Memoirs of the Lives of Thomas Gibson, J. Harle, J. Horsley, W. Turner, (1831), p. 56.
325. L. & P., vol. 10, p. 260, no. 654 (PRO, SP1, 103). The handwriting and signature of this letter is quite different from that of William Turner's later epistles, which indicates this was not the same man.
326. These are in the catalogue of the British Library.
327. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit., p. 256.
328. ibid.
329. Gessner, C., De raris et admirandis herbis, (Dedicatory Epistle, 1. 7. 1555), p. 34.
330. S. T. C., 24353.
Welti, M., Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien, p. 11.
331. Knappen, M., Tudor Puritanism: A chapter in the History of Idealism, (Chigaco, 1939), p. 60.
332. Welti, M., loc. cit.
333. S. T. C., 24355.
334. Turner, W., The Names of Herbes, p. 17.
335. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit., p. 256.
336. Turner, W., The huntynge and fynding out etc., (Basel 1543), p. 8.
337. Turner, W., The rescuyng of the Romishe Fox, (Winchester, 1545).
338. Strype, J., Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 2, part 1, p. 111.
339. Cooper & Cooper, loc. cit.
340. ibid.
341. British Library, Lansdowne MS 107, f. 1.
342. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, vol. 10, p. 29, no. 34.
343. ibid., vol. 11, p. 31.
Tytler, P. F., England under Edward VI and Mary, in a series of original letters, (1839), vol. 1, pp. 33-6.
344. Cooper & Cooper, loc. cit.
345. ibid.

346. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1553-4, p. 242.
347. Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 2, part 2, p. 261.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 4, pp. 51-2.
348. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 4, p. 161.
349. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reigns of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, vol. 13, p. 32, no. 1, p. 33, no. 19.
Tytler, P., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 372.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1558-60, p. 335.
MSS of Dean and Chapter of Wells, Historical MSS Commission, vol. 2, pp. 273, 282, 288-9.
350. Turner, W., The Names of Herbs, p. 17.
He wrote in his Book of Spiritual Physic: "When I was a burgess of late of the lower house", quoted by Hodgson, op. cit., p. 74.
351. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit., p. 257.
352. Garrett, op. cit., pp. 314-5.
353. Strype, J., Annals of the Reformation, (Oxford, 1824), vol. 1, part 1, p. 199.
354. Collinson, P., The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, pp. 73, 90.
355. Collinson, P., op. cit., p. 48, quotes: Magdalen College, Cambridge, Pepysian Library MS, Papers of State ii, p. 701.
356. Strype, J., The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, (Oxford, 1821), vol. 1, p. 301.
357. British Library, Lansdowne MS VIII, f. 3.
358. Collinson, P., op. cit., p. 73.
359. British Library, Lansdowne MS X, f. 10.
360. Cooper & Cooper, op. cit., p. 257.

CHAPTER 3

Christopher Mont

Although Christopher Mont was not an English exile, living abroad for the sake of religion, he was a key personality in the exiles' circle, and therefore deserves attention. This is not the place to embark upon a discussion of English foreign policy and relations with the German princes during this period, and fortunately these have been examined quite adequately elsewhere.¹ But Mont's contribution cannot be ignored. What follows is a brief account of this man's career, and a more detailed study of his religious motivation, and of his significance in the exile network.

The earliest reliable reference to the diplomat is the record of his denization in October 1531: 'Christopher Montaborino, a native of Cologne, in the dominions of the Emperor. Denization'.² Chapuys had earlier described him as being from Lübeck,³ but his information was not always accurate. An eye-witness account of a meeting with Mont in 1549 described his speech as 'gantz eygentlich coblentzisch';⁴ Coblenz is of course very near Cologne, and thus it is reasonable to suppose that he came originally from that region.

When and why he came to England is not known. By the 1530s he was employed in Cromwell's service, primarily as a clerk and translator. In 1533 Cromwell asked him to embark on a translation of some German chronicles, to aid his understanding of the background to current events in Germany;⁵ for this, or similar work, he was paid £6. 13s. 4d.⁶ He must have been a competent worker, as the following year he was given an annuity of £20 for life.⁷

During the 1530s he became increasingly involved in diplomatic work, and after 1537 seems to have spent most of his time abroad.⁸ He was superbly qualified for this kind of career, being by then familiar with English court-life and government; he was at home too in a German environment, and was a well-educated and cultured man in his own right. He wrote and spoke good German and Latin,⁹ and although it is not known how well he spoke English, we must assume that he was reasonably fluent in that language too. His correspondence frequently contained references to the classics, not all of which are, however, easily identifiable by the non-classicist.¹⁰ He was no stranger to educated circles, which was demonstrated by Jean Sturm's reference to him in an introductory letter for a book on the Strasbourg Academy written in 1571.¹¹

Although it was Cromwell who launched him in government service, his career does not seem to have suffered unduly because of the events of 1539-40. Alexander Alesius wrote to Elizabeth I long after that date, describing his own escape from England, and indicating that Mont acted as Cromwell's representative at a very tense time:

'When I had escaped a company of searchers, I wrote to Crumwell (although he had not behaved well towards me) and warned him of the danger in which he stood at that time . . . But Christopher Mount said that Crumwell did not dare to speak to me when I was going away and soliciting my dismissal, nor could he venture to give me anything lest he should be accused to the king, but that he would send me the sum that he owed me into Germany.'¹²

It may well have been that Mont was happy to take the opportunity which the various diplomatic missions he was given offered him to remain abroad during a difficult period in English court politics.¹³ From the summer of 1542 he spent much of his time at Speyer,¹⁴ and it is likely that he devoted himself to legal studies for a while.¹⁵ He

may have been involved in some private business enterprise at the same time; in June 1542 he was given licence 'to buy and export 200 dicars of tanned leather hides or backs and an equal number of calves' skins, counting 10 doz. calves' skins to each dicker of tanned hides'.¹⁶

In August 1544 he had his first extended stay in Strasbourg, and was favourably impressed by the city which he discovered was a good centre for picking up European news, and had sundry other advantages, such as the society of learned men and a cheap cost of living.¹⁷ Jacob Sturm described it as

'das politische Observatorium des deutschen Protestantismus. Hier, wo französische, niederländische, englische, dann auch italienische und spanische Flüchtlinge zusammen strömen, bildet sich ein Mittelpunkt guter politischer Information.'¹⁸

It is not clear exactly when he decided to make Strasbourg his home; he certainly had a base in Frankfurt, as the Ratsprotokol for October 1546 recorded: 'Doctor Christoff des Königs von Engelland. bitt ime zuverstenstigen ain aigen haus haltung zu haben'.¹⁹ Unfortunately the Frankfurt archives are very incomplete, thanks to the losses of the last war, and it proved impossible to trace any further links Mont may have had with that city. But from December 1545 his correspondence reveals a disposition to look upon Strasbourg as the base to which he wanted to return when his duties allowed it.²⁰ It is worth noting that at this time, when he was paid, he was entered in the accounts as 'Chr. Munte, stranger', implying that he was now so seldom in England that he was regarded as a foreigner at court.²¹

In October 1548 he was given permission to stay in Strasbourg: 'ein Jhar langg feur und Rauch alhie zugelassen'.²² The following year his legal standing in Strasbourg was examined thoroughly,²³ (interestingly, this was compared with that of Richard Hilles, who had

set a precedent), and his residence permit was extended. On January 13th, 1549, he married a Strasbourg lady, Rosina Quinter.²⁴ For a time he lived near the old Franciscan monastery, as he wrote to Bullinger in December 1549: 'Ego Argentine habito oben S. Claus brücke bey dem franciscen broedern cloester'.²⁵ Later on he moved, and he described to Bullinger in 1554 the difficulties he was having in building a house:

'Ubi thesaurus tuus est, ibi et cortum erit. Tam sequi anno totus fui in edificando, non in thesauri collectione, sed profusione, veruntamen sollicitus, ne inutiles sumptus facerem adeoque thesauriolum deperderem, non solum omnes meditationes animi in eam actionem defixi nec non etiam subinde ipsas manus operi admovi, ut meo exemplo aliis calcaria subderem; sed tardigradi aselli calcaribus adactis citius retro quam progrediuntur. His molestiis implicatus indignis libero homine omnes amicos defraudavi nec secundum amicitie leges officia debita et obsequia rependi. Verum, quia gravi necessitatis telo confixiis, non tuam et alios amicos habiturum indices aequiores'²⁶

Mary's accession to the throne brought about a hiatus in Mont's career just when it seemed that he had reached considerable standing as a diplomat. In May 1553 the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Philip Hoby, and Sir Richard Morrison were sent to Brussels to negotiate with regard to a league with the emperor and the German princes, but were instructed not to proceed until they could confer with Mont on the subject - no small honour for Mont, as these men were leading government officials.²⁷ But on September 13th a letter was written to Mont

'signifying unto hym, that the Quene's Majestie will no longer be at charge with his late office of Agent, requiring hym therefore not to charge hymself henceforth therewith.'²⁸

How he kept himself and his family for the five years of Mary's reign is a matter for conjecture; he had married into a respectable family,

and was also by now an acknowledged Doctor of Civil Law, as the record of his marriage showed, so he was probably able to take up the contacts he had made through his earlier diplomatic work, and through his marriage, and thus build up some kind of private legal practice.

It did not take Elizabeth long to reinstate him in his former position. On December 14th, 1558,

'The Queen, having confidence in the fidelity and diligence of Christopher Mont, LL.D., (of which he had given ample proofs in the time of her father and brother), intimates to the states, cities, and others of the empire, that any services rendered to him will be regarded as a favour to herself.' ²⁹

A few days later Letters Patent in favour of the former agent were sent, confirming that he had been reinstated in the royal service. ³⁰

This was to be his main field of employment until he died. In February 1570, clearly aware that he was becoming an old man, Mont wrote to Cecil on his eldest son's behalf, asking that he might eventually succeed him in Elizabeth's service, ³¹ and this request was subsequently repeated. ³² The name of Mont does not however feature in later diplomatic correspondence, so it seems that he died before his wish was granted. Perhaps the son was a less able man than his father. On November 3rd, 1572 Mont's death was reported to Killigrew by Giovanni Ambrugio de Sardi. ³³

It is worth examining Mont's religious beliefs, before going on to look at his various missions and how these brought him into the exile network. The striking thing about Mont's stance on religious matters is what appears to have been his total dedication to the Protestant cause. He was not a theologian, of course, and had little time, training or inclination to get involved in disputes on dogma, but he was quite clear about his commitment to Protestantism.

This can only have helped him in his diplomatic work, since the fact that he supported no particular party line allowed him freedom to negotiate with Protestants of all shades of belief. His openness was evident as early as 1539, according to Burnet:

'When the princes did object to the Act of Six Articles, and the severities upon it, he confessed to one of the elector's ministers, that the king was not sincere in the point of religion: he had therefore proposed a double marriage of the king with Anne of Cleves, and of the duke of Cleves with the lady Mary; for, he said, the king was much governed by his wives.' 34

This story may well have been exaggerated - (had Henry heard about it, he would not have been pleased, and it is unlikely that Mont would have been so indiscreet) - but it is evident that he did a reasonable job in explaining the Six Articles to the Germans, and gave them some hope for the future of Protestantism in England, because he was able to continue negotiations with them in the 1540s, a bleak time in the history of the English Reformation.

Although he did not live in England, he was of course subject to the fluctuations in religious policy, and he regretted the effect of the Interim deeply. In February 1550 he wrote in distress:

'Hodierno die impurissima superstitio hanc urbem invasit; in tria enim primaria huius urbis templa missa una cum universa idolatria reducta est, et quae tandem malorum Lerna ex hiis inauspicatissimis initiis nobis expectanda sit, horret animus meminisse. Ego nullam spem nobis reliquam video, nisi ut similitudine filii dei nos consolemur, cui nos conformes fieri oportet fortiter adflictiones et persecutiones tolerando.' 35

The effect of the Interim in ~~Augsburg~~^{Strassburg} was not as bad as he had feared, and the Protestants were able to continue their worship in public. By the early 1560s, however, the Lutherans had got the upper hand in the city, at the expense of other types of Protestantism. Feelings ran very high as debates on the Eucharist and predestination took place,³⁶

and in 1563 the French Church, of which he was a member, was forced to close. He took his duties as an elder seriously, and appealed to the council in that capacity to reconsider their order.³⁷ His appeal was in vain; it would be nice to know to which church he then transferred his allegiance, but no evidence could be found for this.

He did not mince his words when talking about the papacy and the Council of Trent. In February 1551 he wrote:

!Presentium temporum inclinationem et servitatem animadverto, adversariorum nostrum multitudinem, potentiam, fraudes et hypocrises reputo, lubricam in promissis fidem et Vaticanum in nos odium compertissimum habeo; quid igitur in tantis difficultatibus et ingruentibus discriminibus consilii capiundes censes. Taciturnitate, metu et ignominia aequissimam et sanctissimam causam nostram et dei prodemus et abnegabimus?! 38

In March 1552 he commented about Trent:

!Vocavit Pontificis Orator enim doctores Helveticarum Ecclesiarum. Nos pluribus ea exposuimus qua jam tibi paucis recensui. Protestari sumus nos nolle illuc ire, dominum tentare, et veritatem Dei ridendam praebere professis hostibus Evangelii. Obtulimus liberam collationem in loco aliquo aequo. Addimus Christum & Apostolos docuisse, sed noluisse abire in concilium Pontificiale, Christum semel in hoc abductum, mox in crucem esse adactam, Apostolos in conciliis esse caesos. Paulum maluisse appellare ad Neronem, quam venire in Concilium Hierosolymitanum. ! 39

His main concern on the religious, as well as on the political, front was that the Protestants in Europe should be united to face the common foe, i. e. the Pope. In August 1559 he wrote to Cecil complaining that disputes over non-essentials such as the Real Presence were preventing unity!⁴⁰ A couple of years later he remarked that unity should be the first priority of the Protestants, and that they could discuss their differences after that had been achieved.⁴¹ Later he explained in more detail what he meant:

'Dissension with regard to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which deals more with words than with facts, (since they who affirm the real and corporal presence say that it is not to be understood nor believed in as a physical and carnal, but only as a sacramental union), still alienates the minds of some, which is a great hindrance to true religion and a most agreeable spectacle to our enemies.' 42

This was no doubt a simplistic view of the situation, but one which reveals a great deal about Mont's understanding of the issues at stake.

In 1571 he tried to intervene indirectly in the vestment controversy in England, having heard a false report that bishops were about to leave their charges because of that issue. Strype described his actions:

'Mount, coming into Germany in June this year, shewed unto Zanchy and others how the contest about the apparel was revived in England; and that the Queen required the bishops and ministers duly to wear the habits enjoined, in the administration of the word and sacraments. And withal, he added, that there were not a few, even of the bishops themselves, that were minded rather to resign their office and depart from their places, than yield to wear the garments. He therefore begged Zanchy that he would address a letter to Elizabeth and admonish her of her duty. And that in case she would not be brought to relent, and revoke her orders, that then he and the brethren at Heidelberg should write to some of the chiefest and prudentest bishops, howsoever not to forsake their function.' 43

Zanchy/^{duly}wrote to Bishop Jewel and Elizabeth, explaining that Mont's report had spurred him into action. 44

This small incident is significant in two ways. Mont's concern for a peaceful solution to religious discord, and desire to maintain unity if at all possible, is again apparent. But more interesting is the fact that it was Zanchy whose advice he sought on the issue; presumably he knew that Bullinger had already been consulted in the past on the same subject, and suspected that his closest friend among the reformers would have little fresh light to throw on the matter;

he probably hoped, too, that additional support for the 'via media' from another source could only strengthen the case for moderation.

Now that a picture has been painted of Mont the diplomat and the Protestant, his more significant missions should receive some attention, as these were what introduced him to the Reformers' and exiles' circle. His first important undertaking was in January 1534, when he and Nicholas Heath received instructions to go as the king's agents to the most important German princes, i. e. the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the archbishops of Cologne, Trier and Mainz, to gauge what support, if any, Henry might expect from them for his divorce.⁴⁵ The following summer he was involved in an attempt to prevent Melanchthon from staying in France, and if at all possible to persuade him to visit England.⁴⁶ He visited Wittenberg in the autumn of 1535,⁴⁷ and again in the spring of the next year.⁴⁸ All this was in the context of Henry's attempts to get support from the German Protestants for his actions, and to avoid political isolation.

After a period in England in 1537,⁴⁹ Mont was sent abroad again in February 1538 with instructions concerning the representation of Henry's views on a General Council, a league of Protestant princes, and a proposed German embassy to England which should include Melanchthon.⁵⁰ He attended the assembly at Brunswick to put forward these views and to get the German response. He appears to have spent the summer of 1538 in England before being sent to Germany in January 1539 on his most significant journey to date, namely to visit the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, and to ascertain the religious views of the Duke of Cleves.⁵¹ Marriage was again in the air, and Mont played a useful role in the negotiations leading up to the wedding of Henry and Anne of Cleves.⁵²

He was often in attendance at the various assemblies of the German princes, particularly when he thought matters relevant to the course of the Reformation or to English foreign policy in general might be discussed. Thus he went to the diet at Hagenau in June 1540,⁵³ and to innumerable diets thereafter; the reports which he wrote for these are in the State Papers in the Public Record Office. From this time onwards he appears to have been working very much on his own; although he continued to be paid by the English government after Cromwell's removal from its helm, he no longer received specific instructions but attended those assemblies which he considered worth his while, and reported on events at regular intervals. This was all that was required of him; in April 1544 Wriothsesley wrote to him, saying that Henry was pleased with his work, and had promised him a reward.⁵⁴

By the end of 1544 he was involved in the negotiations of the German princes who wanted to form a Protestant league which would include Henry.⁵⁵ Mont took a personal interest in these discussions, writing to Wriothsesley from Worms in May 1545 that he thought the Protestants could only benefit from unity.⁵⁶ November of that year saw the end of that particular attempt to form an alliance, but Mont was instructed to stay on in Germany as the king's agent.⁵⁷ Early in 1546 he was present at the assembly at Frankfurt, and reported on its business in his usual detailed way.⁵⁸ His role even at this stage, when English policy towards Germany was ambiguous, was not a passive one; Paget wrote to him in February to say that he had not given up all ideas of England joining a Protestant league, and that Mont was to watch for any chance of furthering that cause.⁵⁹ What the English politicians thought of him at this stage was summed up by Mason, writing to Paget in May 1546:

'Mont is a sufficient man for any commission, and things may sooner be compassed by the secret name of an agent than by the pompous name of an ambassador.' 60

There is a gap in his surviving official communications from the end of 1546 until June 1549 (Somerset's period in power), but it is reasonable to assume that his work continued along the usual lines, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. In the late autumn of 1549 (after Northumberland had taken control, and was embarking on his more radical Protestant policy), he was sent to Zürich and Berne on an official mission to express Edward's good-will and to find out what the Swiss thought about the possibility of a Protestant Council to discuss religion.⁶¹ Edward's reign was a fairly inactive phase in his life; he wrote regular reports, keeping the Council informed of developments on the European scene, particularly with regard to the various wars which were then in progress, and most of these letters were written from Strasbourg.⁶² But we know from his letters to Bullinger that he did attend at least a couple of assemblies. In February 1551 he said that he had just returned from a meeting at Augsburg;⁶³ In June 1551 he was at Augsburg again;⁶⁴ in September 1552 he commented that he had been away for several months at a conference at Passau.⁶⁵

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign he was given a very general brief to reestablish good relations between the German princes and England. The diet which was held at Augsburg in the spring of 1559 was an obvious opportunity to pursue that aim, and Mont duly went there.⁶⁶ He was not completely happy about his instructions, preferring that less should be left to his own discretion;⁶⁷ In April he wrote to Cecil requesting that 'a certain "mandatum" should be given to him, so that if he did transgress "fines mandati" he should be "reum culpa"'.⁶⁸ This was probably only a natural reaction to the

fluctuations in English policy which he had experienced over the previous years; after his enforced retirement during Mary's reign, he must have been anxious to safe-guard his future, and had therefore determined to proceed with caution. But he was very quickly involved in matters of real importance which demanded personal judgement. In June 1559 Cecil sent him a list of inquiries which he should make with regard to the age, stature, height, strength etc. of some person not named, a prospective husband for Elizabeth (probably the Archduke Charles of Austria).⁶⁹ He was not new to this game, having played a part in Henry's matrimonial affairs, and he took a real interest in the candidates for the queen's hand, passing on the opinions of the German princes when he thought them relevant.⁷⁰

The brief which he received in December 1559 was quite typical of the kind of work which was expected of him in Elizabeth's reign. He was told on that occasion 1) to serve Elizabeth faithfully; 2) to preserve amity with the German princes; 3) to go to the next diet at Augsburg and report on it; and 4) to go to various of the princes, to deliver letters of credit, and to get support for England against the French.⁷¹ Yet he must have had the impression that he was not in the front line of diplomacy, for he wrote to Cecil in October 1560, complaining that Cecil had not written to him for almost a year, and that he was too ignorant of the state of affairs in England to be able to function efficiently as an English agent in Germany.⁷² A few months later, however, the pace of life became more hectic when he was sent post-haste to the meeting of German princes at Naumberg which had been called to discuss the terms on which they should assent to a General Council concerning religion.⁷³ The instructions which he received in the spring of 1562 endorsed the fact that his

work was important: Cecil told him that Elizabeth wanted him to arrange a council between her and the Protestant princes to discuss the Council of Trent and a possible defensive league, to include Denmark, Scotland and Sweden. He was also to tell the princes that if Elizabeth did not assist the French Protestants, and keep France and Spain apart, she would be in real trouble.⁷⁴

Until his death in 1572, his life continued very much in the pattern already established. He was quick to see what needed to be done, and demanded authority to do it, if he felt the English government was not adequately informed of what the situation required. In December 1565 he wrote to remind Elizabeth that an envoy should be sent to congratulate the new emperor on his accession.⁷⁵ He was willing to do a little extra if he thought it desirable; as time passed, his confidence in his own ability grew. In April 1561 he reported to Cecil from Frankfurt that he had travelled north because he had heard that the Duke of Brunswick was enlisting men to serve against England, and he felt that he should investigate.⁷⁶ In December 1562 he commented that the Count Palatine had proved a little awkward with regard to Elizabeth's requests, and so he had followed him from the assembly at Frankfurt to Heidelberg.⁷⁷ The cause of Protestant unity was very dear to him, and the fact that an alliance was not achieved can not be attributed to lack of effort on his part. But there was a limit to what one agent could do on his own, and Mont was not infallible. As Kouri concluded:

'The nature of Protestant alliance policy in the late 1560s can be partly explained by the failure of communications between the powers involved. The English tended to misinterpret German intentions and therefore miscalculated their own actions because they knew too little about what was going on. Inaccurate information can also be blamed for the fact that the English government trusted far too much in the mutual understanding among the German states, not to mention the northern powers.'⁷⁸

It was Mont's concern that the Swiss cantons might join France in an alliance which could only damage the Protestant cause that brought him into personal contact with Bullinger. He wrote to Bullinger on August 23rd, 1549 as a stranger (*ut ego ad te scribere audeam!*), reporting with concern that he had received some unwelcome news:

*Et ecce hisce diebus quidam a vobis huc reversus constanter et sedulo affirmat omnes modo pagos Helvetiorum Gallico federari nomina dedisse.*⁷⁹

To his great relief, Zürich and Berne refused to follow the example of their neighbours, and on October 26th he wrote again to Bullinger:

*Magno cum applausu et congratulatione audivi vestram urbem et Bernam in libertate perstitisse, ut tamen alicubi asilum et refugium profugisset.*⁸⁰

A close friendship grew up between Mont and Bullinger; there is no doubt that the Zürich reformer was the continental theologian whom Mont knew and liked the best. He visited Zürich during the winter of 1549; Pastor Johannes Stumph encountered Mont incognito in December of that year, and wrote to Bullinger describing the meeting, asking if Bullinger had any idea who the man might be.⁸¹ Bullinger replied:

*Qui tuas adiit aedes . . . et de quo mihi scripsisti diligentissime, legatus est serenissimi regis Angliae D.D. Christopherus Montius, vetus meus et carissimus amicus, qui saepe ad me scripsit et ego ad illum vicissim. Non vacat autem exponere, quae egerit apud me lepide quidem in primo congressu et colloquio. Nam prius egregie dissimulavit se illum esse qui erat. Et ego antehac nunquam vidi ipsum, nec ille me. Praeterea non indicavit mihi se legatum esse regium nisi die postera. Voluit paucos scire, quis sit et quid agat apud Helvetios. Nam ad religionis christianae consortes dumtaxat missus est, instructus literis publicae fidei a rege et consilio regio datis.*⁸²

The purpose of that December visit (apart from Mont's playing tricks on his friends) was to show the Zürich Council Edward VI's letter of October 20th.⁸³ Bullinger's letter of December 13th showed that

the Zürichers response was favourable;⁸⁴ unfortunately the official record of proceedings in the Council book is largely illegible, but it seems that Zürich was prepared to stand by Zwingli's policy of neutrality, which was all that Mont had hoped for.⁸⁵

Mont's correspondence with Bullinger continued right up till his death in 1572. Thirty of Mont's letters have survived; although many of Bullinger's letters to Mont have been lost, it is likely that he wrote a similar number. It is interesting to note that Bullinger had in fact written to Mont, and taken the initiative in establishing contact, before Mont wrote to Bullinger for the first time, and that their letters had crossed. In Mont's second letter he said:

*'Literas, quas ad me misisti Tiguro, ornamentissime Bullingere, porro transmittendas ad Joannem Bircmannum scriptas 20 Augusti, receptas insequenti die Francfordiam ad eundem perferri curavi, tardius autem ad me, nempe 8. Septembris allatae sunt.'*⁸⁶

Many of Mont's letters began with an acknowledgement of letters recently received from Bullinger, and there is other evidence to show that Bullinger wrote to him reasonably frequently. An entry in his diary for 1550 reads: *'Copiosas et varias scribo literas ad regem Angliae, d. Coxum, d. Hopperum, d. Montinum, d. episcopum Coloniens^em abdicatum.'*⁸⁷ In February 1553 Konrad Lycosthenes or Wolfahrt of Basel told Bullinger that he had attempted to deliver letters to Mont, but that Mont had died.⁸⁸ This report was of course false, and Bullinger must have discovered the truth within a few days, as none of his letters make any mention of this.

They seem to have had a cordial, business-like kind of friendship. Mont's letters are distinguished by their lack of effusiveness and flattery, which are characteristic of so much of the Latin correspondence of this period. His normal way of ending a letter was

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simple, something along the lines of 'si qua re interim dominationem tuae gratificari potero, iubent impera',⁸⁹ or 'mea erga vos officia perpetuo constabunt'.⁹⁰ Even when thanking Bullinger for a favour rendered, the tone was kept quite even: 'Ego tibi pro variis in me benefitus gratias agam, ubi ad vos rediero'.⁹¹ Bullinger must have valued Mont's letters very greatly, as they were informative on a wide variety of events in Europe; Mont regarded it as his duty to give Bullinger not only English news, but to keep him up to date on the progress of the war between France and England, events in France and the Empire, the war with the Turks, the Council of Trent, and any other item which he thought might be of interest. These letters were not sent in his official capacity as English agent. On one occasion he identified himself as an inhabitant of Strasbourg, writing in February 1552 on the subject of the Council of Trent:

'In concilio permanent nostri episcopi; sessio ad 15. Januarii indicta servata non est, sed in 19. Martii extracta, dum nostri adveniant. Salvus conductus, prout a Mauritanis petitus, omnibus confessionis Augustane statibus permissus et datus est sub sigillo presidum concilii; puto nostros suos theologos hinc propediem Tridentum versus dimissuros' ⁹²

Another time, when talking about a cause very dear to his heart, he said:

'Ego hec tecum non ut Anglie regis famulus, sed ut pacis cupidus et bellorum hostis commentor.' ⁹³

War depressed Mont, and when writing about it to Bullinger he sounded more passionate than when he was concerned with any other subject. In October 1549, with regard to the Anglo-French hostilities he said: 'Utinam hii duo reges in honestam coniunctionem et pacem inelinerent, sed ira impedit animos, ut non possint cernere rectum'.⁹⁴ He had great hopes of Bullinger as a peace maker:

'... nam quante universo christiano orbi, nedum Helvetiis intersit pacem inter eos duos reges restitutam nedum Helvetiis intersit pacem inter eos duos reges restitutam esse, nemo melius et perspicatius te imo intelligit.' 95

A few months later he wrote eloquently of what he thought Switzerland's role should be:

'Opere pretium certe huic ----- (illegible) nationi esset hanc conciliationem tentare, qui tametsi non succederet, tamen benevolentiae et pacis studium iustam laudem apud omnes mereretur. Nec alterius partis confederatio suspiciosam propensionem admissura esset, modo ex ipsa actione equitas et in neutram partem inclinatio palam conspiceretur.' 96

Bullinger shared his concern for peace, which must have deepened the bond between them. He wrote in March 1552 to Mont:

'Doleo valde bonis viris hae molestiae exhibendum, vir omnibus modis mihi colendissime, quod in tam truculentis cruentissimi belli principiis, in tale mittuntur concilium unde nemo bonus aliquid boni speraverit... Tempus ergo est, ut condoleamus et oremus pro fratribus.' 97

In the 1560s Mont's concern shifted slightly to concentrate on the necessity for unity among the Protestants (see above), and again he was anxious to get Bullinger's response:

'... quod omnium gravissimum est tantis odijs et dissidijs inter nos seiuncti et exasperati sumus ut nemo sit qui de concordia sarcienda et reparanda animum admoneat, et quem tandem exitum sperare vel expectare possimus nisi ut hostium pietatis et religionis vi et armis oppressi, vel in papatum lernam omnis superstitionis retrudam ut vel veritatem confitendo beata morte supplicijs et persecutionibus defungamur.' 98

The following year he had a concrete proposal to share with Bullinger, in line with English policy at that stage:

'Verum si Gallia, Germania, Anglia, et Scotia communibus armis religionem et libertatem tuendam susciperent pares adversariis possent. Sed nos otiosi spectatores sumus dum vicinis oppressis periculum tota mole in nos incumbat.' 99

Occasionally their correspondence took on a very personal flavour. It is these letters which reveal most about the kind of relationship which had developed. Mont felt he knew Bullinger sufficiently well to ask him for a copy of one of his books, 'Cupio habere tuum librum De origine erroris hic non prostat'.¹⁰⁰ He, in his turn, felt he could send Bullinger a book which might interest him, the Archbishop of Canterbury's work on the Lord's Supper.¹⁰¹

On one occasion, Mont asked for Bullinger's help in recouping a debt which Burcher owed him. The loan had been made four years before (i. e. in 1556) and Mont had had no success in persuading Burcher to pay up. He hoped that Bullinger might have more influence; if Bullinger failed, he would have to turn to the law.¹⁰² Bullinger must have acted on Mont's behalf, as can be seen from Mont's next letter, written on August 26th, 1560:

*'Pro literis tuis nuper ad me missis . . . multis de causis gratias ago et habeo. Nam ex iis perspexi D. T. cum meo debitore Burcero contulisse meamque causam sedulo egisse. Utinam ex eius facultates essent ut fideri suam redimere apud me posset, diuturnum eius silentium et superior oblivio non parum nec male habuit, nam puto melius mede eo meritum esse quam qui inter postremos creditores abijciat, scit eius uxor qua fide et sedulitate nexum petebant meo ipsius interim damno dissimulato et tolerato: utinam is aliquando et propediem quidem ad meliorem dei benevolentia fortunam reducatur et maiori parsimonia et frugalitate vitam agat, cautiusque mercari discat, nec in incognitas negociationes se immisceat, spero eum qua est industria et ingenio evataturum ex presenti procella.'*¹⁰³

Nine years later it was Mont's turn to help Bullinger. Bullinger wrote Mont a long, distressed letter, in incoherent German,¹⁰⁴ the main import of which was to ask Mont if he would be so good as to take an interest in sorting out the affairs of his son. Bullinger declared that Mont was the most competent person to deal with this,

and that he would reimburse Mont for any expenses he might incur. From the tone of the letter, it seems that Bullinger felt he was asking a very great favour, and the fact that he could call upon Mont is a fair indication of the trust and respect that had grown up between these two men over a period of twenty years.¹⁰⁵

There is nothing to show that Mont built up a similar kind of relationship with any of the other second generation key reformation figures, although he met most of them during his long career. Calvin certainly knew of his existence, as sundry of his correspondents mentioned him in passing.¹⁰⁶ but there is no proof that the Genevan reformer ever met Mont in person. Melanchthon knew him, and approved of him; in October 1535 he recommended him to Justus Jonas as a man 'cultivated both by learning and by travelling'.¹⁰⁷ Mont thought highly of Melanchthon also, and wrote to Bullinger after his death in 1560: '... Lutherani magno propugnatore Melanthere destituntur ...'.¹⁰⁸

He was better known among the northern Swiss Reformers. The Blaurer family seems to have been quite familiar with him. Thomas Blaurer wrote to his son Diethelm (who had gone to England to work for Grindal) that he had asked Mont to look into the matter of Diethelm's lost trunk, and also for some letters that had gone astray¹⁰⁹ - the post and luggage in advance in 1560 were no better than they are today. Bullinger recommended Mont as a postman to Ambrosius Blaurer in 1561:

'Für Briefe nach England ist es zu spät; wir senden sie nach Frankfurt, durch Kaufleute ... auch wird Christoph Mont, Sekretär der englischen konigin in Strassburg, sie auf Deine Bitte gern besorgen.'¹¹⁰

The channel of communication did not only work between Mont and Bullinger. Ambrosius Blaurer reported to Bullinger in October 1563:

'Scribit preaterea Schärus D.D. Christopherum Mindtum ad se de Gallie rebus ita dedisse . . .'.¹¹¹

He had some contact with Musculus, the Augsburg Reformer, although it is not clear how regularly they corresponded. In July of 1548 Mont wrote to his 'amico carissimo, d. Wolfgango Musculo',¹¹² giving details of the introduction of the Interim in Augsburg. (This must have been written after Musculus left that city.) A couple of years later Musculus wrote to Bullinger from Berne, where he had eventually settled, lamenting Mont's departure because he heard no more news from England.¹¹³ The previous year, Mont had met Haller and Musculus in person in Berne, both of whom, in a personal capacity, had been friendly and helpful, as he wrote to Bullinger:

'In frigidissimo celo in campos expatiare cogebam, Johannes Hallerus humanissime me in suas aedes invitavit, cui gravis esse nolui maxime propter spem citatae dimissionis, et tamen totos quatuor dies ibi haerere coactus sum . . . Quaestor Hallerus humaniter me excepit et consilio instruxit et invitit, semper prodagra non minus eum adflixit, quam mihi incommoda fuit. Nam eius presentia caussae meae forsan profecisset. Musculus summa me humanitate prosecutus est; sed et is et Hallerus in suas vocationes incumbentes publicis negotiis non adhibentur.'¹¹⁴

Mont's correspondence reveals that other Zürich figures were also well known to him, but none of his letters to them, nor theirs to him, have survived. He regularly sent greetings to Rudolph Gualther, Bibliander, and Peter Martyr, along with other members of Bullinger's extended household or family who came under the description 'tui generi'.¹¹⁵

He was of course also known to the leading Strasbourg politicians and churchmen, and further research in the Strasbourg archives would probably yield more information about this. Bucer referred to him in 1544 as a 'gut Freundt'.¹¹⁶ Hooper wrote to Bullinger in March 1549,

on his way back to England: 'Bucer received me at dinner yesterday, where I met John Sturmius, Sapidus, and Christopher Mont'.¹¹⁷ In July 1545 Sturmius and Mont worked quite closely together in the hopes of negotiating peace between France and England,¹¹⁸ and Roger Ascham's visit to Strasbourg probably had the effect of strengthening the friendship between these two men.¹¹⁹

There is a wealth of evidence which indicates how important a figure Mont was in the circle of English exiles. Richard Hilles had much to thank him for. As we have seen, in 1546 Mont acted on his behalf to reclaim a consignment of wood which Hilles had sent down the Rhine, but which had been confiscated on the way.¹²⁰ After Mont's death, it transpired that he had lent a considerable sum of money to Hilles and his sons, which his executors tried to reclaim in 1581.

Heinrich Boschmann wrote to Elizabeth I to enlist her aid:

'We have thought it needful to signify to your majesty that some years ago our relative Dr. Christopher Mont of pious memory, an advisor of yours, lent some money to certain English merchants dwelling at London, namely Richard and Gerson Hilles, and others their partners, on condition of paying yearly interest, and that if ever Mondt, or his heirs wished to call in the capital, it should be repaid in full, as set forth at more length in their notes of hand. And although they have paid the interest duly to Mondt and us his heirs, they have for the last two years taken on themselves to pay according to the rate of the Antwerp Exchange, which is higher than the value of money in Germany, as it goes with the merchants who trade there. Now as we are not bound to take money at that value, nor can we do so, the merchants after being cautioned refuse to pay otherwise, it has come to pass by their fault, at Midsummer of this year, three years interest will be owing . . . Moreover since my father-in-law Dr. Mondt paid out the whole loan in good coin, imperial dollars worth 17 batzen and a kreuzer, we think it fair that the interest should be paid in the same coin, or coin of not less value in Germany.'¹²¹

In his turn Hilles had been useful to Mont on a few occasions in 1559, albeit in a less important role, when Mont had used him as a messenger.¹²²

Burcher and Mont were also well acquainted. They were both based in Strasbourg after 1549. From time to time, Burcher reported to Bullinger on Mont's absences from that city, which means he must have been conscious of the agent's movements, but his letters give no clue as to what kind of relationship existed between them.¹²³ Mont described him in 1552 as 'vir honestissimus',¹²⁴ a title which he no doubt reconsidered in 1560 when he had difficulty in getting Burcher to repay the sum of money which he was owed.¹²⁵ However, after Bullinger had intervened on Mont's behalf, and the matter was sorted out to Mont's satisfaction, Mont expressed his concern for Burcher at some length. In the same letter he went on to say:

'De pace facta inter Anglos, Gallos et Scotos non dubito nos tam pridem certiores factos, pax enim coijt septima Julii. Conditiones ex Anglia ad me missas ad vos transmittito quas Burcerus commode vobis transferet.'¹²⁶

Burcher thus had some uses for Mont, saving him tedious translation work. Bullinger must have considered Mont's concern for Burcher was quite genuine, for he wrote to him in November 1560 telling him of Burcher's continuing troubles.¹²⁷

Many of Mont's letters to Bullinger until September 1551 ended with greetings to Butler, and it is interesting to speculate why these greetings ended two years before Butler's death. Only once did Mont write a little more: in his second letter to Bullinger, he said:

'Postea quoque omnem Angliae statum vel verius conflictationes Joanni Butleri Anglo apud vos commovanti adscripsimus, ut is tue magnificentie ac aliis optimis quibusque viris super eventu Anglicarum tumultuationem sollicitis magis commodam quam expetendam serenissime Anglie regis adversum rebelles et tumultuatores victoriam significet.'¹²⁸

This does at least imply that he was in direct contact with Butler at one stage. In 1570 Mont was able to be of service to John Butler's

son, Henry, who wrote to Bullinger from Strasbourg on July 29th:

¶Dominum Doctorem Muntum quarta mei ad urbem accessus die conveni, et deconstituta mea in Angliae regionem profectioe ei sum locutus, obnixe petens ut commodam huius itineris occasionem mihi indicare dignetur qui facilem se et per humanum praebuit, omne suum studium, operam diligentiam in rebus meis promovendis offerens. Indicans etiam, commodissimum Angliae adeundi tempus fore, si ad nundineis Francfordiensis una cum reliquis Angliae negotiatoribus ----- (illegible) me darem. ¶ 129

Although he had met Hooper (see above), and must have been aware of Bullinger's constant interest in news of him after his return to England, he only reported on him once, very briefly, in October 1549.¹³⁰ There is no evidence to show that he had any contact with Edmund Allen during Allen's sojourn near Strasbourg, but in the summer of 1559 they worked together on a diplomatic mission in Augsburg.¹³¹ He may also have known the other exiles, Coverdale, Bale, Dodman, Rose, and Turner, but no references to them could be found in his correspondence.

Mont's greatest friend among the English ex-patriates appears to have been John Abel.¹³² In the baptismal records for St. Thomas' Church, Strasbourg, on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1554, is the entry:

¶Joannes Abel, Anglus, pater
Elias, filius
D. Joannes Bonetus, Episcopus Anglicanus exul.
D. Christopherus Montius
Uxor Thomae Heton, Joanna. ¶ 133

To stand as god-parent indicated a fair degree of intimacy and trust, and thus it seems certain that Mont and Abel were more than superficial acquaintances. It is interesting to note that three of the above names featured again when, in 1555, John Abel and Mont stood as god-parents to Ponet's son, John.¹³⁴ Abel's confidence in Mont was absolute, as he wrote to Bullinger in September 1559 from Frankfurt:

Ich hab mit doctor Mont von Strassburg geret von wegen Ewer breve so ir abschycken willen in England wellen und er hat mir geantwort er wirt sein beste thon darin. Dan ich hab sunst kein frunt dass ich zu schreiben nur ihm allein und er wirt alle meine sach versehen.† 135

This confidence was justified; in December 1563, at the end of a typical business-like report to Cecil, Mont remembered to ask Cecil to intercede for the payment of two years arrears of pension for Abel.¹³⁶

Generally, Mont appears to have been on good terms with expatriates and diplomats alike. He was an obliging, hospitable character, as can be seen from his treatment of Thomas Windebank and Thomas Cecil junior, who were sent to Germany to learn all they could about the ways of diplomacy from Mont and Knollys. Mont offered them the use of his house in Strasbourg, should they decide to visit that city.¹³⁷ He had achieved a foothold in both the English and the Strasbourg circles, which must have taken some tact and understanding. The records show that he stood as god-father to a Strasbourg girl in 1553,¹³⁸ and his role in the French Church in Strasbourg indicates the extent to which he was regarded, and regarded himself, as belonging to that city.¹³⁹ Mont, like John Butler, had succeeded in integrating himself and his family completely into the society in which he lived, which put him in an excellent position to grasp the significance of current events occurring in both European and ex-patriate circles, and to communicate this with the leaders of the various groups with whom he had dealings.

CHAPTER 3

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95. Z. Z. B. , F39, 874.
96. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 441. 719ff. Also a letter of July 1550, in which he proposed a Protestant league comprising Switzerland, the Germans, Saxons, English and Danes.
97. Z. Z. B. , F63, 21.
98. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 350, 161.
99. Z. St. Arch. , E I, 25. 8. no. 48.
100. Z. St. Arch. , E I, 25. 8. no. 277.
101. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 350, 161.
102. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356, 863-4.
103. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356, 861.
104. Z. Z. B. , F37, 472.
105. Egli, E. , Diarium, p. 99: Bullinger reported the death of his son 'Christoffel', who was buried at Buoy, a village near Chalons, in January 1569. This was presumably the same son whose affairs in Strasbourg Mont was to sort out. (Christopher Bullinger was born in December 1537 - Diarium, p. 26).
106. Calvini Opera, vol. 14, p. 149, no. 1512; p. 208, no. 1558; vol. 17, p. 707, no. 3147; vol. 18, p. 146, no. 3227. (Corpus Reformatorum, vols. 42, 45, 46).
107. L. & P. , vol. 9, p. 196, no. 592.
108. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356a, 859.
109. Schiess, T. , Blaurer Briefwechsel, vol. 3, p. 483, no. 2215.
110. *ibid.* , vo. . 3, p. 599, no. 2338.
111. *ibid.* , vol. 3, p. 783, no. 2574.
112. Z. Z. B. , S67, 101.
113. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 360, 135.
114. Z. Z. B. , F39, 874.

115. To be found throughout Mont's correspondence!
116. Lenz, M. , Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipps des Grossmütigen von Hessen mit Bucer, (Leipzig 1887), vol.2, pp.267, 269.
117. O. L. , p.51, Hooper to Bullinger, 31. 9.1549.
118. L. & P. , vol.20, part 1, p.572, no.1170 (P.R.O. , SP1, 203); p.598, no. 1205, 1207 (SP1, 204); p.625, no.1262 (SP1, 204).
119. Ryan, L. , Roger Ascham, (Stanford, 1963), pp.130, 144.
120. See above, Chapter 2, biographical section on Hilles.
121. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1581-2, p.3, no.4. Also p.23, no.18.
122. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1558-9, p.293, no.795; p.360, no.938.
123. O. L. , p.671, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 9.1550.
O. L. , p.682, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 5.1553.
124. Z. Z. B. , A44, 117.
125. See above, note 102.
126. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356, 861.
127. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1560-1, p.401, no.726.
128. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356, 909.
129. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 377, 2468.
130. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 356, 910: "Quod scire cupis de statu Joannis Hopperi, is una cum uxore commode admodum vivit in Anglia".
131. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series 1558-9, p.337, no.881.
132. See Chapter 4.
133. Strasbourg, Arch. St. Thomas, Baptismal Register of St. Thomas' Church, 1554, entry 660.
134. *ibid.* , 1555, entry 783.
135. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 369, 446.
136. Calendar of MS of Marquis of Salisbury, vol.1, p.285, no.948.

137. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1562, p. 384,
no. 891.
138. Arch. St. Thomas, Baptismal Register for St. Thomas' Church,
1553, entry 455.
139. See above, note 37.

CHAPTER 4

The Exile Network - 1

Friendship and contacts between the exiles*

It is a complicated task to examine how the circle of English refugees functioned, to ask who knew whom, the circumstances of their first meeting, how their relationship developed, and to assess the importance of any one relationship for the functioning of the network. Some friendships were clearly deeper than others, and therefore more significant, and it is worth taking a closer look at these. But one must bear in mind the fact that the surviving, available correspondence is the main source of evidence for this exercise. This may be particularly important, for example, in the assessment of Coverdale's role, as the Strasbourg Archives merit much more attention than they have received up to now. Also, by some fluke, very little has survived to indicate that John Butler and Burcher were friends, beyond occasional references in their letters to other people, and the correspondence of others in their circle. Yet it is hard to imagine that these two men did not know each other quite intimately, and there is certainly no reason to suppose that they would not have had a liking and respect for each other, as they had a lot in common with regard to the circumstances that had brought them both to Europe, and the way they lived during their period in exile.

Butler is an obvious person to start with, as he was certainly one of the best known of the exiles. His friendship with Hilles was one of the longest standing in the refugees' circle. As early as

February 1540 Butler said that he had received letters from Hilles and Peterson¹ (who must then have been in England), giving him the English news which he duly passed on to Bullinger. Presumably it was William Peterson who introduced them, either personally or by letter, as he had been abroad earlier, at the same time as Butler had made his first appearance in Switzerland.² Hilles quickly became quite a close friend of Butler, as can be seen from his letter to Bullinger of August 1540, when he explained why their projected visit to Zürich could not take place at that time:

'My brother Butler, who is now busily engaged in courting a widow of Strasbourg, has been away with her relatives the whole of this month, so that unless we choose to travel by ourselves, we are at present obliged to remain here . . . As to the state of our commonwealth before the feast of Easter last passed (namely in the year 1540), I hope you have been sufficiently informed by our aforesaid brother Butler. For in my letters to him, I described very carefully, as far as my abilities would allow me, all the events that had occurred, and this that he might afterwards communicate them to the learned and godly men yonder, and especially to yourself.'³

While Butler was in England in 1542 Hilles kept in touch with him, and was alarmed for his safety (probably unnecessarily), after he had sold his land:

'And I am in fear for him, lest, when what he has done shall have come to the king's ears by means of his sister's husband, who belongs to the court, he may be forbidden again to leave the kingdom.'⁴

Hilles used Butler on several occasions as a means of communication of English news to Bullinger. In March 1543 he wrote:

'I wrote to John Butler a little after Christmas, respecting the king of Scotland, that he was certainly dead, and that it was reported by some persons at Antwerp that he had died of his wounds.'⁵

In June 1548 Hilles set up a chain of communication that included Hooper as well:

I received this speech (re. divorce), together with the proclamation, about the end of May, and sent it long since to my friend John Butler, that when he had read them both he might send them to master John Hooper, who might interpret them to you (Bullinger) in Latin, as they are printed in English.⁶

After Hilles had returned home, he continued along the old lines, and told Bullinger:

... theological books are rarely printed in this country except in our vulgar tongue. When I find any book of this kind worthy of perusal, I will send it to one of my countrymen in Germany for master Butler, that he may interpret to you the substance of the work in Latin.⁷

Butler appointed Hilles to be his agent in England when it came to the payment of a maintenance allowance for young Johannes Stumph, who studied in Oxford for a time during Edward's reign.⁸ Butler reported to Stumph senior in December 1549:

Ex duabus istis chirographis, quae hic involuta tibi mitto, filii tui quem fones in Anglia, manu scriptis, clare satis intelligere poteris ... quantum pecuniae ex meo amico acceperit ... Ubi suis in chirographis tuus filius octo coronatorum mentionem facit, nostra moneta, illa summa Decem florenos vestratis monetae ad quindecim Bacios supputatos tantum efficit. Accepit itaque, ut videre est, meo nomine a meo creditore et fratre Richardo Hylls xx floren. ad 15 bacios supputatos.⁹

He reported a similar transaction in February 1550.¹⁰

Throughout Edward's reign the two men were in touch by letter; in February 1551 Hilles reported on Hooper's activities to Butler;¹¹ in July 1553, around the time of Butler's death, Hilles wrote to Bullinger, sending greetings to Butler, and referring to their recent correspondence.¹²

Contact between Hilles and the Butler family did not cease with Butler's death. It is interesting to note that in the 1570s Hilles had dealings with Henry Butler, one of John Butler's sons. In March 1571 he wrote to Bullinger:

'I have received your letter, written on the 27th of August last, here in London from the learned and pious youth Henry Butler, whom, a fortnight after I had received the letter aforesaid, I sent on horseback with trusty attendants to a certain Dunstan Felton, son of master John Butler deceased, to an English village named Chilton, in the county of Suffolk: from which place I have received a letter from the aforesaid Henry Butler, written from the house of his aunt, a widow and a very godly matron. I will also most diligently and heartily undertake the management of all that business which in your aforesaid letter you desired me to execute.' 13

What this business was is explained in a later letter of Hilles to Bullinger:

'It would certainly be just that some part at least of their father's property should go to the lawful heirs of John Butler. But as he himself sold all his patrimony in this country, and, according to law and common right of the realm of England, granted and confirmed the same to a native purchaser and his heirs ... no hope remains that the heirs of the said John Butler (and especially those born out of England, and of a mother not an Englishwoman) can recover, as our lawyers say, or repossess by the English law the inheritance that is sold, or any part of it, at least as far as I can learn or understand. Henry Butler must therefore have patience, and in this matter not hope against hope.' 14

This was of course a realistic assessment of the situation. How the problem was resolved is not revealed in any of the surviving correspondence, but it is reasonable to suppose that Henry Butler gave up his claim to the property his father had sold. While he remained in England, Hilles continued to keep an avuncular eye on him, and in July 1572 he asked Bullinger to contact Butler's mother and friends at home:

'... to say that he has received no remittance from them since he came to England. Wherefore, when he was ill in Cambridge, and also a short time before, I lent him two pounds ten shillings of English money, worth in German money thirteen florins and five batzen; which I will beg of you to receive from her.' 15

It seems that the old ties of friendship did not extend to gifts of money!

The friendship between Butler and Hooper seems to have developed in the late 1540s, only a short time before Hooper returned to England.

Butler reported in February 1550:

'John Hooper, that individual who was so long engaged in the study of divinity at Zürich, and who resided at my house during our most wretched calamity at Constance, has lately written to me.' 16

They had remained in close contact by letter after Hooper's departure, and Hooper relied on Butler to give more detailed news and explanations of his activities to his Swiss friends than he himself had time to supply.

He wrote to Bullinger in May 1549:

'Pardon the shortness of my letter. You will learn from our brother, master Butler, by what circumstances I am hindered, and with whom I have to contend within these two days on the subject of divorce.' 17

On another occasion he wrote to the Zürich reformer:

'It is no small hindrance to our exertions, that the form which our senate or parliament . . . has prescribed for the whole realm, is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects manifestly impious. I sent it to our friend, master Butler, about four months since . . .

A book has lately been published here by the bishops, touching the ordination and consecration of the bishops and ministers of the church. I have sent it to master Butler, that you may know their fraud and artifices, by which they promote the kingdom of antichrist.' 18

He must have had a very great respect for Butler's abilities, or he would not have written to Bullinger in these terms in 1551:

'Persuade our friend master John Butler to return to England; for he may be useful in many respects both to the church and commonwealth . . . At least ask him to visit us once in England, and he shall learn from me in what way and by what means he may best provide for himself and his family.' 19

Two months later he repeated this request.²⁰

Hooper was in the habit of asking Butler to do other kinds of favours for him too. Once he asked Bullinger to pass on this request for him:

'I send herewith a pattern of the cloth of this kind which is manufactured either in your neighbourhood or in Swabia . . . Ask master Butler to send me four or five florins worth, and send word how much it costs per ell.' 21

Although Hooper regarded Butler as a close ally and friend, of whom all sorts of favours could be asked, there were tensions within the relationship. These may not have been the fault of either man; the 'postal service' in those days was certainly no better than ours is today. In June 1550 Hooper wrote to Bullinger:

'I cannot sufficiently wonder that master Butler has so seldom heard from me. I have frequently written to him respecting his brother-in-law, who not only holds an honourable employment at court, but most honourably defends the cause of Christ in the palace; nor is there any individual who is more fervent in this cause, or more ardent in imparting to others the word of God.' 22

He went on to give details of the relation's work and personal situation, and concluded:

'He dutifully salutes master Butler, and promises to exert himself to the utmost of his power, if he should in any way require his services. Let master Butler know this.' 23

The implication behind this is that Hooper did not write to Butler in person at this stage, either because he feared the letter might get lost, or for some other reason, e.g. lack of time.

Two letters from Butler to Johannes Stumph senior, written in February 1550 and February 1551, indicate that Butler continued to be concerned with Hooper's welfare, and supported him completely in his time of trouble. In the first one he commented:

'D. Hopperus in suis ad me literis iussit, ut te suis verbis plurimum salutarem. Profitetur Londini sacras Literas publice, summa cum bonorum laude, bis indices praelegit nostra in lingua, atque porro singulis septimanis conciones aliquot ad populum habet. Valde strenuum et asiduum operarium in vinea Domini esse percipio. Confirmet illum porro Dominis.' 24

A year later he wrote:

'Verum D. Bullingere compatri meo, inde sunt literae allatae circa finem Ianuarii ab Hoppero, eadem sane admodum breves. Unde tamen cernere facile erat ipsum haud temere tam diutino usum silentio. Nam ita superiori anno optimum exeronere et exagitanere calumniis suis atque insidiis scribarum Episcopolarum Pharisaeorumque factio ut illiququam huc scribere non vacaret, nec per omnia tutum esset. Mirum in modum de Lana caprina, hoc est, de ritibus et ceremoniis, quibus Apostatae, dixissem Episcopi nostri, iuxta Romanae bestiae inveteratum institutum, initiari confuenere, adversus illum digladiantur, debacchanturque: nec adhuc istis detricis, usque adeo frinotis, si solidum in Christo fundamentum teneamus, istorum deferbuit rabies. Sed demum Deo fretus, atque doctorum virorum patrocinio, quod penes regem plurimi fit illis omnibus palma, vel invita invidia eripiet. Aq iam nunc quidem fuma est, vero confido, evicisse Hopperum. Religionem quod attinet salva omnia, Deo gratia.' 25

Lack of information again frustrates any attempt to examine the progress of the relationship between these two men after 1551. It is however reasonable to assume that they kept in touch either by direct correspondence, or through mutual friends, until Butler's death in 1553.

Richard Hilles was, of course, one of those mutual friends. He must have been one of the first English ex-patriates whom Hooper got to know when he arrived in Strasbourg. In January 1546 Hilles wrote to Bullinger, telling him of Hooper's visit to Strasbourg, and of his illness.²⁶ Hooper convalesced at Hilles' house, and met his future wife there, as he reported to Bullinger in a letter written about the same time.²⁷ At this stage, as we have seen,²⁸ Hilles was

eager to identify himself with the Swiss Protestant cause, and to claim that he was an exile for religion. Hence his enthusiasm for Hooper, and his eagerness to point out that they were both religious refugees. In April 1546 he wrote to Bullinger:

'Your attached friend, master Hoper, is now in England, but will shortly return to us, God willing, and afterwards to you. Let us pray our God to bring him back with success, for he desires, and indeed it is the only object of his present absence from us, to procure, if he can, some money, with which he may be able always to reside either here, or with you, in holiness and with a good conscience, far from the impurity of Babylon.' 29

After Hooper had moved from Strasbourg, Hilles remained in touch with him. In an undated letter, which appears from its context to have been written in the summer of 1548, Hooper wrote to Bullinger: 'Iam per uxorem Butleri alias literas a Richardo Hilles accept quam te plurimum salutas gratias agerit pro literis quas 13. Junii ei scripseris'.³⁰ When he returned to England, Hilles assured Bullinger that Hooper would keep him informed about English events.³¹ He wrote to Hooper himself on occasion, giving him the news, as Hooper reported to Calvin in February 1549:

'In Anglia, ut nuper intellexi per literas Richardi Hilles (hominem nosti), ubi evangelium adhuc in herba est in his qui maxime evangelio favent, abundat pelagus scelerum.' 32

Once Hooper too had returned to England, the two men remained in touch. In June 1549 Hilles wrote to Bullinger: 'I return to you many thanks for the two decades of your sermons, which I believe John Hoper will here present me with in your name'.³³ And in November of that year he wrote:

'I hear with pleasure of the agreement between you and master Calvin respecting the sacrament (i. e. the Consensus Tigurinus), and doubt not but that master Hoper will shortly allow me to read it.' 34

From the tone of these two letters, it is evident that Hilles regarded Hooper as his religious mentor, the English representative of Bullinger, whom he admired so intensely.³⁵ In June 1550 he praised Hooper's work to Bullinger:

'He perseveres, by the grace of God, to be a most constant asserter of the gospel; and he preaches everywhere with the greatest freedom agreeably to your orthodox doctrine in the matter of the Eucharist. He exhorts, yea he persuades, all.'³⁶

Yet Hilles was not in complete agreement with Hooper when it came to his opinion on vestments. After the controversy had been settled, he commented:

'But now, thanks to God! this same master Hooper is discharged from custody, and restored to his former condition. Previously, however, he yielded up his opinion and judgement upon certain points which are here regarded by us as matters of indifference.'³⁷

This verdict on vestments was of course in accordance with the view Bullinger held; it is interesting to note the different ways in which Burcher and Hilles reacted to the dispute, particularly as Hilles was on more intimate terms with Hooper.³⁸ Unfortunately, again there is no evidence to show how the relationship between Hilles and Hooper fared in the later part of Edward's reign, and whether they had any direct contact at all under Mary.

Burcher was another of the friends whom Hooper and Butler had in common. We do not know when Burcher and Hooper first made each other's acquaintance, but as Hooper lived with Hilles for a period in Strasbourg, it is quite likely that they were introduced through Hilles. In an undated letter to Bullinger, probably written some time in 1546 from Strasbourg, Hooper sent greetings to 'my English brother and friend in Christ, master Burcher'.³⁹ Later, when their geographical positions were reversed, correspondence

between them seems to have flourished. On October 29th, 1548, Hooper wrote: 'Iam accepi literas Argentina a Burchero. Is tecum (i. e. Bullinger) tota tua familia salutat!'.⁴⁰ Another letter, written about the same time, began: 'Vesperi accepi literas a Burchero, qui te et tuos salutat!'.⁴¹ A few months later Hooper was described by Burcher as his 'intimate friend!'.⁴² They were on sufficiently good terms for Burcher to feel able to send Hooper an English letter to translate for Bullinger's benefit, informing him of English news.⁴³

They probably met in person, not necessarily for the first time, when Hooper was on his way home in the spring of 1549, and stopped briefly in Strasbourg.⁴⁴ Hooper sent several letters to Bullinger as he travelled back to England, and he also managed to write at least one to Burcher from Antwerp.⁴⁵ After his return to England, his time for letters was limited, but Burcher kept himself up to date with Hooper's activities from other sources. In October 1549 he wrote:

'No misfortune, that I am aware of, has happened to master Hooper; but, as I have been informed by a person worthy of credit, he is very busy in confuting Lutheranism, and planting the truth. He is performing the duty of an earnest Christian. He is giving public lectures in London, where he has a numerous auditory, and is praised by all good men.'⁴⁶

(The words of this letter are very similar to those which Butler wrote to Stumph,⁴⁷ of course, but as they were composed six months apart, the source was not necessarily the same.)

Hooper did write to Burcher at least once, in March 1550;⁴⁸ but despite his being forced in general to rely upon other people for news of his friend, Burcher's admiration and liking for Hooper did not diminish. This is quite clear in a letter of January 1551 which Burcher wrote to Bullinger:

'The bishops have enjoined silence upon Hooper, accusing him, as my friend Thomas Knight writes me word from England, of heresy . . . You will perceive what are Satan's plans, whom we must resist with all our power . . . the truth is in danger; and as you have so greatly exerted yourselves in its defence, you must not now suffer it to be destroyed in England.' 49

Although he was distressed about the controversy for which Hooper was largely responsible, and feared that it would damage the cause of the English reformation,⁵⁰ Burcher was in no doubt that right was on Hooper's side:

'Hooper is striving to effect an entire purification of the church from the very foundation. Other bishops, on the contrary, who nevertheless are men of learning and professors of the truth, are ashamed of this, because they will not open their eyes to their own errors.' 51

Clearly, in the short time in which they had known each other, Hooper had made a profound impact on Burcher, who was the most outspoken of the exiles in his support for the harassed bishop of Gloucester.

As we have already seen,⁵² Burcher and Hilles were very well acquainted. They had met by September 1541 when Hilles wrote to Bullinger from Strasbourg, and referred to Burcher as his friend.⁵³ In an undated letter (probably sent from Strasbourg in 1541) he identified Burcher to Bullinger as a fellow exile, but only in passing.⁵⁴ It is likely that he had by then met Burcher, and told Bullinger something about him, in an earlier letter which has been lost.

Later however, he went into more detail when he asked Bullinger to support Burcher's application for Zürich citizenship in 1545:

'I must confess that this person was entirely unknown to me before his departure from England; for the place where he was born is very far distant from my native place, that is to say, by an interval of seven or eight German miles. This report however prevailed concerning him, among those who are counted gospellers, and it also came to my ears when I was still residing in England, that he had not left the country for any other reason than because he was

discovered to maintain the orthodox opinion concerning the eucharist; but that in other respects he always conducted himself with piety and sobriety, wherever he resided. And indeed as he has never, since he has been personally known to me, given me any reason to think otherwise of him, so, in truth, it has never been my lot to hear from any person anything in opposition to this character; although both in England, and also after I came to reside here, I have frequently heard him spoken of, and at times, too, when, if there had been anything to find fault with in him, a fit opportunity offered of doing so.¹ 55

The similarities in the backgrounds of these two men are striking; both were self-confessed exiles for the sake of religion, and both had had dealings with Cromwell in the hope that he might mediate for them.⁵⁶ Burcher had taken refuge in Europe before Hilles embarked on his second exile, and must already have established himself in the Zürich-Basel-Strasbourg region by the time Hilles arrived; yet it appears from the correspondence that Hilles was very much the driving force in their friendship until the late 1540s.

Although there is nothing to indicate that Burcher lived in Strasbourg during the early days of his exile, his relationship with Hilles developed quite rapidly. This was perhaps because of their common business interest in the bow-stave trade.⁵⁷ At any rate, when Hilles wrote to Bullinger in 1542 to ask him to support Burcher's cause in Zürich, he called him his brother.⁵⁸ Burcher's correspondence from the early 1540s has not survived, so we can make no comparison of how the two men regarded each other at this stage. But in 1549 Burcher talked of 'my dear friend Richard Hilles';⁵⁹ and once referred to 'our ancient intimacy',⁶⁰ which allowed him to expect that Hilles would have no objection to doing him a favour.

Anna Hilles was also involved in their friendship. In May 1543 she wrote to Bullinger:

'Misit ad nos nuper Joannes Burcherus, conterraneus noster, rogans ut illi vir meus 30 florenos domum tuam perferri curaret ibi tantisper asservandos quoad iisdem opus haberet: Mittimus igitur tibi ex eius sententia una cum hoc epistolis coronatos 21 quos si tamdiu apud te servaveris donec iuvenis repositoscerit, rem facies cum mihi gratam tum illi utilissimam(?) ...' 61

Thus we see that long before their official partnership began, Hilles was in the habit of doing odd bits of business for Burcher, and vice versa. In November 1543 Hilles wrote to Bullinger:

'If master Falckner ... should return my cloth to you, I pray you ... to take charge of it, and keep it in your house till the arrival of John Burcher, to whom I will write my mind respecting it, as to what he should do with it.' 62

In January 1546, when Hilles was concerned with the cost of maintenance for Lewis Lavater, a student from Zurich who was spending some time in Strasbourg, he suggested to Bullinger:

'Yet, as his father is a man of property, I think it will be no loss to him to pay down the sum beforehand to John Burcher, that I may be able to pay for him the same amount afterwards.' 63

It is possible that he even travelled quite far afield in pursuit of trade in which both he and Hilles had an interest, as a letter from Hilles to Bullinger of February 1547 appears to show:

'... tell her (the wife of Burcher) that I have lately received a letter from Cologne, by which I learn that he arrived there safe with all his wares, with which he happily set sail for Dort in Holland about 10 days since.' 64

The ground was thus prepared for Burcher's entering into a formal partnership with Hilles in 1548, in charge of the Strasbourg business which Hilles had built up over the previous eight years.⁶⁵

After Hilles had returned to England, the two men appear initially to have kept in quite regular contact with each other. Burcher was often the recipient of English news which Hilles asked him to pass on

to Bullinger.⁶⁶ This was not a new departure for Hilles; even while resident in Strasbourg, he was not the most conscientious of letter writers, and on occasion persuaded Burcher to do his work for him. Bullinger's letter to Vadian of January 13th, 1548, is an excellent illustration of this:

'Scribit ad me circa natalem domini ornatissimus vir D. Ioannes Burcherus, Anglus, in haec verba: "Rediit ex Anglia 8 huius mensis D. Richardus Hilleus, communis noster amicus. Is ad te iussit scriberem ...".' 67

Once Hilles was back at home, he made shameless use of Burcher to excuse his laziness to Bullinger:

'I dare answer for our friend Richard that he is not forgetful of you, but that he will write, as he promised, by the first opportunity. He is prevented, however, not only by some affairs of importance, but also by his want of expertness in writing Latin, with which he is wont to charge himself; or rather, I should say, his fear of writing incorrectly. Besides this, he is not accustomed to be a retailer of mere rumours and reports, but a relater of truth. And for this reason he very seldom writes to me any news, though what he does write is generally true.' 68

Burcher visited England in 1550, and probably saw Hilles in person, although he never said that he had actually talked with him, but only reported on his well-being.⁶⁹ It is possible that he went to England to sort out his business affairs, and that the two friends decided then to go their separate ways; no other obvious explanation emerges for the fact that only one more reference to their friendship survives after this date, that of January 1551, when Burcher asked Hilles to act as postman for him, and to pass on some letters for Hooper and the king.⁷⁰ Some letters may have been lost, of course; it is quite likely that they continued to use each other as postmen and agents until Mary's accession, when Hilles' apostasy may well have brought the relationship to an abrupt end.

These were the key relationships in the exile network, according to the evidence which is readily available. But there must have been more to the network than this - a prolonged period of research in the Strasbourg archives would probably reveal a good deal of information about Coverdale's contacts, and thus redress the balance, which at present is heavily weighted in favour of Zürich as the centre for the exiles, largely because of the vast Bullinger archive which has been preserved, and is so easily accessible.

Much has been made of the importance of Miles Coverdale among the Henrician exiles in the Strasbourg and Zürich areas, and given the fact that other historians have not used additional sources which one can only suspect exist, it seems that the emphasis has been misplaced. Haaland commented:

'Coverdale was the leading figure of the earlier exiles, ecclesiastically and intellectually. He was the religious symbol of all the migrants - the one looked to in things churchly, the one who looked to the welfare of so many, the one who best conceptualised their feelings about the turn of events.'

Haaland went on to say:

'But he was different in that he really made his home abroad - he showed his concern by serving in a south German parish (as preacher and schoolmaster) under the aegis of Bucer. He served again in the same parish during the Marian exile. Other exiles were always watching for the right moment to return.' 71

As we have seen, that second statement is not strictly accurate. Most of the exiles who settled in this region found themselves employment, and quickly became involved in local activities at both a business and a social level. None of them packed up and left Europe as soon as they heard of Henry's demise. But Haaland touched on an important fact, and misinterpreted its significance - it is of course true to say that Coverdale was very involved in his work in Bergzabern, and this

explains why he was not regarded as the lynch-pin of the exiles' group. Bergzabern was very remote, as Hilles himself said to Bullinger, when he suggested Coverdale as a possible referee for John Burcher, but gave as a reservation:

'For although I will not deny that Bergzabern is not much off the highroad from Strasburgh to Frankfort; yet, because on that side of the Rhine the journey is not so safe, to those especially who are supposed to have money about them, as through the territory of the Margrave of Baden, I have neglected to procure the testimonial of my brother Miles.' 72

It was to Hooper rather than Coverdale that many of the exiles looked for an example to watch, admire or criticise, and Hooper's subsequent career in England was observed by them with interest, as their correspondence reveals. There are, however, very few references to be found to Coverdale after his return to England, apart from a letter of Peter Martyr to Bullinger of April 1551, which reported that

'Hooper was here with me at Oxford three days before Easter, together with Miles Coverdale, a most effective preacher, and one who deserves well of the gospel.' 73

Unfortunately there is no evidence to show that Hooper and Coverdale knew each other from their period in exile; it may well be that they did not meet in person until they were back in England.

This is not to say that Coverdale had nothing to do with his fellow refugees. Of course he had contact with a few of them, and even found jobs for a couple, Edmund Allen and John Dodman.⁷⁴ He was in touch with Allen over the trouble at Landau with the Schwenkfeldians, as he reported to Hubert in February 1545:

'But this, alas! has happened, in addition to the other misfortunes which afflict the church, that the Swiss, who was forced by Bader as minister upon the church at Landau, and has been admitted by the senate as future minister of the parish,

cannot be induced by their entreaties to administer the Lord's Supper even once in the year. Wherefore that most unfortunate people is compelled, even against their will, to submit to the dictates of Schwenckfeld. My friend Edmund made me acquainted with this three days ago by letter.' 75

His friendship with Richard Hilles was of long standing. At some stage in the 1540s he planned to visit Zürich along with Hilles and Butler, but wrote:

'I have been prevented by my engagements and by a degree of bodily weakness (not to mention the narrowness of my circumstances), from making my journey to you in company with those very eminent persons, D. Butler and Richard.' 76

In August 1544 he sent greetings to 'such of our countrymen as are there (i. e. Strasbourg), especially to Richard and the rest'.⁷⁷ And in October of that year he sent Hilles a small bag of chestnuts.⁷⁸

It is interesting to note that Hilles appears to have been the only one of the lay exiles with whom Coverdale had any contact worth mentioning. Perhaps this was because he was the person longest based in Strasbourg, and also mobile, taking in Bergzabern sometimes on his way to and from the Frankfurt fairs, but perhaps it also had something to do with his concern for the well being of his brothers in exile. On two occasions he wrote to Bullinger giving him money for poor refugees (not necessarily English).⁷⁹ It is quite likely that Hilles and Coverdale remained in touch with each other once they were both settled back in England. Although there is nothing to prove that Hilles had anything to do with Coverdale in the period after 1548, Coverdale was invited to preach for the Merchant Tailor Company in Edward's reign, for which he was paid 6/8d., and spent his last years in a house which he rented from the Merchant Tailors, and in which he died in 1568.⁸⁰

Coverdale had a close English friend in the merchant John Abel, who was not a refugee. This man was at the heart of the exiles' circle after 1547: he had some contact with the Strasbourg group in the early 1540s which later developed into something more significant when he became one of the main couriers for the Swiss and Strasbourg network. His origins are obscure. Garrett suggested that he may have belonged to the Abels of Herring Hill, Kent, but this appears to be pure conjecture.⁸¹ The earliest reference to Abel's presence in the Strasbourg region comes in a letter of Coverdale to Conrad Hubert, minister of St. Thomas', Strasbourg, written in December 1543:

'If you will kindly assist our dear brother Abel in the business of searching for my chest, which by the mistake and carelessness of a person at Metz, was carried to Strasburgh ... you will do a most acceptable kindness to me.'⁸²

An undated, mutilated letter from N to Hubert⁸³ supplies more evidence for this early friendship between Abel and Coverdale. N was probably Nicholas Thomae, chief minister at Bergzabern, to whom Coverdale acted as assistant. He died in the late summer of 1546. The letter mentions that Coverdale had given him (N) a letter for Abel. This friendship was one which lasted through the Marian exile, when both men fled to Europe, and into Elizabeth's reign.⁸⁴ In a letter which was probably written in 1555 Coverdale said to Hubert:

'When I was on my journey from Wesel to Frankfurt, my very dear friend John Abel attacked me in terms of sufficiently strong reproof, under the supposition that I had received from you a most affectionate letter, to which I had not condescended to return any answer.'⁸⁵

In April 1548 Abel was granted a licence

'To export 300 dickers of calf-skins, every dicker containing 20 dozen skins, and 500 "tonnes" of beer, in any English or friendly ships from port.'⁸⁶

This gives an indication of the kind of trade in which he was involved; it is worth noting that Christopher Mont was granted a similar privilege in June 1542,⁸⁷ and that the friendship which existed between them might have been fostered by a common business interest.⁸⁸ Abel was travelling regularly between England and Europe, and therefore was a very useful contact for Mont. But it was in Elizabeth's reign that Abel really came into his own as a link man between the Swiss and the English, i. e. after his time spent in Strasbourg in exile under Mary, when he must have become more intimately acquainted with the area. There are only occasional references to his postman activities for the pre-Marian period to be found, whereas later letters have far more.⁸⁹ Yet he must have been a figure of some standing in Strasbourg as early as 1553, when he and Burcher acted as sponsors before the city council for the English refugees who wished to settle there.⁹⁰

It is quite possible that Abel knew John Butler in the 1540s and early 1550s; even if they did not meet in person, they must have known of each other's existence. Abel was concerned for the Butler family after the father's death, and wrote to Bullinger in 1562 suggesting what arrangements should be made for the future of the Butler boys:

!... von wegen Johannes Butlers der hat zwey swygerin die gut narung hat, der ein ist dinnstain (i. e. Dunstan), der lang hat gewonet zu zurich und zu constanci mit dem butlerus, und seine bruder ist an die kunigen hoff und hat ein gute ampt dar und ist rich dar zu mit die selbige und mit dumstayn hab ich etlich mal geret, von der Butlerus bruder und das ein bruder solt ein sone nemen und erhalten und die andere solt ein ander nemen aber sie entwidert sie, und wil nicht bewilliget aber wil got so bald als ich in engelland komen wil ich mit ihnen von die sach wider reden, und dazu wyl ich etlich gute herrn und frundt reden, die soll mit inen reden, dass die gute knaben gefordert weren, dan ir haben vor ein yar zu mir geschriben von die sach. ! 91

He had clearly talked with Bullinger about the future of the Butler boys, and had made enquiries about their relatives when he was in England, thus taking the responsibilities of friendship very seriously - but whether he felt obliged in this matter to Bullinger, or to the dead Englishman, is a moot point.

Another interesting link with a Henrician exile, and perhaps more significant than Abel's functioning as a messenger, was his friendship with William Turner. Were it not for the terms of Turner's will, there would be no indication that these men were known to each other. But evidently they were quite close:

'But if she (i. e. Mrs. Turner) shall marye then I will that mr anthonye Carye my brother in lawe, or yf he be departed master Johan Abell shall kepe my childrens goods untill they come to perfite age.' 92

There were other merchants in the English exiles' circle who had small but interesting roles in the network. John Byrchmann, son of the Cologne bookseller, Arnold Byrchmann,⁹³ and an English denizen from 1541,⁹⁴ knew various of the exiles and tried to get their help from time to time. They in their turn used him as a messenger. For example, he wrote to Bullinger in July 1549 and mentioned in passing that he was in contact with Butler and Mont.⁹⁵ Similarly, he wrote in October of the same year:

'Desidero tuam operam in imprimendis Biblijs Anglicanis, nam plurimum valet et valebit tua exhortatis ad nobilem illum Anglum, Burcherum, qui apud vos est.' 96

He also knew Hooper, and wrote approvingly about him in July 1550:

'Diligentorem Anglum non vidj, nec monetur donis, quibus Angli solebant ad que -----is (illegible) flecti; Indicat abusus, carpit intia(?), veram viam ad unicum mediatorem ostendit ...' 97

He explained that Hooper was too busy to write to all his Zürich friends, and therefore passed on his greetings to Pellikan, Bibliander, Gualther, Gessner, Zwinglius and others, on his behalf.

William Peterson, another merchant, had some connexion with the exiles, although in what exact capacity is not clear. In 1540 he was in touch with John Butler about his plans to purchase wood for bow-staves, and intended to visit Switzerland in the spring to conclude the negotiations.⁹⁸ His contact with Butler seems to have been largely because of business, but he had a closer relationship with Hilles, who wrote enthusiastically to Bullinger in September 1541:

'He (i. e. a former servant of Hilles) is now living with a certain merchant, who in the time of liberty three years since, professed the gospel among us after his way. But what am I saying? I scarcely know anyone (with the exception of learned teachers), who had a greater knowledge of religion than our friend Peterson.'⁹⁹

In 1564 Hilles and Peterson both became freemen of the Merchant Adventurers' Company 'trading to Holland, Zealand and Flanders'.¹⁰⁰ Peterson's will reveals further interesting links with the Hilles' family:

'... to Daniel (his second son), ... my house called the Bell and Cheker in one part of which now dwelleth Gerson Hilles ... To my well beloved friend Richard Hilles of London, Merchant Taylor, a gold ring worth 3 pounds and unto Mrs. Annys Hilles his wife a gold ring worth 50 shillings.'¹⁰¹

These then were the most significant relationships that had grown up among the exiles themselves. Although some of the friendships had long lasting implications, e. g. that of Hilles and Burcher, what is really interesting about all this is the lack of exclusiveness that is evident. These men were not all in all to each other, but were far

more outward looking, and European orientated than the English are normally supposed to be. For more detailed comment on this orientation, the following chapters on the exile network deal with the refugees' contact with the Europeans they met and dealt with.

CHAPTER 4 (* See Appendix L)

Footnotes

1. O. L. , p. 627, Butler to Bullinger, 24. 2. 1540.
2. O. L. , p. 605, Peterson to Pulbert, without date.
3. O. L. , p. 197, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
4. O. L. , p. 225, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 5. 1542.
5. O. L. , p. 239, Hilles to Bullinger, 24. 3. 1543.
6. O. L. , p. 263, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
7. O. L. , p. 266, Hilles to Bullinger, 4. 6. 1549.
8. See Chapter 7.
9. Z. Z. B. , S71 , 186.
10. Z. Z. B. , S72, 73. "Scribit quoque nunc iterum meus ex Anglia vicarius, se tuo filio III Decembris exacto denuo 10 florenos adnumerasse. Itaque a suo in Angliam adventu hactenus (quod intelligere possim) tantum xxx florenos a meo Vicario Rychardo Hilleo accepit."
11. O. L. , p. 271, Hilles to Bullinger, 22. 3. 1551.
12. O. L. , p. 274, Hilles to Bullinger, 9. 7. 1553.
13. Z. L. , 2, p. 180, Hilles to Bullinger, 8. 3. 1571.
14. Z. L. , 2, p. 197, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 2. 1572.
15. Z. L. I. , pp. 271-2, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1572.
16. O. L. , p. 635, Butler to T. Blaurer, 16. 2. 1550.
17. O. L. , p. 64, Hooper to Bullinger, 31. 5. 1549.
18. O. L. , pp. 79, 81, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 3. 1550.
19. O. L. , p. 94, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
20. O. L. , pp. 97-8, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 10. 1551.
21. O. L. , p. 67, Hooper to Bullinger, 25. 6. 1549.
22. O. L. , p. 86, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.

23. *ibid.*
24. Z. Z. B. , S72, 73.
25. Z. Z. B. , S74, 57.
26. O. L. , pp. 251-2, Hilles to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1546.
27. O. L. , p. 38, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 1. 1546.
28. See Chapter 2, biography of Hilles.
29. O. L. , pp. 254-5, Hilles to Bullinger, 30. 4. 1546.
30. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 343, 380.
31. O. L. , pp. 263-4, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
32. Calvini Opera, vol. 13, p. 185, no. 1141 (Corpus Reformationum, vol. 41).
33. O. L. , p. 266, Hilles to Bullinger, 4. 6. 1549.
34. O. L. , p. 267, Hilles to Bullinger, 17. 11. 1549.
35. See Chapter 5.
36. O. L. , p. 270, Hilles to Bullinger, 25. 6. 1550.
37. O. L. , p. 271, Hilles to Bullinger, 22. 3. 1551.
38. See below.
39. O. L. , p. 40, Hooper to Bullinger, without date.
40. Z. Z. B. , S68, 114.
41. Z. Z. B. , S68, 115.
42. O. L. , p. 644, Burcher to Bullinger, 22. 1. 1549.
43. O. L. , p. 647, Burcher to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1549.
44. O. L. , p. 650, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 4. 1549.
45. O. L. , p. 652, Burcher to Bullinger, 30. 5. 1549.
46. O. L. , p. 659, Burcher to Bullinger, 16. 10. 1549.
47. See footnote 24.
48. O. L. , p. 669, Burcher to Bullinger, 10. 8. 1550.
49. O. L. , pp. 676-7, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 1. 1551.
50. O. L. , p. 673, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 11. 1550.
51. O. L. , p. 674, Burcher to Bullinger, 28. 11. 1550.

52. See Chapter 2.
53. O. L. , p. 218, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
54. O. L. , p. 201, Hilles to Bullinger, 1541.
55. O. L. , pp. 248-9, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
56. See Chapter 2.
57. O. L. , p. 632, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
58. O. L. , p. 236, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
59. O. L. , p. 647, Burcher to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1549.
60. O. L. , p. 676, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 1. 1551.
61. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 369, 74.
62. O. L. , p. 242, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 11. 1543.
63. O. L. , p. 251, Hilles to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1546.
64. O. L. , p. 259, Hilles to Bullinger, 25. 2. 1547.
65. O. L. , p. 262, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 6. 1548.
66. O. L. , p. 646, Burcher to Bullinger, 22. 1. 1549.
O. L. , p. 647, Burcher to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1549.
67. Arbenz & Wartmann (eds.), Die Vadianische Briefsammlung,
vol. 6, p. 696, no. 1588.
68. O. L. , p. 652, Burcher to Bullinger, 30. 5. 1549.
69. O. L. , p. 673, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 11. 1550.
70. See footnote 60.
71. Haaland, C. , "A Chapter in International Protestantism",
p. 10.
72. O. L. , p. 248, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
73. O. L. , p. 494, Martyr to Bullinger, 25. 4. 1551.
74. See Chapter 2.
Coverdale, Remains, pp. 506, 517, 521.
75. Coverdale, op. cit. , pp. 519-20. The 'Lindau' in the text
was in fact 'Landau', cf. *ibid.* , p. 507,.
76. *ibid.* , p. 502. The Latin text says 'D. Buttlerus'. This
was of course John, not Henry, as the editor suggests.

77. *ibid.*, p. 512.
78. *ibid.*, p. 515.
79. O. L., p. 241, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1543.
O. L., p. 245, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1544.
80. Clode, C. M., Early History of the Merchant Tailors,
vol. 2, pp. 92, 212.
81. Garrett, C., Marian Exiles, p. 7.
82. Coverdale, *op. cit.*, p. 504.
83. Arch. St. Thomas, no. 41, Carton 21.3, vol. 1, f. 158.
84. Garrett, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 133.
85. Coverdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-8.
86. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 2, p. 5.
87. See Chapter 3.
88. Mont's correspondence, *passim*, e. g.:
Z. St. Arch., E II, 356, 865; E II, 356, 863-4;
E II, 350, 161-4; E I, 25.8, no. 84.
Also Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, 1562,
p. 541, no. 1234; 1564-5, p. 78, no. 243; 1569-71, p. 89,
no. 306.
89. Original Letters and Zürich Letters bear this out.
O. L., p. 188, Hales to Bullinger, 12. 6. 1550; p. 428,
Ab Ulmis to Bullinger, March 1551; and Z. L. *passim*.
90. Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
91. Z. St. Arch., E II, 345, 506.
92. Turner, W., The Names of Herbs, p. 25.
93. Benzing, J., Buchdrucker Lexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts,
(Frankfurt, 1952), p. 92.
94. Page, W., Letters of Denization and Naturalisation for
Aliens in England 1509-1603, (Huguenot Society Proceedings,
vol. 8, 1893), p. 32.
95. Z. St. Arch., E II, 338, 1481.
96. Z. St. Arch., E II, 338, 1483.
97. Z. St. Arch., E II, 338, 1490.
98. O. L., pp. 627-631, Butler to Bullinger, 24. 2. 1540;
29. 3. 1540; 4. 4. 1540.

99. O. L. , p. 217, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
100. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1563-6, p. 179, no. 922.
101. P. R. O. , Wills proved in P. C. C. , 35 Langley 1578.

CHAPTER 5

The Exile Network - 2

Heinrich Bullinger and the Exiles

It is clear from an examination of the biographical details of the refugees, and also from a study of how their circle operated, that Heinrich Bullinger was an integral person in the lives of those who lived in, or visited, Zürich. John Butler, John Burcher, John Hooper, and Richard Hilles all had significant relationships with the Zürich reformer, each with its own characteristics, and these merit some attention. It is very fortunate that enough of the relevant correspondence has survived to give us an insight into the ups and downs of these relationships, which certainly did not remain static, but were always developing and changing as circumstances altered.

The friendship that existed between Bullinger and Hilles was based very largely on their correspondence, which spanned the years 1540 until 1572, and in fact quite possibly continued until Bullinger's death in 1575, although no letters for the years 1572-5 have survived. There is certainly nothing in Hilles' last extant letter to Bullinger of July 1572 to indicate that he was proposing to terminate their correspondence,¹ in contrast to his comment of February 1559 when he wrote: '... if you think fit to reply to my letter, I have neither time nor inclination to write an answer in return'.² This was, of course, a result of Hilles' embarrassment at his behaviour during the reign of Mary Tudor, and his dislike of being criticised for it by Bullinger and others. Bullinger was not, however, to be put off by such rebuffs, and their relationship survived the crisis.

The two men had met personally. We know that Hilles visited Zürich in 1542, because he referred to that trip in a letter to Bullinger written in December 1542.³ This contact must have helped to further the correspondence which had already begun by then. At first sight it appears that this was a one-sided affair, but this is simply because the Parker Society published only Hilles' letters to Bullinger. Thirty-one of these have been printed, i. e. all of those which have survived and are in the Zürich archives. Twenty-two were written in the period 1540-53. Up to 1549 the pattern appears to have been two or three letters a year on average; after that, Hilles' growing commitments in London allowed him less time to write, as he himself warned Bullinger:

'I have not written to you all this time, because I have scarcely had leisure, since my return, to arrange and write about such affairs as I was necessarily obliged to complete.'⁴

There was a complete gap in the letters written by Hilles during Mary's reign, and after her death the regularity of the correspondence was never re-established: letters of Hilles to Bullinger have been preserved from February 1559, July 1562, December 1566, August 1567, February 1570, March 1571, July 1571, February 1572 and July 1572.

It is an interesting exercise to look at Hilles' letters to Bullinger and to calculate from them the frequency of Bullinger's replies. The results are startling; from Hilles' very first letter of August 1540 it is evident that it was Bullinger who initiated the correspondence (unless Hilles' first letter has been lost),⁵ and in fact it is quite clear that Bullinger wrote more often than Hilles. Only one letter of Bullinger to Hilles appears to have survived;⁶ in addition, from the references Hilles made to letters received from Bullinger, it seems that the Antistes wrote at least thirty-six times to Hilles during the years

1540-72.⁷ Generally, Hilles' letters were written in response to Bullinger's, so their pattern is similar, but it is clear that Bullinger wrote more frequently than Hilles did in the Edwardian era, and also wrote several times while Mary was on the throne, an excellent indication of his interest in, and concern for, the progress of the English reformation.

Apart from occasional rough patches in their relationship, (the difficulties seem to have been of Hilles' making, e.g. during Mary's reign) there are signs that real cordiality existed between the two men. Bullinger set the tone at the outset, and Hilles responded:

'As you have so often challenged me with your hortatory and truly comforting letters, and, so to speak, have compelled me to write you something in reply; and especially as I am persuaded that with your wonted courtesy and kindness you will take everything in good part that will anywise admit of a right interpretation; I have now sent you this ill-composed letter . . . Farewell, honoured pastor, most happily in the Lord, and may Christ, the chief Shepherd, grant you so to fulfil your ministry, that when he shall appear, you may not be ashamed, but have confidence, and obtain the incorruptible crown of glory promised to those who are like you.'⁸

The contact between Hilles and Bullinger was extended at an early date to include their wives. In December 1542, after his visit to Zürich, Hilles wrote:

'My wife salutes you most respectfully, and also your most amiable wife, to whom I desire my best thanks for her great favours conferred upon us, when we lived with you in those parts. Either your wife, or the wife of Megander, wrote to my wife about something or other; but really we cannot make out what it is.'⁹

In May of the following year Anna Hilles actually wrote to Bullinger herself, asking him to take charge of some money which was to be given to Burcher.¹⁰ This surely indicates that the families were on quite intimate terms, in the 1540s at any rate. Later it is likely that as Hilles became a person of some consequence in London mercantile circles, and therefore gained in self-confidence, the warmth of their friendship cooled somewhat. But the tension caused by the events of

Mary's reign did eventually disappear, as this letter of 1566 shows:

'I have at home the other two letters which you sent me soon after the death of queen Mary ... I thank you very much for them, as they abound in pious exhortation and most excellent comfort.' 11

Hilles regarded Bullinger as a trustworthy confidant, and wrote to him in the early days of their friendship without any regard for discretion. In 1541 he commented with reference to ^{the} bishops Latimer and Shaxton:

'But how favourable to them the king now is, and how much he appreciates their sound and pure doctrine, is evident even from this, that he has not only prohibited them from preaching, but also from coming within two or three German miles of our two universities, the city of London, or their own dioceses! O atrocious deed, thus to drive away faithful shepherds from their flocks, and intrude ravenous wolves in their stead! God will not, I hope, allow this tyranny much longer.' 12

He was not always so oblivious of danger to himself, and once commented:

'You cannot, without danger to my affairs write me anything concerning the Christian religion: besides, if you could, I am not worthy of such honour.' 13

Exactly what this danger was is never made clear, and from the general impression which Hilles' correspondence gives, it seems he may have been unnecessarily alarmist, but revelled in the role of the innocent exile.

In addition to giving Bullinger his unvarnished opinion of events in England, Hilles used him as a mentor in spiritual matters. He often sent money to Bullinger for distribution among exiles for religion, which naturally endeared him to the Zürich reformer, and at the same time emphasized his own exile status.¹⁴ But it would be unfair to accuse him of sycophantism; it appears that his concern to do the 'right' thing was genuine from this request he made of Bullinger, and which he frequently reiterated in other letters:

'Cease not, I pray you, to remind me of my duty, and you shall find me ready according to my power . . . I know what Paul requires of the rich in 1 Tim. VI and what Christ requires everywhere. But the flesh, forgetful of divine and heavenly things, and covetous and tenacious of earthly things, cannot be too often reminded of its duty. Write to me therefore freely, whatever you will, because it may be profitable also to others. And I hope that I shall bear your exhortation and warning as it becomes me to do.' 15

His involvement in trade did worry him, and he shared his concern again with Bullinger a few years later.¹⁶

The process of giving advice on spiritual matters was not entirely one way. In November 1549 Hilles wrote:

'I owe many thanks to your kindness in continuing to exhort me to the duties of religion, and to caution me against the too great cares of this world. And I must confess, that we ought to admonish each other in turn by mutual letters and discourses of this kind.' 17

Perhaps it was his return to London, and ascent up the social ladder, which gave him the confidence to write along these lines. Many years later he ventured to give Bullinger some concrete advice:

'Since you are now, by divine providence, left a widower, and no longer a young man, I doubt not but that you will follow the counsel of the apostle St. Paul, where he says . . . "I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I." 18

It is hard to assess exactly what kind of Protestantism Hilles professed. As we have seen, he may well have had Lollard sympathies and connections early in his career. From his letters to Bullinger, it sounds as if he was studying the Bible for the first time in detail in the 1540s, presumably in an English translation, as he was not happy with Latin.¹⁹ The opinions and actions which prefaced his second exile were not characteristic of any particular kind of reformed doctrine, but simply manifestations of a general rejection of the Catholic Church in England and of an enthusiasm for the cause of Reform. He was not

a theologian, and never became one, despite his eagerness to learn about religion from Bullinger. And of course his lapse into conformity in Mary's reign suggests that his commitment to the Protestant cause was not, after all, complete.

When he wrote to Bullinger, it seems that he was eager to put himself into the Zürich Reformer's camp. In November 1549 he wrote approvingly about the Consensus Tigurinus.²⁰ Thirteen years later he wrote:

'And I am grieved not a little, when I hear that you who profess the gospel in Switzerland, are not able, either by your sound doctrine or your examples of godly life, to draw over your confederate fellow-soldiers to the religion of the gospel ...' 21

He was also in agreement with Bullinger on the subject of the Council of Trent, and commented in 1546 upon 'those unclean birds now assembled at Trent'.²² In 1562 he took up the theme again:

'But as to the Council of Trent, I cannot but think of it rather as a sign of some plot or conspiracy formed against the Protestants, than of a synod of faithful catholics simply assembling together in the truth, for the purpose of eradicating, according to their power, such abuses as have crept into the church of Christ.' 23

The most specific illustration to be found of Hilles' personal beliefs comes in a letter written in 1549, concerning religious developments in England:

'... we have an uniform celebration of the eucharist throughout the whole kingdom, but after the manner of the Nuremberg churches and some of those in Saxony; for they do not yet feel inclined to adopt your rites respecting the administration of the sacraments. Nor do I doubt that master M. B. (Martin Bucer) and other learned men from Germany and Italy, (who are here with the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, and are lecturing in the universities of this country) teach, nay, exhort and persuade that there is no occasion for it, and perhaps even, that it is not becoming. Thus our

bishops and governors seem, for the present at least, to be acting rightly; while, for the preservation of public peace, they afford no cause of offence to the Lutherans, pay attention to your very learned German divines, submit their judgement to them, and also retain some popish ceremonies.' 24

This is quite ambiguous, but Burcher's letter to Bullinger of January 1548 made it plain that Hilles' allegiance was not to the Strasbourg reformer:

'Shortly after my arrival at Strasburgh I sent you, at the request of master Richard . . . a certain copy of the answer of a very learned man, and one of great judgement in the scriptures, to the letters of Bucer which had repeatedly been sent to him in order to draw him over to his own opinion concerning the eucharist, and bring him into this error respecting the humanity of Christ. As you have never acknowledged the receipt of this book, master Richard wished me to ask you, that we might know whether you have received it.' 25

From this, it is reasonable to assume that Hilles was fairly certain that his Protestant understanding was in line with Bullinger's view.

At a less personal level, Bullinger functioned as a tutor or academic advisor to Hilles, recommending selected reading which usually concentrated on the Church Fathers. Hilles' correspondence is full of acknowledgements of books which Bullinger sent, either as gifts, or as items which he expected to pay for; these sometimes included copies of Bullinger's own works.²⁶ We are fortunate that a copy of one of Bullinger's letters to Hilles has been preserved, which is probably a fair example of the kind of supervision Hilles was accustomed to receive.²⁷ Hilles' letter of December 1542²⁸ must have been written in reply to this. Hilles' academic interests seem to have waned as his career progressed; Latin was a constant problem for him, and he often complained in his letters that his dilatoriness in replying to Bullinger was due to his lack of proficiency in that language.²⁹ This may explain why his interest in works on church history was only short-lived, but he continued to be pleased to accept

modern works, as his letter to Bullinger of February 1572 shows:

'I have received that most delightful treatise you sent me on the authority of scripture and of the church, and I thank your kindness for it!'³⁰

Hilles' friendship with Bullinger functioned at a purely practical level as well, and it may well be that it was on the business side that Hilles was most indebted to him. Even in his first letter, he acknowledged help received from Bullinger, and asked some questions related to the cloth trade.³¹ Some of his letters were almost entirely concerned with business,³² and it is evident from these that Hilles had very few qualms about asking Bullinger to do some quite considerable favours for him! He trusted Bullinger's judgement in business matters, as this extract from Hilles' letter of September 1541 shows:

'I have sent you also another piece (of cloth) of a better sort, ... which contains forty-five ells. Should it seem advisable to you, I wish Falckner to have this, in case he declines the black. But this cloth bears a higher price, namely, twenty-eight florins for forty ells, reckoning sixteen batzen to a florin. Falckner knows that we are accustomed to receive this value for every florin. I pray you to dispose of whatever cloth he may leave to someone else, and lay out the amount this year for the benefit of the poor.'³³

On occasion, Bullinger was asked to undertake fairly unpleasant jobs for Hilles, e.g. to remind merchants of debts which they owed the Englishman, and to try to persuade them to pay promptly.³⁴

Bullinger, in addition to acting as Hilles' agent in Zürich, (which was, in effect, his role), sought to facilitate Hilles' business elsewhere. In May 1542 Hilles wrote:

'I am glad that you have commended to me by letter Peter Hurtzel, and especially Andrew Rappenstein; and if my wife had known as much at the last fair, she would not have required C. Froschover to be surety for them.'³⁵

Again, this is a role which Bullinger relinquished after Hilles' return to England; when Burcher took over the business, he appears to have managed it competently on his own, without the frequent recourse to Bullinger to which Hilles had been accustomed.

The relationship was not biased completely^e in favour of Hilles. Bullinger also had needs and requests with which the Englishman could help. Hilles kept him well informed of English events, and also European news throughout the period of their friendship, which must have been appreciated by Bullinger who operated a kind of central news agency in Zürich; the information which he received in his letters he passed on in due course to his other correspondents. Hilles shared Bullinger's concern for news, and went to considerable pains to ascertain the relevant facts in their entirety:

'As to your desire of certain information respecting the affairs of Brabant, and your request that I should be mindful of you in this matter to the utmost of my power, whether occupied or disengaged; I have now to inform you ... that I have already committed to writing all that I myself know about these matters, or have been able to ascertain from my friends, and that from such information I have written as it were a little history. And if I can get it translated into Latin (which a schoolmaster of my acquaintance has promised to undertake for me), I will send it to you, or at least to Frankfort for you, at the next fair.' 36

It appears that Hilles was also anxious to widen the circle of Bullinger's newsagents; Francis Warner wrote to Bullinger from Strasbourg in 1543:

'When I heard from master Richard Hilles the great desire that you sometimes feel, most accomplished sir, to be informed of what is going on in foreign parts, and among our English more especially; and when he urged me to acquaint you by letter with the disgraceful events that^{have} very lately taken place among my countrymen; I much hesitated to do so at first ... But after he had fully assured me of your easy access and courtesy of manners, exhibited towards persons even of the lowest station and condition of

life; ... I am at length overpowered, and impelled both by his request, and the state of existing circumstances to take upon myself this office.' 37

Perhaps of equal importance to Bullinger was the fact that after John Abel's death, Hilles took over his job as chief 'postman' for Bullinger,³⁸ forwarding letters, gifts and books for him on several occasions. Generally, the friendship that had grown up between these men was a very useful one to them both; Hilles was the main beneficiary in the earlier days, but the balance shifted to Bullinger after Hilles' return to England.

Bullinger's friendship with Burcher seems to have been much closer, although again both parties gained from it. Again, we are dependent on the correspondence for information on how the relationship worked. Thirty-nine letters have survived in the Zürich archives which Burcher wrote to Bullinger during the period 1546-58. Their distribution is quite uneven; one was dated 1546, three were 1548, twelve were written in 1549 and nine in 1550. After that peak they tapered off again; three were written in 1553, two in 1554, one in 1557 and five in 1558. As there is nothing in the content of the correspondence to account for the gaps in it, it seems reasonable to suppose that Bullinger and Burcher were in fact assiduous correspondents, and that many of their letters have been lost. After the apparent three years gap, for example, Burcher launched into a perfectly normal letter, reporting his safe arrival in Poland, without any apologies for a delay in writing, and assuming that Bullinger would be interested to hear his news.³⁹ With regard to Bullinger's letters to Burcher, it is evident that he did write, but none of his letters have been preserved, as far as one can ascertain. Burcher occasionally referred to Bullinger's letters specifically when he replied to them, as in June 1550: 'Two days

since, my very dear Bullinger, was brought me your letter, dated at Zürich on the 17th of May ...'⁴⁰ But there were also times when Burcher simply alluded to having heard from Bullinger without making overt reference to the letter, as in August 1550: 'I perceive ... that you are greatly disturbed at not having received a letter from England to announce the arrival there of your books and letters!'⁴¹ In fifteen of Burcher's letters allusions can be found to letters from Bullinger, but Burcher was not a pedantic man who spent time on courtesies; he preferred to get on with the matter in hand, and so it is likely that he received other letters from the Zürich reformer which he did not acknowledge. Clearly he was not as overcome as some of his other English compatriots by his friendship with Bullinger!

Confidence in himself is in fact one of the hallmarks of Burcher's relationship with the Zürich reformer. There is very little trace to be found in his letters of obsequious respect (unlike Hilles' correspondence), or even of more natural deference. As early as 1546, when their friendship could not have had much time to develop along very intimate lines, he finished a letter: 'Farewell. I have written to my wife, whom I pray you to comfort and advise during my absence!'⁴² In 1549 he did not hesitate to advise Bullinger on matters of foreign policy, which were not really any concern of his:

'The French king has not acted without due prudence in inviting the Swiss to the defence, or rather the recovery of Boulogne: but the Swiss will act most imprudently if they accept this invitation; for it is at too great a distance from you. I wish, however, the Swiss would interpose between these two sovereigns, so as to treat about a peace ...'⁴³

The classic example of his self-confidence comes in a letter of August 3rd, 1551, when he wrote to Bullinger:

'The death of Bucer affords England the greatest possibility of concord. The leading men of England are desirous of a successor not less learned than himself, to supply his place. For my own part, I desire one who may be more sincere and steady. If you know any one qualified for so important an office, pray inform me. I make no doubt but that he could easily be advanced to this high eminence, by the help of some individuals with whom I am acquainted, and who have conversed with me upon the subject.' 44

This topic was taken up again soon afterwards, when Musculus' name had been put forward as a possible candidate:

'He would act, in my opinion, the part of a Christian, if, having been so often invited, he would at last consent. Should he refuse, he will hardly escape the suspicion of cowardice and lukewarmness. For the rest, I doubt not but that you will communicate with him upon the subject. If he is to be persuaded, let me know, and I will take care that due provision be made for his journey, besides whatever else may be necessary.' 45

This attitude of equality or brotherhood which Burcher had adopted may well have been a manifestation of his puritan leanings. The word 'puritan' has to be used carefully, of course; Burcher did not belong to any party (none really existed at this stage), but he clearly regarded himself as being firmly in the same camp as Bullinger. However, there are traces of rather more radical, albeit orthodox, Protestantism in his letters, which in a later period would have laid him open to charges of puritanism. This can be seen most clearly in his attacks on general immorality, e.g. in his letter of October 1548.⁴⁶ He then ended with a characteristic request for prayer:

'Pray this for our church, that God may be favourable to her: for we have need of your continual prayers and those of your whole church.' 47

Christopher Hales encountered Burcher's strict religious concern when he attempted to have portraits of the main Zürich reformers commissioned and sent to him, and suggested to Gualther that Burcher should act as

his agent in this.⁴⁸ The portraits were never sent, thanks to Burcher's objections on the grounds of idolatry, and Hales commented sadly:

'I am greatly surprised that Burcher should persist in thinking that portraits can nowise be painted with a safe conscience and a due regard to godliness; since there is not a single letter in the holy scriptures which appears really to sanction that opinion.' 49

Apart from this tendency towards severity in his outlook on life in general, and adiaphora in religion, there is no doubt at all that Burcher supported Bullinger. With reference to the Consensus Tigurinus he said optimistically:

'And I congratulate, not only you Swiss, that you have so happily come to an agreement among yourselves, but also the whole of Germany; for this event will be of the greatest advantage to all the Germans. May the great and good God grant that the peace now entered into may be lasting, firm, and perpetual!!' 50

He went on to attack Bucer and Fagius in a virulent way which was unfortunately typical of his attitude to the Strasbourg reformers:

'Two preachers, Bucer and Fagius, have been dismissed by the authority of the senate: Paul has departed, and the other will depart very shortly. May the Lord preserve our England from both of them!!' 51

His respect for Bullinger's advice and influence led him to request Bullinger to intervene on Hooper's behalf in the vestment controversy in November 1550:

'It would not be out of place, if both parties were reminded of their duty by yourself and the leading preachers of the truth of the present day. Peace might possibly be the result. Or you might more conveniently state your opinion to the king respecting profane ceremonies of this kind.' 52

Bullinger apparently hesitated, aware of the complexities of the situation, and reluctant to meddle when his advice might not be welcomed,⁵³ and Burcher wrote again, very earnestly, in December:

'Great evil is impending over the Church of England, and I know that all worthy and godly persons are exceedingly distressed. This evil however, may be easily either removed or mitigated by your authority, and that of your church, if you will write to the king . . . The controversy now rests with the king to determine, who if he be clearly instructed by you as to the judgement that must be formed of it according to God's word, I have no doubt but that it will be of great advantage to religion. I do not, however, consider it either necessary or expedient for you to write expressly upon the matter now in dispute; but only as to what ceremonies may be allowed in the church, and to what extent; lest you might probably seem to have been suborned by Hooper to write on his behalf.' 54

Bullinger duly acceded to Burcher's request, and wrote to Edward, having allowed Burcher to read what he had written before the letter was sent on.⁵⁵ Burcher approved, and in his reply emphasized Bullinger's responsibility towards the English Reformation and Edward's religious education:

'I request that, as you have it in your power to be of great service to our reviving church, a document may be delivered to the king by the common consent of yourself, Calvin, and other learned men, that he may be rightly instructed in this controversy. Otherwise, as you perceive, the truth is in danger; and as you have so greatly exerted yourselves in its defence, you must not now suffer it to be destroyed in England.' 56

Although Burcher did not hesitate to ask big favours of Bullinger, Bullinger was evidently very fond of him, and willing to help whenever he could, as he remarked to Utenhovius in August 1549: 'Burcher asked for nothing from me; for I would not deny him my assistance in anything'.⁵⁷ As early as 1542 he had been involved in doing small favours for the Englishman. Myconius wrote to Bullinger in November of that year:

'Treddecim coronatos mittit Thomas Anglus Joanni Burchero Anglo, et te rogat, ut huic reddas, si est in urbe: sin aliter, ut eos apud te retineas donec venerit.' 58

There is no reason to suppose that Bullinger did not do as Hilles asked in 1542, and supported Burcher's cause before the Zürich council,⁵⁹ and thus helped him in his business affairs; he presumably also endorsed Burcher's application for citizenship which was talked about in 1556.⁶⁰ It was to Bullinger that Toxites wrote in 1556, to suggest that Burcher might be the man to help Conrad Zwick in his new business venture,⁶¹ whereupon Burcher and Zwick obviously took Bullinger's advice on this, and proceeded to get involved in the 'Holzsparkunst' operation. Similarly, in 1560, when Ambrosius Blaurer's sister (who was by then in partnership with Burcher for the Polish venture) wished to be released from her connexion with Burcher, Bullinger was the intermediary whom Blaurer chose to negotiate with Burcher directly. From the content of the letter, it is evident that Blaurer expected Bullinger to be able to grasp the essentials of the business transaction, and act efficiently in the matter.⁶² Bullinger took up the request, but exactly how the business was resolved is not divulged in any correspondence. The only clue that we have is Bullinger's cryptic comment to Blaurer in April 1560: 'Quid vero D. Burchero egerim, et quid effecerim, intelliges ex literis suis'.⁶³

While Burcher was away in Poland, Bullinger helped him by keeping an eye on his affairs. Long before he went off, Bullinger had obligingly taken an interest in a not especially talented young relation of his;⁶⁴ in March 1558 he asked Bullinger to become involved with his family at quite an intimate level, keeping an eye on his wife.⁶⁵ Burcher's troubles accumulated at this stage. His business did not go well in Poland, despite Bullinger's recommendations on his behalf.⁶⁶ Almost all of his letters written at this time asked Bullinger to expedite matters for him by getting Zwick or Frau ab Ulmis to send him money.

By October 1558 it appears that Burcher had more or less put Bullinger in charge of sorting out his domestic affairs:

'I wrote to you ... both respecting the debt of your sons, and the uncandid and unchristian conduct of my relative, Christopher Rotaker, towards me. Your sons are indebted to me a sum which I certainly should not have demanded at present, unless extreme necessity had compelled me to it. The other, Rotaker, contrary to the duty of a Christian, not to say, of a preacher, is contriving how to retain possession of my property, which was kindly lent to him by my wife, without my knowledge and in my absence, for the relief of his wants. Should necessity require it, repay, I entreat you, to my wife the money owing by your sons; and remind, I beg of you, my relative Christopher of his duty as a Christian and a minister. For if he does not restore to my wife the sum that he all but fraudulently extorted from her nearly a year since, he may be assured that I shall seek to recover my property by law as soon as I return home ... Manage this affair, I pray you, with him for my sake.' 67

The relationship between the two men was not one of Burcher taking all the time. At the most personal level, Burcher responded to Bullinger's goodness towards him by taking one of his sons into his house in Strasbourg. It appears that Bullinger had hoped to send this son to England, and Burcher would probably have had a big say in the planning and arranging of that expedition if it had come off. In August 1553 however, he wrote to Bullinger:

'You see, my dear friend, how you are deprived of all your expectation respecting our England: you must consider therefore what you should determine upon respecting your son. My house is open to him, and my services shall not be wanting.' 68

Nor was it; Peter Dasypodius wrote to Bullinger in September 1555 about Henry Bullinger's⁶⁹ well-being in Strasbourg: 'Et apud Burcherum ita vivitur, ut magis ciborum copia, quam inopia studiosum impedire
70
queat.'

To a certain extent, Burcher kept Bullinger supplied with news,

a task which was bound to endear him to the reformer. He was at his best when reporting events in places with which he was familiar, e. g. England, Strasbourg, and Poland; other European news he tended to mention in passing, if at all. When he was at home with the facts, he was as reliable a reporter as any of Bullinger's correspondents. His letter of August 1549, for example, contained a lengthy enclosure, citing the detailed demands which the rebels in Devon and Cornwall had made of the government.⁷¹

With regard to events in Poland, Burcher not only reported diligently on the progress of the reformation there,⁷² but he was also willing and eager to involve Bullinger in the difficulties which the Polish reformers were experiencing:

'They, (i. e. `a Lasco and Utenhovius) have in their letters imposed upon me this office, that I should entreat all the ministers of our church to send an united letter to the king's majesty, to admonish him touching both his kingly duty and his religion. They think it expedient too, that other princes should be admonished (for instance, the lord palatine of Cracow) to persevere with diligence in what they have begun. They think that if the nobles of Christendom can be stirred up to this by a general letter, no slight benefit will ensue. Do you act as it becometh Christians.'⁷³

This letter is interesting for several reasons. Burcher clearly identified himself completely with the Zürich church, and was keen to bring the Polish Protestants into the Zürich fold, just as he had been with regard to England. His confidence in Bullinger's influence on this occasion was as marked as before. But it is the opportunist note on which the letter ends which is particularly interesting: Burcher was not the kind of man to let a good chance pass:

'And if it be allowed to mix secular concerns with things so sacred, I could wish that I myself and my affairs should at least be recommended to the princes and the nobility.'⁷⁴

At the most practical level, Bullinger may have considered that Burcher did him the greatest service in forwarding the post. He gave some thought as to how this should be done, as his letter of April 1550 showed:

'There happened to be here a servant of my very faithful friend, master Richard Hilles, whom he had sent to me upon especial business. To this man I entrusted the book and letter to the king, together with all your other letters. The remainder of the books I declined to give into his charge, and not without reason. For in the first place, it is becoming that the king should be preferred to others, and receive his copy before any-one else, lest that which might be more acceptable from its rarity should become less so from being made common. The two remaining copies, therefore, which belong to Hooper and another, I enclosed in some goods, which I took care should be forwarded direct from Antwerp.' 75

It may be that Burcher felt he was being exploited in the postal sphere, because he had to remind Bullinger in August 1551: 'As letters cannot be sent backwards and forwards without some expense, you will have the kindness to take this circumstance into your consideration!'.⁷⁶ He then proceeded to give a list of the relevant costs, and asked Bullinger to pay postage! This in itself is a sign of how familiar Burcher was with Bullinger; it is hard to imagine Hilles treating Bullinger as an equal to the extent that his partner did, and asking him to pay for a service which he supplied. It is therefore particularly frustrating that the correspondence between Burcher and the Antistes appears to have lapsed completely after 1558; we have no way of telling how Burcher's domestic disasters affected his friendship with Bullinger, and no idea whether contact between the two men ceased with Burcher's return to England. But it seems likely that it did, in view of the fact that no more letters from him have been preserved in Zürich, whilst there are scores of other English letters for the same period.

The relationship which grew up between John Butler and Bullinger was markedly different from Bullinger's contacts with most of the other exiles in that it was not based on letters passing between the two men, but on personal encounters. Only seven letters from Butler to Bullinger have survived, and these cover the years 1537-42;⁷⁷ nothing from Bullinger to Butler is extant. Yet we know that the first time these men met was in 1536, and that their friendship lasted until Butler's death in 1553.

In 1536 Butler made little impact on the reformer. Although Bullinger duly reported his arrival in his diary,⁷⁸ he was seen simply as another visitor to Zürich, who with his companions was interested in getting first hand knowledge of the reformed churches in Strasbourg, Zürich, Berne and Geneva. Bullinger did his best to help him and his friends in this quest, and wrote letters of recommendation to his colleagues in those cities to help them on their way.⁷⁹ But although the Englishmen may have made little impression on the Zürich reformer at this early date (which was understandable in view of the number of interested spectators who passed through the city), Zürich made a profound impact on them. A letter from Butler, Eliot, Partridge, Woodroffe and Traheron to the Zürich council is to be found in the council book, which waxes very eloquent about the theologians they had met there. It is quite likely that Butler was the inspiration behind this, as he was the one member of the party who returned, and his name is the first on the list of signatories. Moreover, the letter lapses into the first person singular towards the end, when it eulogises Bullinger:

'Was soll ich auch von dem aller beredtisten fürsprecher Christ unnsERM Bullinger sagen wellicher so mit Lastern behafft ist, Wollte sich nit enntsitzen, schemen und in imselb zuerzittern So er in sieht und hört.' 80

As we have seen, Butler did not return to England for long, and in the 1540s he was a frequent visitor to Zürich, and finally settled there after 1548.⁸¹ He does not appear to have become particularly intimate with Bullinger despite their proximity; indeed, he seems to have been more attached to some of Bullinger's closest friends - which of course would have had the effect of encouraging their own relationship to develop further than it might otherwise have done. Ambrosius Blaurer was a case in point: in May 1548 he reported to Bullinger how much Butler valued his friendship, which must have pleased Bullinger.⁸²

Both Bullinger and Blaurer used Butler as a go-between to a considerable extent. Blaurer's letter of March 1550 to Bullinger said: 'für die wiederholte Einladung durch Butler, und in Deinem Briefe, bin ich sehr dankbar'.⁸³ He sent Bullinger a 'Sonnenkrone und einen Schweizerbatzen' via Butler on one occasion in payment for some tools.⁸⁴ Bullinger in his turn wrote about Butler in very cordial terms to Blaurer, calling him his 'Bruder und Gevatter', who would keep Blaurer informed about events in Italy.⁸⁵ A similar kind of situation existed in connexion with Vadian in St. Gallen. In October 1550, Vadian reported to Bullinger:

'Cum tuo me nomine pridie salutaret Butlerus noster et anxie te cupere de rebus Magdenburgensibus, quonam modo accidissent, mihi significaret, forte fortuna cuidam ex amicis allatus est e Novim berga libellus, Madgenburgi editus, ex quo omnia intelliges ...' ⁸⁶

Whereupon he proceeded to give the latest news about Magdeburg, as Bullinger had requested. Two months later Bullinger did the same thing, but he did not bother to write the news, as Butler was able to tell Vadian personally: 'Quae amicus quidam ad me de Magdeburgensibus,

Wirtebergensibus et aliis nonnullis scripsit, hic idem Buttlerus noster legit ac recitare potest!⁸⁷

Butler's close friendship with Rudolph Gualther, Bullinger's adopted son and his eventual successor, must have counted very much in his favour. His expedition to Frankfurt in 1540, accompanied by Gualther, for the purpose of consoling the religious exiles there, whoever they were, was guaranteed to endear him to the Zürich reformer - not that there is any question that this was calculated for that end.⁸⁸ There is no doubt that Bullinger was impressed by Butler, otherwise he would not have consented to stand as godfather to Butler's second son, Henry, in May 1550,⁸⁹ and the fact that Butler asked him to do this is a measure of the Englishman's respect and liking for Bullinger. In 1570 Bullinger vouched for Henry's respectability before the Zürich council, along with his colleague Mangold.⁹⁰

This is the only evidence we have that any real intimacy existed between the two men. As far as we know, Bullinger was not invited to Butler's wedding, unlike Amerbach, the Basel academic.⁹¹ Nor is there any mention in Bullinger's correspondence of Butler's death in 1553, which is very strange. In the small amount of correspondence of Butler's which we have, there is no trace that he regarded Bullinger as his religious mentor in the way that Hooper, Hilles and Burcher did; he wrote reporting events in the English Reformation, but on no occasion did he ever ask for advice. We know that Hooper wrote to Bullinger asking him to persuade Butler to return to England to help further the cause of the Reformation there,⁹² and there is no reason to suppose that Bullinger did not do his best to oblige, but Butler remained stubbornly in Europe.

Even if the evidence for a warm friendship between these men is not convincing, there is little doubt that they could be, and were, useful to each other on several occasions. Right at the beginning of Butler's period of permanent residence abroad, Bullinger took an interest in the wood business in which he was involved. Butler wrote to Bullinger concerning Peterson's misfortunes in March 1540:

¶He therefore most earnestly entreats you, in his letter to me, that you would be kind enough to acquaint those individuals with the damage he has sustained, that they may try all the pieces by the pattern I have just described . . . lest he should lose his labour and money a second time as he did before. ¶ 93

At the same time, he obliged Bullinger in helping him to pursue his hobby of collecting Roman coins.⁹⁴ This fits in very neatly with a letter Bullinger wrote to Amerbach in November 1540:

¶... Praeterita enim aestate Britannus quidam adolescens nobilis meo nomine a te postulabat Romane vetustatis numismata; cui tam facilem te praebebas, ut primum quidem catalogum vetustatis illius manu propria conscriberes, deinde vero nummos ipsos, quos petebam, aureos, argenteos, et aereos mitteres, illud insuper adijicens, totum te alioqui nobis esse obstrictum paratumque et in maioribus gratificari. ¶ 95

Towards the end of Butler's life, Bullinger again proved useful in a business capacity. He acted as Pastor Johannes Stumph's agent, and passed on instructions to Butler with regard to the payment of Stumph Junior's allowance: "Tam quae D. Bullingerus tuis verbis mihi mandavit, quam meam sententiam intelligas, tamen quicquid porro vis si potero, faciam. ¶ 96

The biggest service which Butler performed for Bullinger himself, as distinct from the favours he did for friends of Bullinger, was probably, as in the case of Hilles and Burcher, in the area of news reporting. His own few letters contain a variety of information, but were most

detailed on the English scene;⁹⁷ in his last letter to Bullinger, he included some news of affairs in Germany.⁹⁸ Their mutual friends also relied on Butler to a considerable extent to explain various matters to Bullinger. Mont, for example, reported the imprisonment of Bishop Bonner to Bullinger in his letter of October 1549, and added:

'Dominus Halesius et Joannes Butlerus Angli in vestra urbe commovantes facile dominatione tue indignitatem eius carceris (Marshalsea) declarabunt.'⁹⁹

Similarly, Burcher wrote to Bullinger in January 1551:

'The bishops have enjoined silence upon Hooper, accusing him, as my friend Thomas Knight writes me word from England, of heresy. I forward you his letter, which can be translated into Latin by the assistance of master Butler.'¹⁰⁰

Butler's role then, in Bullinger's eyes, was in all probability that of a resident expert on English affairs, and given Bullinger's concern for the English Reformation, Butler's importance to him was thus assured.

The correspondence of Hooper and Bullinger is our main source of information about their relationship, and it spans the years 1546-1555, when Hooper was burned.¹⁰¹ In those nine years Hooper wrote at least thirty-one letters to Bullinger which have survived, and according to his own letters, several others were lost. Most of these appear to have been written before 1551, when Hooper's letter writing capacity evidently began to suffer from the demands of other duties. Bullinger in his turn certainly wrote thirteen letters to Hooper which Hooper mentioned in his replies, but only one of these, Bullinger's famous epistle of encouragement and exhortation, written to Hooper when he was in prison in 1554, has survived.¹⁰² Anna Hooper wrote six letters to Bullinger, which have all been published by the Parker Society, and which were evidently written in response to Bullinger's letters to her. There is nothing to indicate that any of their correspondence went astray.

This correspondence notwithstanding, Bullinger's friendship with Hooper was based to a large extent on the personal contact which they enjoyed during the couple of years which Hooper spent in Zurich in the years 1547-9. The first letter Bullinger received from Hooper was written in January 1546 from Strasbourg,¹⁰³ and was sent with a letter from Lewis Lavater, a Zürich student in whom Bullinger had taken a personal interest, who was then studying in Strasbourg.¹⁰⁴ Lavater wrote in explanation:

'Accipies praeterea literas ab Anglo quodam Hopero observandissimo studiosissimoque tui erudito homine et summa humanitate, tuaque amicitia (quantum quidem ego indico) dignissimo, cui velim, si liberum esset, rescriberes. Nam id ei erit gratissimum, plurimum enim partes Zwinglii, quod rarum est in hac urbe tuetur. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetua devinxeris.' ¹⁰⁵

The tone of Hooper's introductory letter to Bullinger is very significant. He did not waste time on courtesies, but launched himself straight into the business which concerned him. Perhaps this was because he was, unlike so many of his fellow exiles, older than Bullinger.¹⁰⁶ Bullinger was evidently not a type who stood on ceremony himself, and he complied with Lavater's request by replying to Hooper's letters; in 1547 their friendship progressed when Hooper stayed with Bullinger for a time, as Bullinger reported to Myconius in April 1547.¹⁰⁷ A very intimate friendship thus grew up between the two reformers. Bullinger mentioned Hooper quite frequently in his diary, unlike the other English exiles whom he knew, who scarcely feature.¹⁰⁸ He stood as god-father to Hooper's daughter, Rachel, who was born in Zürich in 1548,¹⁰⁹ and many of Hooper's letters to Bullinger mention her progress.¹¹⁰ On one occasion he thanked Bullinger for 'the letter in which the new year's gift was inclosed for your little daughter Rachel, (for so I call her, as your sons and daughters are mine).'¹¹¹ He clearly felt indebted to

Bullinger for his kindness to his family while they were in Zürich, and wrote in August 1551, when he was settled at Gloucester:

'Should it seem good to you that your sons should visit England for their education, you need not feel much anxiety as to what it would cost them to live here. I will take the charge of them upon myself, and that too, faithfully and cheerfully.' 112

After Hooper's arrest, Bullinger offered to take charge of his wife and children; his letter was received very gratefully by Ann a Hooper, but she preferred to stay in Frankfurt where she had a relation, and where she could get news more quickly from England.¹¹³

The especially close friendship which existed between Hooper and Bullinger was not a private matter; even the Swiss students who visited England in 1550 were aware of it and commented on it:

'(Hooper) vor Jaren auch selber mit Wyb und kind zu Zürich ein Zytlang gewonet und ihm myn Herren die Gelehrten all wol bekannt warend, sonderlich aber H. Heinrich Bullinger.' 114

This should not be overemphasized, as Maler continued:

'und Hr. Rudolf Walther, Pfarer zu St. Peter, Hr. Johannes Wolf, Pfarer zu Frouwen Munster, die all ihn, wie auch er sy hochg'rechnet und bruderlich geliebt hat.' 115

But it is unlikely that Hooper ever wrote to the other Zürich theologians that he was in the habit of kissing their letters!¹¹⁶

The pupil-teacher element was an important one in Hooper's relationship with Bullinger despite the age difference. This appeared from the outset of their correspondence in 1546 when Hooper asked for advice on whether it was permissible for a Protestant to attend Mass in certain circumstances. He wrote a very detailed letter, raising the points he wanted Bullinger to take up;¹¹⁷ Bullinger evidently replied at corresponding length, and gave Hooper his opinion, which was different. He maintained that if a Protestant were in a situation where

attendance at Mass appeared desirable for any reason, he should get himself out of that situation forthwith, a statement which Hooper was happy to accept, although it meant shifting away from his earlier position.¹¹⁸

Bullinger was a major influence on Hooper thereafter. According to Foxe, he played a significant part in persuading Hooper to return to England;¹¹⁹ his speech on Hooper's departure is worth quoting, even if it is apocryphal, as it illustrates the skills of persuasion which Foxe considered were evidently required to convince Hooper that his duty lay with the English Reformation, and which Bullinger may in fact have used:

'Although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the sake of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shall.

Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility.'¹²⁰

But Zürich was for Hooper the perfect reformed city, as he assured Bullinger in his reply.¹²¹

After Hooper's return to England, Bullinger continued to direct him in various ways. Hooper asked him for advice on how he should preach the Lenten sermons which Cranmer had invited him to do in Edward's presence in 1550.¹²² We do not know if Bullinger actually responded to this request, but on another occasion, Hooper wrote to him:

'As to your advice in your letter, that I should make friends of the bishops, I should be much to blame, if I did not endeavour by all means to do so, provided it can be done with a safe and pure conscience.' 123

Yet despite the obvious importance of Bullinger's role as mentor, it is surely significant that Hooper, as far as we know, did not call upon him for advice, or support, in the great controversy of his Edwardian career, the question of his consecration as bishop of Gloucester, and the discussion about appropriate vestments. In June 1550 he simply described his troubles to Bullinger and asked for his prayers.¹²⁴ In December 1550 he went into more detail in a hasty note:

'When I shall have emerged from the waves of danger ... I will send a messenger of my own, from whom you shall learn all my affairs. Do not, I pray you, be surprised, that I make no mention of your letters, which I very frequently kiss; for I can never forget either yourself or your kindness towards me. You shall hear in a future letter, on what subject and on what occasion so fierce and quarrelsome a dispute arose between the bishops and myself. I agree that the contest should be set at rest by the arbitration of godly men. I will explain in a few words the cause and ground of the dispute. The use of vestments peculiar to popery in the ministry of the church has been the occasion here of great disturbance. Master a Lasco alone, of all the foreigners who have any influence, stood on my side. Farewell ... I have written what I can; you know what I mean.' 125

The promised letter was apparently never written. In August 1551,

Hooper wrote tersely:

'I was occupied during the past year with constant and important business, as you have doubtless heard from others. The question respecting habits, which was always exceedingly displeasing to me, was gravely discussed between the bishop of London and myself. For my part, I very properly, if I am not mistaken, found fault with the use of them in the church, and contended for their entire removal. He, on the other hand, most urgently and pertinaciously defended their use. But as the Lord has put an end to this controversy, I do not think it worth while to violate the sepulchre of this unhappy tragedy.' 126

Hooper was right; others did keep Bullinger informed of the controversy. Richard Hilles, Peter Martyr, John ab Ulmis, John Stumph, Martin Micronius, and John Utenhovius all wrote to him about it.¹²⁷ But Hooper himself remained silent about the details. It is at this stage that we can detect from his letters that he was experiencing some difficulty in his relationship with Bullinger; the Zürich Reformer was evidently hurt because Hooper wrote so seldom, and this may have been aggravated by the loss of some letters. In March 1550, Hooper complained that this letter was the third he had written since the end of January, but we know only of his letter of February 5th of that year.¹²⁸ It is however more than likely that Bullinger was not only hurt by the infrequency of Hooper's letters (particularly in view of his assurance, according to Foxe, made when he left Zürich, that he would write),¹²⁹ but that he was also offended because Hooper had not consulted him about his own views on the controversy in which he was so deeply and publicly embroiled.¹³⁰

The references quoted in note 130 give numerous other examples of how Bullinger may have influenced the thoughts of the 'father of English Puritanism', and that subject does not lie within the scope of this thesis. It is however worth considering the other side of the coin. Are there any examples of Hooper influencing Bullinger, or attempting to direct him in any way? It seems that previous research has concentrated on Bullinger's importance for Hooper, but there is a case for saying that Hooper was also an extremely useful and valued contact for Bullinger. A practical example is this letter of Hooper, written on his way back to England:

'Yesterday, April 25th, I was invited to dinner by a citizen of Antwerp, who is well acquainted with Switzerland from having frequently exposed his goods for sale in all their cities. He told me that

since the emperor had left upper Germany, he had often seen in his palace the public officers of the canton of Lucerne; for he knew them well by the colour of their dress. It is to be feared that the secret affairs of that country may be revealed by this means, or that some yet greater evil may be latent. ' 131

This was probably seen as unexpected, interesting and useful information, which Bullinger would have welcomed, even if he did not act upon it.

With regard to the English Reformation, Hooper was most anxious to keep the Zürich reformer up to date with events, and to ensure that he had some contact with the leading figures of Edward's reign. This was behind his request of December 1549 that Bullinger should dedicate some work to Edward,¹³² and this was followed in February 1550 by another letter which said:

'With respect to what you write about the marquis of Dorset, if you have anything suitable in the press, contrive, I entreat you, to dedicate it to him. He is pious, good, and brave, and distinguished in the cause of Christ. You will not a little advance the glory of God by giving encouragement to him and others by your writings. Your reputation, believe me, is most honourably spoken of, as you well deserve, by all the learned and godly of this country. ' 133

On another occasion he asked Bullinger to take a more personal interest in English affairs:

'If you would sometime, as is befitting to your erudition and piety, send a letter of encouragement to our king, take care to do so as soon as possible, and also to the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Dorset; believe me, they would receive it most gratefully; send it to me, and I will place it in their hands with all fidelity. ' 134

Bullinger was quick to oblige, at least in the matter of dedications (and quite probably also with letters, though no trace of these can be found); the first two volumes of his Decades (1549 and 1550) were dedicated to Edward VI, and the third volume to Lord Grey.¹³⁵ From this it is

quite evident that, although Bullinger's keen interest in the progress of the Reformation in England was never in any doubt, Hooper was every bit as eager to feed that interest and to encourage it, in the hopes that this would help guide the Reformers and politicians along the 'right' lines.

Hooper also functioned as a newsagent for Bullinger, conforming to the role which his fellow exiles had taken upon themselves. It is worth looking briefly at the three unpublished letters of his which have survived; these were written while he was still in Zürich, and are really just notes. They merely inform on events in Europe which might have an impact on either English foreign policy, or Swiss-Imperial relations. But they do show the breadth of Hooper's interest, and his awareness that this kind of letter was appreciated by Bullinger.¹³⁶

On balance, it is fair to say that the friendship between these two men was very much a matter of give and take on both sides; there is little evidence to point to Hooper being the main beneficiary from it, particularly after his return to England. It may well be that some of the cordiality disappeared from Bullinger's letters because of the tensions which the vestment controversy and Hooper's dilatoriness in letter writing had brought to the relationship and in 1553 Hooper complained that Bullinger owed him several letters.¹³⁷ After he was arrested, he continued to be disappointed in not hearing from Bullinger. But the one letter from Bullinger to Hooper which we have was written in October 1554, and explains, at least in part, why he had not written earlier. He doubted if his letters would be delivered to Hooper, and if they were, he feared they would increase Hooper's sorrow; also, Bullinger asserted he had not heard from Hooper himself, which must mean that letters did not get through.¹³⁸ This letter did not lack for sympathy and encouragement to the English Reformer, and Bullinger's

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concern for Hooper's family after his death was only what might have been expected from him, in view of the friendship which they had enjoyed.

The last favour which Bullinger did for Hooper was to assist in the revision of one of his works, presumably the treatise on the Lord's Supper.¹³⁹ This was published after Hooper's death, and it was in connexion with this that Peter Martyr wrote to Bullinger at some length in April 1555.¹⁴⁰ This was a clear example of Bullinger's generosity; Hooper had asked him, while he was still alive, but in prison, to help him by arranging the publication of a couple of works with Froschover,¹⁴¹ but his letter gave no indication that extensive revision, such as that which Martyr proposed, would be involved. It is thanks to Foxe that we have these treatises which appeared after Hooper's death, as there is no indication that they were published in their own right by any Swiss printer. Foxe worked in Basel during Mary's reign, and probably got hold of them through his employer, the printer Oporinus.¹⁴²

From this detailed study of Bullinger's relationship with four of the English refugees (i. e. the relationships for which the most documentation exists), it emerges that Bullinger was useful to them in a variety of ways; he was mentor to Hilles, Hooper and Burcher, a convenient business aide to Hilles, Burcher and Butler, and had quite intimate family dealings with Burcher, Butler and Hooper. In return, these men helped him considerably in his demanding hobby of news gathering, and transmitting communications at a time when speed and efficiency were crucial if the Zürich Reformer was to keep up to date with the rapidly changing events in Europe and England which were of such concern to him.

CHAPTER 5

Footnotes

1. Z. L. I. , pp. 270-75, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1572.
2. Z. L. , 2, p. 15, Hilles to Bullinger, 28. 2. 1559.
3. O. L. , pp. 229-30, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 11. 1542.
4. O. L. , p. 265, Hilles to Bullinger, 4. 6. 1549.
5. O. L. , p. 196, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
6. Lambeth Palace Archives, 2010, f. 115 (copy). See appendix. E2.
7. O. L. and Z. L. , passim.
8. O. L. , pp. 196, 199-200, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
9. O. L. , p. 236, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
10. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 369, 74. See appendix E, 1.
11. Z. L. I. , p. 173, Hilles to Bullinger, 20. 12. 1566.
12. O. L. p. 215, Hilles to Bullinger, 15 41. There is nothing in the original of this letter to suggest that it was written in London, as the editor suggested. Thus the element of risk was perhaps reduced.
13. O. L. , p. 227, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 5. 1542.
14. O. L. , pp. 216-7, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1542.
O. L. , p. 241 , Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1543.
O. L. , p. 245, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1544.
15. O. L. , p. 238, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1542.
16. O. L. , p. 245, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1544.
It is interesting to compare Hilles' attitude here with that of Francesco di Marco Dantini, portrayed by Iris Origo in The Merchant of Prato (Penguin, 1963) cf. especially p. 156. This Tuscan merchant in the 14th century experienced similar pangs of conscience to those Hilles felt, both in marked contrast to the attitude that later developed among Calvinists, who regarded money-making and material success as signs of God's favour.
17. O. L. , p. 267, Hilles to Bullinger, 17. 11. 1549.

18. Z. L. 1., pp. 171-2, Hilles to Bullinger, 20. 12. 1566.
19. O. L. , p. 196, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540
O. L. , p. 265, Hilles to Bullinger, 4. 6. 1549.
20. O. L. , p. 267, Hilles to Bullinger, 17. 11. 1549.
21. Z. L. 2, p. 83, Hilles to Bullinger, 31. 7. 1562.
22. O. L. , p. 254, Hilles to Bullinger, 30. 4. 1546.
23. Z. L. 2, p. 83, Hilles to Bullinger, 31. 7. 1562.
24. O. L. , p. 266, Hilles to Bullinger, 4. 6. 1549.
25. O. L. , p. 640, Burcher to Bullinger, 30. 1. 1548.
26. O. L. , p. 228, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
" p. 244, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1544.
" p. 246, " " " 15. 4. 1545.
" p. 250, " " " 28. 1. 1546.
" p. 255, " " " 26. 1. 1547.
" p. 266, " " " 4. 6. 1549.
" p. 269, " " " 25. 6. 1550.
" p. 272, " " " 22. 3. 1551.
" p. 274, " " " 9. 7. 1553.
Z. L. 1, p. 171, " " " 20. 12. 1566.
Z. L. 2, p. 164, " " " 23. 8. 1567.
27. Lambeth Palace Archives 2010, f. 115, see appendix E, 2.
28. O. L. , pp. 228-238, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
29. See above, note 19.
30. Z. L. 2, p. 196, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 2. 1572. This must have referred to De Scripturae Sanctae praesentia et dignitate, Zürich, 1571 (Parker Soc. , Bullinger Decades, 5, XV).
31. O. L. , p. 199, Hilles to Bullinger, August 1540.
32. O. L. , pp. 216-9, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
O. L. , pp. 224-5, " " " 10. 5. 1542.
33. O. L. , p. 216, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 9. 1541.
34. O. L. , p. 241, Hilles to Bullinger, 26. 9. 1543.
35. O. L. , p. 225, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 5. 1542.
36. Z. L. 2, p. 165, Hilles to Bullinger, 23. 8. 1567.
37. O. L. , pp. 355-6, Warner to Bullinger, 8. 7. 1543.
38. Z. L. 1, p. 211, Hilles to Bullinger, 6. 2. 1570.

39. O. L. , p. 687, Burcher to Bullinger, 4. 11. 1557.
40. O. L. , p. 665, Burcher to Bullinger, 8. 6. 1550.
41. O. L. , p. 668, Burcher to Bullinger, 10. 8. 1550.
O. L. , p. 670, " " " " 1. 9. 1550: "I was exceedingly delighted at your having received a letter from Hooper".
42. O. L. , p. 639, Burcher to Bullinger, 31. 12. 1546.
43. O. L. , p. 653, Burcher to Bullinger, 30. 5. 1549.
44. O. L. , p. 678, Burcher to Bullinger, 3. 8. 1551.
45. O. L. , p. 680, Burcher to Bullinger, 10. 8. 1551.
46. O. L. , p. 643, Burcher to Bullinger, 29. 10. 1548.
47. O. L. , p. 644.
48. O. L. , p. 186, Hales to Gualther, 4. 3. 1550.
Christopher Hales had visited Zürich in 1548, but was of course not a refugee at this stage. See Garrett, Marian Exiles, p. 171.
49. O. L. , p. 191, Hales to Gualther, 1550-51.
50. O. L. , p. 650, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 4. 1549.
51. O. L. , p. 651.
52. O. L. , p. 673, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 11. 1550.
53. Scales, D. , "Bullinger and the vestment controversies in England" (Cambridge University Ph. D. , 1978), pp. 29-30.
54. O. L. , pp. 674-5, Burcher to Bullinger, 28. 12. 1550.
55. O. L. , p. 676, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 1. 1551.
56. O. L. , pp. 676-7.
57. Gorham, G. C. , Gleanings, p. 113.
58. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 343, 251. Might this be a reference to Thomas Rose? (see Chapter 2)
59. O. L. , p. 236, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 12. 1542.
60. O. L. , p. 246, Hilles to Bullinger, 15. 4. 1545.
61. See above, chapter 2, biography of Burcher.
62. Schiess, T. , Briefwechsel, vol. 3, p. 490, no. 2224.

63. *ibid.*, p. 501, no. 2238.
64. O. L., p. 657, Burcher to Bullinger, 25. 9. 1549.
O. L., p. 664, Burcher to Bullinger, 20. 4. 1550.
65. O. L., pp. 694-5, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 3. 1558.
66. Hessels, J. H., Ecclesiae Londino - Batavae Archivuum, (1889), vol. 2, p. 104, no. 34.
67. O. L., pp. 698-9, Burcher to Bullinger, 27. 10. 1558.
68. O. L., p. 685, Burcher to Bullinger, 16. 8. 1553.
69. The justification for believing this was Heinrich Bullinger junior is the letter of Bullinger senior to his son, Heinrich, 25. 8. 1554 (Z. Z. B., S82, 142). It is addressed: "Dilecto meo filio, Heinrycho Bullingero, in aedibus D. Joannis Burcheri, Angli, Argentinae." Dasypodius' letter (note 70) mentions two sons in Strasbourg, one of whom was passing through. Perhaps this was the debt Bullinger's sons owed Burcher in 1558.
70. Z. St. Arch., E II, 356, 884.
71. Z. St. Arch., E II, 345, 423. See appendix G.
72. O. L., pp. 687-700, Burcher's letters to Bullinger, November 1557-November 1558, especially pp. 690-2, 16. 2. 1558.
73. O. L., p. 701, Burcher to Bullinger, 30. 11. 1558.
74. O. L., p. 702.
75. O. L., p. 662, Burcher to Bullinger, 20. 4. 1550.
76. O. L., p. 677, Burcher to Bullinger, 3. 8. 1551.
77. O. L., pp. 623-35. Those dated are 8. 3. 1539; 24. 2. 1540; 29. 3. 1540; 4. 4. 1540; 10. 11. 1542.
78. Egli, E., Diarium, p. 25. See also Chapter 2, biography of Butler.
79. O. L., p. 623, without date.
Herminjard, A. L., Correspondence des Reformateurs, vol. 4, p. 309, no. 665.
80. Z. St. Arch., B VI, 254, 182.
81. See Chapter 2, biography of Butler.
82. Schiess, T., Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 699.
Z. St. Arch., E II, 357, 268: "Buttlerus vero noster tuam erga se officiosam humanitatem mirifice praedicat et amore studioque tui iam inde a multis annis vehementer flagrat."

83. Schiess, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 71, no. 1684.
84. ibid., p. 74, no. 1689.
85. ibid., p. 139, no. 1778.
86. Arbenz & Wartmann, Die Vadianische Briefsammlung, vol. 6, p. 883, no. 1714.
87. ibid., p. 893, no. 1722.
88. See Chapter 2, biography of Butler.
89. Z. Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters, 4. 5. 1550.
90. Z. St. Arch., B V, 18, f. 245.
91. Hartmann, A., Amerbach Korrespondenz, vol. 6, pp. 256-7, no. 2806.
92. O. L., p. 94, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
O. L., p. 97, " " " 27. 10. 1551.
93. O. L., p. 629, Butler to Bullinger, 29. 3. 1540.
94. ibid.
95. Hartmann, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 306, no. 2416.
96. Z. Z. B., S73, 196. Also S73, 197. See appendix F, no. 1-2.
97. O. L., p. 627, Butler to Bullinger, 24. 2. 1550.
98. O. L., p. 633, Butler to Bullinger, 10. 11. 1542.
99. Z. St. Arch., E II, 356, 910.
100. O. L., p. 676, Burcher to Bullinger, 21. 1. 1551.
101. See appendix J, no. 2 for dates of letters.
102. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS 260, f. 28 (copy). See appendix D, no. 7.
103. O. L., p. 33.
104. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 18, p. 83.
105. Z. Z. B., F39, 733.
106. Vetter, T., "Joannes Hooper, Bischof von Gloucester und Worcester, und seine Beziehungen zu Bullinger und Zürich," Turicensia, Beiträge zur zürcherischen Geschichte, (Zürich, 1891), p. 130.
107. Z. St. Arch., E II, 342, 170.

108. Egli, E., Bullingers Diarium, pp. 35, 37, 38.
There is no mention of Hooper in the Diarium after 1551, perhaps because we only have an abbreviated version of the original, which has been lost since 1835, Vetter, op. cit., p. 143.
109. Z. Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters, 29. 3. 1548.
110. O. L., p. 74, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 12. 1549.
O. L., p. 75, " " " 5. 2. 1550.
O. L., p. 79, " " " 27. 3. 1550.
O. L., p. 92, " " " 1. 8. 1551.
111. O. L., p. 88, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
112. O. L., p. 92, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
113. O. L., p. 110, Anna Hooper to Bullinger, 20. 4. 1554.
114. "Josua Maler – Selbst Biographie", Zürcher Taschenbuch, 1885, p. 157.
115. ibid.
116. O. L., p. 95, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
117. O. L., pp. 38–40, without date.
118. O. L., p. 40, without date.
119. Foxe, J., Acts and Monuments, vol. 6, part 2, p. 638.
120. ibid.
121. ibid.
122. O. L., p. 75, Hooper to Bullinger, 5. 2. 1550.
123. O. L., p. 89, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
124. O. L., p. 87, Hooper to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.
125. O. L., p. 95. The date of this 'postscript' was probably December 1550, i. e. at the height of the vestment controversy, as a study of the original documents has shown that this part is quite separate from the letter dated August 1551. I owe this to Dr. W. West in his article "Bullinger and England in the reign of Edward VI" (paper given at a colloquium marking the 400th anniversary of Bullinger's death, Bristol Baptist College, 1975).
126. O. L., p. 91, Hooper to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1551.
127. O. L., passim.
128. O. L., p. 78, and O. L., p. 74.

129. Foxe, J. , loc. cit.
130. For details of the controversy, see Opie, J. "The Anglicizing of John Hooper"; Scales, D. "Henry Bullinger and the vestment controversies in England". West, op. cit. , makes an interesting suggestion concerning Hooper's capitulation, attributing it to the letter Bullinger wrote to him in January 1551 (mentioned by Burcher, O. L. , p. 676), which may have reached Hooper by the middle of February, and which may well have advised caution. Hooper capitulated on February 15th.
131. O. L. , p. 60, Hooper to Bullinger, 26. 4. 1549.
132. O. L. , p. 73, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 12. 1549.
133. O. L. , p. 77, Hooper to Bullinger, 5. 2. 1550.
134. O. L. , p. 83, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 3. 1550.
135. Bullinger, Decades, (Parker Society), vol. 5, xx.
136. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 343, 380; E II, 343, 381.
Z. Z. B. , S68, 114. See appendix D, nos. 3-5.
137. O. L. , p. 100, 3. 9. 1553.
138. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. MS 260, f. 28.
See appendix D, no. 7.
139. Hooper, Later Writings, (Parker Society), p. 400.
140. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2950. See appendix D, p. 8.
141. O. L. , pp. 105-6, Hooper to Bullinger, 11. 12. 1554.
142. Hooper, Later Writings, p. 381.

CHAPTER 6

The Exile Network - 3

Relations between the exiles and
other Reformers in the area

John Butler, John Hooper, and Miles Coverdale seem to have been the most sociable and outgoing of the English refugees in the region around Zürich and Strasbourg, as their contacts with the theologians in the area show. Burcher, Hilles, and the others may have had more to do with the ordinary business men living and working in the area, but it appears that they were not particularly interested in establishing friendships in the Reformers' circles. These scholars¹ were generally keen letter writers and to some extent literary figures, and it is thanks to the written evidence they left behind them that we can build up a picture of the friendship and assistance they were able to offer certain exiles, and what the exiles could sometimes give them in return.

Contact could, and often did, begin with hospitality. John Butler probably stayed with Bibliander on his first visit to Zürich.² In a letter of September 14th, which Egli suggested was written in 1536,³ and which the Zürich catalogue says was written after that date, Bibliander remarked to Myconius that he might send some books from Basel 'per Joannem Butlerum Anglus, qui una est ascensus'.⁴ This implies that they had formed an early acquaintance, and this was taken up subsequently, when Butler returned to Zürich. In August 1548, Bibliander stood as god-father to Butler's son, Joseph, and in May 1550 his wife, Rosilla, was god-mother to his second son, Henry.⁵

Despite the real lack of evidence about the kind of relationship which these two men had, it is evident that it must have been a fairly close one, because the responsibility of being a god-parent was not one to be taken lightly. A similar friendship existed between Bibliander and Hooper. Bibliander's wife stood as god-mother to Hooper's first born, Rachel, in March 1548; it is interesting to note that Bullinger was god-father on this occasion, and that the same partnership of Bullinger and Rosilla Buchmann (Bibliander) operated for the baptism of Henry Butler.⁶ Hooper clearly had a high regard for Bibliander's work. In July 1550, Byrchmann wrote to Bullinger:

D. Hoperus petierat me ut indicarem M. Sebastiano
Iudimagistri apud Tigurinem, ut transmitteret D.
Hopero lectiones D. Bibliandri se pro labore
suscepto satisfacturum. Ainde expectatur liber
D. Bibliandri de doctrina et ----- (illegible)
Petri. 7

Bibliander responded to this esteem by dedicating to Hooper in 1552 his Sermo Divinae Maiestatis voce pronuntiatus in monte Sinai, et ipsius digito scriptus in tabulis duabus lapideis. This was a commentary on the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer, in which Bibliander praised the art of grammatical biblical exegesis, and Edward VI for encouraging it.⁸

Pellikan was another Zürich scholar whom both Butler and Hooper knew. Butler probably knew him best at the time of his early visits to Zürich. Pellikan mentioned in his diary Butler's arrival in Zürich in 1539, and this is surely a reasonable indication that some degree of friendship existed between them, which was pursued when they were in the same city.⁹ We know little about Pellikan and Hooper, but it is worth noting that the former commented in his diary for 1546:

14. Septembris Domino Johanni Hoppero Anglo nunc
episcopo, doctissimo et optimo viro praelegi
commentaria in omnes 12 prophetas minores Rabi
Davidis Kimhi gratis omnino. 10

Clearly they related to each other on the academic level, and given Pellikan's generosity to refugees on other occasions,¹¹ it is more than likely that he and Hooper were real friends.

Amerbach is an example of a Swiss academic who was very helpful to Butler in a time of need, but who did not become a close personal friend of either Butler or of any other exile, as far as we know. He probably heard of Butler's existence at an early date, if we assume that Bullinger's letter to Amerbach of November 6th, 1540, referred to Butler, as seems likely.¹² On March 31st, 1541, Grinaeus sent an Englishman to Amerbach for aid; he had been ill, and would receive no more money until the next Frankfurt fair. As a result, he was given, along with his servant, food at the Augustinians, and his lodgings were paid for a month.¹³ On September 17th Amerbach passed on to an impecunious English student the coat of a student who had died.¹⁴ There is no proof that it was Butler who benefitted in either of these cases, but subsequent history shows that Butler had a high regard for Amerbach, which manifested itself in a variety of ways. After he had moved to Konstanz, he sent the Basel academic a selection of gifts, including some lines of verse he had composed, and fish from the lake.¹⁵ In the Basel University Library there is a Latin New Testament printed by Mayler in London in 1540, which is dedicated in Butler's hand to:

*Consultissimo iuris perito Domino, doctoro Amarbachio,
viro etiam omnibus modis humaniss: patronque suo
Joannes Butlerus de Solhil Anglo in testimonium
amicitiae perpetuae.*¹⁶

In 1546, Butler not only invited Amerbach to attend his wedding in Konstanz, but he also found him a prospective wife, whose virtues he recommended quite seriously.¹⁷ This is the last evidence we have of contact between the two men; the hall-mark of their relationship was

Butler's gratitude to Amerbach, because, even if Butler had not been the recipient of his charity in the instances mentioned above, he was nevertheless a likely candidate to benefit from the fund which Amerbach administered on Erasmus' behalf.¹⁸

Myconius, another Basel figure, had been involved in Butler's hunt for a wife. He and Marcus Bersius (pastor at St. Leonard's, Basel)¹⁹ wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer in August 1543, just before Butler moved to Konstanz. The content of that letter is one of the most amusing and edifying pieces of information we have about Butler, as it is an enthusiastic personal recommendation of Butler as a potential husband. He had obviously let it be known that he was looking for a wife, and had asked Myconius, whom he must have thought knew him well enough, to describe his merits to Blaurer.²⁰ Some kind of contact was maintained between them, after Butler had left Basel; in April 1546, when Butler wrote to Amerbach to ask him to his wedding, he took the opportunity to send greetings to Myconius.²¹ Myconius also knew, and was useful to, Burcher and Hooper. As we have seen, Burcher lived with him for a while in 1540-1;²² In March 1547 Myconius wrote to Bullinger, recommending Hooper and his wife in enthusiastic, if quite general, terms.²³

The Blaurer family became important to Butler when he moved to Konstanz. In July 1543 Butler wrote to Ambrosius Blaurer, whom he evidently already knew, and told him that he wanted to move:

¹Schon längst bin ich Dir für Deine Freundlichkeit und erwiesene Dienste zu Dank verpflichtet; doch hielt mich meine geringe Bildung ab, an Dich, Deinen Bruder und Zwick zu schreiben. Ich bitte Gott, Euch zu vergelten, und hoffe dereinst mich dankbar zeigen zu können. Ich bin entschlossen, nach Konstanz überzusiedeln und dort vielleicht mein Leben zu beschliessen. Am liebsten würde ich bei Dir wohnen und habe kürzlich mit Peter Schär

darüber gesprochen; aber ich möchte Dir nicht lästig fallen. Betten und Hausrat würde ich für mich und meine Verwandten mitbringen. Kann es bei Dir nicht sein, so bemühe Dich bei Deinem Bruder und Zwick um meine Aufnahme, bis ich hoffentlich bald eine eigene Familie gründe. Je einfacher die Lebensweise ist, um so mehr sagt sie mir zu, und was Euch billig erscheint, soll reichlich gegeben werden. Es steht bei Euch, Butler von Konstanz auszuschliessen oder einzulassen; stimmt Ihr zu, so will ich in Konstanz sterben oder doch wo immer als Konstanzer leben. ¹ 24

These were strong words indeed, and the Blaurers must have made a very favourable impression on Butler on a previous occasion.

There is nothing to indicate whether Ambrosius helped Butler to find accommodation, or a wife. But in his letter of April 1546 to Amerbach, Butler acknowledged his debt to Thomas Blaurer for helping him in his marriage negotiations. ²⁵ By that date he had established his household at 'Thum Seckelhaus', although how long he lived at that address will probably never be known. ²⁶

Ambrosius Blaurer quickly learned to trust Butler. He sent a package of confidential papers connected with the Reformation in Cologne to Myconius in February 1544:

'Jenes Päckchen habe ich durch Butler erhalten und werde es nur gutgesinnten, die zu schweigen wissen, mitteilen ... Butler, den Du wiederholt empfiehlt, scheint mir die Liebe aller Gelehrten und Guten zu verdienen wegen seiner Frömmigkeit. ¹ 27

After the imposition of the Interim, Butler and Ambrosius Blaurer continued to see each other from time to time, thanks to Butler's mobility. In September 1551 Bibliander wrote to him:

'Aus dem heute erhaltenen Brief sehe ich, dass Du meinen, Anfangs September durch einen Adelligen an Gast gesandten nicht empfangen hast; Gevatter Butler weiss, wem ich ihn anvertraute ... Neues kann Butler berichten. ¹ 28

Eleven years after Butler's death, Ambrosius Blaurer was still concerned for the well-being of the family. In 1564 he wrote to Konrad

Hubert in Strasbourg:

'Ich empfehle Dir die Jünglinge Butler und Ehinger, nicht dass ich an Deiner Sorgfalt zweifelte, sondern weil mir die Väter gar befreundet waren ... Grüsse sie von mir, und ermahne sie zu Frömmigkeit und eifrigen Studium.' 29

Butler may have been more intimate with Thomas Blaurer than he was with Ambrosius. Not only had Thomas helped him in his wedding negotiations,³⁰ but Butler felt able to call upon him for assistance in baby-sitting! In August 1552 he wrote to Thomas and his wife from Zürich, saying that he had been unwell and had been advised to go to a spa (probably Baden), and needed a reliable woman to look after the children during the absence of himself and his wife. He knew that 'Agthi' was staying with Thomas at Kempten at the time, and hoped that he would be able to persuade her to come to the rescue.³¹

The debts were not all one-sided. Thomas Blaurer evidently borrowed some money from Butler, which he eventually required to buy some land. He reminded him of this in February 1550.³²

Like his brother, Thomas was concerned with Butler's family after John's death. When his son Diethelm was in England in 1563 he wrote to his father:

'Praeterea de haeredium D. Butleri negotio quae scribis, pater exoptiss., ea hospiti meo communicavi, ipsius nimirum auditurus consilium, is vero contra omnem expectationem plane affirmet, nullo vel Marte, vel arte, quicquam hac in re effici posse, quod in rem viduae eiusne haeredum aliquando futurum esset: Quare satius etiam fore indicat, si huic iam causae intempore supersideatur, quam ----- (illegible) post multas, variasque sollicitationes, anxiasque curas, tandem et oleum et opera perdatur. Caeterum quae Dominus Fam. Feltonis hac de re sit opinio conijcere minime possum: discam tamen ex ipso ut primum Londinum advenerit: hominem enim hactenus non vidi. Doleo certe tam viduae quam pupillorum vicem satis adversam, quod eos hac quoque exspectatione videam frustrari.' 33

It is possible that Musculus and Butler met in Konstanz, where Musculus spent a short time after he had been forced to leave Augsburg. If they did not meet there, they must have made each other's acquaintance in Zürich, where Musculus settled eventually, before he moved to Berne. A fairly close relationship must have been established quite quickly, because Musculus dedicated one of his books to Butler in 1549: Proscareus. Liceatne homini Christiano, evangelicae doctrinae gnaro, papisticis superstitionibus ac falsis cultibus externa societate communicare, Dialogi quatuor.³⁴ The book deals with the sin of Nicodemianism, and the copy that has been preserved in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek belonged to Butler. The margins are marked with Latin annotations in his hand, which were supposed to provide headings for each section, so that he could find topics of interest again quickly if he wished. In the second part of that particular edition is a translation by Bibliander of the Prophet Nahum, 1534, which interestingly contains no annotations.

The only other piece of evidence we have for the relationship between Butler and Musculus are two letters from Musculus to Bullinger of the summer of 1550, written from Berne, in which he sent greetings to the Englishman.³⁵ Thus we have only the bare bones of evidence for the contact these men had, but even these add an interesting perspective to Butler's friendship in general - he appears to have had a much wider circle of friends among the Reformers than most of his contemporaries.

There were various reformers with whom Hooper struck up friendships, quite independently of Butler, or other Englishmen for that matter. When Hooper arrived in Zürich in March 1547, he brought with him a letter of recommendation from Dryander, who described him

to Bullinger in glowing terms.³⁶ The two men had evidently lived in the same house (that of Grinaeus) in Basel for a short time, and their friendship dates from then. After Hooper had settled in Zürich, he continued to correspond with Dryander, as a letter which has been preserved in the Strasbourg archives indicates, dated October 1547. Hooper spoke of his friendship with Dryander, and how much he appreciated hearing from his friend; he went on to give a sketchy account of recent English news, and commented that he would not return to England until the future was more certain. It is interesting to note the greetings which Hooper's wife sent to Dryander on this occasion.³⁷ in 1548 Dryander married a woman who must have known Anna Hooper well. Sailer reported this event to Vadian in June of that year:

'Ich hab selb schreiben von Francisco Driandro aus Strasburg. Der Hatt ain Weib genommen, ain edli jungfraw; ist bey Monsieur de Falaix zu Basel gewest, der sy aus dem Niderland zu Bergen, Henegaw, aus einem Kloster gefiert hat; sol gelert und guott evangelisch sein. Sy zeucht mit in England ...' 38

Nothing more has survived in the way of correspondence between Hooper and the Spaniard. But we know that Dryander wrote to Bullinger from England in March 1549 (about the time that Hooper was preparing to leave Zürich), asking Bullinger to persuade Hooper to return, because he was needed.³⁹ But it seems that when Dryander left England, Hooper was unhappy about his departure. He wrote disapprovingly to Bullinger in February 1550:

'Be not alarmed at Dryander's returning to you; he consults his own interests, and cares but little for ours when gain is out of the question.' 40

Gessner appears to have been one of the most popular and hospitable of the Zürich leaders. In addition to making various English refugees welcome (these include Turner and Bale),⁴¹ we know that

he also took trouble with a Locarnese exile, one Muralto, who became his friend and assistant, and Stadtarzt of Zürich in 1566.⁴²

Christopher Hales, an English visitor to Zürich in 1549, apparently hoped to stay with Gessner, but eventually found lodgings with Gualther instead.⁴³ We know little about his friendship with Hooper, other than it must have been a cordial affair. In the Zürich Zentralbibliothek there is a copy of Hooper's A Declaration of Christ and his Office, which is inscribed in Hooper's hand to Gessner.⁴⁴

Also in that library is a copy of Hooper's An Answer unto my lord of Wynchester's booke, which belonged to Gessner.⁴⁵ Once Hooper had returned to England, there is nothing to indicate that he corresponded with Gessner, but he certainly sent him (and many others) greetings via John Byrchmann in July 1550.⁴⁶ Gessner was understandably distressed to learn of Hooper's martyrdom, and wrote a poem to mark that occasion, which Foxe quoted.⁴⁷

Hooper's relationship with `a Lasco was one which began to all intents and purposes as far as we know, in England. It is one of the best examples we have of mutual assistance among the Reformers. Just before the vestment controversy began in earnest, `a Lasco appealed to Hooper for help in finding and procuring a place in London where foreign exiles could worship.⁴⁸ The two men were obviously close even at this early date in their Edwardian careers. In June 1550, `a Lasco wrote to Utenhovius:

!John Hooper's coming will be most gratifying to me. I intend to meet him tomorrow, but should wish his wife to be present. After dinner we may have things to talk of with him which might leave us no time for church matters. I think it better therefore to meet in your house at 8 o'clock a.m. with the principal members of the Dutch and Walloon churches, and after having finished church affairs we might dine together here and devote the rest of the day to conversation with Hooper. ! 49

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To which Hooper replied:

'I hope to be present tomorrow, and my wife also, if her headache is gone. Meanwhile, let something be bought that we may partake of together, and which I hope to repay some day.' 50

Hooper's influence with the Council was at its height at this stage in his career, having dealt successfully with the Anabaptists in Kent, and he argued convincingly that the Europeans should have their own church 'for avoiding of all sects of anabaptists and such like'.⁵¹

This resulted in the Foreigners receiving the abandoned church of the Austin Friars on July 24th 1550, which had implications that Cranmer and Ridley had not foreseen, and soon caused considerable tension.⁵²

Hooper meanwhile was delighted that a Lasco had come to London.

Already in April 1550 he had commented to Bullinger:

'I hear that east Friesland has received the Interim. If this be the case, master a Lasco will soon return to England. I greatly regret his absence, especially as Peter Martyr and Bernardine (Ochino) so stoutly defend Lutheranism, and there is now arrived a third (I mean Bucer), who will leave no stone unturned to obtain a footing.' 53

A Lasco's return was opportune. In October 1550 he wrote to Bucer, defending Hooper's stance on vestments, and endeavouring to find a way by which the leading foreign exiles could arrive at an agreement which did not cut the ground from under Hooper's feet. On the 12th of that month he wrote:

'Hoperum resalutavi verbis tuis, agit gratias et se tibi vicissim voluit diligenter commendari. Magnum illi certamen de vestibus illis episcopalibus immunere videtur. Rogatus quinam cum ipso sentirent, catalogum omnium conscripsit, atque inter alios te quoque nominavit; adiecit Petrum Martyrum, Bernardinum et me, atque inter Anglos complures... Hic vero meam sententiam rogat: sed ego utilius fore putarem, si omnes nos, hoc est tu, Petrus Martyr, Bernardinus et ego eandem sententiam daremus.

Atque ego quidem, id quod te alioqui nosse puto,
ab Hopero hac in parte non dissentio. Sed libenter
tuam quoque sententiam haberem. ¹ 54

Two weeks later he wrote again to Bucer, siding with Hooper:

¹Quare D. Hoperi consilium, si rem dextre agat
improbare hic non possum. Et plane ego ipse
domino Hopero suasi, cum ex illo quaeri audirem,
quemnam sibi hac in parte assentientem haberet, ut
te non praetermitteret, sed nos una omnes nominaret,
qui hic peregrini sumus, eo quod nos omnes consen-
suros esse non dubitarem. Si quid hic est peccatum,
igitur per me peccatum est. ¹ 55

His loyalty to Hooper remained firm. In December Hooper wrote to Bullinger, commenting that only ¹a Lasco had stood by him during the controversy.⁵⁶ We do not know what happened to their friendship in later years, as no correspondence between them has survived. Presumably they relied on personal contact, or on communication through mutual friends belonging to the circle centred on the Foreigners' churches. In 1552 they both worked on the commission set up to revise canon law,⁵⁷ and there were probably other similar, less official, occasions, when they found themselves working together.

Burcher also came into contact with ¹a Lasco, in the late 1550s, when they were both working in Poland. Again, this is an example of mutual assistance; Burcher was able to act as a go-between for both ¹a Lasco and Utenhovius, when they had problems with their colleague Vergerius, and needed Bullinger's support.⁵⁸ ¹a Lasco, for his part, was willing to help Burcher in his endeavours to set up business contacts and ^{get}/¹a licence to trade in Poland.⁵⁹

There were a few theologians whom Hooper had known known in Europe, and with whom he became better acquainted when they moved to England. Micronius was one. They may have known each other before 1549, as Micronius was settled in Basel from 1544, and had

contacts with the household of the Comte de Falais.⁶⁰ He travelled to England with the Hoopers in the spring of 1549,⁶¹ and lived with them until the autumn of 1550.⁶² He became a preacher at the Foreigners' Church in London, a job which must have endeared him to Hooper, who had referred to him already in June 1549 as 'an excellent young man'.⁶³ Around this time, i. e. before Hooper moved to Gloucester, Micronius may have been his assistant - in June 1550 Utenhovius described Micronius as 'maximus studiorum D. Hoperi adiutor'.⁶⁴

There is no doubt about Micronius' respect and admiration for Hooper. In the summer of 1549 he had written to Pellikan with great enthusiasm:

'Si Dominus Deus dignabitur sua immensa bonitate Hoperum inter hostes verti sui Episcopos tueri, et adangere spiritum suum in illo, non dubito, quin Anglia sit futurum Zwinglius: Compellet enim intrare hactenus plus satis sibi indulgentes.'⁶⁵

He kept Bullinger fully informed of Hooper's activities and progress during 1550, when Hooper himself had given up writing, and the tone of loyalty never wavered in any of his letters.⁶⁶ But he was aware of Hooper's faults, and remarked once, in November 1551:

'Master Hooper is most vigilant in his ministry. I grieve that so little help is afforded him by others. Wherefore he must especially be aided and encouraged by your letters: and let him be exhorted to unite prudence and christian lenity to the severity of discipline.'⁶⁷

Once Hooper had moved to Gloucester, the contact between these two men inevitably became less frequent and intense, but it is likely that they did remain in fairly regular communication with each other. Micronius certainly intended to correspond, as he told Bullinger in October 1550.⁶⁸ But no evidence has been preserved which can

provide us with a fuller picture of their relationship until Mary's accession. On March 5th, 1556, Micronius reported to Bullinger that Anna Hooper and her daughter Rachel had died.⁶⁹

Utenhovius was another European-cum-English friend. Hooper was involved in persuading him to visit Zürich in 1549. He wrote to Bullinger in 1550:

'Master Utenhovius dutifully salutes your worship and doubtless aids you all in his diligent prayers to God. You would be quite astonished, did you know how many times he has thanked me for having sent him to Zürich.'⁷⁰

They had probably met in Switzerland or Strasbourg, but it was in England that their relationship became a close one. In the summer of 1550 Utenhovius wrote enthusiastically to Bullinger about Hooper's work, and mentioned that he would accompany him to Gloucester and help him as best he could in his work there.⁷¹ After Hooper's difficulties were over, and he had settled in Gloucester, Utenhovius continued to keep in close contact. In April 1551 he wrote to Bullinger:

'If I can possibly obtain leave of absence from our church, I shall visit Hooper for some months; and if I can anywise be useful to him in his ministry, I shall not decline such assistance as the Lord may enable me to afford; and this I promised him when he went away.'⁷²

In October 1552 he wrote that he had stayed with Hooper for seven weeks earlier in the year, and was most impressed by 'his faithfulness and zeal'.⁷³ But the relationship was not without its tensions.

Utenhovius felt the issues of the vestment controversy keenly, and wrote detailed accounts to Bullinger and Calvin.⁷⁴ His sympathies were entirely with Hooper, and when he was imprisoned, commented to Calvin: 'Hinc enim illae lacrymae'.⁷⁵ He was very disappointed by

Hooper's submission, and wrote to Bullinger that this was 'not without the greatest regret both of myself and of all good men, nor without affording a most grievous stumbling-block to many of our brethren'.⁷⁶ Bullinger's reply indicated the common concern they shared, although it gives no hint of the possibility that he might have been partly responsible for Hooper's capitulation:⁷⁷ 'What you tell me with regard to Hooper's backsliding gives me pain. You may feel certain that I shall not tell him who told me'.⁷⁸ Yet it is interesting to note that there is no evidence that Utenhovius ever came to Hooper's support in public.⁷⁹ Perhaps he did, but was too modest to say so; perhaps he was too minor a figure in English eyes to have any weight attached to his opinion by the episcopal bench. Whatever the truth of the matter is, it is quite clear from the tone of Utenhovius' letters to Bullinger after the controversy had been resolved, that the two men continued to enjoy a warm friendship until Mary's accession disrupted their lives.

Utenhovius was also known to Burcher, and their acquaintance, although on a much more superficial level than that which the Fleming had had with Hooper, was longer lasting. In June 1549 Burcher wrote to Bullinger, introducing Utenhovius, who was about to visit Zürich.⁸⁰ Once he was in London, Utenhovius used Burcher as his agent, or forwarder of mail.⁸¹ He in his turn was a source of hospitality to Burcher when he visited Poland nine years later, along with a Lasco, for whom Burcher also did sundry favours.⁸²

It is odd that Peter Martyr did not feature more in the lives of the English refugees who returned to England in Edward's reign - except we must bear in mind that apart from his initial visit to Zürich in 1542, it was not until after Mary's accession that he finally settled in Zürich, and threw in his lot with the Zürich camp of theologians,

and even then there were some squalls.⁸³ Only Hooper appears to have had any kind of contact with Martyr worthy of mention, and they do not appear to have been at all close, which is understandable in view of their different theological positions. Hooper wrote to Martyr in the autumn of 1550 to ask his opinion on vestments, which indicates that he did at least have some respect for the other man's opinion. Martyr replied that he agreed with Hooper on the main issue:

'I am hardly drawne from that simple and pure custome, which ye knowe they of Argentine have used ever, from the tyme that they reformed their Church, where diversitie of apparell in Church ministracion was abolyshed. For I have alwayes allowed that pure usage that originally had imitation of the Apostles Churche . . . I do utterly thynke it to be a thyng indifferent . . . Let Englande be fyrst diligently instructed, & confirmed in the chiefe and most necessary poyntes of religion: then afterwarde by my iudgement, the Church shall not be much offended to have these thynges, somewhat superfluous, to be removed . . . In Englande you alredye have obteyned much favour and great auctoritie, wherby ye shalbe able to do muche good to the advancement of God's glory. Ye must therefore take heede, lest ye stande in your owne way, contendyng to bytterly, & all out of time . . . It is not necessarily required that we shoulde prove every particular thyng which we use, to be expressely mentioned in the Scriptures. It is enough generally to knowe this fayth; that indifferent thynges can not corrupt those that be of a pure mynde & sincere conscience in theyr doynges.' 84

In January 1551 he wrote disapprovingly to Bucer about the way in which Hooper was proceeding:

'His cause lies in such a state, that it cannot be approved by good and pious men . . . he complains of the council; and possibly, though I am not told of this, of us. May God give a happy issue to acts which cannot but be regretted.' 85

Martyr's conjecture that Hooper complained about him behind his back was probably unfair. As we have seen, Hooper maintained a discreet silence during his difficulties, and did not indulge in recriminations

either during the vestment controversy, or after it was ended.⁸⁶ In April 1551, Martyr wrote to Gualther in a completely different tone - perhaps because he knew that Gualther must have sympathised with Hooper:

'I never failed him, and I always hoped well of his cause. He is now in his bishopric; he discharges his duty faithfully and earnestly. May God grant to him most abundantly to reap the fruit he chiefly desires.'⁸⁷

Bucer too had little to do with the English refugees, either in Strasbourg or in England. Burcher obviously disliked him,⁸⁸ and his contact with Hilles seems to have been very superficial. Hilles and Abel assisted him with the arrangements for his journey to England,⁸⁹ but nothing developed from that. Nor was Hooper's case any different, possibly because his sights were already set on Zürich when he arrived in Strasbourg. During Edward's reign, Bucer seems to have dissociated himself from the conflict. Strype described his attitude in some detail:

'Some of the bishops took occasion, upon this disobedience of Hooper, liberally to blame the churches abroad, among which Hooper had been, as though they had infused these principles into him: and then fell foul upon Bucer and Martyr, that were set, the one professor in Cambridge, and the other in Oxon; as though they would corrupt all the youth in both universities: who would suck in from them such principles as Hooper had done. This Bucer heard of, and writ with a concern to Martyr. Who writ again, how amazed and almost stupefied he was to hear this: but that it was well that the bishops saw his letter to Hooper, which would vindicate him from such imputations. And indeed both his and Bucer's letter, concerning this point, did or might seasonably stop this clamour.'⁹⁰

It was Coverdale who seems to have had a slightly closer relationship with Bucer. In the spring of 1544 Bucer visited Bergzabern, and Coverdale afterwards wrote to Hubert about 'our dearly beloved

preceptor in Christ, Bucer⁹¹. Unlike Burcher, he respected Bucer's opinion, and wrote to Hubert to ask:

'If Bucer has composed anything against the enemies of the gospel, especially against the bishop of Winchester, I particularly request you to procure for me a copy of any work of this description.'⁹²

This referred to Gardiner's attack on Bucer's book written to defend clerical marriage, and in February 1545 Coverdale took up the theme again, writing to Hubert:

'If you can by any means procure even one copy of Bucer's answer to the bishop of Winchester before the fair, I will take care that the Latin original shall be translated into English as soon as possible; which you need not doubt will be most acceptable to our brethren in the Lord throughout England.'⁹³

We have no evidence that Coverdale did translate this work. In 1548 however, Thomas Hoby visited Strasbourg, stayed with Bucer, and remarked in his diary:

'When Bucer had finished the little treatise he made unto the church of England in answer to Stephan Bisshoppe of Wynchester's railing epistles unto him, I translated it ymediatlie into Englishe and sent it to my brother, where it was put in print.'⁹⁴

At the same time as Coverdale was concerned to do this work of translation, he was also worried about the impact of the Schwenckfeldians in the neighbourhood around Landau, where his friend Edmund Allen worked, and this may have distracted him from his literary pursuits. Another sign of his intimacy with and respect for Bucer, is found in this request to Hubert: 'I wish you to acquaint my reverend Master Bucer with the cause of this wound of the church, that he may be able to add it to his pious prayers in the Lord.'⁹⁵

Unfortunately, we can only guess at the contact which Coverdale had with Bucer once they were both in England. They both moved in high circles, and must have rubbed shoulders frequently, but they do

not appear to have corresponded at all. Bucer died in February 1551, before he could be invited to work on the commission appointed to revise the ecclesiastical laws in 1552, otherwise they would have been colleagues in that task.⁹⁶

Hubert seems to have been to Coverdale what Bullinger was to the majority of the other English exiles who lived in the vicinity of Zürich, or who visited him there. But in some respects, this relationship was one of the closest which any of the ex-patriates formed with local people. In a letter written to Hubert in December 1543, Coverdale indicated how great his debt to Hubert was - it was thanks to Hubert that he had his job in Bergzabern, Hubert's native town.⁹⁷ He became very much a part of Hubert's family; in May 1544 he reported that Hubert's aunt had given him money to buy a bed,⁹⁸ and a year later he probably was referring to Hubert's father as 'our father' when he wrote:

'I have written to my wife (who was at that stage in Strasbourg, staying with Hubert) an account of the seeds which our father wishes to be procured by you; and do you take care that, when my wife returns, she bring them to us.'⁹⁹

He may well have been Hubert's main informant on the state of health of his parents, as he reported on their well-being in most of his letters.

The two men probably met quite frequently. In October 1544 Hubert visited Bergzabern with his family,¹⁰⁰ and in December of the same year Coverdale and his wife paid a quick visit to Strasbourg;¹⁰¹ there may also have been encounters which Coverdale did not mention in his letters. Although no letters from Hubert to Coverdale have survived, it is evident from Coverdale's letters that he heard from Hubert reasonably often.¹⁰²

Hubert was of use to Coverdale in various ways, both professionally and personally. It is hard to differentiate between these two levels, as Coverdale was so involved in his work. This letter of February 1545 is a fair example of how Hubert was involved in the Englishman's life. After thanking him for some books which he had sent (that Coverdale had ordered), he continued:

'The principal matter which I was desirous to have forwarded by your diligence with our prefect (for he was with you at that time at Strasburgh) was this; namely, that in conformity with the duty of his office he should put a stop to those most frivolous public dances, and other hindrances of true piety of the same description ...' 103

Coverdale evidently thought himself an equal of Hubert in church business; in June 1545 he wrote to Hubert giving advice on whether the ordination of a certain Matthew of Barbelrode should go ahead:

'I beseech you therefore ... in order that the edifice of the church may be the more prosperously established for the future, that inasmuch as he has given proof of his repentance, you would solemnly warn him, encourage him after his fall, and give proof to him by a letter, written at least to our prefect, that he has recovered your favour.' 104

These men must have made their farewells in person, before Coverdale returned to England in 1548. Coverdale's last letter to Hubert, (for this period in his life) is very matter-of-fact, winding up various odds and ends of business.¹⁰⁵ Presumably contact was resumed between them when Coverdale returned to Bergzabern in Mary's reign. The only evidence we have for this is the letter, of uncertain date, included in the Parker Society's edition of Coverdale's correspondence; the reference to the Duchess of Suffolk implies that it was indeed written in the later period.¹⁰⁶ In 1560 Hubert wrote to Pierre Alexander, and greeted Coverdale through him, along with Abel, Hilles, and sundry others.¹⁰⁷

Hubert also knew Edmund Allen, and one letter from Allen to Hubert, written in June 1544, has been preserved in Strasbourg.¹⁰⁸ The letter mentions Bader, who in the spring of 1544 had visited Bergzabern and had been involved with Bucer in important discussions concerning Schwenckfeld's ideas, which had influenced Bader.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately these discussions do not appear to have resolved the problem in Landau.¹¹⁰ Apart from the issue of Bader, the letter is interesting because it indicates that Allen and Hubert were reasonably well acquainted with each other, that there had already been some correspondence between them, that Allen knew of Hubert's concern for him, and that he felt able to ask Hubert for his prayers.

Hubert and Abel also had a lot to do with each other, but as Abel was not an exile in the Henrician period, it is not appropriate to go into great detail here. Yet it is worth mentioning, as it sheds additional light on the exiles' circle. It is quite clear from the two letters which Hubert wrote to Abel (in German) that they were quite close to each other.¹¹¹ It seems they had many friends or contacts in common. In the earlier letter Hubert reported on the progress of Abel's nephew, and gave Abel advice on how he should be handled. In the second letter Hubert asked Abel for information on the circumstances of Diethelm Blaurer (then working for Grindal in England), Remigio Guedon (who owed him money), and greeted Johann Buri, Abel's brother-in-law. Hubert's concern for the progress of the Reformation in both Strasbourg and England is evident, and he clearly expected Abel to share this. Finally, he knew that Abel would be able to help him in his attempt to get all of Bucer's works published, and to write the biography of the Strasbourg reformer. This was a lot to ask of anyone, and is therefore a fair indication that the two

men must have had a good understanding of each other, and have helped one another in similar ways in the past.

It is impossible to make any general conclusions about the way the exiles related to other Reformers. As we have seen, it was very much a matter of individual tastes and needs. The variation ranges from the sublime to the ridiculous, from a Lasco proving to be a real friend in need to Hooper at a critical time, to Butler asking Thomas Blaurer to arrange a baby-sitter for him and his wife. What is clear, however, is that a number of very real and helpful relationships for both Reformers and refugees did spring up, and that there was no question of the theologians, many of whom were by that date well-known figures in Europe, standing on their dignity and keeping their distance.

CHAPTER 6

Footnotes

1. See appendix K for brief biographical details.
2. Egli, E. , Analecta Reformatoria, (Zürich, 1901), vol. 2, p. 196.
3. *ibid.*
4. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 340, 131.
5. Z. Stadtarchiv, Taufbuch des Grossmünsters.
6. *ibid.*
7. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 338, 1490.
8. Welti, M. , Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien, p. 177.
9. Riggerbach, B. , Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan, (Basel, 1877), pp. 146-9.
10. *ibid.* , p. 177.
11. See appendix K.
12. Hartmann, A. , Amerbach Korrespondenz, vol. 5, p. 306, no. 2416.
13. See Chapter 2.
Basel Univ. Library, MS C VIa, vol. II, f. 131.
See appendix C.
14. Basel Univ. Library, MS C VIa, vol. II, f. 132.
See appendix C.
15. Basel Univ. Library, MS G II 15, f. 480, 481.
16. Basel Univ. Library, FG VIII, 77.
17. Hartmann, A. , *op. cit.* , vol. 6, p. 257, no. 2806. Amerbach did not marry this girl - footnote, p. 259.
18. Roth, C. , "Das Legatum Erasmanum", Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam, (Basel, 1936), p. 291.
19. Hartmann, *op. cit.* , vol. 6, p. 260.
20. Schiess, T. , Briefwechsel, vol. 2, p. 199, no. 1030. St. Gallen Stadtarchiv, Vadianische Briefsammlung, V, f. 209.

21. *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 258, no. 2806.
22. See Chapter 2.
23. *Z. St. Arch.*, E II, 343, 347.
24. Schiess, T., *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 195, no. 1024.
25. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 256, no. 2806.
26. *ibid.*, p. 257.
27. Schiess, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 234, no. 1063.
28. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 138, no. 1777.
29. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 820, no. 2615.
30. See above.
31. St. Gallen Stadtbibliothek, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, VII, 203. Printed in Schiess, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 169, no. 1824. This is one of the few surviving letters of Butler which was written in German.
32. O. L., p. 636, Butler to Blaurer, 16. 2. 1550.
33. St. Gallen Stadtbibliothek, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, IX, f. 114. Also in Schiess, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 761.
34. *Z. Z. B.*, III B, 140. See appendix I for dedication.
35. *Z. St. Arch.*, E II 360, 139-40, 143.
36. *Z. St. Arch.*, E II 366, 36. See appendix D, no. 2.
37. *Arch. St. Thomas*, no. 40, vol. III, p. 21-2, f. 847. See appendix D, no. 1.
38. Arbenz & Wartmann, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, vol. 6, p. 731, no. 1613.
39. O. L., p. 350, Dryander to Bullinger, 25. 3. 1549.
40. O. L., p. 77, Hooper to Bullinger, 5. 2. 1550.
41. We do not know whether the friendship Gessner and Turner enjoyed began during Henry's reign, or whether it was a product of Turner's period in exile under Mary. It certainly bore fruit in the late 1550s. In November 1557 Turner sent Gessner from Weissenburg a letter containing information on fish, which Gessner printed in the fourth volume of his *Historia Animalium*, (Zurich, 1558). See Vetter, T., *Litterarische Beziehungen*, p. 9. Gessner also helped Turner in his scientific research. In his *Booke of the natures and properties*

as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germanye and Italye (Cologne, 1558), Turner said concerning the baths at Baden: "Of the incommodities and commodities of this bath out of Conrade Gesner, a man well learned and borne very nere unto it." He may have got this information from Gessner's books, or from him personally. He also asked Gessner to produce for him a list of all the works he had published, and got a very painstaking and cordial reply in Gessner's De Libris a se editis, Epistola. Ad Guilielmum Turnerum Theologum et Medicum excellentis in Anglia, (Zürich, 1562).

We cannot be sure when Bale became friendly with Gessner. He dedicated the second part of his Scriptorium Illustrium maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant, Catalogus, to Gessner, along with various other figures, English and European, in 1559- see Welti, M., Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien, p. 205. In his Pageant of Popes (1574) he complimented Gessner, referring to him as "a notable library, as it were, of all disciplines." Gessner must have had an equal respect for Bale, who helped him in his own research. He dedicated to Bale his Mithridates (1555), a study of different languages. This was out of gratitude for the assistance Bale had given him; among other things, he had sent Gessner the Lord's prayer in Celtic (probably Irish) - see Vetter, op. cit., p. 38.

42. Pfister, R., Um des Glaubens Willen, (Zürich, 1955), p. 135.
43. Smyth, C. H., Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, (1926), pp. 93-4.
44. West, W., "A Study of John Hooper", p. 10.
45. Vetter, T., Relations between England and Zürich, p. 31.
46. Z. St. Arch., E II, 338, 1490.
47. Foxe, J., Acts and Monuments, vol. 6, p. 659.
48. Opie, J., "The Anglicizing of John Hooper", p. 164.
49. Hessels, J., Ecclesiae Londino -Batavae Archivuum, vol. 2, p. 29, no. 10.
50. *ibid.*, no. 10a.
51. Opie, J., *loc. cit.*
52. *ibid.*
53. O. L., p. 61, Hooper to Bullinger, 26. 4. 1549.
54. Pollet, J., M. Bucer - Etudes sur la correspondance, (Paris, 1958), p. 276.
55. *ibid.*, p. 278.

56. O. L. , p. 95, for dating see Chapter 5, note 125.
57. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, vol. 4, p. 354.
58. O. L. , pp. 693-4, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 3. 1558.
59. O. L. , p. 687, Burcher to Bullinger, 4. 11. 1557.
60. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, vol. 21, p. 703.
61. O. L. , p. 56, Hooper to Bullinger, 14. 4. 1549.
62. West, W. , "A Study of John Hooper", p. 64.
63. O. L. , p. 67, Hooper to Bullinger, 25. 6. 1549.
64. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 338, 1487. See appendix D, no. 6.
65. Z. Z. B. , S70, 136.
66. O. L. , pp. 558-73, Micronius to Bullinger, May-October 1550.
67. O. L. , p. 577, Micronius to Bullinger, 7. 11. 1551.
68. O. L. , p. 572, Micronius to Bullinger, 13. 10. 1550.
69. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 375, 487.
70. O. L. , p. 85, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 3. 1550.
71. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 338, 1487. See appendix D, no. 6.
72. O. L. , p. 586, Utenhovius to Bullinger, 9. 4. 1551.
73. O. L. , p. 591, Utenhovius to Bullinger, 12. 10. 1551.
74. O. L. , pp. 584-9, Utenhovius to Bullinger, 9. 4. 1551.
" " " " " " 14. 8. 1551.
Calvini Opera vol. 13, p. 657, no. 1416.
(Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 41)
75. Calvini Opera vol. 14, p. 45, no. 1447.
(Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 42)
76. O. L. , p. 586, Utenhovius to Bullinger, 9. 4. 1551.
77. See Chapter 5.
78. Hessels, J. , op. cit. , vol. 2, p. 33, no. 12.
79. O. L. , p. 585, Utenhovius to Bullinger, 9. 4. 1551.
80. O. L. , pp. 653-4, Burcher to Bullinger, 1. 6. 1549.
81. Calvini Opera, vol. 13, p. 462, no. 1313; p. 657, no. 1416
(Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 41)

82. See above.
83. See appendix K - Bibliander.
84. Parker, M. , A Briefe examination for the tyme, of a certain declaration, lately put in print in the name and defence of certaine Ministers in London, refusing to wear the apparell prescribed by the lawes and orders of the realme (1566). At the end of this work is this letter from Martyr to Hooper, written from Oxford on 4. 11. 1550.
85. Gorham, G. , Gleanings, p. 227.
86. See Chapter 5.
87. Gorham, G. , op. cit. , p. 261.
88. See Chapter 5.
89. Eells, H. , Martin Bucer, pp. 402, 512.
Oberreiner, C. , "Martin Bucer en Angleterre", Revue Catholique d'Alsace, XXIV, p. 263.
Strype, J. , Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, (Oxford, 1812), vol. 1, p. 280.
90. Strype, J. , op. cit. , vol. 1, p. 309.
91. Coverdale, Remains, p. 510.
92. *ibid.* , pp. 512-3.
93. *ibid.* , p. 520.
94. Camden Miscellany X, Journal of Sir Thomas Hoby, (Camden Society, 3rd Series, vol. 4, pp. 5-6).
95. Coverdale, M. , op. cit. , p. 520.
96. See Chapter 2.
97. Coverdale, op. cit. , p. 504.
98. *ibid.* , p. 511.
99. *ibid.* , p. 520.
100. *ibid.* , p. 515.
101. *ibid.* , p. 516.
102. See appendix J, no.1, for distribution of letters.
103. *ibid.* , p. 518. Refers to books ordered 21. 4. 1544.
ibid. , p. 509.
104. *ibid.* , p. 522.

105. *ibid.*, p. 525.
106. *ibid.*, p. 528.
107. Arch. St. Thomas, no. 41, carton 21, vol. 3, f. 249.
108. Arch. St. Thomas, no. 157, f. 493. See appendix A. This letter must have been written in 1544, as Allen only arrived in Landau in April of that year; Bader died in August 1545, and in the spring of 1544 had visited Bergzabern.
109. Gelbert, J. P., Baders Leben und Schriften, pp. 277-8. Gelbert confused Grindal and Allen.
110. Coverdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-20.
111. Arch. St. Thomas, vol. 41, carton 21. 3. f. 95; also f. 234. See appendix B, no. 1.

CHAPTER 7

Swiss Students in England

In the period between 1537 and the end of Elizabeth's reign, at least twenty young men from Switzerland visited England, and left some record of their time there. This figure may well have been higher, but not all of the students are easy to identify. For example, Peter Martyr wrote to Bullinger in January 1554 from Strasbourg about an unnamed youth:

'The young man who is the bearer of this letter, is a country-man of yours, and has resided some years in England; and as he is a youth of excellent morals and piety, and as I am assured of his diligence in his studies, I recommend him to your notice.'¹

This may well have referred to the return of Alexander Schmutz, about whom John Stumph wrote in February 1554: 'Alexander Smutsius ... biduo post Calend. Febr. ex Anglia rediit'.² But it may equally well have referred to a student who had studied in Oxford and left no trace of his stay there; or indeed may have concerned someone who had branched out on his own, and worked in Cambridge or London.

It is worth spending some time on these young Swiss visitors to England, as their presence in this country was very clearly a consequence of the Anglo-Swiss connexion which had originated with the English students who had gone abroad in the late 1530s, and with the Henrician exiles in Switzerland and Strasbourg a few years later.³

The first of these visitors to England was Rudolph Gualther, Bullinger's foster-son who, at the age of 18, left Zürich in January 1537 in the company of Nicholas Partridge.⁴ They arrived in England

at the beginning of March, and left in May, having visited London, Oxford, Canterbury, and sundry other places in Kent. Magdalen College, Oxford, its students and its president, Owen Oglethorpe, impressed Gualther particularly. Unlike his successors in the Edwardian period however, he did not register as a student at the university, and was very definitely only a transient visitor.

John ab Ulmis, an illegitimate but recognised member of the Wellenberg family, who arrived in Oxford in the spring of 1548, when he was 18,⁵ was one of the most settled of the Swiss students in England. He was a member of Christ Church, Oxford, admitted B. A. in 1549 and M. A. in 1552.⁶ Although John Stumph expected him to return to Zürich briefly early in 1549,⁷ there is no other evidence to indicate that he did so, and indeed he remained in England until September 1552.⁸

Augustine Bernher must have been one of the students to whom Stumph had referred when he wrote that some of ab Ulmis' friends had followed him to England in the autumn of 1548.⁹ He was with ab Ulmis, perhaps in Oxford, by November of that year.¹⁰ He certainly remained in contact with the Swiss students in Oxford until the summer of 1551, and apparently intended to return with some of them to Zurich in 1552, because John Stumph reported to his father in May 1551:

*Placet igitur mihi, ut his nonem aut decem Mensibus Oxonii consumptis, Christophero Froschovero iuniori et Augustine Bernero, conterraneis et amicis meis per galliam domum redentibus me comitem viae faciam.*¹ 11

But by the following summer his career had taken an unexpected turn. He had entered Bishop Latimer's service, which he was destined to leave only after Latimer's death as a result of the Marian persecution.

His letter of May 31st, 1552 to Bullinger is worth quoting verbatim, as it reveals not only something of Bernher's own feelings towards Bullinger, and how he had brought Latimer into a friendly relationship with the Zürich reformer, but it is also relevant to the history of another Swiss student in England, one Alexander Schmutz:

'Our friend John ab Ulmis being about to return to his native country, earnestly entreats me to write to you; and he is so urgent, that without being considered as regardless of my duty, or as wanting in gratitude, I am altogether unable to refuse compliance. Your kindness to me, as long as I lived in Zürich with my most revered preceptor, master Wolfius, was exceeding great, and I am fully sensible of the obligation. But I am now indebted to you more than ever, for your having so diligently and so lovingly commended my sister's son Alexander to some noble personages. I would have you, most learned sir, be entirely persuaded, that without any exception of time or place I shall never cease, as long as I live, my endeavours to promote your interests. I should make this promise more at length, if I thought you could entertain any doubt of my sincerity and gratitude, or if I did not choose to prove it by deeds rather than by a bare assertion. You will fully learn from my friend John my circumstances in life, and the nature of my studies. My master, doctor Latimer, had intended to write to you, but he has tomorrow to undertake a long and arduous journey, so that the excellent old man, and your most loving friend, is unable to send you a letter at this time; but he especially commands me to salute you in his name as honourably and lovingly as possible. Lastly, farewell, and continue your regard for us, namely, Alexander and myself.' 12

John ab Ulmis claimed responsibility for persuading Alexander Schmutz to come to England. He explained to Bullinger:

'On my departure from Zürich, the mother of Alexander, a most worthy and religious woman, most earnestly entreated me, even with tears, to repay the kindness I owed to her deceased husband: I perceived too that she was labouring under such poverty and indigence, as to be compelled to withdraw her sons from literary pursuits, and place them in the workshop of some artificer. Under these circumstances therefore, I promised her most faithfully and solemnly, as it was my duty to do, that I would use all my diligence, endeavour and labour in her service, without any exception either of place, or time, or occupation ...

In this country, he is engaged in learning, and applies himself to those studies, than which nothing is more desirable, nothing more excellent, either has or will be bestowed upon mankind by the gift and bounty of God; namely, to that all-powerful and glorious philosophy, yea, that most ancient and honourable profession ...¹ 13

With the help of Cecil and Cheke, Schmutz was given a place at Westminster school, and according to Strype he eventually procured a fellowship at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1552.¹⁴

John Stumph came to England in the spring of 1549, having travelled from Switzerland with John Hooper.¹⁵ Like ab Ulmis, he told his friends that he had been admitted to the king's college, which was Christ Church, although no record of his matriculation is to be found in the university archives.¹⁶ Financial difficulties eventually forced him to move out of college, and to find lodgings in the town,¹⁷ but he stayed in Oxford until November 1551, when John ab Ulmis commented to Bullinger that he and Andrew Croariensis were on the point of departure.¹⁸

We know nothing about the aforesaid Croariensis, other than that he travelled back to Switzerland with Stumph. In October 1551 Peter Martyr wrote to Bullinger:

'Your young country men here, thank God, are in good health, and lead me to hope that their studies will be attended with success. Two of them, Andrew Croarius of Constance, and Stumphius, your townsman, are now leaving us: they are indeed excellent youths, and if they so conduct themselves with you, as they have done here, you will have no reason, I think, for regret.'¹⁹

It is quite possible, in view of the Konstanz connexion, that Croariensis had been inspired by John Butler to go to England.

Christopher Froschover came to England in October 1550, having travelled with Burcher.²⁰ He was then aged 17, and was the nephew of the famous Zürich publisher.²¹ It is possible that he too was

affiliated in some way to Christ Church, as ab Ulmis and Stumph were his closest companions.²² He returned to Zürich in March 1552, when Peter Martyr wrote to Bullinger:

'I cannot but bear a favourable testimony to this Froschover, to whom I have given in charge this letter to you. He has conducted himself well at Oxford, and resided there without having given any cause of complaint.'²³

The two brothers, Conrad and Henry ab Ulmis, cousins of John, arrived in London in April 1551, as Josua Maler reported in his diary.²⁴ After a few days in London, they proceeded to Oxford, where they found food and shelter in Christ Church, thanks to the help of their cousin.²⁵ Indeed, it was John ab Ulmis who had been responsible for persuading their father, Gregory von Ulm, to send them to England in the first place.²⁶ The date of their departure from England is not known, but it must have been after March 1552, when Conrad ab Ulmis wrote to John Wolfius from Oxford.²⁷

Josua Maler, who wrote the above mentioned diary which is so useful for details on the Swiss students in England, visited England from April 1551 to August of that year, accompanied by his friend Rudolph Hüsslin. He was then aged 21 or 22.²⁸ They really were only visitors, and not full-time students; they found themselves lodgings with one Peter Plois (or Blois?), a Flemish bookseller, who gave them greatly appreciated practice in French conversation, which was more important to Maler than learning English. He commented on this:

'Die recht wahr Englisch Sprach wöllend wir erst auch im wahren Engelland, in Gottes ewigen Himmelrych erlernen und mit diser by der Gemeinsame aller Seligen und Usserwälten Gott ewicklich loben und prysen.'²⁹

Plois provided approved lodgings for the 'Collegio Bernardino'³⁰

which must have been Christ Church; A. Clark explained with reference to Trinity: 'In 1545 the site of the college reverted to the Crown; the part occupied by the Cistercian Bernard College passed to Christ Church, and is now part of St. John's College garden'.³¹ They went on to visit Cambridge that summer,³² and also to see Hooper in Gloucester,³³ before they returned to Europe.

At least one more student was expected to come from Zürich around this time, a relation of Rudolph Gualther, one Cellarius. John ab Ulmis wrote details about courses at Oxford to Gualther in November 1550, and concluded:

'When I bear in mind the advantages of the place, the nature of the climate, and the distinguished character of our learned men, I cannot but most earnestly recommend him to come over as soon as possible.'³⁴

Medicine was apparently Cellarius' particular interest, and ab Ulmis provided information on how that subject was taught a few weeks later.³⁵ In February 1552 Christopher Froschover wrote to Gualther: 'We are anxiously expecting the arrival of Cellarius'.³⁶ But in the following May he wrote: 'We were anxiously expecting the arrival of George, who, as I understand, is gone to Padua'.³⁷ This was probably the same man; no other references could be found to 'George', and it is likely that Cellarius decided that Padua was a better place to study medicine than Oxford.

The first Swiss or south German student to visit England during Elizabeth's reign was Diethelm Blaurer, who was employed by Bishop Grindal as his ammanuensis.³⁸ By September 1559 Diethelm was on his way to England, helped considerably by John Abel, as he reported to his father, Thomas (Ambrosius' brother):

'In Strassburg angelangt ... auf den folgenden Tag ... bestieg(ich) Abel's Schiff, das auch mein Gepäck mitnahm; er selbst war schon acht Tage vorher

verreist; doch traf ich ihn hier (i. e. Frankfurt)
und werde in seinen Geleit nach England reisen. ' 39

Blaurer remained in Grindal's service until August 1563, when his father demanded that he should return home.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, John Henry Fabricius had arrived in England in the spring of 1561 armed with a recommendation to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, from Rudolph Gualther.⁴¹ He, like Blaurer, was not expected to undertake a university course, but hoped to find a good post with some suitable nobleman or courtier. Despite Bedford's good intentions however, and the approval of Bishop Parkhurst,⁴² things did not work out as planned.⁴³ Bedford wrote to Bullinger in June 1562:

'John Henry is now returning to you. He has conducted himself with the greatest propriety during his residence among us. I could have wished indeed to have done more for him, both for his own sake and yours; but success does not always correspond to our wishes. ' 44

Bedford had spent the winter of 1556-7 in Zürich,⁴⁵ which must have strengthened the goodwill he felt towards the Swiss, and which was revealed in his attitude towards Swiss visitors in Elizabeth's reign. There is no evidence that he had anything to do with the Edwardian students, although he may well have encountered Peter Martyr during Edward's reign, when he attended the conference on the Sacrament held at the houses of Sir William Cecil and Sir Richard Morrison.⁴⁶

The arrival of Rudolph Gualther junior, Rudolph Zwingli, and Henry Butler in England in 1570-71 was very much in the Edwardian style.⁴⁷ Zwingli was admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, Gualther to Trinity as a fellow commoner, and Butler to Christ's College.⁴⁸ In June/¹⁵⁷² Rudolph Zwingli died quite unexpectedly in London,⁴⁹ and in the following spring Rudolph Gualther transferred to Magdalen

College, Oxford, where he got his M. A. in October 1573.⁵⁰ By the summer of 1573, Henry Butler had been joined by his brother, John Gerson, who wrote to Gualther senior from London in July of that year.⁵¹ He did not intend to embark on a course of study, but hoped to find employment either with the Earl of Bedford, or in another nobleman's household. Another student did arrive that summer however, Philip of Hohen Saxe, again recommended to Bedford by Gualther as a suitable holder of a post at court.⁵² He took his M. A. at Oxford in May 1574,⁵³ and there is no evidence to show whether he ever did find a place at court. In the autumn of 1574 he and Rudolph Gualther left England together.⁵⁴ Whether Henry and John Gerson Butler ever left England again, and returned to their mother (who still lived abroad) is not known.

The last European students to visit England in Elizabeth's reign who had some links with the old Anglo-Swiss connexion were Wolfgang Musculus and John Rudolph ab Ulmis, and much later Wolfgang Mayer, Bucer's grandson, and Caspar Thoman (possibly a descendant of Abel's servant).⁵⁵ Musculus, grandson of the Berne reformer, whom Mont and some of the Henrician exiles had known, matriculated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford⁵⁶ on 20th July, 1578, aged 22.⁵⁷ He also visited London and Cambridge in the course of his stay in England.⁵⁸ Similarly, John Rudolph ab Ulmis matriculated in Oxford on the same date, also aged 22.⁵⁹ He, and one 'John Huldrich' were also in Broadgates Hall, not far from Christ Church where, according to Lawrence Humphrey, 'John's father was most liberally and kindly entertained in king Edward's time'.⁶⁰ John Huldrich must therefore have been the son of Conrad ab Ulmis, who appeared in the 1552 census, under Brode Yates hall.⁶¹ Mayer, who arrived in England

aged 15 in 1593, became a fellow commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, took his M. A. there in 1598, and his B. D. in 1601.⁶² He was followed in 1600 by Thoman, who studied in Oxford for a short period.⁶³

For the purposes of this thesis, the Swiss students who came to England during Henry's and Edward's reigns are of particular interest, and it is worth asking why they came to England in the first place. In the case of Gualther senior the answer is obvious. He and Nicholas Partridge had struck up a close friendship when the latter stayed in the Bullinger household in 1536, so that it was quite natural that he should take the opportunity to visit England with an approved companion when the chance came his way. With regard to the later influx of Swiss students, Strype commented:

'Bullinger also this year (1551) by an agent (my underlining) hither, named Joannis ab Ulmis, sent the said Dr. Cox, together with a long and kind letter, two books, viz. Calvin's Treatise concerning the Concord between the Churches of Geneva and Zürich, in the matter of the Eucharist: and the other, his fifth Decad. of sermons. Of whose mind in the former matter, viz. that of the sacrament, Cox declared himself to be. Cox, and some others of Bullinger's friends, procured Ulmes a fellowship in St. John's College, Oxford. Bullinger in those days sent over divers young men to Oxon, to study there: of whom Cox took particular care.'⁶⁴

We know that Strype was rather misleading in some details here, e. g. that ab Ulmis was a fellow at Christ Church, and not at St. John's (which did not yet exist, strictly speaking).⁶⁵ There is certainly no evidence to suggest that Bullinger employed ab Ulmis as an agent; ab Ulmis wrote to the Zürich Reformer copiously and frequently, but, as we have seen, this was quite a normal way for Bullinger's friends and protégés to behave. Nor does Bullinger appear to have had a deliberate policy of sending young men over to England from Zürich.

More recent research has tended to perpetuate this misinterpretation of Bullinger's influence and motives.⁶⁶ Bullinger may have encouraged ab Ulmis to go to Oxford, and armed him with letters of introduction to Eliot and Traheron, whom he had met in the 1530s in Zürich.⁶⁷ But after this, the whole operation seems to have snowballed of its own accord. John Stumph was certainly in touch with ab Ulmis before he followed him to England. In the same letter as the one in which he reported to his father that he expected ab Ulmis to arrive from England any day,⁶⁸ he wrote:

'D. Joannes Hopperus Anglus (Nobilis) ut compertum habeo, in spatio bimensimo Patriam suam repetiturus cum uxore et Infante: Interim tamen ut ex Daniele Zinggio intellexi libenter puerum aliquem studiosum sibi comitem viae haberet, quo etiam Domi suae scribae loco uteretur, eumque, ni fallor, suis sumptibus sustentaturum. Ac filium Bullingeri Heinrichum recipisset, ni nimis tenet ad huc fuisset, vel Danielem Zing, ni et is Dominorum stipendio obstrictus fuisset. Me itaque, si velles, in hac re iuvare posses. Id verò mox adgrediendum foret, sed de his tuo utere indicio.' 69

His imagination had clearly been fired, and now all he wanted was parental permission to go. Presumably, because Hooper was known and respected in Zürich, this was not hard to come by. To emphasize the rightness of his decision he told his father:

'Interea tamen omittere non possum quin tecum communicem, quanto cum applausum omnium Doctorum mea profectio adprobetur. Omnes laudant institutum, omnes denique suam operam pollicentur, et erunt mihi comites Literae commendatrices, et maxime, ut quidem spero, utiles.' 70

Christopher Froschover came in a similar way, accompanied by Burcher. He reported to Bullinger in November 1550:

'As soon as I left Zürich, I went to the Hesse family at Marpurg, where I remained half a year . . . Afterwards, however, when that Burcher, who is trading at Strasburgh, had determined upon a

journey to England, I was sent thither with him, and am now staying in the university of Oxford with our townsmen, namely, John ab Ulmis and John Rudolph Stumphius, the latter of whom I have joined in his lodging, and partly in his studies.¹ 71

As we have already seen, the ab Ulmis brothers came as a result of their cousin's successful negotiations with their father. He was similarly responsible for persuading Alexander Schmutz's mother to let her young son come to England.

The same factors played their part with the Elizabethan visitors to England. Rudolph Gualther junior, Rudolph Zwingli, Wolfgang Musculus, John Rudolph and John Huldrich ab Ulmis, Wolfgang Mayer, and Caspar Thoman were all in a position to hear from relatives about Englishmen they had known, or their own personal experiences of England. The old Henrician and Edwardian contact still had a great part to play as we shall see, but so did the former Marian exiles, now important figures in England - Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Humphrey, Bedford, et al.⁷² Thus it seems reasonable to say that the later visitors to England were, in a sense, taking less of a risk when they came. By the 1560s the Anglo-Swiss network was very well established, based, it is true, on the old Henrician and Edwardian contacts, but transformed significantly by the number of important personages of whom it could boast, who had been exiles under Mary.

However, the Swiss students in England during Edward's reign had in Peter Martyr a friend and patron who was not available to their successors. He was at the very centre of their circle, having been installed in the first canonry at Christ Church in 1550-1.⁷³ John ab Ulmis and Augustine Bernher were probably the only students who managed without commendations from Zürich addressed to Martyr;

Martyr of course only arrived in England himself in 1548, so this is scarcely surprising. But John ab Ulmis was in contact with him by August of that year,⁷⁴ and a close friendship developed between them.

In May 1550 ab Ulmis wrote to Bullinger:

'I must tell you that I am most intimate with Peter Martyr, not as a pupil, but as a son; for as I delight to hear him, so I ardently love his peculiar suavity. I pass whole hours with him, so that I have henceforth no occasion for any introduction.' 75

Stumph wrote to Bullinger to thank him for his commendation to Martyr in June 1550: '... qui mihi, cum quia amicus, nunc tua commendatione est amicissimus ...'⁷⁶ Conrad ab Ulmis was similarly grateful to Rudolph Gualther:

'You must know then that your letter to master doctor Peter Martyr on our behalf had very great weight and influence with him, so much so indeed, that he promised to be ready at all times to afford us his services and assistance for your sake.' 77

Christopher Froschover asked Bullinger in November 1550:

'I beg therefore, and entreat you, that when you write to master Peter Martyr, you will in the course of your letter thank him in my name for having so courteously noticed me, and promised me all his influence and assistance; and you may add a commendation of me, by which he may be confirmed in his favourable opinion.' 78

Six months later he commented to Gualther:

'This (i. e. your goodwill) I more especially discovered in your so diligent commendation of me to that most renowned of scholars, master doctor Peter Martyr; which has certainly rendered him not only a friend, but, I should say, the greatest friend to me, and a most active patron and supporter: whereby any one may perceive the extent of his regard for you, which is certainly very great.' 79

Some concrete examples of how this great academic helped the students on their way are very revealing. He gave ab Ulmis much valued advice and support, as the latter told Bullinger:

'I have ridden there (London) twice with my very dear and most attached master, Peter Martyr, to the palace of the archbishop of Canterbury, where I showed the primate the confession of the church at Strasburgh, which, at the request and advice of Peter Martyr and Utenhovius, I had translated into Latin, and received some angels as a reward.' 80

The furtherance of Alexander Schmutz's career caused ab Ulmis much heart-searching, and Martyr advised him on this also.⁸¹ John Stumph found his support very useful when he came under suspicion in Zürich for having accepted a stipend at Christ Church, which was forbidden by Zürich law.⁸² The accusation was undeserved, but it took many months and many letters to sort out.⁸³ In May 1550, he wrote to Bullinger:

'... Et si ei a te petij, ut meo nomine ad D. D. Coxum, Trehernum, & Petrum Martyrem scriberes, non tamen munera captatam sed solum amicitias ambiebam ... Verum esse ----- (illegible) spero, ut in hac re quid veri sit, ex D. Hoppero, & Petro Martyre audiatis brevi.' 84

The next month he reported optimistically:

'Quia vero patris voluntati in ea re nondum satisfactum scivi, porro impetrari a Domino Petro Martyre, ut is me suo apud te liberet testimonia ...' 85

It is interesting to note in this context that after Stumph had returned to Zurich, he kept in touch with Martyr's movements; he told his father of Martyr's return to Strasbourg in February 1554,⁸⁶ and in December 1556 Martyr's servant came to him, asking for some wine.⁸⁷

Martyr's concern and magnanimity towards these students must have stemmed from innate generosity. It is hard to see what ulterior motives he could have had, as they were too young to be deemed influential figures in either England or Zürich, although some of them were well connected. But they were able to help him in small ways, as he himself told Bullinger: 'They were indeed of great assistance to me in copying, and I am very much indebted to their kindness'.⁸⁸

Bucer, in marked contrast to Martyr, made little impact on the students. Ab Ulmis reported on one occasion that he and Stumph had dined with him, and that he had been very kind, but that was all the contact they appear to have had with him.⁸⁹ Their loyalties clearly lay with Martyr and Oxford.

The students had of course other sources of help and support, and the role of the early visitors to Switzerland was not insignificant in this context. John ab Ulmis arrived in England armed with letters of introduction from Bullinger to Nicholas Eliot and Bartholomew Traheron. Eliot, he discovered, had been dead for some time;⁹⁰ Traheron, when they eventually made contact, proved willing to help where he could,⁹¹ and also proved useful to Stumph, as he reported to his father in August 1549:

*Deinde cum etiam ad alium nomine D. Sydaliū, Coxi familiarem unum ex Gymnasii Principis, magni nominis et eruditionis non vulgaris, quo sane ego nunc familiarissime utor, ad eum, inquam, cum a D. Treherno Anglo nobilissimo, D. Butleri amico, nobis per necessario, literas mei commendatrices haberem. Is literis perlectis sese totum mihi offerebat, sanque operam in adiunando me, meis que studiis promovendis pollicens.*⁹²

Maler and Hüsslin tried to make Traheron's acquaintance on their way home, but he was away when they called.⁹³

John Hooper was also useful. He took great pains with Stumph, even before they got to England. He made a special journey with him to Brussels, to show his young charge the imperial centre:

*that he might see the effeminacy and wretchedness of the court, and also the bondage of the good citizens of Brussels, who are now forced to endure the imperiousness of the Spaniards . . . to the end that he might more feelingly consider the state and condition of his own country, pray for it more ardently, and more earnestly warn his countrymen, and by letting them know the misfortunes of others, render them more cautious.*⁹⁴

He made sure that Stumph got off to a good start at Oxford, and reported to Bullinger: 'I have sent John Stumphius to Oxford, recommended by many honourable men, and especially by Treherne, who is much attached to you'.⁹⁵ In August 1549 he sent Stumph his books, having paid for their transport, and assured him: 'Should you be in want of money, you can let me know by letter every week; I will never be wanting to your necessities'.⁹⁶ When Stumph got into difficulties because he was suspected of being in receipt of a stipend, Hooper came to his rescue, as he told his father in May 1550:

'Consilio D. Hopperi relicto Collegio ad Civem, virum doctum et pium, Hopperi amicum, cui etiam ab ipso commendatus sum, me confero nunc, cum ut suspiciones has falsas possim effugere, tum quia mihi rebusque meis omnibus consultum melius erit: cum et librus, quoscum voluero, habuero (nam is Bibliopola est), et si rursum in morbum inciderem, haberem qui mei curam gererent. Pretium paulo maius, quam in Collegio solvendum erit: scilicet per Quatembrem VI Coronati Anglici. Ceterum hoc facile compensabunt cetera commoda.'⁹⁷

A very close friendship existed between Hooper and Stumph, as this part of a letter from the student to his father reveals:

'Nam quantum alias me amet, testantur ipsius literae, quas singulis septimanis ad me transmittit ita ut nunquam sit, quin mutuo nos invicem fruamur colloquio. Quod scribis de munusculo, quod mater mea carissima pro Hopperi uxore paratura sit si quid aliud esset facilius suaderem. Nam huius modi velaminum apud Anglos Mulieres nullus est usus. Praeterea cum abirem Tiguro, ut mandaveras, purissimum velamen X batiis emebam, quod adhuc charesmat in Matris memoriam ...'⁹⁸

When Stumph left England, Hooper wrote sadly to Bullinger:

'I do not easily bear his going away. Let him return to us, if it please the Zürich authorities and yourself, for a year or two, and I will take a portion of his expenses upon myself.'⁹⁹

Hooper also managed to keep an eye on John ab Ulmis, despite all the other activities in which he was involved. He shared his

anxiety with Bullinger that this young man was not working hard enough at his studies,¹⁰⁰ and he probably took the opportunity to reprimand him when ab Ulmis visited him in London in March 1550.¹⁰¹

The plight of Alexander Schmutz also apparently interested Hooper, and he began negotiations with Warwick.¹⁰² But according to ab Ulmis, Hooper dragged his feet in this particular case, which was understandable in view of his personal circumstances at this time:

'... Cox apologized for not having spoken to me about that matter before ... he had long been expecting Hooper, with the view of ascertaining from him the circumstances of the youth; but as he had been waiting to no purpose, he would forthwith learn the whole state of the case from ourselves; which as soon as he had done, he ordered fifteen crowns to be counted out for the boy, and so dismissed me.'¹⁰³

Richard Hilles' sphere of influence among the students was mainly financial, but there was a little more to it than that. Ab Ulmis referred to him as 'our friend',¹⁰⁴ and he was one of the few who did not need extra money himself. Henry Butler also encountered him on a different level. He had asked Bullinger for a letter of recommendation to Hilles in July 1570, which he probably received, as this was the kind of task which delighted the Zürich Reformer.¹⁰⁵ Hilles did his best to help Butler sort out the problems connected with his inheritance, and sent him off to his relations in Suffolk,¹⁰⁶ but he did not hold out much hope for success.¹⁰⁷

It was however in financial matters that the Englishmen really came into their own. Stumph's father had not given him enough money for his journey to England, so Hooper helped him out:

'Nam ultra illos XX florenos, quos mihi (cum domo exirem) dedisti, multum insuper in itinere insumpsissem, ni patroni unice fidissimi D. Hopperi opera et benignitate levatus fuisset.'¹⁰⁸

Hooper subsequently lent or gave him more money, as Stumph reported to his father:

'Accepi autem iam ad diem Joannis, qui fuit XXIV Junii, per D. Hopperum VIII Coron. Anglici.' 109

He also lent 45 English crowns to Maler and Hüsslin, when they visited him in Gloucester, which, (contrary to the arrangement Hooper tried to make with Bullinger)¹¹⁰ was repaid a few years later by Christopher Froschover senior to Hooper's widow Anna, who was at that time very grateful for the unexpected bonus.¹¹¹

Richard Hilles became increasingly professional in the money lending sphere. He was a well known source of subsidy, as Josua Maler wrote in his biography. He said that on his arrival in London in April 1551:

'Demnach wir nun ein Tag geruwet, des nachfolgenden Tages aber erfahren habend den ehrenhaften Herren Gilles, Burgern und Kaufman zu Lunden, ihn besucht, und des ehrwürdigen, hochglerten Herren Bullingers, Pfarrers im grossen Münster Zürich, Brief überantwortet, auch uf sömliche Fürgeschrift etwas Gelts empfangen, nebent fründlicher Tractation und Gasthaltung.' 112

Hilles also helped the Elizabethan students, as he reported to Bullinger in February 1572:

'On the sixteenth day of December your Rodolph and Rodolph Gualther borrowed from me to the amount of eleven florins and eleven batzen, German money, reckoning a florin at fifteen batzen, for their current expenses here in London, to be repaid by your friend master Christopher Froschover at the next Frankfort fair. My son too, Gerson Hilles, who travelled with them from Frankfort as far as Embden, lent them thirty florins and ----- batzen of German money . . . It would be more for your interest . . . if you would cause to be paid beforehand at Frankfort the money which you wish to be credited to the young men here in England, that I may afterwards pay them the amount in this country.' 113

He took up this theme again in July 1572 when, having told Bullinger that he had lent Henry Butler some money, he emphasized:

'It is but just . . . that those who send their sons to England, should rather deposit their money at Frankfort beforehand, than require others to advance it for them here in England, and then to have to demand payment at Frankfort.' 114

It seems that Hilles' business interests may have impeded his generosity.

John Gerson Butler commented on this when he wrote to Gualther in

July 1573:

'Dem Hylles hatt aller gutt ach vergessen, wo er nicht doppel gewinn hatt so habe er nichts darvon, es hatt mit gutt runder gesagt ich gebe im nicht so wil darvon als er kan gewinnen. So stecke ich jetzt gen bloss. Aber der gott verlengten was soll er dan menschen thun, bitt der halb gantz freundlich ir wolt mein bey froschover wo man derst noch zu zurich ist ein gedenck sein.' 115

John Stumph's affairs must have been among the most complicated that Hilles ever had to deal with. Immediately after his arrival in London in May 1549, Stumph went to Hilles to arrange the payment of his quarterly allowance:

'... cum amicis de omnibus rebus convenire coepimus, ita, ut ego a Rychardo Hylles singulis Angariis sine quatembris habeam duas Libras Anglicanas, vel VIII Coronatus Anglicanus, qui fortasse, si cum Helvetica Moneta conferas, singuli videlicet Coronati XX Baciones constituunt, ita ut per annum accipiam ab ipso XXXII Angl. Coron.' 116

He quickly discovered that this amount was not enough to cover his needs, as he reported to his father in November 1549:

'Minori quoque, quam XL florenis Oxoniae vivere nullo modo possum, quod (ut ex ipso intellexi) ex Hoppero iam dudum audivisti (Stumph senior has added in margin: Sed haec literae D. Hopperi ad nos non pervenerunt): quanquam enim ab initio spes minimo vivendi erat oblata, tamen propter intestina bella ac rusticas seditiones, quibus tota Anglia hac praeterita aestate turbata erat, rursum amissa est.' 117

Stumph was justified in his complaint that he did not have enough to live on. When John ab Ulmis was trying to encourage Rudolph Gualther to send his young relation to Oxford to study, he said:

'For the expenses and all things necessary for him to pursue his studies with comfort, there will be required not less than fifty florins, unless a man choose to live in a very sordid and penurious manner.' 118

Similarly, Christopher Hales had discovered:

'Thirty French crowns would suffice tolerably for a year, to which, if other ten could be added, a man might expect to live very comfortably. In my time, ten years since, twenty crowns were a sufficient allowance; but in these latter days ... everything has become almost twice as dear as it was.' 119

John Butler was also involved in the arrangement of young Stumph's finances. In December 1549 he reported briefly to Stumph senior that he had heard from the student about the payment of his allowance, and went on: 'Accepit itaque, ut videre est, meo nomine a meo creditore et fratre Richardo Hylls XX floren. ad 15 bacios supputatos'. 120

In February he sent Stumph senior a report of what had been lent up to date. 121

By the end of 1550, Stumph was really in trouble. He wrote to his father in November 1550, giving details of the cost of living, and pointed out that he could not possibly live without an increase in his allowance. Hilles however refused to act without authorisation. 122

John Butler was also under pressure at this stage. He was quite confused about the amount that Stumph junior ought to receive, although he was prepared to give an increase. He wrote to the father on November 27th:

'Deinde filium tuum quod attinet, illiusque stipendii augmentum quam vis ex his, quae hodie ante Meridiem scripsi. Tam quae D. Bullingerus tuis verbis mihi mandavit, quam meam sententiam intelligas, tamen quicquid porro vis si potero, faciam ... Nam IV Coronatorum, aut huiusce Monetae VI florenos tantum ille mihi mentionem fecit; tuae vero literae VIII coronatos vel X fl. exigunt huiusce Monetae, quam summam, si XL Fl. quas antea filio tuo adnumeravi curasti, addidens, ad L Fl. plane assurget. Si vero priori suo salario solum IV coronas vel VI Fl. vestratis monetae accedere

cupis, iuxta ut mihi compater meus Bullingerus tuo nomine luculenter dixit: XLVI Fl. conficiet summa. Breviter itaque me fac certiolem, idque quam primum, an illi vis quotannis quadraginta quinque, sex, aut quinquaginta Florenos vestratis Monetae persolutos. Quod ubi primum significareris, auxiliante Deo, otijs(?) tibi effectum dabo, ut istorum quicquid statueris, ab Richardo Hillaeo, singulis Angariis pendatur filio tuo, atque sine ulla mora. ¹ 123

The next day he wrote to Stumph again, saying that he had heard from Hilles that the previous year he had lent Stumph junior 50 florins, of which 40 had been repaid. He continued:

!... itaque ob proximum annum restant mihi adhuc X Fl. remunerandi, quos, si tuo absque incommodo fieri posset, quo mihi citius transmitti curares, eo gratias esset. Haud sane abs te peterem ad eo impudenter hanc pecuniam, nisi me urgeret necessitas, telum ut nosti gravissimis. ¹ 124

Notwithstanding the increased allowance, ¹²⁵ Stumph's troubles continued. In May 1551 he wrote to his father that he had seen Hilles in London, and they had agreed that he should have 10 Taler per term in future. But he really needed more, and would have to stay in England unless he was given extra, because he could not afford the journey home. ¹²⁶ In August of that year he made the same point again, in no uncertain terms. ¹²⁷ Money must have been forthcoming, because he and Andrew Croariensis were able to leave Oxford that October. ¹²⁸

These Swiss students, although they were at the beginning of their respective careers when they came to England, and therefore apparently quite insignificant, were not in fact nonentities. Their role while in England was very much one of reinforcing Anglo-Swiss links in a variety of ways, and as we have seen, once they returned to Switzerland, this process continued. This is all the more understandable when one looks at the way some of their careers went when they were back on home ground. John ab Ulmis, strangely enough in view of the leading position he had held (or fancied himself as holding?) when he was in England, appears to have lost his ambition and

became quite an ordinary pastor. He died in 1580, having ministered to congregations in Hürzel, Mühlheim (Thurgau), and Egg.¹²⁹

Froschover succeeded his uncle in the famous publishing firm, and can only have profited from his experience of university life in England.¹³⁰

Rudolph Gualther junior became pastor of St. Peter's church, Zürich, but died in 1577, at the age of 25.¹³¹

John Rudolph Stumph succeeded Ludwig Lavater in 1586 as Antistes in Zurich, only a few months after Lavater had succeeded Rudolph Gualther.¹³²

Immediately after his return to Switzerland he had become pastor at Kilchberg, near Zürich, and his career had gone from strength to strength thereafter. Augustine Bernher also deserves a further mention. Unlike his companions, he

did not return to Switzerland, but remained in England as Latimer's secretary. During Mary's reign he became comforter extraordinaire of the imprisoned Protestants, miraculously escaping arrest himself, and was also minister of an underground congregation in London.¹³³

It is interesting to note that Thomas Rose, one of the Henrician exiles, was one of his colleagues in London at this time. His life became more peaceful under Elizabeth, when he had a parish in Sutton.¹³⁴

CHAPTER 7

Footnotes

1. O. L. , p. 512, Martyr to Bullinger, 22. 1.1554.
2. Z. Z. B. , S81 , 68.
3. C. H. Smyth in Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, pp. 108-138, did a good preliminary study of the Swiss students in England 1548-53. His section on Peter Martyr's theological development is interesting, but he probably overemphasized the possible influence of the Swiss students, and particularly of ab Ulmis. Claire Cross in her article "Continental Students and the Protestant Reformation in England in the Sixteenth Century", in Studies in Church History, (Subsidia 2, 1979), pp. 35-57, did more useful work on the subject. Her article should be read in conjunction with this chapter, and I have tried to avoid unnecessary repetition of what she said. Thus I have not gone into any details about the patronage and support the Swiss students received from English academics and nobility who had not been to Switzerland before Edward's accession; nor have I dealt with the support the Elizabethan visitors were given by former Marian exiles. In one detail (p. 42) I would make a small criticism; there is no evidence to substantiate the belief that Albert and Walter Blaurer visited England in 1557. Christopher Froschover had been of particular help to Maler and Husslin, as Maler reported in his diary (Maler, J. , "Selbst Biographie", p.144), and this was what was behind his complaint to Gualther (O. L. , p. 727).
4. Boesch, P. , "Rudolph Gualther Reise nach England", Zwingliana, 1947, no. 2, vol. 8, pp. 433-471. This is an edited version of Gualthers account and gives full details of that adventure.
5. Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz, vol. 7, p. 115. O. L. , p. 377. Ab Ulmis to Bullinger, May 1548.
6. Foster, J. , Alumni Oxonienses, (Nendeln/Liechtenstein reprint, 1968), vol. 1, 1529. Ab Ulmis and his friends often referred to Christ Church as King's College; this is explained by Andrew Clark, in his Colleges of Oxford, (London, 1891), p. 301: Henry VIII refounded Cardinal College and called it 'King Henry the Eighth, his college'. It was suppressed and reconstituted as Christ Church in 1546.
7. Z. Z. B. , S69, 35: "Brevissimo temporis spatio (puto XIV Dierum) Joannem Ulmerum ex Anglia ad nos rediturum, suae literae nuper allatae pollicentur. Is omnem suam suppellectilem in Angliam transportari curabit, siquidem ipse una cum suis sociis, qui in Autumno eum sequuti sunt, apud Anglos in summo pretio atque honore sunt. "

8. O. L. , p. 326, Traheron to Bullinger, 10. 9. 1552.
9. See note 7.
10. O. L. , p. 382, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 27. 11. 1548.
11. Z. Z. B. , S 75, 35.
12. O. L. , pp. 360-61.
13. O. L. , pp. 402-3, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 30. 4. 1550.
14. Strype, J. , Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. 2, part 1, p. 534.
15. O. L. , p. 54, Hooper to Bullinger, 8. 4. 1549.
O. L. , p. 460, Stumph to Bullinger, May 1549.
Z. Z. B. , S 70, 227.
16. Z. Z. B. , S 71, 35: "Ego relicto D. Hoppero me Oxoniam contuli, ibique beneficio optimorum virorum me adiutum et in collegium, quod Regium dicitur, receptum, ita ut modico per annum pretio soluto commodissime me sperem victurum" (Letter of 26. 8. 1549). Also O. L. , p. 461, Stumph to Bullinger, May 1549.
17. Huelin, G. , "Peter Martyr and the English Reformation", (London University Ph. D. , 1955), p. 71.
18. O. L. , p. 437, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 7. 11. 1551.
19. O. L. , p. 500, Martyr to Bullinger, 26. 10. 1551.
20. O. L. , p. 719, Froschover to Bullinger, 19. 11. 1550.
21. Benzing, J. , Buchdrücker Lexikon, p. 192.
22. O. L. , p. 719, Froschover to Bullinger, 19. 11. 15 50.
23. O. L. , p. 504, Martyr to Bullinger, 8. 3. 1550.
24. Maler, J. , "Selbst Biographie", p. 144.
25. *ibid.* , p. 145.
26. *ibid.*
27. O. L. , p. 459, Conrad ab Ulmis to Wolfius, 1. 3. 1552.
28. Maler, J. , *op. cit.* , pp. 125-6.
29. *ibid.* , p. 152.
30. *ibid.* , "by Herren Peter Plois . . . gar wol und kummlichen im Collegio Bernhardino underkommen. "
31. Clark, A. , *op. cit.* , p. 326.
32. Maler, J. , *op. cit.* , p. 155.

33. *ibid.*, pp. 157-60.
34. O. L., p. 420, ab Ulmis to Gualther, 5. 11. 1550.
35. O. L., p. 424, ab Ulmis to Gualther, 26. 11. 1550.
36. O. L., p. 723, Froschover to Gualther, 21. 2. 1551.
37. O. L., p. 725, Froschover to Gualther, 28. 5. 1551.
38. Z. L. 2, p. 22, Grindal to Hubert, 14. 7. 1559.
Z. L. 2, pp. 27-8, Hubert to T. Blaurer, 7. 8. 1559.
39. Schiess, T., Blaurer Briefwechsel, vol. 3, p. 472, no. 2200.
40. Z. L. 2, p. 107, Grindal to Hubert, 23. 8. 1563.
41. Z. L. 2, pp. 52-4, Gualther to Francis, Lord Russell, 16. 3. 1561.
42. Z. L. 1, p. 111, Parkhurst to Bullinger, 31. 5. 1562.
43. Z. L. 2, p. 54, Lord Russell to Gualther, 16. 6. 1561.
Russell managed to place him with Sir Francis Knollys.
44. Z. L. 2, p. 74, Lord Russell to Bullinger, 10. 6. 1562.
45. Garrett, M., Marian Exiles, pp. 276-7.
46. *ibid.*, p. 275.
47. It seems that Butler arrived before the others, in 1570 -
Z. L. 2, p. 180, Hilles to Bullinger, 8. 3. 1571.
48. Venn & Venn, Alumni Cantab., vol. 4, p. 496; vol. 2, p. 272.
Z. L. 1, pp. 264-5, Sandys to Bullinger, 17. 2. 1572.
Z. L. 2, p. 189, Zwinglius to Sandys, 26. 1. 1572.
Z. L. 2, p. 192, Butler to Sandys, 27. 1. 1572.
There is no record of matriculation for Butler.
49. Z. L. 2, p. 202ff., Gualther junior to senior, 5. 6. 1572.
50. Foster, J., *op. cit.*, p. 617.
51. Z. Z. B., F37, p. 81. See appendix H.
52. Z. L. 2, p. 214, Gualther to Bedford, 17. 7. 1573.
53. Foster, J., *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 1320.
54. Z. L. 2, p. 260, Barlow to Simler, 25. 1. 1575.
55. Abel's correspondence (Z. St. Arch., E II, 369, 44c;
E II, 345, 503) mentions a servant of this name.
56. Broadgates Hall was virtually an annexe of Christ Church.
I am grateful to Dr. Jane Dawson for this information.

57. Foster, J. , op. cit. , vol.2, p.1046.
58. Z. L. 2, p. 298, Humphrey to Musculus, 3. 3.1578.
59. Foster, J. , op. cit. , vol.2, p.1529.
60. Z. L. 1, p. 327, Humphrey to Gualther, 17.12.1578.
61. Boase, C. W. , Register of the University of Oxford (1885), vol.1, xxiv. I am grateful to Dr. J. Dawson for this reference.
62. Cross, C. , op. cit. , p.55.
63. Z. L. 2, pp.324-6, State of Zurich to Elizabeth, 12. 8.1600; Thoman to Waser, February 1601.
64. Strype, J. , Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol.2, part 1, p.532.
65. St. John's College was founded in 1555 by Sir Thomas White, Merchant Tailor. It was based on the old St. Bernard's College which, in 1539 at the dissolution had been given by Henry VIII to his newly founded college and cathedral of Christ Church - A. Clark, op. cit. , p.347.
66. Gulley, F. , "The Influence of Heinrich Bullinger", p.83, maintained it is likely that Bullinger was directly responsible for the students' presence at Oxford.
67. O. L. , pp.377-8, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, May 1548.
68. See above, note 7.
69. Z. Z. B. , S 69, 35.
70. Z. Z. B. , S 69, 36.
71. O. L. , p.719, Froschover to Bullinger, 19.11.1550.
72. Z. L. passim.
73. Dictionary of National Biography.
74. O. L. , p.380, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 18. 8.1548.
75. O. L. , p.410, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 28. 5.1550. Also
O. L. , p.405 " " " 30. 4.1550.
76. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 335, 2149. Also O. L. , p.462,
Stumph to Martyr, 29. 1.1550.
77. O. L. , p.458, Conrad ab Ulmis to Gualther, 10. 8.1551.
78. O. L. , p.720, Froschover to Bullinger, 19.11.1550.
79. O. L. , p.723, Froschover to Gualther, 28. 5.1551.

80. O. L. , p. 404, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 30. 4. 1550.
81. O. L. , p. 406, as in 80.
82. Z. Z. B. , S72, 39. Stumph to Bullinger, 28. 1. 1550:
"Quodque mones, ut et a Regis, et ab aliorum Principum muneribus abstineam, fidem tuam ac amabilem mei curam agnosco: verum nolim te, ver Parentem meum mihi charissimum, de hoc multum esse sollicitos. Quanquam enim jamdudum ejusmodi stipendia ambiendi via ac ratio sit oblata, semper tamen lex illa patria mihi scripta haerebat in animo."
83. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2872; E II, 335, 2149; E II, 335, 2150.
Z. Z. B. , S72, 39; S72, 40; S72, 88; S72, 183.
84. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 359, 2872.
85. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 335, 2149.
86. Z. Z. B. , S81, 68.
87. Z. Z. B. , S88, 149.
88. O. L. , p. 499, Martyr to Bullinger, 26. 10. 1551.
89. O. L. , p. 416, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 22. 8. 1550.
90. O. L. , p. 378, ab ulmis to Bullinger, May 1548.
91. O. L. , p. 321, Traheron to Bullinger, 1. 8. 1548.
92. Z. Z. B. , S70, 227.
93. Maler, J. , op. cit. , p. 161.
94. O. L. , p. 57, Hooper to Bullinger, 26. 4. 1549.
95. O. L. , p. 64, Hooper to Bullinger, 31. 5. 1549.
96. O. L. , p. 68, Hooper to Stumph, 1. 8. 1549.
97. Z. Z. B. , S72, 183.
98. Z. Z. B. , S72, 40.
99. O. L. , p. 97, Hooper to Bullinger, 27. 10. 1551.
100. O. L. , p. 70, Hooper to Bullinger, 7. 11. 1549.
101. O. L. , p. 398, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 25. 3. 1550.
102. O. L. , p. 440, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 4. 12. 1551. Hooper's loss of favour with the Council must have interfered with his freedom of action - viz. O. L. , p. 426, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 31. 12. 1550.

103. O. L. , p. 427, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 31. 12. 1550.
104. O. L. , p. 440, ab Ulmis to Bullinger, 4. 12. 1557.
105. Z. St. Arch. , E II, 377, 2468; he asked at the same time for a recommendation to Grindal.
106. Z. L. 2, p. 180, Hilles to Bullinger, 8. 3. 1571.
107. Z. L. 2, p. 197, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 2. 1572.
108. Z. Z. B. , S71, 164.
109. Z. Z. B. , S70, 227.
110. O. L. , p. 95. For date, see Chapter 5, note 125. The suggestion was that Bullinger send Hooper books printed in Zürich worth that amount.
111. Maler, J. , op. cit. , p. 159.
112. *ibid.* , p. 143.
113. Z. L. 2, pp. 195-6, Hilles to Bullinger, 18. 2. 1572.
114. Z. L. 1, p. 272, Hilles to Bullinger, 10. 7. 1572.
115. Z. Z. B. , F37, 81. See appendix H.
Z. L. 2, p. 218, Gualther to Simler, 20. 7. 1573, gives a similar view of Hilles.
116. Z. Z. B. , S70, 227.
117. Z. Z. B. , S71, 164.
118. O. L. , p. 420, ab Ulmis to Gualther, 5. 11. 1550.
119. O. L. , p. 190, Hales to Bullinger, 10. 12. 1550.
120. Z. Z. B. , S71, 186.
121. Z. Z. B. , S72, 73.
122. Z. Z. B. , S73, 166. See appendix F, 4. This is interesting, because he suggested that Froschover and Birckmann might be used to help with payments. Stumph lived with Garbrand, an Oxford bookseller, so the connexion was clear.
123. Z. Z. B. , S73, 196. See appendix F, 1.
124. Z. Z. B. , S73, 197. See appendix F, 2.
125. Z. Z. B. , S73, 198. See appendix F, 3.
126. Z. Z. B. , S75, 35.

127. Z. Z. B. , S 75, 145.
128. See above, note 19.
129. Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz.
130. Benzing, J. , op. cit. , p.192.
131. Venn & Venn, op. cit. , vol.2, p.272.
132. Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz.
133. Strype, J. , Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol.3, part 1 , pp.227, 228, 416, 589.
134. ibid. , vol.3, part 2, p.132.
Lätt, A. , "Austin Bernher", Zwingliana VI, 1936, pp.328-335.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

No one could pretend that the English refugees with whom this thesis is concerned were key figures in the English Reformation, with the exception of John Hooper and Miles Coverdale, who most certainly did leave their mark. Nor were they, however, complete nonentities, which is the way historians have been tempted to consider them. Although they were, in general, quite ordinary men, whose lives were unspectacular apart from the unusual event of their exile, or exiles, the impact of that period abroad on the Reformation at home was not negligible.

A variety of people, and institutions, were indebted to these men. At the most basic level, Bullinger, and other Reformers to a lesser extent, found them to be reliable reporters and couriers, a commodity of which there could never be a surfeit in war-time. This network was used by the English Reformers too, a clear example being Cranmer's negotiations with Richard Hilles in 1548 for the transporting of Martin Bucer to England,¹ or his use of John Abel (admittedly not an exile, but certainly in their circle), to bring Peter Martyr and Bernardine Ochino safely to England in the same year.²

The Swiss must have felt rewarded by their English visitors, on whom they had showered hospitality, when they in their turn showed themselves to be so hospitable and helpful towards the Swiss students who studied in England in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. In

this connexion, it is important to emphasize that there is no evidence whatsoever that Bullinger, or any other Reformer, was deliberately fostering a 'Swiss group' in Oxford in Edward's reign, with a view to giving Peter Martyr moral support, and encouraging the English Reformation to develop along Swiss lines. What happened did so quite naturally, and was in no way forced.

The theological aspects of the subject are a topic in their own right, which have kept, and will doubtless continue to keep, theologians busy. Swiss influence on Anglican Eucharistic theology is of course a well-known facet of the Edwardian Reformation, and is seen at its most obvious in the second Edwardian Prayer Book and the Elizabethan settlement. Although none of the Henrician exiles can be credited with influencing Cranmer directly, when he was in the process of developing his ideas on the Real Presence, their activities and those of their friends in the field of keeping the lines of communication open between the Swiss and various European visitors to England on the one hand, and the English bishops on the other, should not be forgotten. It is also worth noting the three key clergymen who returned to England after Henry VIII's death, all of whom betrayed their Puritan leanings at some stage - Hooper in Edward's reign, Coverdale and Turner in Elizabeth's. Both Coverdale and Turner may have developed their strong convictions as a result of the Marian exile, as neither of them featured at all in Hooper's trials and tribulations of 1551-2. Yet both took a strong stand on the same issue in the 1560s, and sacrificed their livings for that principle. Bullinger took a back seat in this; at no stage could he be accused of encouraging these men in their stand against the Establishment, although his sympathy was never in doubt.³

The Marian exiles must have been conscious of the debt they owed to their Henrician predecessors. It was thanks to them that the machinery of communication had been kept oiled, and thus it was found to be in perfect working condition when it was needed in an emergency. The Englishmen who found themselves in that corner of Europe where the network had been most active, must have found the process of introduction, and settling in 'for the duration' was a much easier one than it might have been had no English refugees paved the way for them fifteen years before. Garrett touched on this when she commented that Thomas Lever arrived in Zürich in March 1554, bearing a letter of introduction to Bullinger from Burcher.⁴ She pointed out that the first authenticated English refugee settlement was in Zürich,⁵ but failed to make the connexion with the Henricians, going on to say:

'The Marian fugitives were the first to break through the barriers of insularity which England . . . had been gradually raising between herself and Europe since the close of the Hundred Years War.'⁶

It is to be hoped that this thesis will put the Marian exiles in a more accurate context; their very readiness to flee abroad is surely an indication that it was not such an enormous adventure – Garrett made the point that the first wave of refugees left England before the persecution of Protestants began.⁷

Clearly, there are still gaps to be filled in, and distortions which have resulted because of the imbalance of surviving evidence. This study is weighted in favour of Zürich, thanks to the comprehensive and superbly kept Bullinger archive. There is more work to be done in Strasbourg, and further research would probably reveal something about Bucer's and Hubert's role in the exiles' lives, and also supply us with more details about Edmund Allen and John Dodman who have, unfortunately, remained quite shadowy figures up to now. Yet it is

quite possible that Zürich features so strongly because of the unique role it played; it was not a place where the Henrician refugees settled, but a kind of Mecca (or Jerusalem) for them, a place to be visited, and cherished, but not a home. Only Hooper and Burcher really put down roots in Zürich itself; the others kept in touch with various individuals, particularly Bullinger, by letter. Not surprisingly, letters were most frequently written by people who lived a distance apart; only a couple of missives from John Hooper to Bullinger have survived which date from the period when he lived in Zürich.

Strasbourg and its environs, on the other hand, had become a home for a greater number of the refugees, and this may well explain why the best evidence we have for their presence there is to be found in the records of the City Council, not in letters.

Another aspect which might one day be studied in more depth is the impact which the English - Henrician and Marian - exiles had on the Swiss churches. This is a subject which has been ignored by Swiss historians, and merits attention. An indication of the potential of the subject appears when one examines a list of the names of the Swiss students who studied in England in the sixteenth century - many of these were to become leading figures in Switzerland when they came to maturity, and their experience of English life may have had some interesting consequences.

Finally, there is the question of other Englishmen who fled to Europe after the Act of Six Articles and Cromwell's fall. The Zürich-Basel-Strasbourg triangle proved an ideally compact area to study, but there may well have been other individuals who arrived in Wittenberg, or other towns in northern Germany, John Rogers being an obvious example. There is nothing to indicate that any

groups of exiles emerged, such as the one created in the south, which might make a research project more difficult to organise. But bearing in mind what a wealth of information this study of the southern group has revealed, we must not forget that other men, Catholics and Protestants alike, did flee abroad in Henry VIII's reign, and a study of the lives they built up for themselves in exile may help us towards a better understanding of the subsequent progress of the Reformation in England.

CHAPTER 8

Footnotes

1. O. L. , p.19, Cranmer to Bucer, 2.10.1548.
2. A statement of Abel's accounts for this journey is printed in Archaeologia , vol.21, p.470.
3. Z. L.2, p.136, Bullinger to Coverdale, 10. 9.1550.
4. Garrett, C. , op. cit. , p.9.
5. ibid. , p.8.
6. ibid. , p.19.
7. ibid. , p.2.

APPENDIX A

Arch. St. Thomas, no. 157, f. 493.

In the catalogue this is given as 'Grindallus Edmundus Huberto, 26. Jun. !. But this is written in a different hand at the top of the letter. Because of the Landau address, it is much more likely to have come from Edmund Allen. Thanks to Dr. J. Rott, Strasbourg, whose index of the archives suggested this.

"Gratia et salus a patre coelesti per christum iesum. Superiori septimana litteras accepi (humanissime Conrade) quas tuus parens a Claus Behm ad civem nostrum adduxit. Quibus perlectis, numeros eos mihi quam primum numeravit. Atque tibi gratias habeo qui eam in ista rationem (quia non erat alia commodior) ut mihi tam facile et absque periculo traderentur. Quod autem nullas hactenus ad te dederim litteras, ne quaeso mireris, neque aliqua negligentia aut tuae erga me humanitatis oblivione factum existimes, provincia enim huius difficultas ita me totum hactenus exercuit, ut scribendi facultas animo non suppetierit. Tametsi a D. Badero, qui suo presentissimo consilio et opera fidelissima nuncquam mihi defuerit, non mediocriter sum adiutus levatus atque consolatus. Quam quidem facilitatem tuarum literae et ----- (illegible) impulsu eum libentius praestitisse non dubito. Quod ad conditionem spectat, tametsi plena sit difficultatis atque molestiae, nihil mihi tamen aequae dolet atque quae prae idiomatis inopia non possum est satisfacere, neque ut animus exoptat neque ut munus ipsum exoptulat. Et maxima pars parentum ita liberos

suos (proh dolor) negligunt, quasi eos convenuisse satis illis sit. Paucos et nimis paucos video qui iusto religionis zelo pueros ad scholas mittant. Verum quamvis non fallat qui dixerit talium esse regnum coelorum, et aliquos esse qui eos christo adducant necesse est, nullis meis viribus, (quae longe imbecilles sunt), sed divitiarum fretus benignitate, libentius memet, huic palestra addixi, atque in eius verbo -----ete (illegible) meum laxabo. Tuum erit charissime Conrade, (id quod etiam atque etiam te oro) ----- (illegible) mei in precibus tuis ad patrem coelestem precibus, memorem esse. Vereor ne graviora tua negotia interpellem; quare nolo pluribus tibi esse molestus. Rogo ut D. Bucerum atque D. Conradum Symmista tuum velis salutare et illorum precibus me commendare. Gaudeo D. Baderum instituisse eo diutius apud vos manere quo liberius cum D. Bucero de eis rebus quae eum perplexum tenent, colloquatur. Cui colloquio ut deus pater clementissimus, felicium successum largiatur, diligenter vobiscum praecabor. Faxit deus si non in omnibus, vel in ipsa coena populo administranda convenient; quae qui neque publice neque privatim praerigatur, me non parum habet sollicitum. Plurimum te salutat mea uxor, cuius et meo simul nomine tuam optimam salutabis. Vale in christo. Landau. 26. Junij. Tuus deditissimus. Ed. Britanna.

Pio et eruditio viro D. conrado Huberto apud ----- (illegible)
Thomam Concionatori, amico suo charissimo. Argentorati. "

APPENDIX B

1. Arch. St. Thomas. No. 41 Carton 21, 3, f. 95.

Copy of letter from Hubert to Abel, 6. 9. 1551.

(N. B. - the underlined phrase may appear in either of these places.

The copy is not clear, as it is in the margin, with an omission mark in both places!)

Johannes Abel Engellendern, 6 Sept. 1551.

Mehrung gottlicher gnaden und segens, wünsche ich euch zuvor,
lieber H. Johann, Wie wir uns athne in ewerem abschied ewers
schwagers halben, so ich an kost bei mir habe, der lange nach mit
einander erspracht haben, und ich mich damals vernehmen liess, ich
wolte euch uff die ietzige frankforter mess glaubwürdig berichten,
was sich mit gedachtem ewerem schwager weiter ----- (illegible
words) wurde zuwagen wie er sich nun zum studieren, gotsfurcht,
zucht und erbarkeit schicken wolte, Damit ir solichs ewerm lieben
schweher seinem Vatter, der sachen mit ime ferner der gepen nach
zu handeln, bei guter zeit kondten anzeigen/Will ich euch nit bergen [^]
die wir in doch mit allen trewen meynen [^] erstlich dass in nit wenig
geschmirtzet und verdrossen hat, dass ich euch alles, so er aus
inger und thorhait fur gehapt, angezeigt und geoffenbaret have (Wie
ich mich aber das zu thun vor Gott und euch hab schuldig gewüsst),
Und ist daher etwan filtag gar wenig redens und aber grossens
unwillens gewesen beide gegen mir und meiner hausfrawen [^] die wir in

doch mit allen trewen magen ^ also das ich verursacht ernstlich In
davon abzuwysen ----- (illegible) das hat er mir dannacht, in sich
selb schlagend, letstlich fur gut gehalten, und halt sich ietzund
freundtlich, geflessen, zuchtig still, erbar, und gar wenig aus-
schwiffig, Und das das grössest ist, so gotsforchtig, das er uns
dafur beden noch loben worden ist, begeren Ihr auch aller gepur
nach zu halten, das es im gut, und euch allem solle gefällig sein, Und
wo er also im gottes furcht studieren, und zucht wolte furfaren (das
ich ime nun noch besser vertrauwen thun) so hoffete ich gantzlich,
er sollte ewerm schwehen seinem lieben vatter das hertz gar bald
wider gantzlich abgewinnen, und also zuweigen, das er aller seiner
vorigen thörechten handlung und ungehersame vergesse, und im ein
sonder lieber gneigter trewer vater widder werde, Das nun Johannes
von euch allen in solchem auch gestercket, und gefurdert wurde,
sehe mich fur gut an, ir erzeleten solche unsere gute hoffnung so
wir seine Wolhaltung halben tragen ewerm schweher fleissiglich, mit
bitte, er wolte im dem son hinfur auch desto offter, und freuntlicher
zuschreiben und ime seine vetterlich wolmeynung und lieb besser, dann
uss des knabens beschulden biss anser geschehen ist, zu erkennen und
zu befinden geben. Das hab ich zwar gesehen und gemercket, das
nun mit zu vil strenge und hertigkeit gegen im, nit vil fruchtbars wirt
mögen ausrichten, ob er wol mit zimlicher gepurinder gelindigkeit
und freundlichkeit. dadurch hoffte ich so?te (illegible) dem innigen
that und euch seinen verwanten und freunden, freud, ehre und
ergötzung widerfaren und begegnen. Dar wolt ich euch im besten
zuverstehn geben, mit bitt dises ewerem schweher anzuzeigen, welchen
ir uns auch sampt ewer hausfrawen, uffs freuntlichest grüssen, und
vil guter zeit wünschen wollen hat wol im seine solichs ewerm schweher
selbs zu zuschreiben, so bedacht ich doch endlich bei mir, dises seie

auch ein guter wege, und ietz villicht besser, dann mein erste meynung. Sunst sind wir alle, Got hab ewiges lob frisch und gesund, und haben auch noch zimlich guten lufft bei uns. Der liebe Gott erhalte uns noch lang zu seinen ehren. Amen. Datum Strasburg den 6. Septembris, An. 1551. "

(His letter to Peter Martyr follows, with reports of his commentaries on Paul, plague in Strasbourg, the school, church, French affairs, and Strasbourg news.)

2. Arch. St. Thomas, no. 41 Carton 21.3, f. 234.

Copy of letter from Hubert to Abel, 26. 3. 1560.

"An Herrn Johann Abel in Engelland.

Mehrung gotlicher gnaden und alles gutes wünsche ich euch und E. L. hausfrawen zu vor. Sonders geliebter H. Abel, weil ich mit D. Alexandern gewiss betschafft ietzund zu euch haben kan, wüsste ich dyes schreiben mit zu underlassen. Un erstlich ist uns er freud, das wir ----- (illegible) ewer glucklicken heimfart -----nommen (illegible) haben und beten got welle euch auch ferner ----- (illegible) glucken und in allem segnen. Zum anderen wünsche ich euch und gantzem Engelland furderlich wachsen und zindenen in aller gutt seligkait und erbarkeit. Aber der Satan (denk ich) kinder bey euch gleich so wol als bey uns. Jetz und Sontag hère ist wider die erste Eringrelische predigt beim alten S. Peter alhie bestehen nach dam ausgang der Interims. Wan aber das Munster und lung S. Peter werde wider zu christlichen brauch kommen, weiss ich nit/hoff aber doch wol. Es geschehe und bald oder langsam, ists ein grosse gutthat, das von ----- (illegible) das grewels und der messen fridhof leidig sind worden. Zum Dritten, mochte ich wol wer kundschaft horen, wie sich unser Diethelm binn, hoch W. h. Bischo(f) erhalte, damit ich meines anbringens kein verweissens zuwarten. ----- (illegible) dann er mir serr lieb ist, wie auch sein herre, D. Grindallus. Zum vierten, weil sie nit der wenigsten einer sind, die euch treiben, das ich doch soll helfen, das die beste und nützlichsten bücher unsers lieben hern und preceptors seligen D. Bucerj so Lateinisch so deutsch an tag kommen, fahr ich num an mich in handel zuschicken, und wolt fur das erste werck gern an tags geben alle nütze tractet liesst er bei

euch in Englland geschriben hat, daren bei ein ein schilling seind,
die nur wunderbarlich zugestanden sein, Und aber umb filer ursachen
willen von wo tan ist, das ich auf die beschreibung seins lebens und
sterbens ----- (illegible) an, auch die historj ----- (illegible) seiner
ausgerabung und verbrennungs, als eins ertzketzers, das mir
zubekommen zu zuschicken verheissen haben ii oder iii Engellander
so beim lieben H. Eton alhie gewohnet haben, Doch letstlich der hoch
w:h. Grindal in einem besonderen briefe an mich da er mir sunst
etwas D. Bucerj thet schicken, Ist Derhalben mein sonders vleissig
und ernstliche bitte an euch, wollet mir mit ----- (illegible) an
----- (illegible) herzen allen berahlen und behelffen sein, solle ich
anders hierinnen nutzlichen furfaren, wie es mir dan ein besondere
freude were. Zum funfften bitte ich euch weiter, und werde mir
darum ein grossen dienst thun, das ir eigentlich dem Remigie Guedon
buchdrucker nach fragten, ob er noch lebte, wo er were, wie er
sich hielte und wehrte, ob er auch etwas narung hatte an er mir und
noch einem guten geselle. ein gute summe ----- (illegible) schuldig
ist, haben wol etwas zu hinder uns, es mag aber nit wol dan dritten
theil schulden arsetzen. Als dan wüssten wir was auch besser
inzwischen.

Zum sechsten kann ich nit lassen, ich muss euch auch mein gros
creutz clagen damit wil der liebe Gott beim suchen thut. Es ist mit
mein I. Hausfraw bald nach ewerm abschied von hinnen, gantz stark
blind worden, also das sie weder steg noch weg brauchen, noch selbs
in geinein mit uns über dest hassen kan, muss sie in und aus der
kreisen füren lassen. Hab wol fil mittel versucht ir zuhelffen, aber
da schaffet kein nie schliche hilff etwas, müssen es num alles Gott
bevelhen und uns zu gedult begeben. Halte zwo magen, richte doch

wenig aus gegen meine veigen haushaltung. Zwar ich muss jarlich hinfür 40 gulden werttet zur haushabe anwenden als verhen. Wolen so gefeltes dem lieber Gott, der geb gnad und gedult, und endlich uns allen das etwige liecht. Diese und ich lassen ewer I. hausfraw, so auch schwerlich am ----- (illegible) haupt, zum III mal grusse sampt ewerem schwager Johann Burj dies heissen und doch auch ein mal schreiben wie es im gehe, dann er uns noch sehr lieb ist, und wünschen Im allen segen.

Zum 7 und letzten, hab ich noch ein grosse bitt von meines Nathania (wie ich bericht bin) ets -----, ----- (illegible) und haltet sich die sach, also, Das die Bucerin aus Engelland vereiset und ires herseligen bücher zuvor dem ----- (illegible) martyrer den Ertzbischeve seligen und der hetz Suffultz in umb c englische libri verkaufft, und aber nur 80 libri empfangen stehn dan erben noch xx libri engl. aus an das ertzbischevs erben. Wie hievon euch guten bericht geben kenden H. Richard Hillis, und die ii testeme tarien D. Parkerus ietz Ertzbischove und D. Gualther Haddon ----- (illegible) Nun seind wir in erfahrung komen, es vermogen die erben wol das sie bezahlen, weil dan Nathaniel und sein schwesterlin nit reich, Und Nathanael mit seiner ersten ----- (illegible) ii dochterlin und mit der ertzigen umb hiechtniess ein. Sen bekommen heisst sein grosvatter nach auch Mainung, an die im noch beschreien kann ----- (illegible). Er aber unbehelffen narung zu gewinnen, und ietz seit weihenacht kein den hat x dienen kenden mit solchem schaben, sonder die zeit er, weib, iii kinder und iiii dienstmegdlin ins erbe gezeret, were es ein gut almusen geshen, wann den erben umb dis aus stehnde schuld gedienet wurde, darumb ich euch in sonders wolte gebetten haben, ich hab zwar D. Alexander auch hierin sein vleis anzuwenden gebetten, und wollet

hiemit sehen was Gott wolle für ein gedeien hierhin geben. Und ob
euch wol nit von uns wirdt, als die wir wenig vermogen, und euch
ausserfel got an ienem tag zu besten veigelt en was er frommer armen
leuthen zum besten thun und rhaten. Amen. Gott etc.

Strasburg den 26 Mertzeus Anno 1560. 11

APPENDIX C

Basel University Library, C VIa, vol. II, f. 131-2.

(Printed in Sieber, M., "Die Universität Basel im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre englischen Besucher", Basler Zeitschrift, vol. 55, 1956, p. 86.)

This comes from Amerbach's records for the administration of the "Erasmusstiftung".

f131

"Item als ein armer Studiosus ex Hibernia allhie gewesen, der von sinnen kam und sin rock zeriss, dem habe ich ein andern lossen machen und zalt, wie dan die ander register uswysen. Demnoch als Meister Georg Hohenmut der Schnider mit mir gerechnet hatt uff den 4. Aprilis 1540, hat er für den macherlon geheischen XI plap.

f132

Als uff den letsten Martii Anno 1541 Grynaeus ein Anglum zu mir mit sinem knecht geschickt und bat, im um gots willen narung mittzetheilen bitz die druckerhern uss der fronfuchter (sic) mess kennen, dan der bgert zu studiren, were von gutem geschlecht, aber doch secundum jus Anglorum nitt were primogenitus, qui exclusis aliis parenti succedit, hette darzu auch sin gelt durch krankheit verzert, also habe ich in ein monat narung geben by M. Antonio, probst in Collegio, und gemeltem Antonio zalt für den Monat 24 plap. 5 rap. Wyter zalt der Murerin für das bett und kammer 4 bazen.

Item uff Sambstag noch Crucis im September (i. e. 17. 9. 1541)

als ich vormals unlangest mitt doctor Wolffen (Wissenburg) gebetten hat für ein Anglum, ime lessten zevolgen ein rock, so eines abgestorbenen studiosi im almusen gewesen, iff das by den almusen herren erkent, so ich 2. fl. unkosten ussrichten wolt, so uff den abgestorbenen gangen, so wolt man dem Anglo den rock, so wol 6 fl. wert lassen uff meine fürbitt volgen: also dwil diser Anglus mir durch doctor Wolffen anzeigt, das er ser studiosus theologiae, auch sich wol gehalten, sydhar als ich im vormals im collegio ein monat erhalten wie obstat, hab ich Frantz duschscherri (Stiftsverwalter), der almusen Schaffner, die zwen fl. zu minem hus zalt wie obsteht. Uff das er gesagt er welte dem Anglo den rock geben. "

APPENDIX D

1. Arch. St. Thomas, no. 40, vol. III, 21-2, f. 847.

Hooper to Dryander, 9. 10. 1547 (Hooper's hand leaves a lot to be desired).

"Amico ac fratri in Christo charissimo D. Francisco Driandro Basileque."

(First words are illegible, but must be a greeting.)

"Non oblivioni Amicitiae utrumque inter nos initiae. Sed gravitate tuorum negotiorum impeditus: ad me longe temporis intervallo non scripseris. Accipio excusationem si posteriora tempora te a scribendo minime retardent grate et pro-----de (illegible) erunt semper mihi tuae literae. quod de ----- (illegible because of mutilation) Angliae stabis, ne sit fama quae sepius fallax est deus det qui iam in Anglia habemus tenerit Dux Somersaediae, et Admiraldus (qui nuper accepit iii uxorem Katherinam, regis henrici defunct. viduam) ver----- (mutilated) religionis sunt studiosi. ante quatuor dies literas ex aula regis accepi illarum exemplar tibi describera ----- (uncertain abbreviation), nisi venetias illas mississam. De reformatione nihil audio. Rogo quae ut articulos quos stibiis iuss----- (illegible) regis impressos esse, ad me mittas. Dux Somersediae magne exercit stipatus, est in stocia Ut filiam unicam regis defunct. in Angliam deducet futuram ----- (illegible) deus faveat, uxorem regis Eduardis, quae Nona affinitas Utroque rogo magis erit commodo. Rex gallorum 19 triremes, 16 magnas naves suppetias misit stotij Ut utrinque iam

magne sunt copiae atque paratae ad pugnandum. Uterumque vicerit calamitosa ac misera erit victoria. prohibeat deus ----- (illegible) martem. quod ad nos brevi venturus sit. Venies gratis ac diu expectatus. Uxor mea te vehementer orat ut aliquando tempus fullas, et ----- (illegible) a meis relapes et se non perpetuum medicinam, exiguam saltem pregatorij ignis oblivionem petas scis quid velit. Vale 9 Octobris 1547. Tuus Joannes Hoperus.

De nostro ad vos reditu nulla debet esse expectacio. Nulli sunt qui cum ----- (illegible) libencius quam cum istis doctissimis at humanissimis viris. Nec in patria vero ubi maior et parentum, et civium bonorum, et amancium^(?) mei, copia. Multos habeo genibus, egere libenter co-----erem (illegible). Reditur in Angliam ad tempus distero donec de omnibus fuero factus certior. Amicorum literas in horas expecto Sed et hec et alia novam brevi licebit se ad nos excussas. Uxor te resalutat plurimum. "

2. Z. St. Arch., E II, 366, 36.

Dryander to Bullinger, 25. 3. 1547.

"S.D. Qui has literas a te defert est dominus Johannes Hoperus Anglus, quicum ego vixi in istis aedibus Grinaei paucis diebus familiariter. Nam postquam a vobis reversus sum in his aedibus me continui, quia Bernardinus occuperat meam apud Oporinum habitationem a quo nolui ut migraret. Hominis animum atque integritatem nosti, etiam si faciem non videris, cujus ea est pietas ac doctrina religionis studium, ut sua propria integritate probatus nullius commendatione apud bonos homines indigeat. Ego item novi tuam virtutem, qui pios viros fide ac religione praestantes sine cujusquam commendatione soleas peramice excipere - Et tamen si quicquam apud te ponderis habitura est mea commendatio hunc virum tibi commendo tanquam pietatis rectaque, sententiae valde studiosum. Duxit ante paucos dies uxorem in hac urbe, genere quidem Belgium, sed ingenio, doctrina, gravitate, constantia, et vera religione supra mulieris sortem plane coelestem. O quam vellem ut istius mulieris virtutes ac pietatem plene posses cognoscere. Est mihi persuasum eam fore ornamentum ejus loci in quo est habitura, et pro sua ipsa fortitudine animum habet paratum, ut Deum sequatur animose, ibique vitam traducare, ubi senserit esse publicam et liberam verae religionis professionem. Est illa quidem magno loco nata, et habet utrunque parentem superstitem, sed omnia reliquit ut christum sequeretur. Hanc igitur mulierem tibi commendo tanquam thesaurum quendam virtutis ac verae religionis. Quaeso ut intelligat ipsa et apud te repositam esse laudem virtutis, et me illi vera dixisse, cum tuam ipsi pietatem ac humanitatem commendavi. Bene vale - Basileae 25 Martii 1547.

Tuus Franciscus Dryander. "

3. Z. St. Arch., E II, 343, 380.

Hooper to Bullinger, undated.

"Si placet, D. compatre aliquid scribere Argentoratum concionator quidam qui divertis ad hospitium Rubrae Domus cras proficiscitur iam per uxorem Butleri alias litteras a Richardo Hilles accepi quam te plurimum salutas gratias agerit pro litteris quas 13 Junii ei scripseris. Ex frisia dicit se nihil novi habere nec ab inferioribus partibus, nisi quam galli et Angli coram Bullonia mutujs Caelibus indie cadunt et futurum brevi bellum quod me penitus gallum et Anglum. Bene vale.

T. T. Jo. Hoperus."

4. Z. St. Arch., E II, 343, 381.

Hooper to Bullinger, possibly October 1548.

(Compare with O. L., pp. 642-4, Burcher to Bullinger, 29.10.1548.)

"Det tibi Deus felicem diem, Colendissime Domine! Vesperi accepi litteras a Burchero, qui te et tuos salutat. Is scribit: Caesarem in inferiores partes descendisse, ut compesceret seditionem, quam totus populus inferioris Germaniae contra illum moliebatur propter tyrannicam et intolerabilem exactionem pecuniarum, qua jam suos opprimit. Ex Anglia accepit, quod novus exercitus Anglorum Scotiam sit ingressus ad 30,000, ex quibus ceciderunt uno die per Scotos et Rhingravium 120 equites, et duo capitanei capti. Die vero sequenti Anglorum exercitus hanc cladem retaliavit, et pro 100 Anglis occidit 1000 Scotos

et Germanos, et optimum Capitaneum eorum Gallum quendam coepit captivum. Circa idem tempus Angli in mari ceperunt 8 magnas naves, et 4 triremes Gallorum, qua onera expanebant, scilicet viaticum, milites ac cetera belli necessaria in Scotiam, quas post acrem pugnam combusserunt, nam defuerunt post pugnam nomines, qui illas ad terram regerent.

Boloniae nullas praeterit dies sine magno sanguine Anglis tamen Dominus adhuc favet, penes quos manet victoria. Fortalitium sive propugnaculum quod Galli e regione portus extruxerant, Angli ceperunt et combusserunt. In Brittania Gallice orta est seditio, et nondum sopita contra Regem, propter novam exactionem et satis adanctum vectigal populusque Regis vicem gerentem interfecit. Bene vale cum tuis.

Tuus totus

Joannes Hoperus. "

5. Z. Z. B., S68, 114.

Hooper to Bullinger, 29.10.1548.

"S. P. Iam accepi literas Argentina a Burchero. Is tecum tota tua familia salutatur. Si placeat illuc aliquid amandare, cras habebimus nuntium, ut spero certum, modo resperi literae vestrae, vicino nostro fabro liguario reddantur. Scribit Burcherus, Regem gallorum misisse in Scotiam 5000 militum, et cum his est Comes quidam Germanus, qui vocatur germanice ----- (illegible) gratum cum suis hundts knechtiis. Dominus det victoriam iis, qui plus student illius gloriam promovere. Magna turba Hispanorum, sine collunies nebulorum, 3 milliaribus ab Argentina residet, ac ferias agit. In quem usum Caesar illorum operam applicabit, adhuc ignoratur. Habeo literas pro Butlero, qui agit Constantiae. Si quam habeas fidum, qui illuc proficiscatur, mihi significabis, rogo. Dominus Jesus servet te semper. Amen. Vale bene.

a. 1548 u. Buchananum de rebus Scoticis p.m 300 -----

(illegible).

Tiguri scriptum hoc Epistolium.

Tuae humanitatis amantissimus,

Joannes Hoperus. "

6. Z. St. Arch., E II, 338, 1487.

Utenhovius to Bullinger, 29. 6. 1550.

"S. P. Superiore hyeme misi ad te literas sic satis prolixas, quibus nostrarum, quae hic agerentur rerum, certior reddeberis. Verum prorsus metuo eas intercuisse, eo quod ----- (illegible) quidem earum meministi in literis tuis, quas ante triduum D. Hoperus abs te accepit. (In margin: Hic sum falsus, uti tuas perlegendo literarum comperi; tu vero ignosce errorem; non enim licuit rescribere). Quod si ita est, doleo supramodum. Quod vero tuae ad me per D. Halesium transmissae naufragio perierint, magis doleo, cum literis tuis nihil mihi gratius possit obtingere. Quia tamen ita visum fuit domino deo, ferendum est equanimiter.

Intra hebdomadas aliquot favente domino proficiscor Glocestriam cum D. Hopero; quando quidem enim ipse me rogavit, ut me sibi adiungerem, non potui non ei in horem morem gerere. Faxit dominus, ut possim ei vel potius ecclesiae dei mea presentia operare utilis esse. Porro D. Joannes a Lasco nominis Tigurinorum multo studiosissimus iam est hic apud Cantuariensem. Is vero vir: decrevit hic vivere, ut proinde uxorem cum liberis et familia ad se ex Phyrasia mandavit. Quam vero ipse sit gratis regi ac proceribus regni (de piis loquor) vir queam dicere, ac imprimis regi ipsi, qui quanti hominem faciat, vel annua pensione, quam ex suo aerario ei assignavit, satis declaravit. Quo nomine est certo, quod summo afficiamur gaudio; nihil enim dubitandum est, quin ipse hic maximopere regnum Christi sit propugnaturus; studium vero suum totus ponit sub haec principia in impetranda aliqua Germania ecclesia recte instituta

Londini, ubi Germanorum multa sunt milia. Proceres ac conciliarii aliquot fecerunt hic nobis spem aliquam; nos iam in hoc aliquantulum sudavimus; in certum tamen est, quorum res sit evasura, quamquam verosimilius est rem tandem ex animi nostri ad nominis sui gloriam. Martinus noster Mycronius, maximum studiorum D. Hoperi aduitor, prima Julii ducturus est uxorem puellam castam, ac plane piam quae evangelii nomine patriam ac parentes reliquit. Ego certe ex animo gratulor ei hunc thesaurum in domino. Is vero ab ipsa quadragesima Flandris inter privatos parietes est concionatus et etiam nun adhuc concionatur non infeliciter. Ceterum commendo tibi causam Valentini cuiusdam Wernemuller, quem nos hic pietatis ergo ex vinculis liberavimus, alio qui indubitato moviturum ob rem plane exiguam. Ipse ait se ex Wernemulerorum esse familia, quod an verum sit, nescio. Verum ei ita res habet, vide quero ac operam da, ut pecunia, quam ipsi inter nos hic corrarimus ad eum liberandum, remittatur, ut inde reliquos pauperas peregrinos (quorum maxima huc magis magisque posthac confluxura est copia) sublevetur. Si spes alicuius restitueris affulgeat, poteris D. Bricmanno pecuniam committere, cuius fides tibi aequae atque mihi est multo spectatissima. Saluta quaeso mihi D. Bibliandrum, D. Gualterum, D. Ghesnerum, D. Pellicanum, D. Butlerum, D. Lelium, D. Wolfium, D. Sebastianum, D. Zwinglium, ac D. Othonem ...

D. Valentino autem, cuius meminisse te in literis D. Hopper; iam primum didici, poteris diligentius persecutari. Nunc ait verti decimum annum, ex quo patriam reliquerit, vitricum vero suum vocari Felicem ait. D. Hopperus ex iussu magistratus eras proficiscitur in Essexiam, quae est regio Angliae plena periculi, ut ubi superiori estate maxime subortae sunt tragediae, distans hinc itinere unius diei. Illis autem est concionaturus ad dies decem aut eo amplius,

quo verbo dei audito ad se redeant ac in officio retineantur. Ubi vero ipse Hoperus redierit, existimo eum ex templo episcopatum suum aditurum esse. Dominus deus faciat, ut eum feliciter et ad sui nominis gloriam administrat. Arca Michaelis reddituri sumus ad parlamentum favente domino, quod indubitato non parum boni ecclesiae est allaturum, quantum possumus coniiicere ex certis argumentis; faxit deus optimus maximus, ne per nostram ingratitude nostram expectatione frustremur. Habes scriptum D. a Lasco, quod haud dubie gratum tibi fuerit; is vero nimi. etate negotiorum obrutus nihil potuit ad te literarum dare, alias compensaturus, quod nunc non potuit . . . "

7. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS 260, f. 28ff.

Bullinger to Hooper, 10.10.1554 (copy, and translation).

"To the most reverend father M. John Hoper bysshop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now a prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ in England, my fellow Christian and most dear brother in the Lord.

The heavenly father grant unto you and to all those which are in bonds and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience and fortitude, of the holy ghost. I have received from you two letters (my most dear brother) the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I doubting least I should make answer to you in ----- (illegible) while I feared that my letter should ----- (illegible) come unto your hands or else increase and double your sorrow. I did refrain from the duty of writing in the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libelles as I may call them rather than letters, whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present after I heard that you were cast in prison I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly father through our only mediator Jesus Christ to grant unto you and to your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you (my brother) the which you did oftentimes prophesy unto our selves at your being with us should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist and of his felicity and virtues. For you know the saying of Daniel 8: his

power shall be mighty, but not in his strength, and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew in the 10th chapter: by John 15 chapter and chapter 16, and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written in the ----- (illegible) to Timothy 3 chapter: wherefore I do nothing doubt (by God's grace) of your faith and patience whiles you know that those things which you suffer are not unlooked for or come by chance but that you suffer them in the best, truest and most holy quarrel, for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine. The which the papists, those worshippers of antichrist, do persecute? All things teaching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples. But they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist as to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Helias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly. (Ephesians 1). But and if Antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us anyone that is better than Christ? Or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him? Except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary (2 Thessalonians 2). But if Christ be sufficient for his Church, what needeth this patchyng and ----- (illegible)?

But I know well enough need not to use these disputations with you which are ----- (illegible) taught and have taken root in Christ knowing that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made

perfect. Go^e forwards therefore constantly, and to confesse Christ and to defye antichrist; being mindfull of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: he that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his god and he shall be my son: but the fearful and the unbelievers and the abominable and murderers and whoremongers and sorcerers and idolators and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The first death is ~~soone~~ overcome although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: and therefore they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for the unbelievers and them that fall from the truth. Moreover the Lord granteth unto us that we may easily overcome by his power the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome, promising withall such joys as never shall have end. Unspeakable and passing all understanding the which we shall possess so soon as ever we depart hence: for so again sayth the angel of ye Lord: If any man worships the beast and his image and receives his mark in his forehead or on his hands, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, ye the which is poured in to the cup of his wrath, and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels and before the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore and they shall have no rest day nor night ^{which} ~~with~~ worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus: to this he addeth by and by: I heard a voice from heaven saying to me, ----- (illegible) blessed be the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth (----- (illegible) they be blessed) even so saith the priest, for they rest from their labours, but their works

follow them, for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain;
therefore seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord,
fight a good fight, be faithfull to the Lord

unto the end. Consider that Christ the son of
God is your captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets,
apostles and martyrs are your fellow soldiers. They that present and
trouble us are men, sinful and mortal, who^{se} favour a wise man would
not buy with the value of a farthing and besides that, our life is
----- (illegible) frailty and brittle transitory. Happy are we if we
depart in the Lord, who gives unto you and to all your fellow priests
faith and constancy. Commend me to the most reverend and holy
confessor of Christ, D. Cranmer bishop of Canterbury; D. Ridley
Bishop of London, and the good old father D. Latimer. Them and all
the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause salute in my
name and in the name of all my fellow ministers the which do all wish
unto you the grace of God and constancy in the faith. We do pray
diligently with the whole church for you. Concerning the state of
our church it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us in
to your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we
do not only profess the faith with words but also express the same
effectually with good works to the praise of our Lord. The word of
God increases mightily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and
in France. In ye mean while ye godly sustain grievous persecutions
and with great constancy and glory through torments, they go unto
the Lord.

I and all my household with my sons in law and kinsmen are in
good health in the Lord. They do all salute you all and ----- (illegible)
----- being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There
came unto us Englishmen students both godly and learned. They

----- (illegible) of our magistrates. Four of them dwell together, the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst the rest, Mr. Thomas Lever is dear unto me and familiar. If there be anything where I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment. Whereof I will write also to your wife for I understand she abideth at Frankfurt. Be strong and ----- (illegible) in Christ, waiting for his deliverance when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England and illuminate the same with his holy spirit to the glory of hym and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve you and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell and farewell eternally. 10 October 1554.
from Zurich.

You know the hand.

HB. "

8. Z. St. Arch. E II, 359, 2950.

Peter Martyr to Bullinger, 16. 4. 1555 (extract)

"Vidua Hopperi Christi ac evangelii causa occisi, communis amici nostri, quaedam scripta eius ad me misit, quae voluisset statim imprimi; at sero mihi sunt redditae, nimirum quando iam nundinae Franckfordiane in foribus aderant. Qua de re ipse Hopperus eum ad me tum etiam ad te (ni fallor) scripsit, legi ea, et quod ad summam rei attinet, mihi probantur, sed quia tumultuarie composita sunt, hoc est in carcere, ubi libris carnit et animo ad modum, ut est verisimile distracto fuit, ideo meo iudicio quaedam resecanda essent et aliqua nonnihil expolienda. Tu pro tuo iudicio atque candore totum hoc teum expendes; ita enim ille voluit et vidua petit, ut tuum quoque adhiberetur consilium. Proinde re mature atque amice deliberata illius piis manibus et uxori eius te non dubito, quantum negotium patietur, gratificaturum. Hoc tibi onus per me, ipsum imponere aut tuis non auderem, nisi cum ipse tum eius vidua ita fieri voluissent ... Rogo te iterum, mi domine atque pater colendissime, ut in his Hopperi scriptis addendis diligentia non vulgaris adhibeatur ut, quae nimis gravia sunt, ^{resecentur, quae bona, firma, solida sunt} /expoliantur, nec ex patria
(?) quicquam pontar, quod ex ipso fonte deductum non fuerit et transcriptum. Nam ista diligentia si non fuerit impensa, hostes, qui eum combusserunt, cum ecclesia tum defuncto et ferociter et contumeliose insultabunt. Sipienti pauca. In hac republicam religionis dogma et tuendum et ornandum est, et amici, qui pro veritate vitam pependit, famam tueri oportet. In re autem emendanda et expolienda nil cunctandum est, quasi mentiamur aut quicquam fallaciter communiscamus. Ille dum

viveret, hoc fieri voluit, ut ad me ante mortem scripsit, ad te identidem scripsisse non dubito . . . Putabam mercatoribus has meas datum iri, sed Anglus iam occurrit, qui eo gratior fuerit nuntius, quo per illum te scio, de Francfordiensi ecclesia luculentius auditurum . . ."

APPENDIX E

1. Z. St. Arch., E II, 369, 74.

Anna Hilles to Bullinger, 9. 5. 1543. (The handwriting is very similar to that of many of Richard Hilles letters.)

"Argentora, ix maij, 1543.

Salutem atque in vinea Domini profectum. Satiusne foret quicquam scribere, vir modis omnibus observande, an secus, multum profecto dubitare; Nam cum non ignorarem, quam multis quamquam necessariis fidus christiani gregis pastor numquam non obruatur occupationibus: horrebam aut interturbare illas aut ab iisdem quocumque modo se avocare. At rursus ad scribendum hortabatur cum fratris utilitate coniuncta necessitas, quae aequae negligere sine turpitudinis ingratitude nota vix potui. Immo obversabatur ob oculos interdum nimium stultam futuram fuisse me nisi cogitarem isthac (nempe tacendo) non minus in te quoque peccari irreverentia, qua illae imprudentia ceu importunitate. Itaque tua humanitate freta, priorumque officiorum, que ultro marito meo et obtulisti et etiam prestitisti non immemor fiduciam sumpsi nunc so absente, paucula ad te perscribendi. Quo parto spero ut nec obloquacitam, videar nullam tuorum sanctissimo cum negociorum habuisse rationem: nec e contra propter silentium intempestium & indecorum, negligentiae aut contemptus merito debeam condemnari. Verum ne diutius te detineam, occasionem mearum literarum brevibus accipe. Misit ad nos nuper Joannes Burcherus, conterraneus noster, rogans ut illi vir meus 30 florenos domum tuam perferri curaret ibi

tantisper asservandos quoad iisdem opus haberet: Mittimus igitur tibi ex eius sententia una cum hoc epistolis coronatas 21. quos si tamdiu apud te servaveris donec iuvenis reposescit, rem facies cum mihi gratam tum illi utilissimam: salutabis praeterea (quaeso) meis verbis uxorem tuam in domino charissimam pro qua etiam X eniolum recipies inclusum in amicitie signum. Salutatur te ex familia mea famulus meus quamvis de facie ignotus cuius opera ad has literas componendas sum usus. Vale.

Tua in christo soror anna Hils angla.

Domino Heinricho Bullingero Tigurinum pastori sumo vigilantissimoque, hae tradantur literae Tiguri. "

2. Lambeth Palace Archives. 2010 f.115.

Bullinger to Hilles, 30.10.1542. (copy)

"Gratiam et vitae innocentiam a domino. Libros quos vides Richarde in domino charissimae et colendissime frater, commentarios videlicet meos in Matth. Acta apostolorum, et omnium apostolarum litteras, in domino volumina compactos, numeris loco habere, digneris oro. Magna enim in me tua extant beneficia, magnus est favor, quo me prosequeris immeritum. Dominus rependat tibi pro .omni bono, Ego recte sic cogito, aliquid tibi gratitudinis argumentum exhibere. Caeterum oblivioni tradidi quod curiebas tibi parari libellos meos de auctoritate scripturarum, deque officio episcoporum, et de origine erroris, atque hos in unum compungi librum: Quod si ea est sententia tua, fac sciam, et curabitur pulchre. Arbitror autem lectionem illorum librorum, non omnino fore infrugiferam.

Iam ut respondeam tibi ad tuam questionem, Quod putem Scriptores ecclesiasticas utiliter a te legi posse: Quos item suadeam evoluendos historicos, paucis hic accipe. Scripsit vetusissimus Tertullianus preclara opera complurima, sed ob stili difficultatem, nescio quam grata et utilis possit esse tibi eius lectia. Quod si tamen huius aliquid cognoscere cupis, lege inprimis praescriptiones hjereticorum. Deinde librum editum contra Praxeam de sancta trinitatis misterio. Postea librum eius de carne Christi et de resurrectione carnis. Nemo autem paucis explicarit quanta possit ex his doctissimis et sanctissimis libris utilitas capi. Ego istorum librorum eximiam puritatem, et eruditionem nunquam potui satis mirari, neque desino vel hodie in ijs esse frequens. Quae sanctissimus Athanasius per multos libros sparsit

de trinitate, ea ista prior in brevissimum contulit compendium precedens Athanasium annis amplius. 150. Scripsit tamen hic epistolam ad Epictatum Corinthiorum episcopum contra omnes hereses, de incarnationis dominica sacramento, quem omnino legas. Cyprianus Martyr multa scripsit sed paucula eius extant. In his primas tenent sermones eius, demum et tractatus, quos non sine magno fructu pietatis cognoscas. Irenus qui istos tres aetate sine tempore multum antecellit, disputavit contra Valentinianos, sed tanta scilicet obscuritate et sententiarum perplexitate, sive ea ex vetustate sive librariorum incuria sive interpretis (si modo grece scripsit) oscitantia factum sit, ut non credam eius lectionem tibi usque adeo vel necessariam vel utilem fore. Lactantius scripsit contra Gentiles libros. 7. quod Institutiones praetitulavit: In quibus illud maximopere probandum, quod tanto impetu et viribus eloquentiae omnibus, ubique inculcat: demum delectari: placarique fide et vitae innocentia: Unde merito rejicit omnis genus Idola et sacrificia externa praeter misericordiam. Caeterum liber de opificio dei mirifice extollit dei sapientiam potentiam et bonitatem. Hunc censeo imprimis esse legendum, alios eius libros tantum percurrendum. In Hieronymi operibus merito commenduntur quae ille scripsit in prophetas, et in universum in Scripturas sanctas. Reliqua in adversarios aedita, semper vel optimis quibusque visa sunt satis acerba. Diligens et opere optatos eius commendatio atque laus virginitatis, et vitae monasticae multis plus nocuit quoniam profuerit. Quanquam nihil dubitem illum bono zelo scripsisse quae scripsit, neque probaturum si hodie viveret quae de signat, qui eius nituntur authoritati. De Ambrosianis operibus nihil possum consulere. Solus hic inter vetustiores partus a me lectus est. Quos legi libros de officijs, de opere. 6. dierum, de dominica incarnationis sacramento,

nunquam satis mirari et probare possum. Suadeo ergo ut illa quoque cognoscas. Commentarij in Paulum docti sunt, et plurima ex ipsis in meos translata. Porro sancto Augustino nemo mihi familiarior nemo eo scriptore mihi videtur utilior. Quo si careret ecclesia, magno careret thesauro. Scripsit multa et omnia utiliter. Inter illa tamen tum utiliter leges imprimis libros hos: de doctrina christiana: Quanquam in his et concionatorem instituat. de fide et symbolo, de vera religione, de agone christiano, de spiritu et latera. Tractatus in Evangelium Joannis plane aurei sunt sanctissimique. Elegantissimi et iucundissimi sunt libri de civitate dei. xxiij. et multiplici doctrina refertissimi. Inter epistolas eius comprehenduntur et libelli oppido utiles. Plurimum fructus exportabit quisquis omnes eius epistolas, libellosque sub epistolarum titulis comprehensos percurrerit. Disputavit hic Author contra sacrilegas sectas manichaeorum, Arrianorum, Donatistarum et Pelagianorum. Contra manicheos disputans, multa disserit de veritate Scripturae, de vera boni et inuli origine iustaque ratione. Contra Arrianos propugnat sanctae trinitatis sacramentum, et divinitatem veram filij dei. Contra donatistas defendit unitatem ecclesiae, agit negotium baptismi. Caeterum contra Pelagianos tuetur gratiam, disserit de libero arbitrio et meritis. Et hos libros puto omnino cognoscendos, prudenter tamen legendum, quae de praedestinatione contra Iulianum disputat, et de praedestinatione sanctorum. Praestat etiam legere Catalogum heresum ab hoc diligenter contextum, ad quod vult deum saltem ut cognitas caveamus peregrinas ab orthodoxa ecclesia sententias. Haec habui de maxime vulgaribus ecclesiae doctoribus. Sunt alij plures eruditione et pietate insignes: Vere haec in presenti pro te satis esse puto.

Venio ad historiam, qua nihil est utilius, nihil elegantius,

iucundius mihi. Certe propter eius excellentiam scripserunt historiam inumeri historici, adeo ut vix suffecerit Nestoris aetas cognoscendis omnibus. Tum saltem cupis compendium. Suadeo ergo ut compares tibi Antonij Sabellici Eneades, ab exordio mundi ad Maximiliani usque Caesaris annos historiae seriem deducentes. Collegit hic vir quicquid extat apud graecos et Latinos historicas, de omnibus regnis et memorabilibus rebus in orbe. Scripsit et Paulinus Orosius a condito mundo ab aetate usque Augustini, id est Theodotij maioris precellentia facta: Qui hoc nomine prae ceteris placet, quod pulchre, quod dici solet, rebus applicat presentibus, et religionem docet in operibus dei. Nota tibi sunt quae Florus scripsit in Epitome, et iiii libris suis. His si iungas lectionem Josephi, nil peccaveris. Porro ex istis ipse colligeo quos legas, si plures legere vacaverit. Hoc brevia et rudia ad quaestiones tuas in negotiorum turbis, intra horam effusa, quaeso boni consulae. Vive et vale una cum castissima et sanctissima tua coniunge, quam plurima salute impartit mea coniunx, una cum liberis et tota familia. Dominus Jesus sit tecum. Amen.

Tiguri 30 octobris 1542

Tuus H. Bullingerus. "

APPENDIX F

1. Z. Z. B. , S 73, 196.

John Butler to John Stumph, 27. 11. 1550. (copy)

"Quo die has ad te scripseram, Pastor vigilantissime, illisque Colophonem addideram eodem Auriga Lythopolitanus, cui nomen böstbüb mihi amicissimas tuas chartas, munere magnifico ornatus, pomeridiano tempore sub primam horam retulit. Quibus autem perlectis raraque tua erga me benevolentia cum benignitate coniuncta ex iisdem perspecta: quo verbis tibi saltem gratias agerem cupidius, donec referendi magis commoda mihi daretur opportunitas. Quam diu in vite moram fracturus sit hominem interrogo. Duas horas respondet. Ex templo igitur ad scribendum me contuli, ne si tuis nihil responderem, collati beneficii immemor non solum videret, sed ingratus. Itaque tum vini nomine, cum benignitatis tuae erga me singularis, ipso vino quae mihi infinitis partibus gratior est, quam maximas possum ago gratias. Verumtamen ne isthuc tua munificentia abuti videat, quum abs te quiquam tale minime sum unquam promeritus, ullo officii genere, quam primum proxime convenerimus, deo Duce, Vini pretium et pertubenter Tibi sum adnumeraturus. Neq me ideo, si hoc munus gratis, non abs tua humanitate accipere, aut tibi aut tuo filio, minus promptum aut alacrem quocunque pacto gratificandi studio futurum fore existimes aut suspiceris, me namque Christiana charitas constringit, ut alioqui vobis, et gratuito, pro facultatum modulo, omnibus quibus cunque pietatis offitiis potero subveniam, quod animo benignissimo

semper in me, volente Deo, experiemini ambo. Deinde filium tuum quod attinet, illiusque stipendii augmentum quam vis ex his, quae hodie ante Meridiem scripsi. Tam quae D. Bullingerus tuis verbis mihi mandavit, quam meam sententiam intelligas, tamen quicquid porro vis, si potero, faciam. Verum haec res paulo dilucidius est excutienda. Nam IV Coronatorum aut huiusce Monetae VI florenos tantum ille mihi mentionem fecit; tuae vero literae VIII coronatos vel X fl. exigunt huiusce Monetae, quam summam, si XL fl. quas antea filio tuo adnumerari curasti, addidens, ad L fl. plane assurget. Si vero priori suo salario solum IV coronas vel VI Fl. vestratis monetae accedere cupis, iuxta ut mihi compater meus Bullingerus tuo nomine luculenter dixit: XLVI fl. conficiet summa. Breviter itaque me fac certiore, idque quam primum, an illi vis quotannis quadraginta quinque, sex aut quinquaginta Florenos vestratis monetae persolutos. Quod ubi primum significareris, auxiliante Deo, otijus tibi effectum dabo, ut istorum quicquid statueris, ab Richardo Hillaeo, singulis Angariis pendatur filio tuo, atque sine ulla mora. Cetera brevitatis causa omitto. Vinum tuum praeterea, ut etiam in superioribus literis dixi, pecunia tua lubentius acceptabo, ubi rectam rationem vecturae mihi denuntiaveris. Pro vaso etenim Vini, quod huc transportandum Aurigae bostbub commendasti, X Batsios Constantiense illi adnumerari. Dicebat etenim singulis Urnis Constantiensibus tres batsios so tuendos esse inde Tigurum usque, atque tres Urnas continere Vas: Porro vectigalis nomine Andelfingae Batsium exegit. Qua suppulatione singulis vinis a Stamhemia Tigurum usque competunt tres Batsii constant et unus denarius. Ceterum quaecunque suades tuo consilio facile obtemperabo. Quod de pecunia scribis, ira displicet. Quod videbitur facias, non te tamen celabo, nummis me haud quaquam esse onustum. Sed ne te

nimirum diu detineam, Aurigam remittam, finem scribendi faciam.
Vale. Tota mea familia tuam in Christo, unica salute nostra, optat
salvam. Iterum vale in Christo. Tiguri Raptim est usae XXVIII
Novembr. 1550. Ecce quod mihi animus praefugiit, quicum adhispatium (?)
quaesitum Aurigam accessissem, ille antea abierat, quod in caussa
est, literarum tum diu detentorum.

2. Z. Z. B. S 73, 197.

Butler to Stumph, 28.11.1550 (copy)

"Gratiam et pacem a Deo patre per Christum Jesum. Superioribus hisce diebus, suspiciende Antistes atque in Domino frater, mihi retulit Compater carissimus, nobisque communis amicus D. Bullingerus, quid illi, Filii tui caussa, (quem pie et paterne in Anglia fines) Tiguri hic quodam proxime esses, apud me ut expediret, ubi ex Vindemia rediissem, mandaras. Cupere videlicet te, mihi indicabat, hoc officii in Filii tui gratiam, tibi mea opera effectum dari; nempe, ut quotannis, accessione quatuor Coronatorum nostratium (hoc est, sex huiusce Monetae florenorum) adiungeretur illius stipendium. Quod certe vel grati tui optimae spei adolescentis, vel tua gratia, animo quam promptissimo lubenter sum factururus; immo longe maiora, si qua possem, vel paresset voluntati facultas. Quare sicubi porro mea opera opus habes, aut hac, aut ulla alia in re, audacter quasi tua ipsius utarius^(?) velim. Nam omnia potius quam fidem et diligentiam ut desideres efficiam: atque quod hanc rem spectat, mox R. Hillaeo scribam.

Quum proxime hic esses si memoria tenes, tibi retuli filium tuum a R. Hillaeo aliquantulum pecuniae amplius, superiori Anno 1549 accepissem quam mihi adhuc restitueras. Verum quia tum temporis, quantum idesset, non omnino certus eram, tibi me rescripturum sum pollicitus, ubi primum ex Hillaei literis id percepissem. Scribit igitur interea se meo nomine, prius Anno, quo Angliam appulit, tuo filio L. Florenos succestive dedisse: quam ob summam illi scilicet Hillaeo a me proximo Francofortensi mercatu factum est satis. Porro abstua Humanitate, ut bene novis, XL Fl. superioris anni caussa

tantum accepi: itaque ob proximum annum restant mihi adhuc X. Fl. remunerandi, quos, si tuo absque incommodo fieri posset, quo mihi citius transmitti curares, eo gratias esset. Haud sane abs te peterem adeo impudenter hanc pecuniam, nisi me urgeret necessitas, telum ut nosti gravissimis. Nam quantis sumptibus mihi sit hic alenda familia, caritate ista Annonae, quum penitus nihil, quam quod prompta pecunia infaro mihi comparave fit necesse, hic habeam, tuae prudentiae facile est conjicere. Itaque cogor undequaque (quo familiae alendae oneri facilius subveniam) quantum libet tennes aeris summulas contrahere. O quam ex sententia mecum ageretur, si paulo viciniore nobis invicem essemus: ut pecuniae loco, permutatiore abs te accipere, vel Vinum vel frumentum possem, quod ipsa pecunia mihi multo acceptius futurum esset, nisi vectura tantum mihi constaret. Cupio igitur abs te certior fieri, quantum pro vectura unius Urnae vel Somae, ut vocant, exponendum sit Vintodurum usque a Stamia, quo cognito statuere mihi facile fuerit, an apud te, an Constantiae vinum mihi comparere magis ex re sit. Satis namque ^(?) vile divenditur iam nunc Constantiae vinum, nempe 19 aut 20 fl. hornum vinum praestans. Deinde 3 fl. inde huiusque vehitur semi voha (im halb fuder) sunt autem qui a Viterduri 4 Batsios pro vini Soma ~~deferenda~~ Tigurum petent. Si igitur a Stamhemia Vitordurum usque non maiori sumptu deportaretur soma, abste vinum ut emerem mihi consultius foret. Breviter utcunque sese res habeat, oro me facias certiozem, nam me urgebit necessitas, ut brevi Vinum emam ubicunque denique emero; multoque magis (ut ingenue fatear) abs te emptum mallet, si id absque luculenti danio utriusque nostrum fieri queat, quam alio quopiam.

Ex Anglia nihil quam omnia pacata feruntur. Vera Christi Religio de die in diem magis floret. Bina exteris hominibus templa,

germanis una, gallis alterum, ubi praedicitur verbum, administrentinque(?) sacramenta concessit Rex Londini. Absolutiora etiam adhoc sperantur. Nos denique Deum Patrem Clementissimum per Christum Jesum, spem nostram, ardentibus votis, sedulo, tam huius ecclesiae, quam ceterum omnium gratia interpellemus, quo Christo per omnia consecrantae, sub adventum ipsius, immaculatae, irreprehensibiles et incontaminatae reperiantur: vocemque hanc summo, gaudio plenum unambiscum audiunt fruenturque: Enge servi boni et fideliter. Amen. Aeternum vale mi observantissime carissime frater. Tiguri XXVIII Novemberij 1550. Plurimam salutem tum tibi quod optimae tuae coniung. mea impartit uxor. Iterum vale in christo ath leticae. "

3. Z. Z. B. S73, 198.

Butler to Stumph, 12.12.1550. (copy)

"Pax et omnis benedictio per christum. Delatae sunt mihi tuae literae, Amicorum carissime, quibus ut articulatim rescribam haud fert Nuntii festinatio. Sententiam autem tuam de filio eiusque stipendio adangendo probe satis intellexi, quod etiam tibi brevi expediam. De tuo Munere quod scribis, a nobis dabitur opera, Deo Duce, ut aliquam par pari referamus: est enim valde praestans Vinum, quo nos donasti, quo circa et nobis maiorem iniecasti curam, qua magnificentum tuum munus, si fieri possit, promereamus. Cum Auriga vero, sic ubi plus vini attulerit, bene rem supputabimus. Quod ad tuum Rubeum Vinum attinet, accipio libens conditionem. Itaque ubi primum a fecibus illud dimiseris, per Aurigam ad me huc transmittas: Venum hoc abs te peterem, ut stramine vas diligenter circumligari et muniri cures, quemadmodum et priori vino fecisti ne congelescat, Istoc Pigro In frigore. Porro ineunte Veri de albo vino etiam tecum, si adhibescit, agam et compaciscor. Interim si qua in re tibi usui esse queam, promptum et paratum me tibi semper futurum polliceor. Gratia Jesu Christi, Pax Dei, atque communicatio Spiritus Sancti tibi iugiter cum coniunge una et tota familia adsit. Vale. Plura scripsissem, sed iam adest Auriga abiturum se clamitans. Mea etiam coniunx tibi et tuae coniungi multum salutis in Domino exoptat. Tiguri, Raptim XII Decembris 1550."

4. Z. Z. B., S73, 166. Stumph junior to his father, the day before the feast of St. Martin (i. e. November 12th?) 1550.

Extract:

"Sed angustiae pecuniariae incommoditas mihi nimium cum multis communis est, quae raro ingenium evolare ad altiora finit. Stipendium enim quadraginta florenos, ut gravius ac maius esse/agnosco quam humeri tui bene ferre queant, ita minus, quam ut ex eo cum studiorum magno fructu apud Oxonienses bene vivere possim: Nam cum per annum XXXII tantum Anglicos coronatos habeam, pro solo victu, lecto ac cubiculo XXVI solvere cogor. Restant igitur sex coronati, quos sola hyems pro lignis et veste villosa devorat. Quid ergo reliquum pro libris ac chartis? Quid pro emendis, lavandis ac reficiendis vestibus? Quid pro calceamentis? Quid denique (ut reliqua omnia nunc taceam) pro conductiis Lectionibus? Nam hoc vitium apud Oxonienses late patet: Ut nisi habeas quod ----- (illegible) certe ambis. Oxonienses soli sibi placent, student, sapiunt, ac bene volunt. Quantum igitur exempla Lavateri, Zwinglii, et Simleri, quae mihi proponis imitanda in mutuum studiorum certamen provocant, tantum me remoratur detestanda haec necessitas. Certe verum illud Emblemata acutissimum D. D. Alciati, quo fingit puerum habentem dextram gravissimo lapide revinctam, sinistram vero instructam alis, a quibus quantum sursum tollitur, tantum a lapide deprimitur. Quem dicentem fingit: Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas:

Ut me pluma lenat, sic grave mergit onus

Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces

Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret.

Quo sane coactus fui hoc anno IV coronatos ultra constitum pretium ab Rychardo Hylles accipere. Quatuor enim coronatos alios superiori

anno, quos partim Pharmacopola, partim abstulerat privata Culina tempore quadragesimali, cuius memoria etiam nunc mihi molesta est. Siquidem per totam Quadragesimam in Collegio alterius tantum diebus Coena dabatur, reliquis diebus uno eoque solo prandio salsis ac marinis Piscibus apparato, contentos vivere oportebat: quae tam famelica necessitas Caseum meo stomacho reconciliavit. De Augustanis sive Caesarianis comitis eadem D. Bullingerus, quae tu, scribit, scilicet Caroli vos impetum attentos ac paratos expectare anbo affirmatis, neque tamen si quid eius modi vobis usu veniret (quod Deus avertat precor) quid nobis qui sumus in Anglia, foret agendum docetis. Quasi cum vos bello petitos audiant Angli, nihil omnius nobis nostra stipendia, quasi de satisfactione certi essent, concessuri. Num quis Anglorum putas Te vel etiam D. Buttlerum, aut D. Bullingerum fideiussorem recipiet, ac certum satis aestimabit, cui suas pecunias satis tuto credat? Aut num ego cuiquam mutuum certo reddendum promittere potero, cum belli exitus sint in incerto? Hic igitur sollicitus haero, nisi fortasse sic agatur, ut ego pecunias ab Arnolde Birckmanno, Coloniense Bibliopola (cui in Anglia plurimum debetur, et ipse Froschovero multo maximam summam debet, nec adeo prompte solvere potest) per hospitem meum, qui Birckmanni socius et affinis est, accipiam, quod fortasse nonsolum Birckmanno, sed et Froschovero gratum foret. Ex chirographis meis quantum Rychardo Hylles solvendum sit, disces, nec prius pecuniam datis, quam chirographa habeas: nihil enim debet mihi, nisi prius habuerit chirographum. Nec has dedisset, nisi consensu D. Hopperi factum esset, et ne his quidem contentus fuit. Sed Martinum fideiussorum pro me esse voluit . . ."

APPENDIX G

Z. St. Arch. E II, 345, 423.

(This was probably an enclosure to Burcher's letter to Bullinger of 25. 8. 1549, E II, 343, 414, printed in O. L. pp. 654-6. The handwriting is similar to that in many of Hilles' letters, implying perhaps that either Hilles sent this to Burcher from England, or that he and Burcher used the same clerk in Strasbourg.)

"Proposita quorundam seditiosurum civium in occidentali
Britannie parte:

Primum volumus omnia generalia consilia et sancta decreta
patrium observari et contradicentem pro heretico haberi.

Item volumus legibus regis Henrici 8, que ad sex articulos
pertinent, antiquam auctoritatem restitui.

Item volumus missam Latine ut antea a sacerdote nemine simul
communicante celebrari.

Item volumus hostiam super summum altare pendere et ibi pro
more adorari et non consentientes pro hereticis in sanctam
catholicam fidem morte affici.

Item volumus sacramentum altaris in solo Paschale laicis
idque sub una specie tantum distribui.

Item volumus ministrum tam reliquis septimane diebus quam
dominico die baptizare.

Item volumus panem et aquam quovis dominico die, palmas
vero et cineres suis temporibus sanctificari, imagines omni templo

et reliquar omnes ceremonias veterum in nostra sancta matre ecclesia usurpatas restitui.

Item volumus novam praedicandi formam admittere, quia Iudo similis est, sed veterem matutinarum, misse, resperavum et processionem formam ut olim Latine celebrari cupimus atque ita nos Cornuebenses, quorum nonnulli Anglice non intelligimus, novam Anglici sermonis rationem prorsus repudiamus (marginal note - Cornubenser populi sunt occidentalis Angliae).

Item volumus omnem ministrium pro concione et sacrificulum in missa nominationi orare pro animabus, que in purgatorio versantur, quemadmodum maiores consueverunt.

Item volumus biblia et omnes in ea commentarios Anglico sermone conscriptos revocari; alias enim intelligimus clerum hereticos longo tempore non refuturos.

Item volumus doctores Mormannum et Crispinum, qui nostras tuentur opiniones, ad nos mitti rogamurque regem, ut stipendia illis certa elargiatur, quo catholicam nostram fidem apud nos praedicare possint.

Item videtur nobis cardinal Polo, quia es famulatu regis est, non solum veniam tribui, sed Roma huc accersiri, et in consilium regis adhiberi debere.

Item volumus neminem nobilem in suo famulatu amplius uno famulo retinere, nisi si ducentos quinquaginta aureos annos habeat, et quoties ille numerus duplicatus fuerit toties famulorum munerum augeri.

Item volumus dimidia monasteriorum et cantarinarum predia cuiuscunque inditione sint ac quaecunque ratione ad ea pervenerint, duobus locis, ubi duo ex praecipuis monasteriis in quacunque ditione fuerint, restitui, unde talis dimidia pars substrahatur, ibique

hominibus devotis locum confirmari volumus, qui pro rege et republica
precentur eoque omnes Septemui eelemosinas publicas referri.

Item quo ad ea pertinet, que nobis in nostra republica displicent,
ea ita constitui volumus, ut Humfridus Danudellus et Heinricus Braius
Bodmane praefectus regie maiestati significabunt, si modo illis
auctoritate regia aditus pateat. "

APPENDIX H

Z. Z. B. , F37, 81.

John Gerson Butler to Gualther, 13. 7.1573.

(Underlinings are in the original.)

"Mein willig dinst und alles guts gunstiger lieber herr guten freundt, Nachdem ich gewisse post auss Engelandt gehapt, hab ich nicht konden underlassen euch zu shreiben. Wo fer es euch nun sampt den ewern wol gesen, were es mir ein sondere freudt zu hören, umb mich sehen es von den gnaden gottes zimlich woll, bin auch got lob wol in Engelandt ankomen dan als ich gen Hamborg komen hab ich Englische shiff angenoffen, und mit inen abgesegelt. Weiter thu ich mich auch der Commendation, so ir und M. heinrich Bullinger mir gegeben an den grafen von Bedfordt ganz hochlich bedancken, dan ich hoff sey soll mir noch zu gutem erreichen. Er soll mir verheisen eindt weder an sein hoff dienst zu geben oder aber bey andern herren under helffen. Doch solle ich die Sprach zu vor ein wenig lernen. Bitt euch auch ferner ganz dienstlich, ir wollend mich, wo es die gelegenheit geben wurde yenrelen Graften in eweren Shreiben lassen befolhen sein. Ich hette wol gern M. heinrich Bullinger auch shriftlich gedankt, hab aber, wil ich wol weiss dass er mit vilen geshrifften beladen immer mit meinem ungeschickten shreiben nit wollen uber lestig sein, wiewol ich wol gedanken kan dass ir der selben auch nicht den geringsten theil auff euch ligen hapt. Wil mir aber ewer frundlichkeitt wol bewusst, habe ich dese kunlicher euch zu geschriben, darbey ganz freudntlich bittendt, ir wolt mich desshalb bey in

endschuldig haben, mit erbietung meiner ganz underthenigen dinst.

Neuwer Zeitung ist itzo nicht wil in Engelandt, dan dass es gott lob zimlich rüwig und stil ist, Aber so vil den kirchen standbelangt, geseht es (gott erbarmt) unrüwig erberingcklich ja Unchristlich genug zu, Dan de Bisshof handlend, meinem kleinen verstandt nach, weil sey hie auch dass weltlich schwerdt furen, etwas zu tirannisch und mit iren mittbrüdern zu Unchristlich. Dan wil ich in engelandt gewesen, hab ich gesehen dass man sechs brediger, gelerte, gotts forchtige menner, welcher namen ich gleich hiebey hab wollen setzen, ob in wilicht ein oder etlich dar under kanten, der erst M. Wilckox und Fildt, welche ziren shon ein ganz lar ingeleget), die anderen M. Düring, Wifern, Braun, Iason, in hafft angenommen. Die ursach so wil als ich vernennen hab kanden ist diss, dass sey der Bischof weltlichen gewalt den sey missbrauchen, auch ire Cappen und andere ganz papistische Ceremonien und Spiegelfechten, welcher noch ganz Engeland voll ist. auch sonst etliche papistische artikel, die sey noch heuttigs tags deffendiren etwas sharpff angetast, und dar wider gebredigt und geshriben haben, Nun ----- (illegible) inen ein Rechtstag angesetzt, in welchem dan die bischoff selbs richter und beklagte in disem fall sindt. Alda habend sich zur selben zeit vil gelerter und guter leut lassen finden, und vermeint man werde sey, wie breuchlich in solchem rechtshendeln in Engelandt, in der offnen Camer wie mans heist vor gericht stellen, da dan jeder man mag zu horen; da solchs die Bischoff haben gesehen haben sey, wil diss gots fürchtige fromme und unstreffliche menner auch allen gott liebenden seher angemem gewest, diese in die inner Camer lassen beruffen, da niemandt darff in gen dan die vererdnetene richter, under welchen dan sey die primaten in dissen hendeln sindt. Haben also ie ein nach dem anderen under- shidlich forgestellt/sey woll capitulirt, darnach die zwen ersten wider

in harte gefenckni ss geworfen den anderen 4 en dass bredigamt bys
auff erlaubung des burgermeisters, oder wie mich dünkt auff ir
----- (illegible) verboten. Nun mit dissem ist es nicht genumg gewest,
sey haben euch erst ein königliche Proclomation auss gebracht, in
welchen verboten alle die bücher die wieder sey geshriben, und sey
hocher straff gebotten wer sey hab unser zuthun welche ich euch
Englisch und lateinisch vertirdt hab wollen zu shicken, dass ich nicht
eigentlich gewusst ob ir dass englisch verstehen oder nicht. Schicke
euch auch hie mit ein andern brieff lateinisch vertirdt, welcher -----
(illegible) zuvor In Englisch von min gotts forchtigen und gelerten
man an die byschoff geshriben, wir wolen sein namen wil er sich wieder
bishoff tiranney hatt müssen endsetzen, nicht hatt dörffen under-
shreiben ir wileicht der byshoffe standt underwesen in etwas besser
versten kündt. Ich hett euch dass selb wol etlicher massken -----
(illegible) endtwerfen, wil ich aber wol machen kan dass es bey euch
unglaublich, dan ich selber wicht nicht gesehen und sehe, konde ich
nicht glauben, dass solche leut, die etwen umb das Egangelij willen
stundt verfolge und verdriben worden sich solcher unbefugter suchen
in weltlichem und geistlichem Regiment, welchs sey dass baide fuerendt,
ondernemen Dan zu weil es et verdamstlich und mir zum theil geferlich,
dan ihre hülfkündt mir gar nutz sein, mir euch nicht hatt wollen
geburen solchs zo thun, habe ichs undertregen gelassen doch dem sey
wie im woll, so ist er wesen shir zu unchristlich und der kirchen
sandt in Engellandt zu erbarmen so glaub ich auch ir werdt auss
beylegten shreiben mer konden mut massen dan ich euch shreiben kann
order darff. Wil ich auch gedacht dass es so euch etlichen mass mit
möcht antreffen und dass es etwas Eweren guten ----- (illegible) und
Namen mochte etwas nachteilig Bey frommen gelerten leuten sein dass

ir solchen die noch sogar papistisch sindt, von welchem wegen ir doch indem wordt gottes vil gearbeitet und gethan, zuvil nach geben und glauben, habe ich euch solchs mys guter trewen meinung nicht konden underlassen zu offenbaren/hoffe auch ir werdt mir solchs in keinem ungutem auffnehmen.wie wol meiner jugendt und unerfahrenheit shir nicht geziemen wil davon zu shriben, weil ich aber ewern guten willen und hertz, auch die liebe so ir zu mir und den meinen tragdt wol weiss habe ichs desto lieber gethan, Dann es auch dem grafen von Bedfordt, welche sonst ein guter from herziger herr, und der die ware und reine leer sehr lieb hat etwas verdechtig gewesen, welcher auch gegen mir und meinem bruder hat sich etlichen mass hat lassen mercken: sonderlich wil in den bischoffen ewere epistolas Pauli, dediziert hapt, welche doch hardt wider sey sindt, doch mein Bruder auff dass ----- (illegible) soll geandt wordt wie auch war ist, man meine bey uns auss bewegenden ursachen nicht das sey noch somit grossten irtumen befleckt und die selben so hardt deffendiren. Wan ich auch wüsste dass ich euch mit gefallens thun wurde, so wolte ich euch dass buch dass Wigiffus hatt lassen auss gehen in englisch, welchs als ich hoff bald lateinisch soll vertirdt werdt zuschicken. Wil muss auch wens euch geffig wirdt sein die condemmirtten bucher zu shicken, welche doch meinem kleinen verstand nach ganz christlich und wol gemacht seindt.

Bitt euch gantz freundlich ir wolt meiner mutter bey gelegten Briff (in margin: ----- (illegible) anderst noch zu Zurich) also bald zu senden, und den froschower ansprechen von meindtwegen er wolle dem hylles so wil gelt wie ich in in ir seim shreiben gebetten, das im hyllesten diner geben würde, ----- (illegible), erlegen, solchs sol in meiner mutt mit dank und erlegt werden. Damit ----- (illegible)

(?)

euch,(und euch) und die eweren in den Schutz und shiren des
almachtigen befel hende. Bitte auch ir wolt mir ewer ----- (illegible)
Hausfrau ewern dochterman den Bullinger Ewere Kinder M. Gregorius
Mangold und sein Haussfrau von meintwegen gantz freundlich gelissen.
Datum zu London in Engellandt dem 13 Julij anno 73.

E. E. B. Williger

Johen Gerson Bulter von Solhyl.

P.S. Dem hylles hat aller gutt ach vergessen, wo er nicht doppel
gewinn hatt so habe er nichts darvon, es hatt mir gut rundt gesagt ich
gebe im nicht so wil darvon als er kan gewinnen. So stecke ich
jetzt gen bloss. Aber der gott verlengten was soll er dan menschen
thun, bitt der halb gantz freundtlich ir wolt mein bey froschover wo
manderst noch zu Zurich ist ein gedenck sein."

APPENDIX I

Z. Z. B. , III, B. 140.

W. Musculus, Prosaerus (1549)

Dedication: "Clarissimo viro Ioanni Butlero Solhileni, Anglo,
Domino et amico suo multis nominibus charissimo, Entychius Myon.
S. D. in Domino.

Mitto hic ad te, virorum chariss. Dialogos quatuor, animo
in religionem Christi propenso conscriptos. Eius dem sunt argumenti,
ut poterem tractantes eandem, ut ne cesse non sit singulis peculiare
argumentum praefigere. Hypothosis illorum est, num homini
Christiano, de veritate purioris doctrinae & religionis instructo,
sacris illicitis quaecunque illa sint, externa societate communicare
liceat; & satis ne sit ad salutem, corde credere, quicquid externa
specie in oculis mortalium geratur: denique quid de exemplis
Nicodemi, Iosephi ab Arimathia, & Naaman Syri, hac in re sentiri
debeat. Personae usurpantur ad huius generis colloquium accommodatae.
Eusebius, personam sustinet Christiani ac pij doctoris. Asebius,
hominem refert corde quidem prorsus atheum & impium, externe vero
quamvis religionem suo commodo metientem. Prosaerus, eorum
personam gerit, qui (ut in Evangelio est) ad tempus credunt, & tempore
tentationis recedunt, quos & Christus ipse Matt. XIII $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\sigma$ id
est, temporarios, vel (si mavis) tempori sese accomodantes, vocat.
Et quoniam hoc genus hominum quaestionem hanc, quam haec colloquia
expediunt, nostri primum temporibus movere coepit, visum est causae

accommodum, ut ab ipsorum persona sumpto titulo Dialogi isti, PROSCAERUS vocentur. In tribus posterioribus reiecta Asebij persona, tanquam impia et prophana, substitutus est Ireneus, vicem eorum gerens, qui pacis studio utrique parti in hisce controversijs ex aequo favent: nec magis aliquid in votis habent, quam ut ist haec Christianorum dissidia commode tandem, & ἀναλυτικῶς consopiantur. Tractantur omnia moderate & citra bilem. Servit unaquaeque persona suo decoro, & interim causa ipsa quam fieri potest diligenter ac dilucide explicatur. Ora dominum, ut vincat ubique Veritas, cuius sumus alumni: confundatur, ac pessundet mendacium, cuius mystae sunt filij huius seculi. In Regno Christi obtineat Veritas, mendacium relinquatur regno Satanae. In veritate, via est ad vitam: in mendacio, patentissimum iter ad mortem. Optime vale virorum chariss: & hosce dialogos nomini tuo inscriptos, ex animo complectere. Dominus te in gratia sua conservet. "

APPENDIX J

1.

Correspondence between Coverdale and Hubert. (The dates of Hubert's letters emerge from comments Coverdale made in his own correspondence, printed in the Parker Society's Remains of Coverdale.)

Coverdale to Hubert

24. 12. 1543

31. 3. 1544

1. 4. 1544 (lost)

10. 4. 1544

13. 4. 1544

21. 4. 1544

22. 5. 1544

13. 8. 1544

13. 9. 1544

3. 10. 1544

11. 10. 1544

9. 12. 1544

26. 12. 1544

6. 2. 1545

16. 2. 1545

20. 2. 1545

June 1545

31. 8. 1545(?)

Hubert to Coverdale

11. 3. 1544

April 1544

May 1544

30. 8. 1544

September 1544

21. 12. 1544

27. 12. 1544

Coverdale to Hubert

Hubert to Coverdale

27. 12. 1545

February 1546

9. 3. 1546

26. 3. 1546

20. 9. 1555

September 1555

2.

Correspondence between Hooper and Bullinger. (The dates of Bullinger's letters, apart from the last, emerge from comments Hooper made in his own correspondence.)

Hooper to Bullinger

Bullinger to Hooper

27. 1. 1546(?)

1546(?)

after 12. 12. 1546

10. 9. 1547

19. 6. 1548

Summer 1548(?)
(not printed)

October 1548(?)
(not printed)

29. 10. 1548(?)
(not printed)

28. 3. 1549

31. 3. 1549

8. 4. 1549

11. 4. 1549

26. 4. 1549

3. 5. 1549

1546(?)

before 19. 6. 1548

26. 3. 1549

May 1549

Hooper to Bullinger

31. 5. 1549

25. 6. 1549

7. 11. 1549

27. 12. 1549

5. 2. 1550

February or March 1550

29. 6. 1550

December 1550
(O. L. 95)

1. 8. 1551

August 1551

September 1551

27. 10. 1551

28. 2. 1553

3. 9. 1553

23. 5. 1554

29. 5. 1554

11. 12. 1554

Bullinger to Hooper

before 25. 6. 1549

before 5. 2. 1550

before 27. 3. 1550

13. 3. 1550

before 1. 8. 1551

29. 8. 1551

before 28. 2. 1553

10. 10. 1554

APPENDIX K

Brief notes on minor reformers

Bonifacius Amerbach (1495–1562). 1513, became Magister at Basel Hochschule. Studied law at Freiburg in Breisgau, Italy and France. 1525, became professor of law at Basel Hochschule, and Stadtkonsul. 1526, 1535, 1540, 1551 and 1556, rector of Basel University. Friend of Erasmus, Glarean and Grinaeus, among other humanists. Acquired reputation for being a tolerant non-theologian, and took initiative for making Italian religious refugees welcome in Basel. Was heir to Erasmus' fortune, the bulk of which was set aside for a benefit fund, from which many Italians received aid. Scholars were given priority, naturally enough in view of the origins of the fund, and academic interests of its administrator.

Sources: Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz;
Church, F., The Italian Reformers, (New York 1932), pp. 87–93.

Theodore Bibliander (1504–1564). Studied in Zürich under Myconius and Ceporinus, who gave him good grounding in Hebrew. Influenced by Pellikan and Oecolampadius while in Basel. 1531, returned to Zürich and took over Zwingli's chair of theology; 1546, became citizen of Zürich. Great linguist and biblical scholar; produced Latin translation of Koran, and wrote on the Turks, mission, the Council of Trent, and the papacy. Took part in negotiations for

First Swiss Confession 1535, but never completely in accord with reformed theology. Clashed with Martyr over predestination 1556, and as result was forced to retire 1560. 1553, dedicated to Cheke his De legitima vindicatione Christianismi veri et sempiterni; Bale mentioned him in dedication to his Pageant of Popes, 1574.

Sources: Gulley, F., 'Influence of H. Bullinger and Tigurine Tradition, pp.17-18; Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz; Pfister, R., Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz, (Zürich, 1974), vol. 2, pp.274 & 298; Welti, M., Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien, p.177; Bale, J., Pageant of Popes.

Ambrosius Blaurer (1492-1564). Born in Konstanz, student in Tübingen. Persuaded by brother Thomas in 1521 to leave monastic life and return to Konstanz. Brothers worked closely with Johannes Zwick and Johannes Spreter to introduce **R**eformation to city. 1534-8, active as **R**eformer in Württemberg. After introduction of Interim, left Konstanz, first to go to Schloss Griesenburg, then Winterthur, then Biel. Returned to Winterthur 1559, where he settled. Turned down invitation to go to Berne, which Musculus eventually did in his place. Hallmark of Konstanz **R**eformation for which Blaurer was largely responsible was emphasis on faith and love, which 'in äusseren Dingen Freiheit lässt'. Blaurer was not an academic theologian, viz. his verdict on the Lord's Supper: 'Man lässt die Entscheidung offen, will abwarten, bis man durch Christi Offenbarung, zu bellem verstand komme, und der einen oder anderen Meinung versichert werde'. Refused to subscribe to Schmalkaldic articles of 1537 which were too Lutheran for his liking, and this led to end

of his work in S. Germany. His role was that of mediator rather than fighter, but was a famous and popular preacher. His comprehensive and wideflung correspondence is, like Bullinger's, an important historical source.

Sources: Pfister, R., Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz, vol. 2, p. 250; Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon; Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart 3; Neue Deutsche Biographie; Moeller, B., Ambrosius Blaurer, 1492-1564 (Konstanz, 1964).

Francisco Dryander, 1520-1552. Born in Burgos, educated in Netherlands and Louvain. 1541, matriculated at Wittenberg, and lived with Melancthon. Left Wittenberg 1543 to supervise printing of his Spanish New Testament in the Netherlands, but was imprisoned largely because of opposition of Charles V's confessor, de Soto. Escaped 1545 and returned to Wittenberg, then moved on to Switzerland and visited Bucer in Strasbourg, Bullinger in Zürich, Vadian in St. Gallen, Seiler in Lindau and Blaurer in Konstanz, before settling himself with Oporinus in Basel. 1548, married Margaret Elter, relative of Valerand Poullain; then left for England. Cranmer procured Greek professorship for him at Cambridge. November 1549, returned to Basel to supervise printing of some Spanish books; this did not prove as straightforward as he had expected so he eventually sent for his family (which he had left in Bucer's care).

Source: Boehmer, E., Spanish Reformers of two centuries, from 1520, (Strasbourg 1874), vol. 1, pp. 131-184.

Conrad Gessner (1516-1565). Early supporter of Zwingli, who was his patron. 1532, worked as assistant to Capito in Strasbourg; 1536, studied medicine in Basel; 1537, taught Greek at Lausanne; 1541, became doctor of medicine in Basel. In same year was made doctor and professor of natural history in Zürich. Became Stadarzt there 1554, and was made 'Chorherr mit Pfründe, 1558. Was one of great naturalists and linguists of his age; his main field was scientific research, and he relied upon vast correspondence network to help him. In addition to his friendship with English exiles, he knew John Caius, who studied in Basel in 1544, and dedicated his book De Canibus Britannicis Libellus to Gessner.

Sources: Caius, De Canibus Britannicis Libellus (1570); Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz; Neue Deutsche Biographie; Welti, M., Der Basler Buchdruck, pp. 145-6.

Rudolph Gualther (1519-86). Pupil of Bullinger in cloister school at Kappel, 1528. 1531, moved with Bullinger to Zürich, and was brought up in Antistes' household along with Zwingli's daughter, Regula, whom he eventually married. Visited England with Partridge 1537; 1538-41, studied at Basel, Strasbourg, Lausanne and Marburg. 1541, pastor at Schwammendingen, and provisor of cathedral school in Zürich. Succeeded Leo Jud as pastor of St. Peter's, Zürich, 1542. 1547, deacon at Grossmünster there. 1566, directed negotiations with Schaffhausen, Basel and Mühlhausen which paved way for second Helvetic Confession. Succeeded Bullinger as Antistes 1575.

Sources: Gulley, F., 'Influence of Bullinger and Tigurine tradition', p. 30, Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz.

Haller, Johannes (dates uncertain). Studied in Zürich, Tübingen, Marburg, the Netherlands, and visited Wittenberg. Worked in Augsburg 1545-7; was archdeacon in Zürich Grossmünster for a short time; called to Berne November 1547 to reintroduce concord there. 1552, made chief pastor of Berne because of his success in restoring and maintaining harmony on the religious front.

Sources: Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz; also Conradi-Sulzer, A. 'Johannes Haller', Zwingliana, vol. 4, 1921, p. 145.

Jud, Leo, 1482-1542. Studied at Basel, as contemporary of Zwingli. 1519, succeeded Zwingli at Einsiedeln; 1523, pastor at St. Peter's, Zürich. Was Zwingli's main assistant in introducing the Reformation to Zürich, and continued to help Bullinger after Zwingli's death, having refused to take over the leadership himself. His chief claim to fame was as a biblical translator, and also as translator of Luther's, Zwingli's and Calvin's works.

Sources: Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart;³ Real-Encyklopädie Theologie und Kirche; Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz.

Mangold, Gregor (1498 - ?). Began his career as Premonstretensian monk; studied at Freiburg in Breisgau where he encountered Reformation ideas. 1522, left monastery and went to Zürich. Worked first as deacon at Hongg, then preacher at Regensdorf, but soon moved back to Zürich to work as corrector for Froschover. 1526, moved to

Konstanz and opened bookshop which had good trade in Reformation literature. 1548, forced by Interim to return to Zürich.

Sources: Thurgauische Beiträge zur Vaterländischen Geschichte, vol. 45, pp. 121-3; Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz.

Micronius, Martin (dates uncertain). Flemish physician forced to flee from Ghent with Utenhovius and Comte de Falais, c. 1544. Lived in Basel for several years. 1549, went to England with Hooper; became preacher in Strangers' Church in London, where he acquired a reputation for peace-loving, gentle manner, and good preaching. September 1553 fled to Denmark, then to Emden, 1554.

Sources: Gulley, F., 'Influence of Bullinger', pp. 59 & 94; Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.

Musculus, Wolfgang (1497-1563). Began his career as Benedictine monk, but left monastery 1527 and married. Worked in Strasbourg as weaver; 1529, deacon in cathedral there. Learnt Hebrew, and studied theology. 1531, succeeded Urbanus Rhegius in Augsburg; became chief pastor there 1537. After Interim, spent short periods in Lindau, Konstanz, St. Gallen and Basel before settling in Zürich. Rejected Cranmer's invitation to England, and worked instead for printers Herwagen and Froben. 1549, joined Haller in Berne, as professor of theology. Theologically, Haller and Musculus were very much on Bullinger's wave-length, and willing to follow his

example in resolving the tensions between Zwinglianism and Calvinism.

Source: Real-Encyklopädie Theologie und Kirche.

Myconius, Oswald, 1488-1552. Teacher at Fraumünster school and associate of Zwingli in Zürich. 1532, succeeded Oecolampadius as preacher and leader of the Reformation in Basel. Directed Basel Reformation along Bullinger's lines, although did have some Lutheran sympathies.

Sources: Real-Encyklopädie Theologie und Kirche; Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz; Gulley, F., 'Influence of Bullinger and Tigurine Tradition', p.17.

Pelikan, Conrad (1478-1556). Minorite monk; studied at Heidelberg under Scriptorius. Quickly acquired reputation as brilliant Hebraist. 1502, appointed lecturer of theology, philosophy and astronomy at Basel. 1527, professor of Old Testament at Zürich. His main work was as a biblical commentator and Hebrew scholar. 1544, produced his Chronicum C. P. R. ad filium et nepotes, an invaluable historical source. Apparently kept himself aloof from theological debates, but was everybody's friend, and one of the most hospitable of the Zürich theologians, as Locarnese and English refugees discovered.

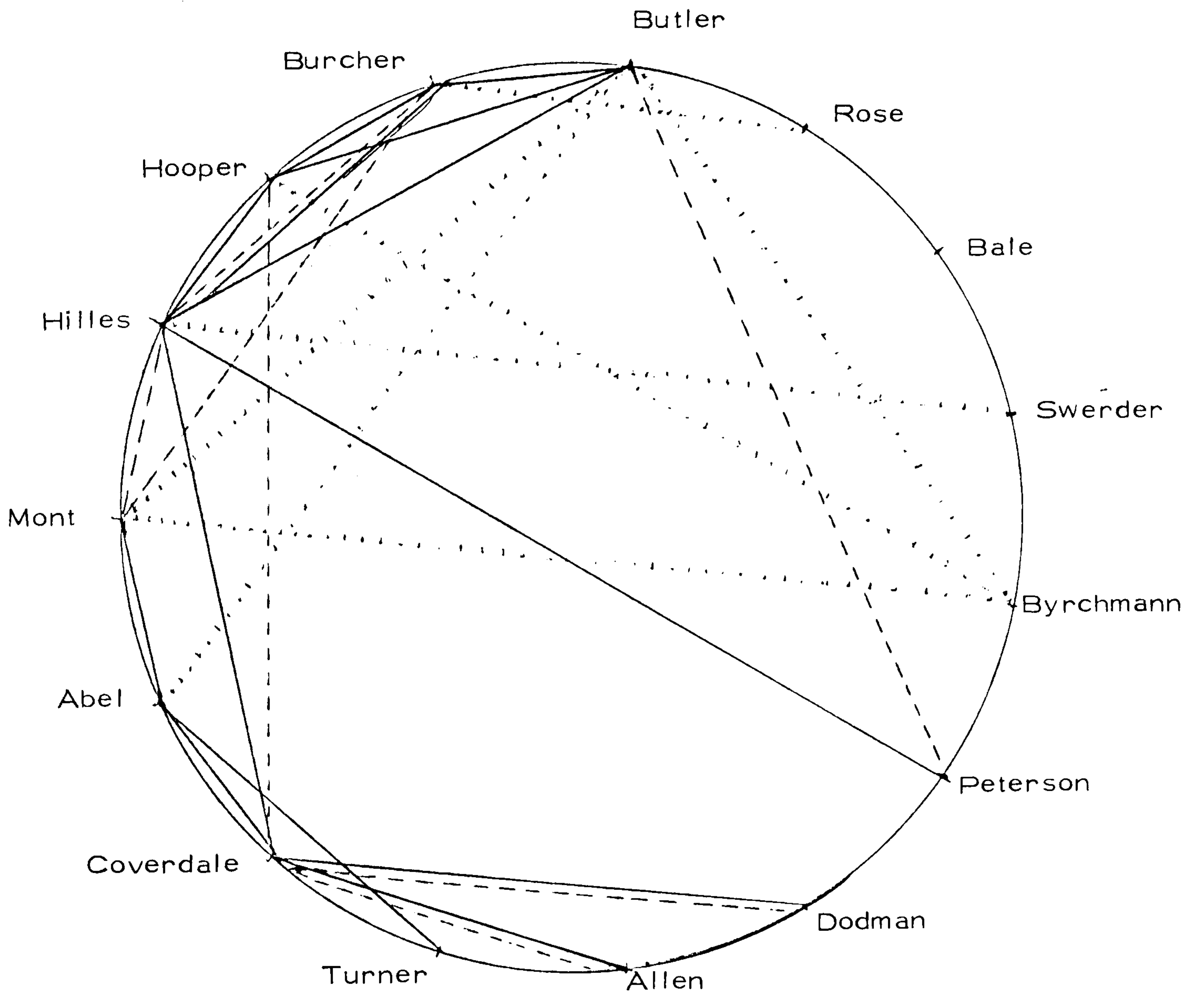
Sources: Pfister, R., Um des Glaubens Willen (Zürich, 1955), p. 28; Gulley, F., 'Bullinger and Tigurine Tradition', p.15; Pfister, R. Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz, vol.2, p.48.

Vadian, (1484-1551). Born in St. Gallen, and returned there 1518/19, after studying and teaching in Vienna, where he acquired a reputation as a learned humanist. One of the earliest supporters of the **R**eformation, and worked for its development in St. Gallen, where he functioned at different times as **B**ürgermeister, medical doctor, statesman and theologian.

Source: Pfister, R., Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz, vol. 2, pp. 80-88.

APPENDIX L

The Exile Network - 1



- friends
- - - - - business
- contacts only

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- 31 Windsor (Henry Butler, 1586)
- 36 Drury (Richard Hilles, 1590)
- 38 Drury (Thomas Rose, 1590)
- 38 Lyon (Edmund Felton, 1570)
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