English Arminianism and the Parish Clergy:

A study of London and its environs c. 1620-1640

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CONTENTS

Corrigenda

p. 28	for 'Richard Whitgift' read 'John Whitgift'.
p. 30	the page reference to footnote 64 is 'p. 149'.
p. 31	the page reference to footnote 71 is 'p. 254'.
p. 33	for 'no mention of Arminianism.' read " no mention of 'Arminianism'. "
p. 44	the London petition cited is the 'root and branch petition of December 1640.
p. 165	for 'Andrew Leighton' read 'Alexander Leighton'
p. 180.	For 'yet will boldly perking up' read 'yet will be boldly perking up'
p. 182	for 'disappear' read 'disappears'
p. 182	for 'Job Pocklington' read 'John Pocklington'
p. 188	for 'Graunt' read 'Grant'
p. 203	Replace the words 'Presumably Haywood's Honourable Lady was Lady Rous who is mentioned' with the words 'William Haywood enjoyed the support of his 'Honourable Lady' and the work of Lady Rous was acknowledged'.
p. 229	delete 'John Donne'
p. 242	for 'Finchingford' read 'Finchingfield'
p. 243	for 'Davenport' read 'Davenant'

Abbreviations

Anti-Calvinists	N.R.N. Tyacke Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640, Oxford, 1987.
Century	The First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests, 1643.
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series
CWA	Church Warden's Accounts.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography, (L. Stephen ed.), 22 Vols., (1908-9).
Economic Problems	Christopher Hill The Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament, Oxford, 1956 (1968 reprint).
EHR	English Historical Review.
English Clergy	Rosemary O'Day, The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642, Leicester, 1979.
GLCRO	Greater London County Record Office.
GLMS	Guildhall Library Manuscript.
LPMS	Lambeth Palace Library Manuscript.
LJ	Journal of the House of Lords
MPL	House of Lords Main Papers.
PRO	Public Record Office
Stow	The Survey of London, (A. Munday, H. Dyson et al. eds) London, 1633.
VCH	Victoria History of London, William Page (ed.), London, 1909
VMB	Vestry Minute Book.
Walker Revised	A.G. Matthews Walker Revised: being a revisions of John Walker's Sufferings of the clergy during the Grand Rebellion of 1642-60, Oxford, 1948.

Note: For all published primary sources catalogued by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640, London, 2 Vols., 1976; or D. Wing Short Title Catalogues of English Books printed in England, Scotland, Wales and British America... 1641 and 1700, 2nd edition, 3 vols., New York, 1972-88 the place of publication in the footnotes and Bibliography is London unless otherwise stated. To assist in identification of these works the Short Title Catalogue number is given in the Bibliography. References to Wing are distinguished by having a letter as the first character in the STC reference number.

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the impact of English Arminianism among the parish clergy of London and its environs during the period from c. 1620-c.1640. It looks at the extent to which English Arminianism permeated a sample of clergy and the role of those clergy in promulgating reform throughout the church during the late 1620s and 1630s. In this respect it is less concerned with the operation of diocesan machinery and policy than the extent to which individual clergy related to the church's policies in the period.

Drawing upon data assembled for a sample of 237 parish clergy a comparison is made of the social, educational and career patterns of English Arminian clergy with the whole sample. In general it is concluded that the English Arminians exhibited several distinguishing characteristics. They can be seen as having a distinct professional identity in terms of education and career attainment. They held certain views that distinguished them from the majority of clergy in this study. They were also active in implementing a distinct set of ecclesiastical policies.

Although the rise of English Arminianism has generally been studied from the perspective of the universities, government policy and the church hierarchy, it had a significant impact on parish clergy and within parish communities. This is developed in two streams. Firstly, the published works of the clergy are studied to determine the extent to which a discernible line of 'Arminian' thought can be identified. Secondly, the impact of reforms are traced through the beautification of churches and ceremonial reform, and through the involvement of English Arminian clergy in promoting reforms of parish government and tithes.

English Arminians sought to revitalise the English Church as a national inclusive body, but under a minority banner. In social and professional terms they were drawn from too narrow a circle to have broad appeal. The theological basis of their reforms directly confronted the ideas that had taken root in the English Church since the Elizabethan reformation. Their ceremonialism and clericalism challenged the confidence of a protestant laity, and their efforts to rebuild the power base of the church threatened to undermine lay social and economic power.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any University and to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Where the thesis is accepted for the award of the degree for which it is submitted I consent to it being made available for photocopying and loan.

James Galloway

Acknowledgments:

Chapter One:
INTRODUCTION

Until comparatively recently English Arminianism was a subject of only limited interest to historians of the Jacobean and Caroline Church.[1] Before the 1970s only a handful of historical works referred to the subject. Reference was more commonly to the 'High Church' or 'Anglicanism', or 'Laudianism'. Possibly, the main reason for this had less to do with the subject itself and more to do with the way in which 'Puritanism' was long considered the way into the history of the period. This was true not only for religious history but also for other major 'early modern' themes such as 'Capitalism', 'Revolution', and 'Science'. The status of Puritanism meant that it defined its own opposition. If Puritanism was modern and somehow progressive, it stood against what was feudal and reactionary. To some extent the history of English Arminianism and its relation to the Church of England could not be considered until 'the mythology of Puritanism'[2] had been undermined.

The term Puritanism masked considerable variation in the outlook of those to whom the label was applied. Consequently, the exploration of puritan diversity has done much to re-define the basic understanding of the subject. Within the diverse spectrum of the 'hotter sort of Protestants', areas of commonality emerged between those who had at one time been set up in opposition along an 'Anglican-Puritan' frontier. The common ground between the two was Calvinism. What had once been considered the ideology of 'Puritanism' was shown to have been 'a common and ameliorating bond'

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[1] A. W. Harrison The Beginnings of Arminianism to the Synod of Dort, London, 1926; T. M. Parker, 'Arminianism and Laudianism in Seventeenth Century England, 'Studies in Church History, Vol. 1, 1964; Carl Bangs, '"All the Best Bishoprics and Deaneries": The Enigma of Arminian Politics', Church History, Vol.42, 1973; G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate on Arminius outside the Netherlands', in Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century, Th. H. Scheurbeer & G.H.M. Mehjes (eds.), Leiden, 1975.

[2] C.H. George 'Puritanism as History and Historiography', Past and Present, No. 41, pp. 77-104.

that united theologically moderate puritans and the episcopal status quo.[3] The notion of a Calvinist consensus allowed both puritanism and the Church of England to be viewed from a different perspective. It effectively shifted attention away from the opposition of puritans to the status quo and asked why the doctrinal unity of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean church eventually broke down under Charles I. Led by Nicholas Tyacke a number of historians have argued that until the advent of William Laud tension between factions within the church had always been contained by an essential doctrinal unity that did not break down until it was undermined by the doctrinal innovation introduced by the rise of English Arminianism.

Since its publication the rise of English Arminianism thesis has generated two broad areas of debate. The first concerns the extent to which the English Church can be considered essentially Calvinist under Elizabeth I and James I. The second area is the definition of Arminianism and its relevance to conservative ecclesiastical reform in the 1630s. The former is of significance since English Arminianism is predicated on the existence of a 'Calvinist consensus'. However, no attempt has been made to add to this particular area of debate in this study. The essentially Calvinist nature of the Church of England under Elizabeth I and James I has been accepted largely on the basis of existing studies as a starting point. The arguments made both for and against the consensual nature of religion during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are considered briefly in Chapter Two as a background to what is primarily an attempt to study the significance and impact of English Arminianism through the careers of a specific group of parish clergy; namely those beneficed in the City of London and its environs during the period from c.1620-1640.

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[3] N.R.N. Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in Conrad Russell, (ed.) Origins of the English Civil War, 1973 .

The thesis is essentially a bottom-up study of English Arminianism. It is not intended to be a study of Laud or Juxon's administration. This was ruled out as a possible approach as not all the records of administration are as complete as might be desired, nor are they equally useful for a study of this sort.[4] The approach adopted was largely undertaken because much of the existing work has focused almost exclusively on the elite ranks of academic and episcopal institutions. There are compelling reasons why so much of the evidence relating to the rise of English Arminianism has been drawn from the careers of men such as William Laud and others of the Durham House party, as well as academic and parliamentary sources. Not least of these is the dramatic rise to prominence of English Arminians from the latter years of James I's reign. When Bishop George Morley was asked 'What do the Arminians hold'? his often quoted response, "All the best Bishoprics and Deaneries" had more than a touch of truth to it.[5] No doubt, Morley found the dramatic rise of the English Arminians through the ranks of the church a more appropriate subject for comment than the issue of what they believed, or whether, in fact, they were Arminians. However, the hierarchical perspective of English Arminianism implied in Morley's response, and which is apparent in much of what has been written on the subject, raises questions about to what extent and in what form English Arminianism went beyond the elite enclosures of academic and episcopal centres to the parish clergy.

It was assumed at the outset of the research for the thesis that the successive influence of Bishops Mountain, Laud and Juxon would have resulted in a measurable and well-

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[4] Archdeaconry Visitation records at Guildhall do not begin until 1662. The records of diocesan visitations (GLMS 9537/13-15) are of limited value before 1637 (GLMS 9537/15). Much of the material that was searched at the Greater London Record Office such as the Vicar General's Books DL/C/343 (MF X19/6 1627-37 and MF X 19/7 1637-44) contained material such as probate records, and accounts of sexual misdemeanours. Difficulties in the diocesan records have been noted by B. Burch, 'The Parish of St Anne's Blackfriars, London to 1665, With a list of the Clergy: Some explorations in Ecclesiastical Records', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. III, No.1, Oct 1969 and O. U. Kalu, 'Continuity in Change: Bishops of London and Religious Dissent in Early Stuart England', Journal of British Studies, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1978.
[5] Carl Bangs 'The Enigma of Arminian Politics', op. cit.

defined penetration of English Arminian clergy into the parishes of London and its environs during the period studied. An early survey revealed that the evidence in support of Arminian theology among London clergy was quite sparse. Certainly, there was little evidence that the parishioners in London were sensitive to the doctrinal content of English Arminianism. Only a few clergy were ever accused of Arminianism in parochial petitions, or in proceedings of the Committee for Scandalous Ministers, nor was Arminian theology prolific among the published works of the clergy studied. Given the apparent low profile it could have been argued that the 'Rise of Arminianism' was largely illusory; a consequence of an over-emphasis in recent research on the universities and cathedral chapters, as well as a misstatement of the significance and power held by men such as William Laud and Richard Neile. However, should the clergy and their parishioners in and about the City of London be expected to have engaged in active debate, for instance, about the 'five heads of Arminianism' or double predestination? The view taken here is that they should not. Accordingly, the impact of English Arminianism should not be measured solely by the presence or absence of debate on these subjects.

It is argued throughout that the primary issue posed by the apparent lack of evidence of an Arminian presence is not the illusory nature of English Arminianism, but the extent to which allowance is to be made for its implicit expression through innovation and reform, rather than explicit expression in the form of theological statement. A basic premise of the thesis is that the religious affiliations of individual clergy are as accessible to analysis through their actions and relationships as through their ideas. In view of this a broad approach has been taken in defining English Arminianism to incorporate elements of theological statement, implementation of reform and innovations, as well as the personal, social and institutional relationships of individual clergy.

To some extent the picture of English Arminianism which emerges from this study is one which is based upon its 'sociological structure' rather than the dissemination of an Arminian theology. This structure was dominated by strong threads of common relationships and common causes among the English Arminian clergy. These relationships are both personal and institutional. At a personal level, there is evidence of close familial and patronage connections between individual clergy and Laud, Juxon, and others of the English Arminian hierarchy. At an institutional level relationships were based on various degrees of commonality in educational background and career attainment which highlight the elite nature of English Arminianism. Separately, the common causes that linked the English Arminian clergy were those connected with liturgical reform, church government, tithes and so on. Collectively, their common cause was to reassert clerical authority in areas from which it had been undermined by an encroaching post-reformation laity. This is not to say that there was no positive theological content to English Arminianism, but only that theological issues were of less obvious concern at the parish level than they might have been elsewhere. As Bishop Morley hinted, what they believed was of less significance than what they had achieved in terms of power and position, and how they threatened to use that power. Nonetheless, it is argued throughout that the pursuit of reform by English Arminians in relation to worship, tithes and parish government was as significantly anti-Calvinist as any theological critique of absolute predestination.

This approach has influenced the use of specific terminology. Throughout the thesis the term 'English Arminianism' (or 'English Arminians') has been used in preference to other terms such as 'Arminianism' 'Laudianism' or 'Anti-Calvinists'. There are several reasons for this. Neither 'Arminianism' or 'Laudianism' are adequate enough to describe the full scope of English Arminianism. The former captures the theological

elements, but is misleading in the sense that it ignores the essential differences that existed between English Arminians and the followers of Arminius in relation to ecclesiastical traditions, church government and discipline. English Arminians drew upon a specifically English tradition of worship and liturgy which was consistent with an Arminian theology of grace but anathema to the reformed tradition of Dutch Arminianism. Equally, the term 'Laudian' may be sufficient to describe the innovations and policies introduced under Archbishop Laud, but it ignores the theological affinity that existed with the Remonstrants. It can also be construed as giving too much emphasis to William Laud as the originator of the movement. 'Anti-Calvinist' certainly describes aspects of the outlook of English Arminians, but only the negative elements. There were other elements to English Arminianism that were quite creative and positive in terms of English church traditions. These had a positive appeal for some sections of the laity as well as their clerical proponents.

The religious topography of London in the 1620s and 1630s was complex and English Arminians represent only a small proportion of the clergy included in this study. At a very simple level the clergy on whom the thesis is based can be considered in terms of four, or possibly five, reasonably distinct groups: English Arminians, Calvinist Episcopalians, moderate puritans and radical puritans.[6] A fifth small category of Romanists is conceivable but is difficult to establish because the evidence for Roman Catholic doctrines or sympathies comes from hostile sources.

Each of the four major groups represent different points of view on a range of issues concerning ecclesiastical discipline, doctrine (particularly the doctrines of God and of saving grace), worship and piety. Each also drew upon distinct historical antecedents.

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[6] This structure was suggested by Patrick Collinson The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625, Oxford, 1982, Chapters Two and Three.

English Arminianism, as has already been suggested, can be characterised as pursuing a programme of reform based upon an inclusive concept of the national church in which the sacramental expression of faith was paramount. In this respect it was inspired by an English ecclesiastical tradition that predated the reformation. A further feature of English Arminianism was a doctrinal affinity with the anti-Calvinist theology of the Dutch Arminians, as evident in the rejection of absolute predestination by both movements.

Calvinist Episcopalians represent the largest group among the clergy studied. Their theological position can be characterised as Calvinist, they accepted the doctrine of predestination, but in a form that was modified by their adherence to episcopacy. They were, in R.T. Kendall's phrase, credal predestinarians.[7] Doctrines such as election and reprobation were accepted by them, but not pursued to conclusions that might threaten the inclusive character of the national church. They retained a strong commitment to order and the sacraments. It is not unusual to find among this group men who were prepared to support the implementation of English Arminian ceremonial to a significant degree. This was largely because of their adherence to episcopacy and order rather than from personal commitment to English Arminianism. Clergy in this group were also prepared to join with English Arminians on issues that affected the 'profession' of the clergy such as tithes. They were also strong supporters of the Crown. Notable examples in this study are Daniel Featley, Richard Holdsworth, John Hackett, Nathaniel Shute, Thomas Westfield, Walter Balcanqual and Henry King. They belong to that element of the church headed by Calvinist bishops such as George Carleton and John Davenant and who represented a 'tenuous link between Puritans and Arminians'.[8]

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[7] R.T. Kendall, Calvin and the English Calvinism to 1649, Oxford, 1979.
[8] J. M. Atkins 'Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity and Arminianism' Albion, XVIII, 3, 1986, p. 415.

Within the puritan tradition the episcopal framework began to break down as greater emphasis was placed on the implications of predestinarian theology. In the moderate tradition men such as Thomas Adams, Thomas Tuke and Ephraim Udall maintained a degree of conformity to church discipline but tended to a more experimental view of predestination.[9] As a consequence, they focussed more on ministry to the invisible elect than on ministry to the visible national church. The preaching of the word took precedence over the sacrament, as puritan clergy sought to call out the elect and to establish a path of spiritual exercises and good works that might confirm election. Significantly, moderate puritanism did not preclude support for monarchy or even episcopacy as evident in the cases of men such as Adams, Tuke and Udall.

Radical puritanism effectively broke altogether with the concept of national church and sought to lead the elect out of association with the reprobate. Radicals are comparatively rare in this study although some men such as Daniel Votier, Cornelius Burgess, John Goodwin, Philip Nye and Calybute Downing emerged as leading radicals in the 1640s. The radicalism of men such as these was a consequence of the rise of English Arminianism. Changes in the theological outlook of the church and ceremonial reforms during the 1630's meant that some clergy could not sustain their loyalty to the episcopal church. John Davenport, for one, was unable to sustain the level of conformity under Laud that he had offered to George Abbot and eventually fled to Holland.[10] Calybute Downing began his clerical career in a conventional manner but was forced into a radical posture. Cornelius Burgess moved from a position of qualified conformity to opposition. In 1636 Cornelius Burgess was before the High Commission on account of a Latin sermon he delivered at St. Alphage, London Wall in which he criticised the Bishops and the government of the church.[11]

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[9] ibid.

[10] Susan Holland, 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of Puritanism', The Historical Journal, Vol. 37, No. 1, March 1994, p. 39-40.

[11] William Laud, Works, Vol. 5, p. 338, LPMS 943, p. 267.

At about the same time 'Factious and malicious pamphlets' against Bishops and church government also appeared and were suspected by Juxon of being spread by some London clergy.[12]

Puritan clergy represent something more than just a loose grouping of individuals. There is some evidence of organised opposition among them against English Arminianism and episcopacy in general. They were organised enough to establish collections for ministers in the Palatinate and the activities of the Feoffees for Impropriations also demonstrates organisation. In 1640 John Downame, with Cornelius Burgess, organised and led the puritan clergy in the denunciation of the Canons and Oath promulgated by the Convocation.[13] Alan Argent has noted that Edmund Calamy's house was used as a meeting place by puritan clergy.[14]

These groups represent, in general, the structure of opinion and belief held by the clergy in this study. They are not exclusive categories. Over the twenty year period covered some men changed their views while others exhibit sometimes contradictory attitudes. Mobility was probably highest between Calvinist Episcopalians and English Arminians. A number of clergy - Henry Mason, William Piers, William Bray, Samuel Baker, William Brough and Brian Walton - had early in their careers been convinced Calvinists or even moderate puritans but changed their views over time. Others who display sometimes contradictory views include Ephraim Udall, Calybute Downing and Ephraim Pagitt, who are best known for their puritan sympathies in the 1640s. During the period of this study they were prepared to support some aspects of episcopal

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[12] LPMS 943, p. 267.

[13] Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43, Oxford, 1961, p. 174.

[14] Alan Argent, 'The Religious Complexion of the Parishes of the City of London 1640-1649 (with especial reference to the city clergy)', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983, p. 120.

government and ceremony. This sort of movement and contradiction does not undermine the validity of the groupings used, although it does suggest that belief was structured as a spectrum rather than as wholly distinct ideologies.

The thesis focuses on the activities of English Arminian clergy, but reference is made to a wider sample of 237 clergy for the purpose of comparison. Topics covered include their education and career structure, the published works of the clergy, the introduction of ceremonial innovation in parish churches and issues of parish government and tithes.

Chapter Two is a general survey of the subject including current debate. This has been undertaken as an introduction to how English Arminianism is understood and used throughout. Essentially, the view developed in this chapter is that English Arminianism represents a distinct movement within the Church of England. It is viewed as both conservative, in so far as it drew upon native ecclesiastical traditions, and aggressive in that it was fiercely antagonistic to aspects of predestinarian theology and Calvinism. To some extent this amalgam tends to play down the central role of predestinarian theology as the primary issue over which Calvinists and English Arminians were at odds. Instead, issues such as sacramentalism and clericalism have a more prominent role than discourse over the theology of grace. This has much to do with the subject matter and the emphasis on parish clergy. However, predestinarian theology is not eliminated from the picture altogether. There were clergy who were prepared to take issue on points of theology and openly criticise predestinarian theology and Calvinism. For the remainder it should not be overlooked that the emphasis which they placed on the sacraments and the efforts they made to rejuvenate the church owed a great deal to changes in the theological climate which challenged Calvinism and cleared the way for church and clergy to claim back a mediatory role between God and laity.

Chapters Three and Four comprise a survey of 237 clergy who served in the parishes of London and Middlesex between c.1620 and c.1642. The sample used is not exhaustive. A small number of clergy have been eliminated from the study because their careers did not sufficiently overlap with the parameters. These were men who left a parish prior to 1622 and did not acquire a further living in London or Middlesex, or who died before 1622, or who acquired a benefice after 1642. The criteria for inclusion in the study are that a clergyman must have held a parish living in London or Middlesex for a period of two or more years between 1620 and 1642. Where an individual satisfied these criteria he has been incorporated. There may be some accidental omissions, but these would be by no means numerous enough to alter the overall picture. The parish held by an individual which led to him being included in the study is referred to throughout as the primary parish. It is often the case that this was not the first parish an individual acquired.

The survey conducted in these two chapters attempts to identify personal, educational and career data which might usefully describe and distinguish English Arminian clergy from the whole population. Both chapters are prosopographical in method. Chapter Three covers aspects of the social origins and education of clergy. Chapter Four extends this analysis to their clerical careers and provides some additional comment on the higher clergy as a distinct sub-group.

The geographic scope of the thesis requires some clarification. Initially, it had been intended to pursue either a diocesan study or one based solely upon London. Both of these options had drawbacks. The prosopographical work involved in a diocesan study could only have been undertaken at the expense of some other areas and would

have tended more to a study of the clerical profession or of diocesan government. A study based on London had limitations in terms of the size of sample of clergy to be studied. It also eliminated opportunities for comparison between urban and rural settings. To try and overcome these problems a compromise was reached which involved extending the prosopographical work to include London and Middlesex. At the same time specific themes such as the altar policy and tithes are focussed on London but with occasional reference to Middlesex and other areas of the diocese.

The sources used in Chapters Three and Four are chiefly compilations of institutional records covering significant events in an individual's life including: birth, matriculation, university career, ordination, church preferment, sequestration, and death. Most of these details have been obtained from a number of well-known works including, Foster's <u>Alumni Oxonienses</u>, Hennessy's <u>Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense</u>, Matthews' <u>Walker Revised</u>, and <u>Calamy Revised</u>, Newcourt's <u>Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense</u>, Wood's <u>Athenae Oxonienses</u>, and the Venns' <u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u>. There can be no doubt that these publications provide the most systematic and comprehensive sources for this work. Yet they are not without problems of error and omission. As a consequence there are a small number of cases where all that remains as testimony to an individual's life are his name and the fact that he occupied a particular benefice. For London and Middlesex such instances are relatively few and the sources available provide a workable, if not complete survey of the salient features of the lives of the clergy over the twenty-year period surveyed. All the data used in Chapters Three and Four is stored in a flatfile Macintosh database. Much of the assembled data are summarised in the appendices. This has been done in order to avoid the tedious repetition of references in footnotes.

A survey of printed works by London and Middlesex clergy which appeared between c.1620-1640 is the subject of Chapter Five. The published views of clergy on theological and ecclesiastical matters remain the most direct indication of an individual's relationship to English Arminianism. Only a relatively small proportion of clergy committed their views to writing, but viewed collectively this material reveals a significant shift in the published views expressed by parish clergy over the term of this study. The major features of this survey are a decline in the number of published 'Calvinist' works from the late 1620s when English Arminian authors, of whom there were many fewer, begin to dominate. Also, among the English Arminian works published there was little attempt to engage the proponents of Calvinist theology in a theological debate. Some authors such as Henry Mason, Edmund Reeve, and William Quelch attempted to elucidate an Arminian theology. But the approach of most authors was reminiscent of Richard Montague's style of undisguised derision and contempt for the perceived excesses of 'puritan paroxysm', combined with a fierce defence of English church tradition and the historic legitimacy of liturgical reform. The survey also reveals a number of authors who were not English Arminians but who were prepared to countenance reforms largely on the basis of their adherence to episcopacy.

Chapters Six and Seven cover what are generally considered to be the major themes of English Arminianism: liturgical renewal, expressed as the 'beauty of holiness' and the more pragmatic but no less critical reform of parochial government and tithes. The subject of ceremonial reform is based largely on the study of parish records and surveys the implementation of reforms relating to church beautification and the altar-wise communion table throughout London, with some reference to parishes in Middlesex. Chapter Seven attempts to assess the relationship between laity and clergy in terms of the struggle for control of local parish affairs and decision making. A review of the tithe dispute is included, the extent to which this chronic sore point

between clergy and laity in London became a focus for English Arminian action is considered. Again, the main sources used here are the parish records.

The primary context of this study is recent work on the subject of English Arminianism. However, it also touches upon two other areas of research that are widely recognised in their own right. These are the study of the clerical profession and the religious history of London. The clergy as a professional class in post-reformation society have received attention at both a national level and in a range of local studies.[15] Their social origins, motivation, incomes, qualifications and career paths have all been studied to highlight their emergence as a profession. Problems such as an over-supply of clergy and poor career prospects have been discussed for their potential impact on the growth of puritanism.[16] But such problems would generally be regarded as having been overstated.[17] A more enduring theme has been the position of the clergy as a distinct group within post-reformation-society. Of particular interest are the impact of rising professionalism on their identity within the communities they served and their status relative to lay society. This line of investigation has been taken up in part in Chapters Three and Four in an effort to determine whether similar factors can be seen to have contributed to a distinct identity for the English Arminian clergy.

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[15] P. Collinson, 'Clerus Brittanicus Stupor Mundi', in The Religion of Protestants; Christopher Hill, The Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament, Oxford, 1956; P.R. Jenkins, 'The Rise of a Graduate Clergy in Sussex, 1570-1640', Sussex Archeological Society Transactions, Vol. 20, 1982; K. Tiller, 'Clergy and People in the Seventeenth Century: Some Evidence from a north Oxfordshire Parish', Cakes and Cockhorse, Vol. 7, No. 8, 1979; Rosemary O'Day, The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642, Leicester, 1979; 'The reformation of the ministry, 1558-1642' in Rosemary O'Day & Felicity Heal (eds.), Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church in England 1500-1642, London, 1982; Rosemary O'Day & Felicity Heal (eds.) Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800, New Jersey, 1981; Margaret Stieg, Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century, Lewisburg, 1982.

[16] M. H. Curtis 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', Past & Present, No. 23, 1962.

[17] Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church' Past & Present, No 90, Feb 1981.; O'Day The English Clergy, op. cit..

The religious history of London in the 1630's, as with the period in general, has been dominated by the subject of puritanism. A number of studies have focussed on the role of London in fostering opposition to the established church and in supporting Puritanism.[18] Even those which dealt with the established church did so in terms of its relationship to Puritanism.[19] However, the discussion of Puritanism in the City of London has its difficulties. Outside a few prominent parishes such as St. Antholin, St Catherine Coleman Street, St Stephen Coleman Street and St Mary Aldermanbury it is difficult to characterise the religious temperament of London parishes. Qualifications and exemptions abound making it difficult to sustain claims that a given parish might be puritan, or anything else. The presence of a puritan element within a parish did not necessarily mean that the whole tenor of the parish was puritan.[20] In reality the religious complexion of London was much more complex than a simple dichotomy of puritan and non-puritan. As discussed below, at least some elements of the laity in a number of parishes were prepared to go along with the innovations of the 1630s and to support the parish clergy who had introduced them.

In outlining the subjects that have been included for discussion it is apparent that some important issues have not been covered. Most noticeably there is no systematic treatment of diocesan administration or issues such as the reconstruction of St. Paul's

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[18] Brian Burch, 'The Parish of St Anne's Blackfriars, London to 1665. With a list of the Clergy: Some explorations in Ecclesiastical Records', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. III, No.1, Oct 1969; Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution; D.A. Kirby, 'The Radicals of St. Stephen Coleman Street, London, 1624-1642, Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. III, No. 2, April 1970; Tai Liu, Puritan London: A Study of Religion and Society in the City Parishes, London, 1986; Paul Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662, Stanford, 1970; D.A.Williams, 'London Puritanism: The Parish of St Botolph without Aldgate', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. II, No.1, Sept 1960; idem, 'Puritanism and the City Government', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. I, No. IV, Feb, 1955, pp. 3-14; idem, 'London Puritanism: The Parish of St. Stephen's Coleman Street', Church Quarterly Review, Vol. 160, No. 337, 1959.
[19] O. U. Kalu, 'Bishops and Puritans in Early Jacobean England: A Methodological Perspective', Church History, 45, Dec 1976; idem 'Continuity in Change...'.
[20] J. D. Alsop, 'Revolutionary Puritanism in the Parishes: The Case of St Olave, Old Jewry', London Journal, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1990, pp. 29-37.

or censorship. These subjects are touched upon throughout even if they are not formally dealt with.

Chapter Two:
ARMINIANISM AND ENGLISH ARMINIANS

At the centre of the 'Rise of Arminianism' thesis is the claim that the Church of England was doctrinally Calvinist in the period from about 1590-1625 until it was successfully undermined by the rise to power of the English Arminians during the reign of Charles I. The response to this interpretation by supporters and critics has focused on two major themes. The first is the validity of the claim that the Elizabethan and Jacobean church was doctrinally Calvinist. The second issue concerns the nature of English Arminianism itself, and the extent to which Arminianism had any bearing upon the conservative church reform undertaken during the 1630s. Both subjects are, of course, closely linked since the rise of English Arminianism is predicated on the existence of a Calvinist consensus. Consequently, the limits placed on that consensus impose constraints on any discussion of English Arminianism. A rejection of the notion of a Calvinist consensus, or its limitation to matters of discipline, makes any consideration of English Arminianism, as a fundamental challenge to religious orthodoxy, irrelevant to understanding the conservative direction of church reform during the 1630s. This approach effectively eliminates the immediate cause for the 'Rise of Arminianism'. Reform can be explained in terms of a combination of factors such as the recovery of a unique catholic and patristic heritage by elements of the Church of England, the dynamics of state and church relations, or the pressures of counter-reformation politics. However, a Calvinist consensus based on some degree of theological uniformity immediately sets the events of the 1630s in an international context, where Calvinism had been challenged from within Protestantism on fundamental points of orthodoxy by the Dutch Arminians. In this latter context English Arminianism can be seen as a potent conservative force in religion that redefined orthodoxy, particularly, in

terms of the doctrine of grace, and so undermined the Calvinist consensus of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church.

Few historians would now disagree that the conservative ecclesiastical reforms of the 1630s had a significant impact in fostering a hostile reaction to Church and Crown. But, there has also emerged a tension between various interpretations of the significance of English Arminianism in creating the climate in which open hostility to the Church of England emerged from 1640. This tension is most evident in a comparison of studies based on a largely theological analysis, with those which take a broader view of 'English Arminianism'. Some authors have seen in the ecclesiastical reforms of the 1630s elements of an international reaction to Calvinism in both Church and State which is described as 'Arminian'.[21] Within this interpretation the activities of a reactionary element within the English church directed at the recovery of a pre-reformation heritage, represent a significant component of what is understood by English Arminianism. Although these particular forms of religious expression have no counterpart in Dutch Remonstrant thought they are regarded here as consonant with Arminian theology. In this vein English Arminianism found its primary expression in a reform programme aimed at recasting many facets of the relationship between church and laity from the 'beauty of holiness' to church government and finance. But, while it was not a simple analogue of Dutch experience, English Arminianism also had a genuine theological content which reflected Remonstrant theology. By extending the scope of Arminianism to include ceremonial reform, discipline, and the politics of church and state Nicholas Tyacke's Anti-Calvinists represented English Arminianism as a challenge not only to the doctrine of absolute predestination, but also as a reassertion of clerical influence in the post-reformation church. Given the comprehensive nature

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[21] Anti-Calvinists.

of the activities associated with this group the term 'Arminian' can be considered as a form of shorthand:

> Of the various terms which can be used to describe the thrust of religious change at this time Arminian is the least misleading. It does not mean that the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius was normally the source of ideas so labelled. Rather Arminian denotes a coherent body of anti-Calvinist religious thought, which was gaining ground in various regions of early seventeenth-century Europe.[22]

In contrast, some historians have taken a more strictly theological approach to religious policy in England in the 1630s, and have used the doctrines of the Dutch Remonstrants as a form of test in assessing the rise of English Arminianism. From the evidence generated by this measure it would appear that English Arminianism had only a limited significance as an explanatory factor in the changing fortunes of church and clergy in England after 1640. Based on this interpretation other causal factors have been posited as the real explanations of the source of tension which developed over religion during the 1630s. These alternate views have tended to emphasise the paranoia generated by external political events and a resurgence of monarchical power.[23] Peter White has rejected the need for the rise of English Arminianism as an explanatory factor in religious conflict and stresses continuity in religious diversity from Elizabeth I to Charles I. In place of English Arminianism he attributes the problems of the church to the impact of tense international relations.[24] G. W. Bernard

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[22] ibid., p. 245.

[23] Reappraisals of the role of the monarchy in directing ecclesiastical reform can be found in Kevin Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud', History Today, Vol. 33, August 1983; and The Personal Rule of Charles I, New Haven, 1992; G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c.1529-c.1642', History, Vol. 75, No 244, June 1990, p. 201; Julian Davies; The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641, Oxford, 1992.

[24] Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, No. 101, November 1983, and his contribution to the debate issued in , Past and Present, No. 115, May 1987. White's Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the

has rejected explicit doctrinal Arminianism as characteristic of the Church of England but regards Arminianism as implicit in the quest for order and obedience which the church pursued under the direction of the monarchy.[25] Kevin Sharpe has rejected the significance of Arminianism for understanding Laud and brought to the fore royal policy under Charles I.[26] Julian Davies extends this line of reasoning and sees the radical development of Puritanism arising from royal policies directed at promoting a sacramental kingship. In place of theologically-oriented Arminianism Davies has posited "Carolinism" as the driving force behind a set of subordinate ecclesiastical policies which he refers to as Laudianism.[27]

The difference between these two approaches is obviously significant in terms of the sort of conclusions they lead to about the relative influence of religion in political and social conflict. Hence the remainder of this chapter attempts to give a brief survey of English Arminianism, derived largely from secondary sources, as a necessary step towards defining in what terms English Arminianism has been used throughout the remainder of this thesis.

Arminius and Theological Arminianism

In the minds of its seventeenth-century critics Arminianism was indissolubly linked with the heretical doctrine of freewill. One London clergyman, Daniel Featley, chaplain to Archbishop George Abbot, saw the connection as so obvious that he entitled his 1626 critique of Arminianism Pelagius Redivivus, Or Pelagius raked out of the ashes by Arminius and his Schollers. Featley offered a parallel of Pelagian and

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Reformation to the Civil War, 1992 appears to be an extension of these views, see Jacqueline Eales' review in Parliamentary History, Vol. 12, pt. 2, 1993, pp 209-211.

[25] G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c. 1529-c. 1642', p. 201.

[26] Kevin Sharpe, The Personal Rule of Charles I, and 'Archbishop Laud'.

[27] Davies The Caroline Captivity, especially Chapter Two, 'Laudianism'.

Arminian texts for convenient comparison by his readers. The implied corollary in his title was, of course, that Featley's own views were orthodox or Augustinian.[28] However, despite the notoriety which the spectre of Pelagius lent to Arminianism the relationship was more imagined than real. Arminius appears to have accepted without question the Calvinist/Augustinian view that man is totally bereft of any moral or spiritual merit. Nor did he claim that human beings were free in defiance of sin. In his Declaration of Sentiments Arminius declared that 'fallen man is not capable by himself to think, to will, or to do that which is really good'.[29] What concerned Arminius was not the extent to which humanity was capable of goodness or freedom, since that had been obliterated by Adam's fall, but how God had chosen to deal with Man's loss; in other words, the doctrine of predestination.

By the early seventeenth century a 'party line' was emerging within Calvinism, which gave a sharper definition to the doctrine of predestination than Calvin himself had ventured to offer.[30] In the thought of later Calvinists the 'voluntary disbelief' of the reprobate that had been posited by Calvin was replaced by an emphatic statement of a divine decree to both election and reprobation. William Perkins formulated the doctrine in the following terms:

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[28] Featley and others critics of English Arminianism frequently resorted to such highly polarised comparisons. Examples are numerous but see Anthony Wotton A Dangerous Plot Discovered, 1626; George Carleton, An Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late Appeale holdeth Doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England, 1626, p. 7; Henry Burton A Plea to an appeale traversed dialogue wise, 1626, p. 54; and Peter Lake, 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', Journal of British Studies, No. 27, April, 1988, p. 87. This usage indicates something of the pedigree of the debate between Calvinists and Arminians and the depth of meaning that attached to such labels. Nicholas Tyacke, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, No. 115, May 1987, p. 204, has described the Calvinist position in this debate as 'Augustinian'. This description is clearly not at odds with the terminology employed in contemporary debate. However, Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present, No. 115, p. 226, has been critical of use of the term, 'Augustinian', as opposed to Calvinism since he sees it as 'changing the position of the goalposts'.
[29] Jacob Arminius, 'Declaration of Sentiments', in The Works of Jacobus Arminius, (Trans: J&W Nicholls), London, 1825-75, Vol. III, pp. 495-6.
[30] R.T. Kendall, Calvin and the English Calvinism to 1649, op. cit., pp. 54-56, for comments on Beza and William Perkins.

Predestination hath two parts, the decree of election and the decree of reprobation. . . . The decree of election is that whereby God hath ordained certain men to his glorious grace the obtaining of their salvation and heavenly life by Christ. .... The decree of reprobation is a work of God's providence, whereby he hath decreed to pass by certain men, in regard of supernatural grace for the manifestation of his just wrath in their due destruction: or in his will, whereby he suffereth some men to fall in to sin, and inflicteth the punishment of condemnation for sin.[31]

Arminius' response to the absolute predestinarian theology of Calvin's successors was based on what he saw as a number of unacceptable implications which the doctrine of reprobation posed for the doctrines of God and Salvation. Among these were the conclusion that reprobation made with reference to God's will could only lead to the view that God was the author of sin. To avoid this Arminius formulated a conditional predestination. He argued that it was not individuals who were predestinated to reprobation but unbelievers, and that their predestination was based on Divine foreknowledge of who would accept Christ and who would not.

Arminius' early statements on predestination were neither harsh nor schismatic in terms of Calvinist doctrine. The answers which Arminius formulated in response to the problems he saw as implicit in supralapsarian theology were not in themselves new. In fact, it is not absurd to see them, as Daniel Featley and others did, as part of an ongoing dialogue within the Church founded on inherent ambiguities in Christian

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[31] William Perkins, A Christian and Plain Treatise of Predestination, (Trans. F. Cacot & T. Tuke), London, 1613, p. 6 & 25.

(22)

thought derived from the tension between human freedom and the sovereignty of God.[32] As H. C. Porter has argued:

> It would be difficult to find a time, from the days of St Augustine onwards, when grace, freewill and predestination were *not* matters of dispute in Western Christendom. . . .the only difference between these controversies and those of the Reformation age lies in the fact that they were mainly confined to the academic schools, to which in fact many Anglican divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries maintained that they would be better restricted.[33]

What raised Arminius' formulation of these views to the level of international controversy was the context in which he formulated them. G. J. Hoenderdaal expressed this view when he wrote that: 'Arminius lived in an unfavourable time. Had he been forty years earlier his teaching, would have caused as little scandal as that of Anastasius, Bullinger and Melancthon.[34]

In the circumstances of Dutch civil and religious conflict Arminius eventually abandoned his early conciliatory approach towards the supporters of supralapsarian doctrine and openly criticised the doctrine as 'repugnant to the nature of God'. He eventually claimed that the logic of the doctrine of double predestination was that God:

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[32] Julian Davies argues in his <u>Caroline Captivity</u> that the polarity between Arminianism and Calvinism which he sees at the core of works such as <u>Anti-Calvinists</u> is reductionist and does not take into account the shades of opinion that existed within the church. That there was a diversity of views is true, but this does not negate the observation that many protagonists saw the issues between Arminian and Calvinist as highly polarised historically and ideologically. Consequently, more moderate opinion was often marginalised from the debate leaving two highly polarized sets of views at the forefront.

[33] H. C. Porter, <u>Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge</u>, Cambridge, 1958, p. 387.

[34] G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate on Arminius outside the Netherlands', op. cit., p. 138.

of himself, and induced to it by nothing external, He wills the greatest evil to his creatures, and that from all eternity He has pre-ordained that evil for them, or predetermined to impart it to them, even before He resolved to bestow upon them any portion of good.[35]

For Arminius any idea that creation was the first manifestation of God's goodness, or that any subsequent act of God's was good could no longer be maintained if supralapsarian theology held, since the corollary of this view was that God created merely to satisfy a prior determination to damn.[36] Ultimately, Arminius argued, absolute predestination even removed Christ from the Christian faith because predestination had precedence over all other causes of salvation and damnation. Arminius also saw that supralapsarian theology had significant pastoral implications.[37] It was inherently fatalistic and would undermine the regard for the sacramental expression of faith.[38] Baptism would ratify nothing, prayer and supplication would be meaningless, public worship would have neither form nor function, ultimately even preaching and the ministry of the Gospel would be of no consequence, except to confirm the despair of the reprobate.[39] Similar objections were later expressed by the English Arminians. The major difference was that the unique historic circumstances of the English Church resulted in a quite different prescriptive response.

English Calvinism and English Arminianism

The study of English Arminians has resulted in a major transformation in some historians' attitudes towards Calvinism in England during the reigns of Elizabeth I and

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[35] Jacob Arminius, 'Declaration of Sentiments', in The Works of Jacobus Arminius, (Trans: J&W Nicholls) London, 1825-75, Vol. III, p. 596.

[36] idem., 'Declaration of Sentiments', in The Works of James Arminius, (Trans: J&W Nicholls with an Introduction by Carl Bangs) 3 vols., Grand Rapids, 1991, Vol 1, p. 629.

[37] ibid., p. 632.

[38] G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate on Arminius outside the Netherlands', p. 138-139.

[39] ibid., 633 ff.

James I, to the extent that, from being interpreted as the ideology of a militant puritanism, it has now been argued that the 'characteristic theology of English Protestant sainthood was Calvinism'. This reinterpretation of the role of Calvinism is a necessary precondition for the thesis of the 'Rise of Arminianism'. The existence of a Calvinist orthodoxy does help to explain much of the reaction to the attempted reforms of the English Arminians. It is not my intention to formulate here arguments for or against Calvinist dominance within the Church, since this is clearly a major area of study in its own right. However, given that there is clearly a significant relationship between English Arminianism and Calvinism some comment, based on existing work, is made by way of clarification.

Nicholas Tyacke's <u>Anti-Calvinists</u> brought into question the long held view of Calvinism as the ideology of a Puritan revolution. By separating Calvinism from revolution the former was represented as the 'de facto religion of the Church of England under Queen Elizabeth and King James'.[40] The response of historians to the purported 'Calvinist consensus' has not been all positive.[41] Peter White has argued directly that neither Church nor Crown were essentially Calvinist during the period of Elizabethan and Jacobean rule[42] and that 'the story of the theology of the Elizabethan Church of England was that of a debate and not of an unchallenged Calvinist oration'.[43] G. W. Bernard has been less concerned to deny the prominence of Calvinism in England, but has identified a strong Erastian influence in the theological predilections

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[40] <u>Anti-Calvinists</u>, p. 7.

[41] The notion of a Calvinist consensus in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church has been criticised in various forms by a range of authors including: Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', op. cit.; and subsequent Debate; G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c1529-c.1642', p. 201. both of whom have stressed continuity between earlier ecclesiastical policy and that of the Caroline Church. Julian Davies, <u>The Caroline Captivity</u>, adopts a different approach in which Caroline policy is highly differentiated from Elizabethan and Jacobean policy, but where the consensus of earlier reigns is limited to issues of discipline and preserved by the willingness of the authorities to accept occasional conformity while tolerating multifarious views on doctrine.

[42] Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered'.

[43] ibid., p. 35.

of James I which he claims overshadowed the espousal of theological predestination by the monarch.[44] Julian Davies is similarly unconvinced that a specifically Calvinist doctrinal consensus existed in Jacobean England, arguing that 'it was possible to be reformed in the point of election without developing a systematic Calvinist doctrine of election.[45] However, the idea of a Calvinist consensus retains considerable force.[46] R.T. Kendall's distinction between credal and experimental Calvinists provides a useful distinction in which the consensual nature of theology is able to exist alongside the real division that existed between Calvinist conformists and those who followed the logic of absolute predestination to a Presbyterian discipline. In his <u>Cyprianus Anglicus</u> Peter Heylyn maintained a distinction between Puritan and Calvinist, in which he maintained that 'all puritans were Calvinians, both in doctrine and practice, yet all calvinians are not to be counted puritans also'.[47] The essential difference in Heylyn's view was that Puritans were non-conformists in matters of church discipline.[48] Peter Lake has argued with force that the existence of a Calvinist orthodoxy did not preclude the expression of other opinions within the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church and that the debate between Calvinist and anti-Calvinist is one that existed largely within the educated

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[44] G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c1529-c.1642', p. 201.

[45] Julian Davies, <u>The Caroline Captivity</u>, p. 89.

[46] The existence of a theological consensus based on Calvinism has been considered by a number of authors but is most widely associated with so called revisionist studies. In particular those of Nicholas Tyacke. Other authors (Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635, <u>Past and Present</u> No. 114 and R. T. Kendall <u>Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649</u>, op. cit.,) accept the existence of a Calvinist consensus based on the distinction between credal and experimental Calvinism. Peter Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist', <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, Vol. 31, No.2, April 1982, pp. 161, 176-177, has also argued that the contemporary identification of the Pope as Antichrist added another dimension to theological consensus. Paul Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts', <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, Vol. 31, No.4, October, 1980, refers to a, 'Bullingerian', consensus which was threatened by both Puritans and Arminians. For a general appraisal of the debate see Susan Doran and Christopher Durston, <u>Princes Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England 1529-1689</u>, London, 1991, pp. 13-23.

[47] Peter Heylyn, <u>Cyprianus Anglicus</u>, 1671, p. 119.

[48] ibid. See also, as an exemplar of Heylyn's Calvinist, the career of Bishop Robert Sanderson in Peter Lake, 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', Other examples from among the London and Middlesex clergy include John King, Thomas Westfield, John Hackett, Richard Holdsworth; and Daniel Featley. All of these men were essentially Calvinist in outlook but maintained their support for episcopacy. As discussed below their adherence to episcopacy led them in some circumstances to support aspects of Arminian reform.

elite,[49] where Calvinism amounted to a consensus view and not a hegemonic doctrine.[50]

At one level Peter White's conclusion is unexceptional: the Reformation in England was not an ideologically tidy affair. Its early inspiration was hardly Calvinist, until the Elizabethan Settlement reform was fragile, and thereafter remained under threat. A persistent critical element existed within the Elizabethan Church, although focused largely on matters of discipline rather than on fundamental differences over theology.[51] Aspects of the controversy over freewill and the sovereignty of God were certainly debated among those of the Marian exiles, and their successors, who drew their inspiration from Geneva and those, like Richard Cox, who sought to preserve some vestige of what was regarded as English tradition.[52] In very simple terms, one element saw the Church as deriving its legitimacy through a spiritual pedigree traced to the Marian Martyrs and the invisible church of the Elect, the other saw the legitimacy of the Church of England as lying in an unbroken episcopal descent through Rome to the Apostolic church. The latter anticipates some of the concerns associated with English Arminianism. However, unlike the general theological divisions which emerged between Calvinism and English Arminianism in the 1620s and 1630s the differences between the 'Knoxians' and 'Coxians' were based more on outward observance than fundamental differences in theology. As D. D. Wallace has argued 'the bishops and leaders of the Elizabethan Church did not consider that their views on the theology of grace differed from those of more radical non-conforming Protestants who were

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[49] Bancroft's Canons of 1604 restricted discussion of predestination to bishops, deacons and learned men who were to approach it moderately, 'by way of use and application'. The doctrinal content of predestination was only to be considered in, 'schools and universities'.

[50] Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', op. cit., p. 33-34. This view allows for the persistence of popular Pelagianism as well as for variations in reformed views.

[51] See for instance D.D. Wallace, Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology 1525-1695, and Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, Berkeley, 1967.

[52] C. Cross, Church and People 1450-1660, London, 1976, p. 125; D.D.. Wallace op. cit., pp 20-24, 38-40. Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', op. cit., pp 43, 45.

eventually dubbed Puritans and 'precisians'.[53] Bishop George Carleton made this point in his examination of Richard Montague's views. Carleton argued that however much the Puritans had disquieted the Church over their particular form of discipline, 'they never moved any quarrel against the Doctrine of our Church . . .it was an open confession that both parts embraced a mutual consent in Doctrine'.[54] There was in Carleton's view no such thing as a puritan doctrine until the advent of Arminian critics such as Montague.

The divergent views over discipline and ceremony which were part of Elizabethan Protestantism came into open conflict in Richard Whitgift's campaign against the puritan dissent from episcopal order and discipline. In so far as episcopacy had royal support and the classical system of Presbyterian organisation was frustrated under Whitgift, Calvinism was circumscribed in its ability to achieve the distinct organisational identity that emerged in other Reformed churches.[55] According to Diarmaid MacCulloch the failure of what is conventionally regarded as Puritanism in the 1580s saw the emergence of a group of clergy who 'began boldly to enunciate Arminian views that would take the English church in a very different direction' to that which had previously existed.[56] However, their emergence was slow, and arguably more the result of the Erastian policies of the Crown seeking to balance competing interests in a religiously-divided nation than a comprehensive rejection of Calvinist

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[53] D. D. Wallace, op. cit., p. 36.
[54] George Carleton, An Examination of those Things wherein the Author the late Appeale holdeth Doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the doctrines of the Church of England, 1626, p. 5. The same claim was made by John Yates who argued in his critique of Richard Montague, that, 'Puritans have been always accounted opposers of the churches government, and not her doctrine', Ibis ad Caesarem, pt II, p. 38.
[55] P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement op. cit.,
[56] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the Reformation', Journal of British Studies, No. 30, January 1991, p. 19.

theology by King James I.[57] Under James I there clearly remained opportunities for the so-called moderate Calvinist, or Calvinist Episcopalian.[58]

King James and Calvinism

James I is described by Nicholas Tyacke as being 'basically a Calvinist in doctrine for most of his life' [59] This interpretation has been rejected by Peter White. There is much to suggest that James' actions were not always consonant with what might be presumed to be strictly Calvinist behaviour and that he was more influenced by a desire for unity and balance than rigid attachment to a given set of religious views. However, to be 'basically a doctrinal Calvinist is not inconsistent with also supporting alternative positions when higher Erastian principles made the alternative more tenable in political terms. This is particularly the case with James I's promotion of English Arminians to episcopal office, where they provided support to the rule of the Crown.[60] In terms of political influence, English Arminians were not entirely left out in the wilderness under James I, yet so far as King James was concerned English Arminianism was certainly compromised by the association that developed with Conrad Vorstius and the Remonstrants following the death of Arminius.[61] When Vorstius was nominated to succeed Arminius at Leiden George Abbot registered a complaint against his

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[57] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', Journal of British Studies, 24, April 1985, where it is argued that James I sought to contain threats to his reign by promoting evangelical Calvinists who could deflect puritan criticism of episcopacy and English Arminians who were sympathetic to James', irenic and ambivalent attitude to Rome. The promotion of both evangelical Calvinists (Lake, King and Mathew) and Arminians (Laud, Neile and Andrewes) was a result of a direct policy of incorporation of moderate catholic and puritan opinion. See also H.R. Trevor-Roper, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans, 1989, p. 51.

[58] P. Collinson, The Religion of Protestants, op. cit., pp. 82-91.

[59] Anti Calvinists, p. 41.

[60] D. E. Kennedy, 'The Jacobean Episcopate', Historical Journal, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1962.

[61] Vorstius was not one of the Remonstrants nor even an Arminian but he did espouse a broad inclusive faith which was consistent with Arminianism. He was linked to Socinianism and Anabaptism, F. Shriver, 'Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair', EHR, LXXXV, 1970. Also, G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate on Arminius outside the Netherlands', p. 149.

appointment and influenced the King to do likewise.[62] In his <u>Declaration Against Vorstius,</u> King James abused Vorstius as a 'mainly pure Gospeller' and linked him to Cathars, Anabaptists and Puritan separatists.[63] James' attack on Vorstius extended to a charge of Unitarianism and led to the States of Holland refusing Vorstius permission to teach at Leiden.[64]

Despite the difficulties posed by the Vorstius connection James I was not entirely ill-disposed towards Arminianism or English Arminians. As Carl Bangs has noted King James could even be construed as offering sound Arminian advice when he urged Oxford students to study the ancient church fathers in preference to Calvin.[65] In 1613 the King received Hugo Grotius and listened to his defence of Arminian doctrine including a parallel drawn between the English puritans and the Contra-Remonstrants. Grotius had support from both Lancelot Andrewes and John Overall, providing the first direct links between Dutch Remonstrants and English Arminians.[66] James supported and urged a reconciliation between the Remonstrants and their theological opponents. He continued to do so until Oldenbarnevelt's policy of truce with Spain and non-involvement in Huguenot affairs made continued support untenable for a 'Godly ruler'. On the doctrine of predestination the King appears to have opted for a policy of 'judicious silence'.[67]

More significantly, while it is well established that King James had doubts about William Laud, these were more to do with Laud's character than his theology. Several

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[62] King James also had a strong personal motivation to condemn Vorstius because of the link that had been made between James and Vorstius', heterodox views by Jesuit critics, F. Shriver, op. cit., J. Platt, 'Eirenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort', , <u>Studies in Church History,</u> 2, p. 226.

[63] James I , <u>Works,</u> London, 1616, p. 354.

[64] G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate on Arminius outside the Netherlands'.

[65] Carl Bangs, 'The Enigma of Arminian Politics', <u>Church History,</u> 42, 1973, p. 15.

[66] G. J. Hoenderdaal, op. cit., p. 150.

[67] Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', op. cit., p 4.

English Arminians were promoted to, or within the episcopacy under James I. Included in this group were Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, Samuel Harsnett, John Overall, George Mountain and Richard Neile. Eventually, even Laud was promoted. On the basis of these appointments alone it could be argued that the foundations of English Arminian power in the 1630s were laid under the direction of James I and that the notion of an official Calvinism must be considered flawed. However, in a political sense the vital characteristic of these men was not that they were anti-Calvinist but that they were rigorous in their support for the principle of royal supremacy.[68] As J. P. Somerville has argued 'Laudian divines cried up the King's prerogative', thereby providing justification for monarchical action against excessive use of divine right claims against royal authority by both Papists and non-conformists.[69] The promotion of Andrewes, Overall and even Laud can be attributed more to James I's demand for a political and religious balance than to an outright rejection of Calvinism.[70] In political terms James I was, in Gordon Wakefield's phrase, 'a Calvinist abroad and an Arminian at home'.[71]

In theological terms, Calvinism provided an orthodox framework for conformist and radical alike which was first and foremost anti-catholic in outlook.[72] Moreover, as later emerged, the pervasive nature of Calvinist ideas imposed significant constraints on the possible interpretations that contemporaries could apply to dissenting positions

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[68] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake have argued that James I was almost forced into the company of churchmen such as Montague as a consequence of the adverse, 'Puritan' reaction to his foreign policy, particularly European reconciliation based on the Spanish match, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', op. cit., p. 207.

[69] J.P. Somerville, 'The Royal Supremacy and Episcopacy Jure Divine', 1603-1640, Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 34, No. 4, October 1983, p. 548.

[70] Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', op cit, p. 201-2; also G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c1529-c.1642', p. 194.

[71] G.S. Wakefield, 'Arminianism in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century', The London Quarterly, Oct., 1960.

[72] The essential unity of doctrine was attested to by a variety of authors. For the role of anti-catholic sentiment in conditioning responses to Arminianism and also to broader political phenomenon see Peter Lake, 'Anti Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in Conflict in Early Stuart England, (Richard Cust & Ann Hughes eds), 1989.

such as English Arminianism. While the point made by Peter White about the diversity of religious opinions expressed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church is accepted, the existence of diversity is not sufficient to undermine the validity of what has come to be described as the Calvinist consensus during this period.[73] In fact, the appearance and subsequent treatment of dissenting views tends to support the notion of a viable Calvinist consensus.

Dissension from entrenched doctrinal positions on freewill and justification was carried on by figures such as Peter Baro who was forced from his post as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge for views that varied from Reformed opinion on freewill and divine will.[74] Among those who attacked Baro was William Perkins. In his subsequent criticism of Perkins, Arminius later expressed agreement with Baro. Lancelot Andrewes, who assisted Baro, and Samuel Harsnett could also be considered precursors of Arminius on the doctrine of conditional predestination.[75] However, despite the apparent affinity with the likes of Baro and Andrewes, English Arminian ideas, particularly an alternative formulation of the doctrine of grace, were not entrenched within the political or ecclesiastical establishment under James I.[76] Calvinist views on predestination were maintained in the universities and the press against threats that were perceived to come from both outside and from within the Protestant faith. Even before the Synod of Dort, Arminianism was used to label views

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[73] See Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', op. cit., where the Calvinist hegemony over debate is clearly differentiated from any presumption of monopoly control over official ideology.

[74] D. D. Wallace, Puritans and Predestination, p. 68-69.

[75] Samuel Harsnett preached in direct opposition to predestinarian doctrine at Paul's Cross in 1584 and was consequently prohibited from dealing with the subject again by John Whitgift. D.D. Wallace, op. cit., p. 66. Andrewes' well established credentials as a promoter of liturgical innovation implies a distinct theology of grace more in harmony with Arminius' views than with Calvin, 's.

[76] Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', p. 72, suggests that one reason why English Arminians did not commit themselves to an explicit statement on the theology of grace was the attitude of the King. Also, the pursuit of doctrinal questions was overtaken in the 1630s as the opportunity to implement a positive programme of reform emerged.

which dissented from current thought.[77] In 1622 James I sought to discourage open debate of controversial subjects such as predestination, a move that was interpreted as being directed against preaching[78] and ensured that Lancelot Andrewes, among others, was inhibited from opening an exchange of views with the Dutch Arminians.[79] However, while debate and dissension from Calvinist interpretation of freewill and sovereignty existed it is equally obvious that until the late 1620s and 1630s the opponents of Calvinism were never in the ascendancy.

Against this backdrop of a broad Calvinist consensus the response to criticism of Calvinist orthodoxy was emphatic. While Harsnett was chastened by Whitgift, and Andrewes constrained by James I, John Howson was forced to answer charges of popery made against him by George Abbot.[80] Laud was vilified for his opinions by Archbishop Abbot's brother Robert in a sermon delivered to the academic congregation of St Mary's, Oxford, in 1606. During the sermon Abbot attempted to define Laud out of the Church of England, on the grounds of what he considered an unacceptable combination of theology and practice:

Might not Christ say what art thou, Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? or what art though? A mongrel or compound of both: A Protestant by ordination, A papist in point of freewill, inherent righteousness and the like. A Protestant in receiving the sacrament? a papist in the doctrine of the sacrament?

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[77] M. Maclure, Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642, Toronto, 1958, p. 95.
[78] Sheila Lambert, , 'Richard Montagu, Arminianism and Censorship', Past &Present, No. 124, p. 51.
[79], 'Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church', p. 51.
[80] 'John Howson's Answers to Archbishop Abbot's Accusations at his Trial before James I at Greenwich, 10 June 1615', Nicholas Cranfield and Kenneth Fincham (eds.), Camden Miscellany XXIX, Fourth Series, 1987.

What do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourselves there, not into this where I am ye shall not come.[81]

Abbot's attack on Laud was prompted by the latter's own criticism of Henry Airey's condemnation of ceremonial practices, specifically bowing at the name of Jesus.[82] Abbot's response obviously makes no mention of Arminianism and is indicative of what later emerged as a 'natural' line of criticism for the opponents of English Arminians; namely that, while professing Protestantism, English Arminians were tainted by Popery in religion and the arbitrary politics of Rome. Abbot claimed that the strategy of Laud was, 'under pretence of Truth and preaching against the Puritans, [to] strike at the hearts and the root of the Faith and Religion now established among us. . .[83] So far as Abbot understood the nature and function of the Church, Laud represented a fundamental change in the direction of both theology and practice.

Charles I and English Arminianism

The question of whether Laud's views, as interpreted by his opponents, should be taken as Arminian remains an area of debate. In recent works attention has been deflected from the likes of Laud as promoters of innovation to the role of the monarchy, particularly Charles I's.[84] George Bernard and Peter White have each argued in their respective ways that Charles' reign merely continued the policies of James I and Elizabeth I. However, even if one does not accept that Charles I promoted, directly or indirectly an 'Arminianization' of the church, it is the case that aspects of religious policy under Charles I failed to sustain the same level of consensus

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[81] Peter Heylyn, Cyprianus Anglicus, 1671, p. 62.
[82] J. Sears McGee, 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion', in Leaders of the Reformation, R. L. Demolen (ed.), Selinsgrove, 1984, p. 319.
[83] Peter Heylyn op. cit., pp. 49-50.
[84] See works by George Bernard, Peter White, Kevin Sharpe, and Julian Davies which are discussed throughout this chapter.

during the 1630s that had been achieved by Elizabethans and Jacobeans. George Abbot may have pursued a politically sensitive approach to religious differences, but under Laud churchmen pursued policies that led to confrontation.[85]

In the view of Kevin Sharpe and Julian Davies the responsibility for this break lies squarely in the hands of King Charles. Davies' argument can be discerned from the following:

> The cause of the Church was rejected less because of its attempt to reinvest the catholicity of Anglicanism than because, for Charles I, this policy was indistinguishable from his obsessive drive to eradicate 'profanity', 'popularity', and 'disorder'. Given its politicization of religious belief and practice, combined with its attempted reversal of basic reformation principles, the Caroline Church represented not the apogee of Anglicanism, but a very weird aberration from the first hundred years of the early reformed Church of England. Certainly the Supremacy had entailed that the monarch would mark the state Church with his or her personal stamp but no monarch had questioned the populist and parliamentary basis of the Reformation Church as much as Charles I, nor unsettled to such an extent the consensual accommodation of Anglicanism.[86]

According to Davies, Laud, in fact, moderated the strict administration of Charles' orders introducing and pressing the most controversial ecclesiastical changes of the reign, namely altar policy, restraint of lecturers, and the Book of Sports.[87]

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[85] Julian Davies, The Caroline Captivity, p. 289. Susan Holland, 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of Puritanism', The Historical Journal, Vol. 37, No.1, March 1994.
[86] ibid., p. 3.
[87] ibid., p. 303; also Kevin Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud', p. 29 and The Personal Rule of Charles I, 'The Right Estate of the Church: Charles I, William Laud and the Reformation of the Church', pp. 275-402.

Perhaps the major difficulty with this view is its dependence upon 'the king's insecurity, isolation, intransigence, and inability to understand others'.[88] These terms may be aptly applied to Charles I and he may well have succumbed to theories of 'Puritan-inspired conspiracies'. However, while there is no doubt that Charles' promotion of English Arminians played an important role in their rise, opposition to puritan discipline and absolute predestinarian views predated Charles I, as did elements of English Arminian reform. Laud announced his views on ceremony at Oxford in 1606 and in 1617 as Dean of Gloucester he moved the Cathedral communion table altarwise.[89] In retrospect Peter Heylyn thought the appointment of the ecclesiastical commission, which assumed control from George Abbot, provided the cover under which 'some beneficed persons in the Country ... now in more assurance of protection than before ... were adventured on removing the Communion table from the middle of the Church or Chancel and setting it up ... where the altar formerly stood.[90] From 1617 when Richard Neile became Bishop of Durham there was a recognisable party based on Durham House which included John Buckeridge, Francis White, William Laud, John Cosin, Richard Montague, and Augustine Lindsell. The interests and activities of this party clearly predated Charles I's support for English Arminians. In 1623 Laud, Neile and Andrewes were forced by their uncertainty of Charles views to inquire of Matthew Wren where the prince's religious sympathies lay.[91] Even with the publication of Montague's <u>New Gag</u> the English Arminians were uncertain of Charles I's position and looked to the Duke of Buckingham for their political support.[92]

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[88] ibid., p. 13.

[89] H.R Trevor-Roper <u>Archbishop Laud 1573-1645</u> , 2nd edition, Macmillan, London, 1965 p. 151.

[90] Peter Heylyn, op. cit., p. 162.

[91] Patrick Collinson <u>The Religion of Protestants</u>, p. 7.

[92] Buckeridge, Howson and Laud defended Montague and attacked the political views of his critics in a letter to Buckingham on 2 Aug 1625, Laud <u>Works</u>, Vol. 6, p. 244. In Montague's correspondence with John Cosin, Buckingham and his sister Susan Denbigh are prominent as patrons and protectors. The latter apparently confronted Daniel Featley over his criticism of Montague, while Buckingham, himself, was regarded by Montague as his best hope for securing a bishopric and escape from the scrutiny of the Commons, Cosin, <u>Correspondence</u>, Vol. 1, pp. 70, 102. See also Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630's' in <u>Conflict in Early Stuart England,</u> (Richard Cust & Ann Hughes eds), 1989, p. 211, for uncertainty over Charles I's religious sympathies.

There is no doubt that Charles' decision to support Laud was vitally important for English Arminianism, but it did not create that movement. However, it remains to be asked in what sense that movement can be considered Arminian. Several views have been expressed. While accepting a link between English Arminians and Dutch Remonstrants on the theology of grace, W. R. Fryer preferred the use of the term Laudian rather than Arminianism on the grounds that English Arminians were quite distinct from the Dutch Remonstrants in their view of the sacraments and ceremony.[93] T. M. Parker considered the patristic element in much of the reaction to doctrinaire Calvinism as adequately explaining the re-emergence of alternative views of grace and salvation. He argued that:

> It is therefore unnecessary to look for an Arminian invasion of England, or indeed for any foreign influence, in order to explain the theology of grace characteristic of the anti-Puritan Jacobean and Caroline Anglicans.[94]

Peter White has argued that even in the case of so-called 'genuine Arminians' such as Richard Montague, 'we do not need the hypothesis of a "rise of English Arminianism" to explain the controversies generated by Montague's views, international politics will suffice'.[95] Kevin Sharpe has rejected the view that William Laud was an Arminian, and considers his role to be subordinate to the direction of Charles I in liturgical reform and episcopal administration.[96] In the view of Julian Davies, Arminianism is the wrong answer to a correctly diagnosed problem, namely the radicalisation of religious opinion under Charles I; as a causal factor Arminianism is entirely overshadowed by Carolinism and Laudianism.[97]

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[93] W.R. Fryer, 'The High Churchmen of the Early Seventeenth Century', Renaissance and Modern Studies, Vol. 5, 1961, p. 144.

[94] T. M. Parker, 'Arminianism and Laudianism in Seventeenth Century England', pp. 29-30.

[95] White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', p. 48.

[96] Kevin Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud', History Today, Vol. 33, August 1983, p. 27.

[97] Julian Davies, The Caroline Captivity, p 2, 51, 88.

By contrast G W Bernard describes it as perverse to deny that Laud was an Arminian, but seeks to place Arminianism in the context of a monarchical theory of the church.[98] J. S. Morrill has written of Laud that 'his ecclesiology does not appear to make sense except as the expression of a belief that man, morally and intellectually depraved, could only be reconciled to God and brought to sustain a saving faith by and through the sacramental grace mediated to him by the church'.[99]

At the core of this disagreement is the question of what meaning is to be given to the term 'Arminianism' in an English context. If English Arminianism is to be considered purely and simply as a set of theological opinions then there is some force in the arguments of Peter White. William Laud and many others considered to be English Arminians did not admit to, or formulate, any explicit statement of Arminian theology to counter the High Calvinist double predestination.[100] But it is not clear why they should necessarily have done so, or what such a statement might have achieved. Laud, Andrewes, Harsnett and others of their generation had either witnessed or directly experienced the ill-consequences of questioning received opinion from a minority position. William Laud may not have enunciated a rigorous Arminian doctrine, but his views on the sacraments were at least implicitly Arminian in the manner in which they offered the church and clergy as a means to grace. The enforcement of conformity in accordance with Bancroft's Canons of 1604, which is taken as evidence of Laud's

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[98] G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c.1529-c.1642', p. 201.

[99] J. S. Morrill, 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', Royal Historical Society Transactions, 5th Series, Vol 34, 1984, p. 163.

[100] Peter Heylyn contended that Laud had written a tract on Puritanism for Buckingham which covered predestinarian theology. It outlined the doctrines 'maintained by those of the puritan faction, though not maintained by them as Puritans, but as Calvinists only'. The contents covered 'the indispensable morality of the Lords-day Sabbath, the indiscrimination of Bishops and Presbyters, the power of sovereign princes in Ecclesiastical matters, the doctrine of confession and sacerdotal absolution, and the five points so much disputed about predestination and the concomitants thereof'. Cyprianus Anglicus, 1671, p. 119.

moderation by Julian Davies, was predicated on quite different views about grace, ministry and the sacraments from those which prevailed in the church under prelates such as George Abbot.

Richard Montague's views have been similarly disputed. By his own admission Montague had not read Arminius prior to committing his own controversial views to print. But on reading Arminius he declared to John Cosin (of Arminius), 'The man has more in him than all the Netherlands'.[101] As Montague recognised he may not have been directly influenced by Arminius but was clearly an Arminian by implication. Similarly, according to John Cosin, Francis White understood quite clearly that he and his colleagues held some affinity with the Dutch Arminians, even if this extended only as far as their common antipathy to the High Calvinist position. At the York House Conference White is noted to have argued that:

> As for the Synod of Dort, it seemeth to me, that in the second Article, either plainly or involvedly, they have established a doctrine repugnant to the faith of our Church. The Dortists . . . . have denied that Christ died for all men. But our Church, in the Catechism and many other places hath taught us to believe that Christ died for all, and hath redeemed one and all mankind; that is paid the ransom and the price for all without exception, and that if any man be damned, it is not because Christ died not for him, but because the fruit of Christ's death, by that man's own fault, is not applied to him.[102]

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[101] Correspondence of Bishop John Cosin, Surtees Society, (2 Vols.), 1869, I. 68, 90.
[102] John Cosin, 'Summe and Substance of the Conference', Correspondence of Bishop John Cosin, op. cit., p. 63.

White went on to argue 'Let the opinion of the Dortists be admitted and the tenth person in the Church shall not have been redeemed'.[103] As recorded by Cosin, White's views contain the essential elements of the theology articulated by Arminius, and similar sentiments can be found among a range of English Arminian authors.[104] On the whole the theological statement, in the case of the English Arminians, is less rigorous and clearly subordinate to the enunciation of an anti-Calvinist viewpoint based on a sacramental interpretation of faith.[105] But this is not the same as having no distinct theological framework at all. English Arminians may have pursued a particular vision of the church but that vision in itself implied a specific and coherent set of views about fundamental questions of theology as well as discipline. The communion table railed in at the east end and its attendant practices were not simply aspects of a new church administration or even a Royal Administration. They were also powerful theological statements which invited 'all who believed' and not just an elect to participate in the Sacrament. It is the theology behind these reforms which makes English Arminianism more than simply a set of liturgical and administrative reforms. The doctrine implied by the reforms gives coherence to English Arminianism and makes credible the view that it posed a fundamentally different set of beliefs to Calvinism and to the mainstream doctrine of the Church of England.

Richard Montague's work illustrates the general tendency of English Arminians to treat theological statement as implicit, and to emphasise the reformist programme that the theology implies. While Montague was critical of Calvinism, he did not attempt to meet it with a considered set of theological arguments. Montague touched on freewill and other doctrinal issues in his works but took a critical stance towards aspects of

[103] ibid., p. 64. Laud, Buckeridge and Howson expressed similar conclusions about the implications of Dort to Buckingham , William Laud, Works, Vol. VI, p. 244.
[104] See Chapter 5 for the published works of English Arminian clergy.
[105] N. Tyacke, Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter Revolution', p. 130. Peter Lake, 'The Impact of Early Modern Protestantism', Journal of British Studies, Vol. 28, No. 3, July 1989; Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s', in Conflict in Early Stuart England, p. 215.

Calvinist doctrine rather than argue a positive case in favour of a doctrinal Arminianism. Moreover, Montague does not seem to have depended upon Arminius in developing his own views. He even appears to part company with Arminius on some aspects of freewill and predestination. Whereas Arminius preferred to maintain predestination based on God's foreknowledge of who would believe and who would reject Christ, Montague was quite non-committal on the manner of predestination and may have given a greater scope to freewill than Arminius could have entertained:

> Man, in state of corruption, hath freewill in actions of nature and civil: secondly, man in state of corruption, hath freewill in matters moral. Thirdly, man hath freewill in actions of piety, such as belong unto his salvation.[106]

But Montague's belief in freewill was circumscribed by the belief that God had 'fitted and prepared a Restorer, a Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus; that so whosoever believed in Him should not perish but have everlasting life out of his mercy both free and meer(sic), because he was not willing that any should perish, but all should come unto repentance... and be saved'.[107] Any opinion which modified the scope of this scriptural precept was only 'the private fancy of some men' and not the doctrine of Protestants, by whom he meant the German Lutherans and the Church of England.[108] Montague's view represented a significant departure from predestinarian theology and the significance of Montague's work was not lost to his critics, especially those who had supported the Contra-Remonstrants in Holland.

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[106] Richard Montague A Gagg for the New Gospell ? No: A new Gag for an Old Goose, London, 1624, p. 109.
[107] ibid., p. 180.
[108] ibid., p. 179.

Shortly after the publication of Montague's New Gag two puritan clergy, Samuel Ward and John Yates, prepared a petition to the House of Commons which divided Montague's views into two categories: Catholic and Arminian. There were four Arminian tenets: Melancthon's doctrine of predestination, universal redemption, cooperation of human will in salvation and the falling away from grace.[109] When they impugned Montague for 'depraving and odiously reporting the doctrine of our divines, commonly called Calvinists', Montague reciprocated and advised them to flee to 'the Brethren of Amsterdam'.[110] In his Second Parallel Daniel Featley identified four points of Arminianism and Anthony Wotton found two.[111] That Montague disavowed Arminianism and had no substantial connection with Arminius was immaterial. For, as Wotton pointed out, the fact that Montague had attacked Calvinist doctrine placed him in fellowship with Arminius:

> Every artist beareth the name of that art which he professeth, but you [Montague] join in faith with him [Arminius] therefore you must bear his title. For of them that were called Arians many thousands never read a word in Arius. It is communion in his faith and not his writings that procures that title.[112]

Similarly, George Carleton likened Montague's views on predestination to 'things which the Arminians listen after' and concluded that they would be glad to hear that the Church of England had begun to follow 'their course of multiplying predestinations and elections.[113] The Arminianism in Montague's work was obvious to commentators such as Wotton, Featley and others who were theologically attuned to insidious threats from within Protestantism. Arminianism, - not patristics, or 'Carolinism', or the

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[109] P. Heylyn Cyprianus Anglicus, 1671, p. 121.
[110] Richard Montague Apello Caesarem p. 44.
[111] Anthony Wotton, A Dangerous Plot Discovered, 1626.
[112] ibid., p. 2.
[113] George Carleton, An Examination of those Things ..., p. 81.

enforcement of discipline - was the issue with which many saw themselves confronted throughout the 1620s.

For some contemporaries there was evidence that English Arminianism was a theological assault on aspects of predestinarian theology. The examples from London are relatively few but they do exist. In 1629 Daniel Votier of St. Peter's Westcheap was cited for preaching double predestination.[114]   Others brought to court for preaching predestination doctrine included John Archer and William Mady.[115]   John Davenant was called to the Privy Council for preaching predestinarian doctrine in a Lenten sermon during 1630.[116]   Archer was also suspended for improper catechising. This was not merely a matter of form. The content of Archer's catechism indicates that he was teaching double predestination, papers with which Laud confronted Archer provide quite elaborate scriptural justification for reprobation and sin by divine decree.[117]   In 1638 and 1639 John Goodwin was at the centre of controversy again over the contents of a sermon he preached 'concerning Christ's righteousness in the justification of sinners.[118]   At about the same time elements among the London clergy petitioned the King on the grounds that the steps taken to quell disquiet had been interpreted to inhibit 'preaching those saving doctrines of God's free Grace in election and predestination'.[119]   The petitioners complained of being brought into 'a greate strayte' by 'incurringe God's heavy displeasure if we doe not faithfully discharge our Embassage in declaring the whole Counsell of God, or the danger of being censured for violations of your majesties said Acts if we preach these constant doctrines of our

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[114] PRO SP 16/499/35.

[115] Julian Davies also includes some comment of the practice of particularizing in the pulpit, that is identification of the elect and reprobate in a congregation. Offenders included Daniel Votier and Stephen Denison, The Caroline Captivity, p. 119.

[116] J. M. Atkins 'Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity and Arminianism', p. 419.

[117] Laud's Register GLMS 9531/15 fos. 22, 22v.

[118] LPMS 943 p. 292

[119] PRO SP 16/407/170

Church and confute the opposite Pelagian and Arminian Heresies'.[120] In 1641 the inhabitants of London complained of the 'faintheartedness' of their clergy that had arisen through fear of displeasing the church hierarchy. The petitioners complained that as a result their ministers no longer preached 'the Doctrine of Predestination, of Free-grace, of perseverance, of originall sinne remaining after baptism, of the Sabbath, the Doctrine against universal grace, election for faith unseen, freewill, against Antichrist, non-residents, humane invention of God's Worship'.[121]

However, at another level, if the evidence of London and Middlesex parishes is of any significance, the theology of predestination from either a Calvinist or Arminian perspective had little relevance to parish life. Only William Graunt's parishioners claimed that he had spoken against the Doctrines of Predestination.[122] John Gifford, Samuel Baker and Robert Pory were the only clergy to be articled against for Arminianism.[123] More to the point were the various reforms and practices that were hallmarks of English Arminianism. To advocate freewill with respect to salvation begs the question of the means to salvation, and as Nicholas Tyacke has noted the historical circumstances of the English church led Montague and his colleagues to rediscover 'a new found source of grace freely available in the sacraments'.[124] Montague maintained the visibility of the church, and ascribed to it a twofold function. It was the arbiter of faith in 'controverted points'. More importantly, it was the channel of sacraments. Montague reserved the largest part of his 'New Gag' for consideration of church rites, sacraments, and other liturgical questions. While Montague was critical of certain key Calvinist doctrines the prescriptive elements of his work point the way to faith built around the altar rather than the pulpit. The same emphasis is evident in the works by

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[120] ibid.
[121] The First and Large Petition of the Citie of London, 1641, p.3.
[122] William Graunt The Vindication of the Vicar of Isleworth, 1641, p. 9.
[123] Walker Revised.
[124] Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter Revolution', p. 130.

English Arminian clergy that are discussed in Chapter Five. In a more pragmatic vein, there is a sense in which Montague's theological argument and that of English Arminian authors in general was fundamentally a treatise on clericalism, which could be represented as at threat to lay property and privilege.

One of the notable aspects of the clergy studied in this sample is the small number who were identified with, or sequestered for, Arminianism. To a large degree the reason was, the emphasis given by English Arminians to ceremonies and the enforcement of external aspects of worship and tradition. In this respect they readily appeared as a 'Crypto-popish fifth column taking over the Church from within'.[125] G. W. Bernard has pointed out that 'Scholastic predestinarian Calvinism was quite alien to parish life' so, clearly, was Arminian theology, although there is evidence of popular Pelagian beliefs.[126] The intellectual debate over theological predestination that occurred within the Church and universities collapsed into a crude identification of reform with popery at the popular level.

English Arminians were no strangers to invective and propaganda. Horton Davies has noted that John Cosin's The Hours of Prayer was 'prefaced by a strong and sarcastic anti-Puritan invective'.[127] Richard Montague was also more noteworthy for his propaganda than for his elucidation of theological doctrine. He described Puritan doctrines as:

> Bastards on the parish where they are born, or vagabonds on the town where they last dwelt, or were suffered to pass without due correction. Such urchins

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[125] Peter Lake, 'Anti Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', p. 90.

[126] See references to Stephen Denison, The White Wolfe, 1627 in Chapter 5 below.

[127] Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England: Volume II, From Andrewes to Baxter, 1603-1690, Princeton, 1975, p. 93-4.

it was necessary to discard, and send away to shift for themselves, that our mother church might no more be troubled with them.[128]

Henry Burton noted that Montague had expanded the term 'Puritan' to include not only 'non-conformitants', but also those whom Burton considered to be model clergy.[129] This attitude had significant implications particularly given the background of George Abbot's policy of using moderate puritan opinion to inhibit catholic encroachment.[130] By rejecting the 'frantic fits and froth of every puritan paroxysm to the received doctrine of our church'[131] Montague and the English Arminians almost certainly invited charges of popery, from those they had rejected.

The perception of English Arminianism as a threat to church and state in the 1620s was linked to the belief that it was a bridge to popery and so threatened not only religion but also property and liberty. English Arminians such as Montague added to this belief by claiming to reverence what they regarded as the true apostolic traditions of the church more than Rome.[132] Such perceptions persisted despite efforts by the English Arminian hierarchy and local clergy to discourage Roman Catholicism. Laud and his followers were not slow in condemning what they considered the failings of Roman Catholicism. Juxon inquired against recusants and against any contact between clergy and recusants. Others such as William Haywood actively discouraged efforts of

[128] Richard Montague, Apello Caesarem, Dedicatory Epistle, 1625.
[129] Burton's model minister could be regarded as the direct antithesis of the views held about English Arminian clergy. He was, 'a diligent preacher , and resident upon his charge, one that cannot away with non-residency, that will not take two benefices, and makes conscience of how he comes by one; that is of an honest conversation, and is a very sincere rebuker of sin; an urger of the more strict keeping of the Lords day as he usually calleth it; and rather content to suffer wrong in his tithes than contentions for his right; and above all, a vehement inveigher against the masse, and all idolatries and superstitions of the Church of Rome, A Plea to an Appeal, p. 8.
[130] S. Holland 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of Puritanism', p. 25.
[131] Richard Montague to John Cosin, 12 December 1624, Correspondence of Bishop John Cosin, Vol. I, p. 32'.
[132] Richard Montague Apello Caesarem, p. 32.

catholic proselytisers. It was said in Haywood's support that 'it is well known, and ready to be proved, that the Doctor hath conferred with diverse Recusants, and converted more families than one, and brought them to the Church'.[133]

Despite discouragement of Catholicism Haywood, like other English Arminians, was inevitably linked with Catholicism in the minds of his critics. In part this was due to the equivocation on the part of English Arminians towards Catholicism, but it also reflected the polarization of opinion that existed between Protestants and Catholics. Critics apparently found themselves unable to distinguish between Haywood's views and what they considered to be Catholic doctrine. One of the charges against Haywood was apparently based on a 1638 sermon in which he said of the virgin Mary:

> I cannot see how it can any way advance the honour of our religion, to cast dirt on her honour to wrest all places in the Gospel to the worst sense that may be made, only to show her guilty of sin, and not much holier than other women. Sure I am, we may be far from admiring her, far from invocating her and cloathing her with God's honour, and yet confess her spotless and blameless from any foul sinful touch, as preserved by that Holy Spirit that chose her for his Mansion.[134]

Haywood's views are less than Catholic but at the very least they were ambiguous to the point where they could be easily construed as leading to Roman Catholicism.

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[133] R.M., An Answer to a Lawless Pamphlet entitled The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Doctor Heywood, Late Chaplain to the Bishop of Canterbury, 1641, p. 18. (The identity of R.M. is not clear. The author may have been Roger Mainwarring, but the detailed knowledge of Haywood's incumbency that is demonstrated suggests it may have been Haywood himself.)
[134] R. M., op. cit., p. 11.

The popish implications of English Arminian ritual could readily be perceived as an attack on Calvinist doctrine. A number of commentators attributed the cause of opposition to the church to the introduction of ceremonies rather than theology. John Hackett made a speech to the clergy in his archdeaconry of Bedford in which he rejected the altarwise table on the grounds that it would 'give offence to brethren and advantage to the adversary: For it hath made many more backward to all church orders, and increased puritans greatly so that they are more stubborn and resolute than heretofore'.[135] In retrospect Francis Cheynell attributed the rise of Brownists to Laud, because 'ceremonies began to be urged upon the conscience with so much earnestness as if they had been necessary to salvation'.[136]

Popular satires such as John Rogers The Spy, (1628) reduced the complexities of predestinarian debate to a simple propaganda formula which tied English Arminianism to Pelagianism and Popery. Allusions to the 'Couzining eye' and 'Mountaines [which] lean to Popery' made it clear who in Roger's view had succeeded to the Romanist tradition in England. Several English Arminian clergy were subject to local criticism under suspicion of being Romanists. Roger Mainwarring aroused suspicions of Catholicism among sections of his parish. One Abigail Delamar, before the High Commission in 1629, would not go to her parish church when Mainwarring was preaching because 'then I shall heare popish doctrine'.[137] Delamar may have been atypical of parishioners in that she was a 'Familist and Brownist'. But, others apparently shared her opinions. When the new church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields was consecrated in 1630 statues of the apostles in the church were defaced with paint by 'the Puritans'.[138] In 1631, barely two weeks after Joseph Henshaw was appointed to

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[135] LPMS 1030/58, 18 May 1637.
[136] Francis Cheynell, The Rise, growth and danger of Socinianism, 1643, p. 63.
[137] S. R. Gardiner, Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and the High Commission, Camden Society, New Series, Vol. xxix, London, 1886, p. 300-1.
[138] P. Cunningham, Handbook of London, 2nd. ed.,.London, 1850, (1978 reprint), p.202.

St. Bartholomew the Less, Richard Worsley posted a paper in a public place claiming that Henshaw 'the upstart Boy' was about to introduce popish doctrine.[139] Haywood's critics identified a number of points of popery in his sermons including: the power of Minister to remit sin; 'that every man in his natural condition is by the fall of Adam wounded only, and but half dead...'; 'that the virgin Mary was free from, and without any mortal sins..'; and 'confession to the priest of our particular sins, is very necessary to the forgiveness of sin, and that they who did not do it , were guilty of a great sin'.[140]

The fears aroused by English Arminianism gave rise to some elaborate efforts to confirm the suspicions of its opponents. Jesuit letters supposed to have been taken from a meeting house in Clerkenwell detailed the cunning and care that had been taken by the Jesuits to infiltrate the 'sovereign drug Arminianism' into the Church of England and how English Arminians had 'lock't up the Duke's [Buckingham] ears'.[141] Against such a background of suspicion, policies of church beautification, ceremonial reform, financial reform of the Church and a diminution of the role of the laity confirmed suspicions of Popery and arbitrary rule as the ultimate consequences of entertaining English Arminianism. As Sheila Lambert points out, the destruction of Laud's church in the 1640s was to some extent 'a triumph in organised propaganda'.[142]

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[139] PRO SP 16/197/33. Worsley was curate of the parish and examined by Laud on account of his views. He claimed to be zealous for God's glory and that he would give his life for the King. PRO SP 16/198/17.

[140] The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Doctor Heywood. . . By the Parishioners of St Giles in the Fields, 1641, p. 2.

[141] Peter Heylyn, Cyprianus Anglicus, 1671, pp 179-80, CSPD Charles I, Vol. III, 1628, p. 53-58, PRO SP 16/99/22.

[142] Sheila Lambert, 'Encroachment on Royal Authority in Early Stuart England, EHR, January 1990, p. 94.

However, reductionist it may now appear, it was perfectly reasonable that contemporaries should have seen the relationship between English Arminianism and Calvinism.[143] Example of these polarities are the antagonism between Catholic Sacraments and the Protestant Word as the central expressions of faith. The historic division of Pelagian and Augustinian was used as a polemic device by nonconformist and conformist Calvinists alike. The division was also politicised in terms of Roman and English conflict. These various dimensions to the debate were possible because of several factors, including the inherent conflict of ideas such as grace and freewill, the confluence of native English traditions, particularly revivals in liturgy and patristics, with criticism of double predestination in English Arminianism, and also the unresolved tension in the English church between the pursuit of a universal catholic church and a Protestant assembly. These influences ensured that English Arminianism could be interpreted from several perspectives. On balance, throughout the 1630s contemporaries tended to see English Arminianism more in terms of these broader antagonisms, than in terms of earlier concerns over the specific doctrinal issue of predestination, particularly as debate in parliament, the press, and universities gave way to popular reaction to enforced visible change at the parish level. Certainly, there was debate in the press up until the late 1620s over theological predestination and on the deleterious impact of Arminianism in England. Yet the 'rise of English Arminianism' was not usually scrutinised under the light of well-articulated first principles, but under the shadow of half-understood prejudices and fears. In this climate the visible manifestations of English Arminianism - discipline, order and ceremony - fuelled deeply-felt prejudice and fear. Consequently, as Jim Sharpe has written of Essex, 'Many God-fearing English men and women, however ill-equipped they may have been to argue points of theology with Laud, Neile, or their bishops, were convinced that their religion was being subverted from above...'.[144] '

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[143] Peter Lake, 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', S. Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft, Past & Present, No. 87, pp. 98-127.
[144] Jim Sharpe, 'Scandalous and Malignant Priests in Essex: The Impact of Grassroots Puritanism', in C. Jones (ed.) Politics and People in Revolutionary England (1986) p. 272.

To focus on a strictly theological interpretation of English Arminianism without reference to aspects of reform forces an unwarranted separation between religion expressed as ideas and religion expressed as action. Theological Arminians, although they existed, are not common among the parish clergy in this study, nor in the wider English church. But, it is not obvious that this renders English Arminianism irrelevant as an explanatory factor in the rise of religious conflict in the 1630s. What it does do is to emphasise the need to look beyond the realm of ideas when considering English Arminianism, particularly when inquiry moves outside elite institutions to the interaction of clergy and laity at the parish level. Clearly, there was an affinity with the theological ideas and goals of the Remonstrants on the part of English Arminians, acknowledged by both friend and foe alike, at least at a relatively sophisticated level of debate, even if the two are parallel rather than sequential developments. But whereas the Remonstrants did not possess an alternative ecclesiastical tradition with which to challenge the whole Calvinist edifice, even if they had wished to do so, the English Arminians clearly did. Consequently, while the underlying theological content of English Arminianism 'shows communion in his [Arminius'] faith', its visible expression was inspired by a unique view of the catholic traditions and function of the Church of England. To some degree this programme could be realised through existing instruments such as the enforcement of the Canons of 1604 and through the suppression of controversy. Through several measures divisive debate was restricted, ceremonies enforced and churches were better ordered, these outcomes represented something more than just a change in administrative direction. The enforcement of the Canons was accompanied by an underlying shift in thought that points to a fundamental attack on the Calvinist theology of grace.[145] English Arminians were also a visibly select fellowship of highly-educated and well-positioned clergy. In popular exchanges it was a simple matter to present their reforms as an attempt to undermine

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[145] Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s', p. 214.

the position which the laity had secured in society since the Reformation. Importantly, the 'visible' aspect of English Arminianism points to an appraisal of the subject which incorporates not only what individuals thought but also what actions they undertook and what relationships they entered into.[146]

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[146] Peter Lake, 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', p. 116.

Chapter Three:
LONDON AND MIDDLESEX CLERGY: A SURVEY

The aim of this chapter and the following is to examine the extent to which factors such as social class, education, and career structure, if any, separated English Arminian clergy from other clergy. The method employed in these chapters is quantititive in approach and descriptive in function. However, counting English Arminian clergy, as with any attempt to quantify belief, is not without its dangers.[147] The problems of irregular and biased sources are magnified by the intensely personal motives and 'godly zeal' of some who regarded their parish clergy as affected by the reforms promoted during the 1630s.[148] While English Arminianism has been interpreted here as a comprehensive challenge to Calvinism in liturgy, discipline and theology, this does not mean that every clergyman accused of irregular doctrine, or popish discipline, or who presided over the dismantling of chancel pews, or refused communion to those who would not kneel has been labelled an English Arminian. Single incidents and reports of this kind may not be entirely satisfactory indicators, especially where charges are imputed from partisan sources such as minority elements among the parish laity. The major sources of complaint against the London clergy fall into one or other of these categories, particularly sequestration reports and Articles submitted to Parliament, and cannot be accepted without further confirmation. At best they can only relate in what terms certain elements of a given parish, or other interested persons, were disposed to describe their clergy, and not that the clergy themselves were English Arminians. Richard Dukeson of St Clement Dane was sequestered and vilified in White's <u>Century of Scandalous and Malignant Priests</u> for strange doctrine and practising superstitious

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[147] Margaret Spufford, 'Can We Count the, 'Godly', and the, 'Conformable' in the Seventeenth Century?', <u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>, Vol. 36, July 1985, pp. 428-38.
[148] J Sharpe, 'Scandalous and Malignant Priests in Essex: The Impact of Grassroots Puritanism', op. cit., p. 268.

ritual.[149] It is not clear that White's view is enough for Dukeson to be considered an English Arminian: at best White's descriptions are partisan labels. Similarly, Edward Finch of Christchurch practised a full ceremonial, but it was chiefly his moral profligacy that earned the disapproval of his parishioners.[150] Other men such as William Fairfax refused to give communion except at the rails, but this fact only indicates their compliance with emerging practices during the 1630s. In the case of the unfortunate Robert Chestlin, author of Persecutio Undecima, a draft petition from his parishioners complained of his doctrines and superstitious ceremonies.[151] However, his parishioners can hardly be considered unbiased critics, since they were formerly in the care of the Puritan Henry Burton until he was ejected by Laud.

There are also several examples of clergy who supported aspects of the reforms in the 1630s but who cannot be considered English Arminians. John Hackett, chaplain to Bishop John Williams, and the Royalist Bruno Reeves were prepared to join with English Arminian clergy such as Brian Walton as supporters and underwriters of the London clergy's claim for increased tithes. Henry King and Ephraim Pagitt both gave support to the principle of the churches right to appoint ceremonies for worship.[152] In cases such as these this is more likely to indicate the extent to which they were supporters of episcopacy and order than any acquiescence to English Arminianism. There is clearly a risk in understating the level of clerical support for English Arminianism by omitting men such as these. But, to draw conclusions about the attitudes of individuals towards English Arminianism on the basis of these examples would be to risk confusing English Arminianism with conformity, political loyalty, or even, moral turpitude.

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[149] Century, No. 84.
[150] The Petition and Articles or severall Charges exhibited ...against Edward Finch, 1641.
[151] Tanner MS, LXXIII.6.
[152] Henry King, Exposition of the Lords Prayer, 1628, A sermon Preached at St. Paul's, 1640 and Ephraim Paggit, Christianography, 1635. See Chapter Five below.

As argued in Chapter Two, English Arminianism is best understood in terms of a wider range of issues than theology. Consequently, the identification of English Arminian clergy on the basis of stated opinions has been made in only a limited number of cases. A number of clergy have been classified as English Arminians on the basis of their involvement in communion reform, church beautification, evidence of personal observance and also reform of parish government and tithe. Among this latter group the identification of individuals as English Arminians has been made on the basis of the cumulative weight of evidence drawn from as wide a base as possible. In addition to direct evidence of involvement in reform, this also includes some analysis of their personal histories, particularly education and career path. On the basis of the evidence available 41 of the 237 clergy studied in this sample have been classified as English Arminians. The names of the English Arminian clergy as well as a summary of their career details are provided in Appendix A. There is, of course, no way to test whether or not this represents the 'true' figure. There is no definitive list of English Arminian clergy in this study. Like the problem of puritanism there are no clear criteria against which an individual can be measured, to some extent English Arminians are the 'hotter sort' of Episcopalians. On balance, I consider the clergy listed to represent the lower limit since there remain a number of clergy for whom the evidence of English Arminianism is suggestive but not conclusive. Further evidence might easily lead to their being included among the list of English Arminian clergy, however their present exclusion will not alter the major conclusions drawn here.

Clergy: Geographic and Social Origins

One of the most obvious features of the clergy studied here is the extent to which they were recruited from outside their immediate place of origin. The figures derived for 139 individuals whose places of origin are known suggests that the majority came from

outside the region of London and Middlesex.[153] Those of provincial origin represent 69% of the sample, or 96 out of the 139 who can be counted. The total of 43 from London (32) and Middlesex (11) represents only slightly more than 25% of the sample. This can be increased by adding the twelve who came from Essex and Hertfordshire, to incorporate the rest of the London diocese into the equation, but the total is still only 54 men or 39% of the sample. Even though London constitutes the largest single bloc and Middlesex is ranked third the pattern of locally-dominated clerical recruitment which has been demonstrated to be the case in many other parts of England is not so evident. In the early seventeenth century most ordinands in search of preferment returned to their native homes where they might hope to secure some sort of living on the basis of long-established ties.[154] In Bath and Wells the local recruitment of clergy was of the order of 68%, 40% from Somerset itself and 28% from adjoining counties.[155] In the Diocese of Exeter local recruitment was as high as 86%, with another 4% coming from the only adjacent county of Somerset.[156] Based on her study of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, Margaret Stieg has made the observation that those men who chose to seek preferment in their native area inevitably acquiesced to the social, political, and religious values of the community, as integral members of that community.[157]

The 'immigrant' clergy serving London and Middlesex came from virtually every county in England as well as Wales (4) and Scotland (2) although only Yorkshire (10), Kent (8) and Oxfordshire (7) supplied more than five men (see Table 1).

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[153] Data on the origins of individuals is provided in Appendix C.
[154] Ian Green , 'Career prospects and clerical Conformity in Early Stuart England', p. 89
[155] Margaret Stieg, Laud's Laboratory, p. 66.
[156] ibid., p. 67.
[157] ibid

Table 1:
Geographical Origin of London and Middlesex Clergy

Region	No.	Region	No.	Region	No.	Region	No.
Bedfordshire	1	Essex	6	Middlesex	11	Somerset	4
Berkshire	2	Gloucester	2	Norfolk	3	Suffolk	3
Bristol	2	Hereford	1	Northampton	2	Surrey	2
Buckinghamshire	2	Hertfordshire	6	Northumberland	1	Sussex	3
Cambridge	2	Kent	8	Norwich	1	Wales	4
Cheshire	1	Lancashire	3	Oxford	7	Warwickshire	3
Derbyshire	1	Leicester	1	Rutland	1	Wiltshire	1
Devonshire	3	Lincoln	3	Salisbury	1	Worcester	2
Durham	2	London	32	Scotland	2	Yorkshire[158]	10

The predominance of provincials is worth noting, if not for the relationship between geographical origins and religious outlook, for there probably was none, then because it says something of the relationship between the clergy and the region they served. In contrast with the high level of local recruitment in areas such as Bath and Wells the London and Middlesex clergy may have been less prone to a strong affinity with the community they served. As a largely immigrant group it is reasonable to assume that they did not have the same pre-established bonds of loyalty or kinship that have been argued to exist in areas of high local recruitment. In place of local ties there can be observed a common 'professional' interest as evident in the broad support from within their ranks in the matter of pursuing tithes. There is also evidence of factional loyalties that bound together and distinguished the followers of Laud and Juxon from other clergy. The essentially 'foreign' origins of the clergy in this study cannot be discounted as a source of aggravation in the often poor relations that existed between the laity and clergy. But, given the concentration of civil and ecclesiastical power in London, and

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[158] Rosemary O'Day noted the mobility of clergy into London from far afield. Of the deacons ordained between 1598-1628 in London diocese 42 came from Yorkshire and none subsequently returned to the north, English Clergy, p. 5.

the opportunities this presented as a source of patronage, it is not surprising that outsiders figure so prominently among the London clergy.[159]

Attempting to assess the social origins of the clergy is an exercise in compromise. The manner in which these details were entered into the matriculation and Alumni registers was both irregular and open to subjective bias. Philip Tyler has noted the tendency in the early seventeenth century for virtually all men with some education to claim gentry status.[160] While there are few other sources to draw on, and none so extensive, the picture of the social status of this sample derived from University sources does highlight one important development in the clerical profession. In the later sixteenth century, with the calming of religious conflict, a change developed in the pattern of clerical recruitment. Whereas the tendency had been for parish clergy to be drawn mostly from the lower ranks of society, during Elizabeth's reign a growing number were recruited from both gentry and clergy families.[161] Those of clerical backgrounds are not easily classified on account of the wide difference in wealth, power, and prestige that existed within the church. Following Thomas Wilson's classification of English society where they are placed among the *Nobilitis Minor,* they have been ranked with the sons of the gentry and collectively classed as non-plebeian.[162]

In the case of Oxford, where the terminology is least troublesome, a total of 24 men out of a sample of 60, or 42%, classified themselves as non-plebeian. Thirteen classified themselves as gentry and eleven as clerical in origin. Among the Cambridge

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[159] ibid.

[160] Philip Tyler, 'The Status of the Elizabethan Parochial Clergy ', Studies in Church History, (G J Cuming ed) Leiden, 1967, Vol. iv, p. 93.

[161] For the shifting social status of the parish clergy see Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church'; Philip Tyler, op. cit., pp. 91-93.

[162] Thomas Wilson The State of England anno. dom. 1600, Camden Miscellany, xvi, 3rd series, lii, (1936).

men the terminology makes any estimation of social rank less straightforward. There are some grounds for equating 'sizar' with the lower ranks, while 'pensioner' and 'commoner' bear some relation to the higher status ranks of gentry and clergy. However, problems arise in the application of these terms.[163] While some clergy in this sample were entered as pensioner, which seems appropriate to their rank of *Filii Clericorum*, others chose the classification of sizar.[164] In addition a small number of Cambridge men appear as plebeian, clergy or gentry. All of these have been adjusted to incorporate gentry and clergy into the class of pensioner and those of plebeian rank as sizars. This gives a total sample of 73 Cambridge men whose social rank is known, 30 of whom were classed as sizars (42%), 41 as pensioners (57%), and none as fellow commoners. The proportion of men of non-plebeian rank among the Cambridge graduates (57%) is notably higher than the 42% rating obtained for the Oxford sample. The average for both universities means that just under half the London and Middlesex clergy were of non-plebeian rank. This is comparable with Ian Green's assessment that 'nearly half of the harassed parish clergy who had been to university had a small claim to rank or wealth before they entered the church'.[165] It is also comparable with figures derived from other dioceses; in Bath and Wells 47% of clergy were of non-plebeian rank while in Oxford and Worcester the rates were 53.5% and 54.2% respectively.[166] With some reservation, because of the extent of claims for gentry status, it also reflects the general trend of recruitment to the universities from wider society.[167]

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[163] M. H. Curtis Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642, Oxford, 1959. Joan Simon, 'The Social Origins of Cambridge Students, 1603-1640', Past & Present, No. 26.

[164] In seventeen cases where both classifications were used 11 men of clerical families were also cited as Pensioners(6), Sizars (3), and Gentry (2).

[165] Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', p. 74

[166] Margaret Stieg, Laud's Laboratory, p. 69.

[167] For Caius College, Cambridge entrants in the period 1630-35 totalled 210 of whom 52% were cited as sons of gentry. Joan Simon, 'The Social Origins of Cambridge Students, 1603-1640', Past & Present, No. 26, p. 60-61.

While there was a strong representation by men of non-plebeian ranks among the clergy it is worth noting that there is nothing in their careers to indicate that their social rank conferred any significant advantage upon the progress of their careers. Among the clergy studied were sons and nephews of men such as Archbishop Abbot and Bishop John King who pursued relatively modest careers in the church compared to others of limited means such as Daniel Featley and William Haywood.[168]

Clergy and Education

More significant than the changes that affected the social composition of the parish clergy was the move towards a graduate clergy. In order to satisfy the protestant imperative of a preaching ministry, the universities produced an ever increasing number of graduates to fill the parishes of England. Consequently it has been found that the number of parish clergy who had a university education rose in some areas from one-third to as many as one-half or three-quarters from 1600 to 1640.[169] This trend is illustrated in Table 2.

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[168] Daniel Featley was the son of an Oxford college cook who rose to prominence under George Abbot whom he served as domestic chaplain. William Haywood was a coopers son from Bristol. According to the Athenae Oxonienses (Vol. iii, p. 634), 'Dr Laud had a great respect for his learning, '. Presumably it was on account of this that he became one of the most comprehensively endowed men in this study. In addition to his two benefices he held a prebends stall at both St. Paul's, London and St. Peter's, Westminster. He was chaplain to both Archbishop Laud and King Charles.

[169] Ian Green, 'Career Prospects and Clerical Conformity in the Early Stuart Church', op. cit., p. 72. For changing patterns in graduate recruitment to the church and the professionalisation of the clergy see also English Clergy, and Economic Problems , Chapter IX, 'The Social and Economic Status of the Clergy', and Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants, op. cit., pp 94-100.

Table 2:
Graduate clergy in select diocese[170]

DIOCESE	YEAR	% GRADUATES	AVERAGE %
BATH & WELLS	1600	31	
	1640	72	59.6
EXETER	1598-1621	61	61
OXFORD	1600	64	
	1620	80	
	1640	96	80
WORCESTER	1600	36	
	1640	84	60

For Bath and Wells, Oxford and Worcester these figures mean an average percentage of graduate clergy over the period 1600-1640 of 59.6%, 80%, and 60% respectively.

The very high figures obtained for Oxford are likely to be an anomaly influenced by the proximity of the university. Those for Bath & Wells, Exeter and Worcester support the estimate that roughly half to three quarters of parish clergy were graduates by the end of the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. In comparison to the above samples the percentage of degree holders among the London and Middlesex clergy would still be high. Indeed, possession of a degree is almost a universal trait among this sample. Out of the 237 beneficed clergy 224 or 95% are known to have had one or more university degrees.[171]

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[170] The source of these figures is D. M. Barratt, 'The Condition of the Parish Clergy Between the Reformation and 1660 with Special Reference to the Dioceses of Oxford, Worcester, and Gloucester', D. Phil. Thesis Oxford University 1949 summarized in Margaret Stieg, Laud's Laboratory,

[171] The clergy, their parishes and term of incumbency, for whom there is no university record are: Ezekiel Clarke, St James, 1628-1630; John Clark, St. Ethelburgh, 1633-42; James Dent, Hammersmith, 1631-1647; Henry Goodcole, Clerkenwell, 1636-1641, Thomas Goore, Twickenham, 1595-1640; Thomas Jennings, St Gregory by St Paul's, 1622-1635; Rowland Jennings, St Gregory by St Paul's, 1636-1653; John Lawson, All Hallows Bread St, 1628-1642; William Mainstone, Hampton, 1608-1654; Ephraim Pagitt, St Edmund Lombard St., 1601-1648; Daniel Tontevill, St Bartholomew the Less, 1620-1631; John Tribicke, All Hallows the Less, 1632-1638; Nathaniel White, Holy Trinity Knightsbridge 1630-1637.

Of the thirteen men who had no degree at least two, Ephraim Pagitt and James Dent, are known to have attended Oxford and Cambridge respectively, but apparently left without taking any degree. For the remainder it cannot be said with certainty that they held no degree, but only that their names are not entered in the printed Alumni registers.[172] No details have been found for John Clark, (St Ethelburgh, 1633-1642). Clark was appointed to the parish which was in the gift of Laud to succeed William Bray. His incumbency was notable for his enforcement of ceremonies and his parishioners charged him with upholding transubstantiation.[173] Some of this group at least had no degree and probably no university experience at all. Perhaps as a direct result they were largely restricted to the most poorly endowed openings. Six of the livings occupied by these men were chapels or curacies with only limited revenues. As detailed in Table Three they were not of sufficient worth to maintain a university-trained minister.[174] In an area such as London where men of some talent, promise and ambition were likely to seek preferment, it may well have been that only limited opportunities would have fallen to men without the benefit of a degree.

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[172] Henry Goodcole is cited by Hennessy as A.M. in the Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, London, 1898. Goodcole is not listed in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses or the Venns' Alumni Cantabridgienses. C. Dobb, 'Henry Goodcole Visitor of Newgate, 1620-1641', Guildhall Miscellany Vol. 1, No. 4, regards Goodcole as having no University degree.

[173] Century No. 54.

[174] It is difficult to establish what monetary value would be necessary to maintain a university trained minister since there are so many variables, including variations in the price level, local economic conditions, the opportunities for augmentation and so on. Margaret Stieg, 'Some Economic Aspects of Parochial Churches in the Diocese of Bath & Wells in the Seventeenth Century', Albion Vol. 3, No. 4, 1972, suggests £30 as the minimum which a realistic Somerset clergyman would have accepted during the seventeenth century, where the average value of Somerset parishes was £59 and 13% of parishes worth less than £30. Based on Ralph Josselin's expectation of £80 from Earl's Colne under James I Felicity Heal estimated that only a minority of benefices that could support a graduate of their own. Felicity Heal, 'Economic Problems of the Clergy', in Rosemary O, 'Day and Felicity Heal (eds.) Church and Society in England Henry VIII to James I, London, 1977, p. 117. The economic problems of London and Middlesex clergy are considered in Chapter Six, the average tithe reportedly paid to the London clergy in 1638 was £92:00, only 24 parishes in London paid a higher than average value in 1638. By any measure the revenues of the clergy cited in table 3 were inadequate.

Table 3:
Non-graduate clergy

Minister	Parish	Value	To Curate
Ezekiel Clarke	St James Duke Place[175]	£26 13 4	-
Henry Goodcole	Clerkenwell[176]	70s.6d	70s.6d.
Thomas Jennings	St Gregory by St. Paul's	£10	30s.
Rowland Jennings	St Gregory by St. Paul's		
Daniel Tontevil	St Bartholomew the Less[177]		£5 (and house at £20)
John Tribicke	All Hallows the Less[178]	£72	£8

Not all non-university men were so poorly rewarded as those in Table 3. Thomas Goore had £55 as vicar of Twickenham; William Mainstone secured £65 from the lay impropriator of Hampton and John Lawson, rector of All Hallows Bread Street stated that his profit from the living in 1638 was £80 2s 9d, a figure which, his parishioners declared, Lawson was content with.[179] Goore and Mainstone were survivals from an earlier generation of London and Middlesex clergy. They entered their parishes in 1595 and 1608 respectively, which are early dates compared to those recorded for other clergy in this study. By virtue of their age there is a sense in which Goore, and Mainstone are something of a statistical relic. Along with the six men cited in Table 3 they are outside the mainstream of the beneficed clergy in this sample.

In the absence of any established curriculum for the education of clergy the precise form of their university training was subject to some variation. Individuals apparently pursued their studies as ambition, ability, and means allowed them. The BA was awarded after four years of study in residence, or three years for the sons of peers.

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[175] T.C.Dale, The Inhabitants of London in 1638, 2 Vols., 1931

[176] The valuation is taken from, 'Survey of Church Livings in Middlesex at the Time of the Commonwealth', Home Counties Magazine, Vol. 1, p. 55.

[177] Dale, op. cit.,

[178] ibid.

[179] In response to the valuation of parish tithes made by London clergy in 1638 the parish of All Hallows Bread Street noted the 'the Parson declared himself to be content with what he has' LPMS CM8/37, 10 Oct 1638.

The emphasis was on classical and scholastic studies, with theology and legal studies deferred until the completion of a Master's degree. Figures derived from other dioceses suggest that the BA and MA combination had become something of an accepted minimum educational standard at which a man might be admitted to orders; certainly it was stipulated as a prerequisite before a clergyman could be approved as a pluralist.[180] It was the most frequent combination held, being twice as common as the BA only, and at least twice as frequent as the number who proceeded to both a BD and the BD-DD combination.

Table 4:
University degree held by clergy in select diocese.[181]

Diocese	Date	Degrees Held as %		
		BA	MA	Higher
Bath & Wells	1600-40	22.3	57.0	20.7
Exeter	1589-1621	32.0	47.0	12.0
Oxford	1620	14.0	54.0	32.0
	1640	12.0	53.0	35.0
Worcester	1620	33.0	51.0	16.0
	1640	29.0	60.0	11.0

Overall it can be noted from these figures that the MA was held by better than half of the clergy in these dioceses, and while most of the remainder seem to have held only the BA degree this element was decreasing over time. There is no consistent pattern of growth to suggest which of the remaining categories gained from this decrease. In the case of Oxford there is a rise in the proportion of men who went beyond the MA. Worcester, on the other hand, shows a 4% decrease in the BA category and a drop of 5% in the proportion of higher degrees in favour of those holding the MA. Data assembled for Sussex clergy beneficed from 1601-40 points to a slightly higher

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[180] See Canons of 1605 in J.P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution, Cambridge, 1966.
[181] The source of this data is Margaret Stieg Laud's Laboratory See also Patrick Collinson The Religion of Protestants, pp. 94-5.

distribution. Among clergy beneficed in Sussex 127 of 191 Cambridge graduates were MA's (66%), 26 were BD's, 11 held DD's and one was a Bachelor of Law. For 183 Oxford graduates there were 100 MA's (55%), 21 BD's and 15 DD's and six men with legal training (4 BCL , 2 DCL).[182]

The increasingly higher levels of educational attainment among clergy which these figures suggest is what might be expected given the general increase in graduates throughout the sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. Entries to Oxford and Cambridge are estimated to have risen from about 150 per annum in 1500 to some 400 in 1600.[183] With a steady increase in potential supply the level of qualification demanded of ordinands would be raised both through competition for places and possibly through a desire on the part of bishops to ordain theologically-trained men.

Among the 224 London and Middlesex clergy who held degrees a small number appear to have followed patterns of study that differ from the usual content and format of the BA-DD progression. Three of these held degrees in law, one as a Bachelor of Canon Law[184] and two as Doctor of Law.[185] There were seven men who did not appear in the Alumni registers of either universities but who are cited by other sources such as Newcourt and Hennessy as either STB (Bachelor of Sacred Theology) or STP (Professor of Sacred Theology).[186] A third small group (4) are recorded as having taken the BD either on its own or in combination with some other degree. For

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[182] Peter R. Jenkins, 'The Rise of A Graduate Clergy in Sussex', p. 163-164.

[183] H. F. Kearney, Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-industrial Britain, 1500-1700, London, 1970, p. 28.

[184] Robert Cooper, Vicar of Ealing is given as BCL in Walker Revised but no other details of his university career are known.

[185] Jonathon Brown (Gloucester Hall, Ox) BCL. 1625, DCL 1630; Calybute Downing (Peterhouse Ca) BA., 1626; MA, 1630; LLD., 1637.

[186] Samuel Bourman, STB; John Ellis, STP; George Gouldman, STB; Thomas Pierce, STP; Edward Westley, STB; John Wood, STB; George Douglas held an MA from Aberdeen but is cited in the episcopal register as STP, he appears to have undertaken further study at Oxford, GLMS 9531/15.79v.

example, Edward Finch and Thomas Mountford are recorded as a BD only. James Speight is cited as BD and DD, with no evidence of a BA or MA having preceded his theological studies. Such configurations are not common and it may be that they are the result of error in recording details. However, regardless of the cause they are treated here as higher studies by virtue of their specific theological content and since the number of instances is small it has been assumed that the BA & MA were completed.

The distribution of university degrees among the London and Middlesex clergy both conforms to and departs from the pattern of other dioceses. Consistency is evident in the predominance of the BA & MA combination as something of the professional 'norm' among clergy. One hundred and three out of 224 degree holders (47%) held this combination. This level is comparable with the figures already quoted for other dioceses. Where the London and Middlesex clergy depart from other clergy is in the distribution of degrees on either side of the MA. Table 5 summarises the distribution of university degrees according to the number and percentage of men for whom a given degree was known to have been the highest achieved.

Table 5:
Distribution of Degrees for 224 Clergy

Degree	No	%	Degree	No	%
BA	7	3	BCL	1	-
MA	102	46	DCL	2	-
BD	38	17	STB/STP	7	-
DD	67	30	Total	224	-

The number of clergy in the dioceses listed in Table 4 with only the BA degree was, with the exception of the university dominated diocese of Oxford, often well in excess of those who held degrees in the higher faculty of theology. For the clergy studied

here the obverse is the case. Only 7 men or 3 % held the BA degree only, while 115 held degrees which can be considered higher than the MA. Three of those with higher degrees studied law, the remainder studied theology. So, not only do these figures suggest a higher level of general education among this sample but, compared to the dioceses discussed above, the level of theological education appears significantly greater.

Of the two universities Cambridge played the greater role in educating the London and Middlesex clergy. For the 207 men who can be confidently assigned to a university 86 or 41% were Oxford graduates, and 120 (58%) were from Cambridge. In addition George Douglas graduated from Aberdeen University. Michael Jermin, though a graduate of Oxford, went on to the University of Leyden where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity. The numerical superiority of Cambridge simply reflects the reality of the day; it was then the larger of the two universities and consistently awarded more degrees than Oxford. There is no indication that the choice of university was influenced in any decisive way by factors such as geography. There was a virtual monopoly held by Cambridge over men from the north, all ten men from Yorkshire were educated there. Despite its smaller proportion of graduates Oxford does appear to have had a broader appeal and drew its graduates from 25 different regions and counties, including Wales. The Cambridge graduates came from a narrower area of 18 counties and regions. Evidence about the sort of factors that may have compelled an individual to attend a particular college is difficult to obtain. The reasons that might conceivably apply include traditional geographical association, economic factors, family tradition, as well as affinity of outlook, whether religious or otherwise. In a few cases it seems likely that the choice of college was determined by family ties or by patronage. The three sons of Bishop John King followed him to Christ Church. William and James Chibbald both attended Magdalen College, Oxford.

St. John's, Oxford alumni included Edward Layfield, nephew to William Laud who was a fellow and then President of the college.

Within the two universities the clergy were educated across a broad band of colleges and halls. Of the 86 Oxford graduates, 2 cannot be linked to a specific college or hall, while the remainder were spread across 24 institutions. At Cambridge the distribution was not quite so diffuse, 118 men attended 14 colleges with 4 unknown. This means an average of 3.4 men per college for Oxford and a considerably higher average of 8 for Cambridge. Of course not all of the institutions within either of the universities had an equal role in the education of these clergy. Only 2 of the 24 Oxford colleges had an attendance figure that exceeded the average attendance by any significant margin. Twelve men attended both Christ Church and St. John's College. Magdalene Hall (7) and Magdalene College (6) also rated above the average, but the former was the largest of the Oxford institutions at this time.[187] As listed below the remaining Oxford colleges show only minimal departures from the average and require little in the way of comment.

Table 6:
Distribution of Clergy among University Colleges :Oxford

College		College		College	
All Souls	3	Hart Hall	2	Pembroke	1
Balliol	5	Jesus	1	Queens	2
Brasenose	3	Lincoln	1	St. Alban's Hall	1
Broadgates Hall	2	Magdalene	6	St Johns	12
Christ Church	12	Magdalene Hall	7	St Mary's	3
Corpus Christi	1	Merton	4	Trinity	5
Exeter	4	New	2	Wadham	2
Gloucester Hall	2	Oriel	3	TOTAL	84

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[187] M. Stieg Laud's Laboratory, p. 55

For a significant span of the 'collective' university career of this sample St John's College, Oxford was the crucible of English Arminianism, dominated in turn by John Buckeridge, William Laud, William Juxon, and Richard Bayley. The clergy who attended St. John's are noteworthy in two respects: religious outlook and education. Of the twelve men who attended St John's nine had strong links with William Laud and his ecclesiastical policies.[188] This is the largest single bloc of 'English Arminian' clergy that can be traced to any College in either university. In the course of their careers they not only secured benefices in London and Middlesex but also held other offices under the patronage of Laud and Juxon: Bayley became President of St John's; Buckeridge, though it could hardly be said that he owed his career to Laud, was Bishop of Ely and then of Rochester, William Dell was Laud's personal secretary for a time. Cooke, Haywood, Layfield, Turner, and Weekes were appointed to a number of cathedral offices at London, Canterbury and elsewhere; and to both royal and episcopal chaplaincies. Thomas Swadlin, was a published critic of predestinarian theology, but did not share in the bounty of preferment offered to his colleagues.[189] However, Swadlin was in Laud's confidence as he assisted Laud to decipher coded messages from George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. It would appear that Swadlin may have disappointed Laud as incumbent of St Botolph Aldgate.[190]

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[188] London clergy who attended St John's and who were later connected with William Laud included Richard Bayley, Jonas Cooke, William Dell, William Haywood, Edward Layfield, Thomas Swadlin, Thomas Turner, and Thomas Weekes. John Buckeridge was also a graduate of St John's and is included in this survey because he was beneficed, for a time, at St Giles Cripplegate, but he could not be considered as a client of Laud.

[189] Thomas Swadlin, Meditations and Prayers on the Plague, 1637. See Chapter Five below for Swadlin's views.

[190] Swadlin was clearly known to Laud and in some favour. Although he had been a student at St John's during Laud's time as President, Swadlin apparently 'lost contact' and was reintroduced to Laud by the Duke of Buckingham, (Laud, Works, Vol. III, p 193-4). However, as curate of St Botolph, Swadlin 's conduct led to his being convened before Laud in 1632 to face a number of complaints concerning his unseemly behaviour, (Bishop of London's Registers GLMS 9531/15 1628-1660, fo. 25v). In 1636 he sought a licence to preach a lectureship in the parish of St Michael Paternoster from Laud, who agreed but on the condition that, 'he shall behave himself peacably and conformably', PRO SP 16/352. 39. D.A. Williams, 'London Puritanism: The Parish of St Botolph without Aldgate', Guildhall Miscellany Vol. II, No.1, Sept 1960, p. 32, also reports that in 1638 Swadlin provided Laud with a record of a conversation which he had heard concerning a Scottish plot against England.

The strong support for English Arminianism among the alumni of St John's, Oxford was also coupled with a comparatively high level of educational attainment. Of the twelve graduates with whom this sample deals seven were Doctors of Divinity. Proportionally, this is well in excess of the ratio of DD's produced by other colleges. Trinity College (7) and Christ's College, (6) Cambridge, which could boast as many Doctor's of Divinity as St John's, had twice as many clergy pass through, giving them a much lower proportion of DD's (about 30%) to the total student population.

The English Arminians held more than their fair share of the doctorates that fell to the St. John's graduates. Five out of the nine English Arminians were DD's, two others were BD's, one an MA, and one a BA. In addition to Swadlin, Thomas Turner was also later to be created a Doctor of Divinity. In terms of their education, career structure, and ideology this group of men represents something of an elite. Certainly, loyal and energetic English Arminians can be traced to other colleges, but not on the same scale as those from St John's. By contrast, St John's graduates differ in the scale on which they are represented among English Arminian clergy suggesting that, English Arminianism was something inherent in their collegiate education.

Christ Church was also prominent among the institutions which English Arminians attended. A few early Arminians such as John Howson, Bishop of Oxford (1619) and of Durham (1628), and William Piers Bishop of Peterborough (1630) and Bath and Wells (1632), were associated with Christ Church. Unlike St. John's, where English Arminianism was clearly the dominant stream of thought, the situation was somewhat different at Christ Church. Howson himself was a Calvinist until 1602 and Piers began his career as chaplain to John King and rector of St Christopher le Stocks (1615-20)

before he was promoted by Laud to the episcopacy.[191] Two men with links to Christ Church later developed associations with English Arminianism. Abraham Colfe (1594) was described by Richard Newcourt as 'much reverenc'd by the Orthodox party for his religion and learning', Colfe appears to have been one of a number of clergy who embraced English Arminianism at a later stage in his career.[192] Ephraim Pagitt was not a graduate of the university as he left Christ Church in 1593 without ever taking a degree. His early views are not known, but in the 1630s and 1640s he appears to have been something of an opportunist. In 1635 he published his Christianography with the approval of Samuel Baker, Licenser for the Press and a highly placed English Arminian. But if Pagitt had any inclination to English Arminianism it was quickly abandoned in the 1640s as all of his later works are undoubtedly Calvinist in perspective.[193] He was chased from his parish by a disaffected element in the 1640s but was not formally proceeded against until 1645.[194]

The evidence for English Arminianism among the remaining Christ Church graduates is less equivocal. John Gifford MA, who matriculated in 1616, was one of the few London parish clergy to be articled against on the charge of Arminianism.[195] Thomas Browne BD, matriculated in 1621, a 'ceremonialist' and author of a published English Arminian sermon delivered at St Mary's Oxford in 1633, was also domestic chaplain to Archbishop Laud and to the King.[196] John Weston (1621) was latter to become Canon of both Peterborough and Bath and Wells, and an advocate of communion table reform in All Hallows Lombard Street. In the same year William Quelch migrated from

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[191] DNB, Vol. 15, p. 1159.

[192] Richard Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, 2 vols., London, 1708-10, I.391.

[193] For instance his Heresiography, 1648, (4th ed) listed Arminians with papists, familists, Anabaptists, and independents as hostile to the true doctrine of the Church of England.

[194] Pagitt's sequestration may have been due to age - Alan Argent, 'Thesis', p. 70.

[195] Walker Revised, p 48.

[196] Thomas Browne, Sermon Preached before the University at St. Mary's Oxford, 1633. See also Anti-Calvinists, p. 83. Browne was created DD. in 1643.

Broadgates Hall to study for the BD at Christ Church. He later published two sermons in support of English Arminian ceremony and discipline, one of which he had preached at the first metropolitical visitation conducted by Laud and the other at the primary visitation of Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester.[197] Quelch was also an ardent support of the English Arminian altar policy.[198]

The remainder of the clergy who attended Christ Church were of more moderate views. They included Richard Etkins (1594), Thomas Manne (1598), Henry King (1608), William King (1616), Philip King (1616), Edward Terry (1608), and Matthew Bennet (1615). In general all of these men appear to have been moderate in their opinions with no strongly articulated theological position or alliances. The best known are Edward Terry who served for many years as chaplain to the Calvinist diplomat Sir Thomas Roe, Richard Etkins was a licenser for the press during the years 1607-1610, and Henry King was a prominent Calvinist Episcopalian.

The evidence of English Arminianism among those who attended Christ Church is tempered by the number of men with a more moderate outlook, something noticeably absent from St John's. The Christ Church graduates also show a distinct departure from the distribution of university degrees held by St John's graduates. Out of twelve men associated with Christ Church who graduated from Oxford there were only three Doctor of Divinity,[199] compared to seven at St John's. Despite the differences both Christ Church and St. John's stand out as the principal Oxford institutions from which the English Arminian clergy in this sample emerged. They are the only institutions where exposure to English Arminianism, for some of the students at least, has the

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[197] William Quelch, Church Customs Vindicated, 1636.
[198] For a description of his activities see below, Chapter Five
[199] Richard Etkins, Henry King, William Pierce.

appearance of being an inherent part of their college experience. Of course, English Arminian clergy can be traced to other Oxford colleges but it would be mistaken to assume that they learned their Arminianism there. In several cases Arminianism was incidental to university experience, or even antithetical to it, and was adopted subsequent to the university experience.

Cambridge Graduates

Among the Cambridge colleges Trinity (24), Christ's (20), and St. Johns (17), were the three most prominent institutions in the education of the London and Middlesex clergy. In contrast to the two principal Oxford colleges the English Arminians who attended these three colleges were a clear minority.

Over half of the men in this sample who graduated from St. John's College matriculated before or about the turn of the century. It was during this period that William Whittaker flourished as Regius Professor of Divinity and Master of St. John's. Whittaker was not only strongly protestant in his theology but also lax in his approach to church discipline, refusing to take action against fellows who would not wear the surplice.[200] Although he died in 1595 Whittaker was succeeded by the like-minded Richard Clayton, and it was not until 1634 that the protestant tradition of St. John's was eclipsed under the Mastership of William Beale.

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[200] V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, London, 1964, p. 117.

Table 7:
Distribution of Clergy among Cambridge Colleges

College	Graduates	College	Graduates
Caius	2	Pembroke	6
Christ's.	20	Peterhouse	3
Clare	6	Queen's	5
Corpus Christi	3	St. John's	17
Emmanuel	10	Sidney Sussex	4
Jesus	8	Trinity	24
Kings	6	Magdalene	4
			Total 118

Of the seventeen men[201] who attended St. John's none were there after 1633 and a significant number were recognisably Calvinist or 'puritan' in their outlook, including: Henry Burton, George Rush, Richard Stock, George Walker, and William Walker. Most of the remainder were undeclared in their religious outlook. Only three can be connected in any way with English Arminianism. John Elborow preached a visitation sermon for Laud's metropolitical visitation, and was also an informant against non-conforming clergy.[202] Edmund Layfield also published views tending to English Arminianism. Francis Dee, who, as the Bishop of Peterborough, was an early advocate of the altar-wise communion table which he promoted in his visitation articles of 1634.[203]

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[201] Thomas Berisford, 1593; John Buckley, 1608; Henry Burton, 1598; Richard Chambers, 1596; Richard Cowdall, 1578; David Daulben, 1602; Francis Dee, 1596; John Elborow, 1606; Josias Frith, 1601; Richard Holdsworth, 1607; Thomas Kendall, 1570; Edmund Layfield, 1610; Matthias Milward, 1592; George Rush, 1619; Richard Stock, 1598; George Walker, 1606; William Walker, 1589.

[202] PRO SP 16/351 and PRO SP16/339.53. Elborow's published works are discussed in Chapter Five.

[203] Anti-Calvinists, p. 204-206.

At Trinity College[204] a similar protestant bias to St. John's is in evidence, although 12 of the graduates are relatively anonymous. Of the other 12 William Graunt,[205] the youngest of the Trinity graduates, was the only man whose university career coincided with the Mastership of Samuel Brook[206] at Trinity. Graunt inclined to English Arminianism and enjoyed a measure of patronage from Archbishop Laud.[207] The English Arminian William Fuller was at Trinity college from 1600-10 but migrated to St. Catherine's prior to the award of his Doctor of Divinity in 1628. Three others may have had some later inclination toward the ceremonial aspects of English Arminianism: William Cooper[208] and William Fairfax,[209] who migrated to St. John's College, Cambridge, were noted for refusing Communion to those who would not kneel at the rail. Richard Dukeson was reputed to be a preacher of strange doctrine and a practitioner of superstitious ritual.[210] He was also lampooned as ' that Dukeson the good bowler that used to be at rubbers with some of his popish acquaintances in Gray's Inn Fields whilst others were instructing the people'.[211] Of far greater significance though are their predecessors and contemporaries, such as Stephen Denison, John Hackett, Arthur Jackson, Charles Offspring, and Josiah Shute; who despite differing personal attitudes to episcopacy and church discipline were united in their essential Calvinism, and in their opposition to English Arminianism.

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[204] The 24 men who attended Trinity College were : William Bedwell, 1578 ; Andrew Clare, 1614 ; William Cooper, 1611 ; Stephen Denison, 1600 ; Nathaniel Duckett, 1617 ; Richard Dukeson, 1613; William Fairfax, 1619; William Fuller, 1600; Nazariah Gladman, 1591; John Grant, 1590; William Graunt, 1627; John Hackett, 1609; Benjamin Hinton ,1593; Arthur Jackson, 1611; William Launce,(?) ; Edward Marbury, 1597; Charles Offspring, 1602; Christopher Pasley, 1612 ; Henry Rainsford, 1596; William Roberts, 1593; Josias Shute, 1602; John Simpson, 1576; John Taverner, 1597; Gilbert Wimberley, 1612 .

[205] Graunt's only contemporary James Meggs entered Trinity in 1625 but left as an MA in 1631 less than a year after the appointment of Brooke

[206] Brooke was the author of the remark 'Praedestination is the root of Puritanism and Puritanism the root of all rebellions and disobedient intractableness in parliaments etc. and all schism and sauciness in the country , nay in the Church itself, '. Quoted in Anti-Calvinists, p. 57 .

[207] William Graunt, The Vindication of the Vicar of Isleworth, 1641, p. 5; Century, No. 34.

[208] Walker Revised, p. 45.

[209] Century, No. 18; Walker Revised p. 46.

[210] Century, No. 84.

[211] Mercurius Brittanicus, No. 54, 14 - 21 October 1644, p. 424.

At first glance Christ's College[212] appears to have been something of a radical departure from both Trinity and St. John's. At the head of an alphabetical list of clergy who were educated there are Samuel Baker, William Bray, and William Brough, three of the most ardent and controversial English Arminians in this sample. Further down the list we find Robert Pory who was sequestered for Arminianism[213] and John Hill, chaplain to Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter and Master of Christ's College. But this turnout of English Arminian clergy is illusory to a degree, as Baker and Bray are known to have been inclined to puritanism in the early stages of their careers.[214] It also belies the strong Calvinist/puritan tradition at Christ's which was dominant up until 1609 when Valentine Carey became Master.[215] His reputation as an opponent of Calvinism was sufficient to inspire William Ward's well-known lament upon the occasion of Carey's election: 'Woe is me for Christ's College. Now is one imposed upon who will be the utter ruin and destruction of that College'.[216]

The advent of Carey arguably created an ideological chasm among the clergy who attended Christ's.[217] Those who are noted for their adherence to Calvinist or even puritan ideas all spent the greater part of their time there before Carey's mastership. Men known to be part of this earlier era of Christ's College were John Downame,

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[212] The Christ's College matriculants were Samuel Baker, 1612; William Bray, 1613; William Brough, 1613; Robert Chestlin, Elias Crabtree, 1609; Robert Dillingham, 1585; John Downame, 1589; George Eccop, 1623; Michael Gardiner, 1569; Robert Gell, 1615; William Hall, 1628; John Hill, 1605; Jeremiah Leech, 1598; Robert Pory, 1625; Samuel Proctor 1575; Nehemiah Shute, c.1600; James Speight, 1593; Thomas Tuke, 1560; Henry Vertue, 1608; Richard Watson, 1594.

[213] Walker Revised, p. 55.

[214] See DNB Vol. I, p. 937 and Vol. II, p. 1149.

[215] The impact of Carey in undermining the puritanism of Christ's is covered in Stephen A. Bondos-Greene, 'The End of an Era: Cambridge Puritanism and the Christ's College Election of 1609', The Historical Journal, 25, 1 (1982). pp. 197-208.

[216] M. M. Knappen (ed.), Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries, Massachusetts, 1960, p. 130-131.

[217] Further examples of Arminian encroachment in Cambridge are described in a communication by David Hoyle, 'A Commons Investigation of Arminianism and Popery in Cambridge on the Eve of the Civil War', The Historical Journal, 29, 2 (1986) p. 419-25. The author describes the events uncovered as, 'an account of the collapse of the religious consensus in Cambridge', (p. 424) to some extent the innovation and opinions uncovered extended beyond English Arminianism to, 'popery '.

James Speight, and Richard Watson.[218]   Robert Gell matriculated in 1615 and eventually embraced astrology and Familism.[219] The English Arminians who attended Christ's College were generally younger than their Calvinist fellows, and consequently came under the regime of Valentine Carey. Robert Pory, was the youngest and was awarded a Bachelor of Divinity in 1639. Despite their early puritan interests Samuel Baker, William Bray, and William Brough had all turned to English Arminianism long before they took their final degrees. John Hill matriculated in 1605 but was at Christ's till 1612 and at some stage thereafter he became Carey's chaplain. Thomas Tuke, who graduated as an MA in 1603 predates Carey's Mastership. He was later sequestered for ceremonialism and not observing the Sabbath in his London parish of St Olave Jewry, but his published works show that he was clearly an advocate of predestination to both election and reprobation.[220]

It is difficult to identify any significant trends emerging from the populations of other colleges. This is largely because the sample is spread so thinly across a relatively large number of institutions, making only tentative observations possible. At Oxford three colleges, in addition to St. John's and Christ Church, exceeded the average attendance for this sample. Magdalen Hall (7)[221] included one known puritan, William Hubbock, as well as John Warner an English Arminian bishop, and Joseph Henshaw who was

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[218] John Downame and James Speight are well known as authors of, 'puritan' works of theology, exposition and devotion. Downame was the puritan rector of All Hallows the Great from 1630 to 1652, and lecturer at St Bartholomew Exchange under the sponsorship of the Haberdashers' Company D.M. Whitney, 'London Puritanism: The Haberdashers Company', Church History (32), 1963. James Speight, rector of St Mary Magdalene Milk Street (1592-1637) and St Clement Eastcheap (1611-1637) was one of the older members of the London clergy in this sample. He was undoubtedly a Calvinist but no less 'conformable to the ordinances of the Church of God in England' for it. Some comments on published works of Downame and Speight are made in Chapter 5. Richard Watson, was vicar of the puritan parishes of St Stephen Coleman Street 1609-1618 and St Mary Aldermary 1618-1638.

[219] Keith Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 448.

[220] Walker Revised, p. 60. See Chapter Five below for a discussion of Tuke's published views.

[221] James Batty, Thomas Fox, Joseph Henshaw, Thomas Horne, Thomas Thrall, John Warner, William Wimpew. Philip Nye, the Independent, entered Brasenose College as a Commoner in July 1615 and moved to Magdalen Hall in 1616.

accused by his curate being a harbinger of popish doctrine and eventually declared a delinquent and deprived in 1646.[222] Magdalen College's (6) alumni included the moderate puritans William and James Chibbald and one independent.[223] The graduates from Balliol College (5) included Edward Abbot, nephew of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury and Thomas Crane who was complained against for his cold unprofitable and infrequent preaching and for ceremonies.[224] The remaining three men from Balliol are relatively obscure.[225]

At Cambridge, Emmanuel (10)[226] and Jesus (8)[227] were both firmly within the tradition of Cambridge Protestantism, in a similar vein to Trinity, Christ's, and St. John's. Men who passed through Emmanuel College included some of the most prominent puritan clergy in London such as Thomas Horton, John Stoughton and Ephraim Udall. Andrew Janeway[228] and Thomas Westfield[229] both attended Jesus College. The only obvious dissenter from the traditions of these two institutions was John Squire, of Jesus College, described in a parish petition of 1641 as being no less offensive 'than Canterbury himself' in his fondness for innovation and ceremony.[230]

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[222] DNB, Vol. 9, p. 584.

[223] Josias Symons BA. 1606 was an independent who was deprived in 1639 and went to America. Other clergy who attended Magdalen College were Henry Ashwood, Ralph Cook and Matthew Rendall.

[224] Walker Revised, p. 45.

[225] William Boswell, Nicholas Bradshaw, Richard Taverner

[226] Joseph Brown, Samuel Cheney, Richard Crooke, Philip Edlin, Abraham Haines, Thomas Horton, Adoniram Byfield, William Rolf, John Stoughton, Ephraim Udall.

[227] Thomas Booth, Lancelot Harrison, Andrew Janeway, Thomas Lant, Luke Proctor, John Squire, Thomas Westfield, Richard Worme.

[228] Andrew Janeway was the puritan rector of All Hallows London Wall from 1593-1640.

[229] Although Archdeacon of St Alban's (London) and Bishop of Bristol from 1642, Westfield was approved a member of the Assembly of Divines. He expressly and publicly disassociated himself from, 'all popish, antichristian, Arminian, Pelagian Doctrine' Westfield's published work is discussed in Chapter 4. Westfield's appointment to St Albans by Laud , and Calybute Downing's to Hackney, were cited by the Archbishop at his trial as evidence contrary to the charge that he had preferred only Arminians and Papists, Laud Works, Vol. IV, p. 298.

[230] An Answer to a Printed Paper entitled Articles Exhibited in Parliament Against Mr John Squire, 1641

In the context of this study it seems appropriate to mention briefly three other colleges, although their contribution to the education of the London and Middlesex clergy was minimal. Despite this they are generally known with St. John's, Oxford, and Carey's Christ's College as institutions where English Arminianism took root. The three in question are Peterhouse (3) and Pembroke College (6) at Cambridge, and Queen's College, Oxford (2). All three were dominated by English Arminian heads for various lengths of time. Pembroke's pedigree extended well back into the reign of James I, when it had been ruled by Lancelot Andrewes and then from 1616 by Samuel Harsnett. At Peterhouse English Arminian rule began after 1625 when it was introduced by Matthew Wren. The introduction of Arminianism at Queen's College was even later, following, as it did, the conversion of the Calvinist Provost and one time opponent of Laud, Christopher Potter. However, for the most part the men who studied at these colleges appear untouched by the English Arminian influences of their respective institutions. At Queen's College, the reason for this is obvious; both men spent most, if not all, of their time there during Potter's Calvinist phase.[231] The existence of a lengthy English Arminian tradition at Pembroke College had only a limited impact upon the London and Middlesex clergy. Six men in this sample entered Pembroke College as matriculants, including the prominent puritan Edmund Calamy. Two quickly migrated, William Isaacson to the moderately puritan Jesus College and George Moore to Peterhouse. Of the other two Percival Hill is something of an unknown, being a late arrival among the London clergy when he was made incumbent of the puritan parish of St. Catherine Coleman Street in 1640. He was forced to resign later that year, little else is known of him.[232] John Gifford was the only one of the six to be closely linked to English Arminianism in his later career, he was sequestered in

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[231] The men who attended Queen's College, Oxford were Samuel Fawcett the puritan rector of St Mary Staining from 1628-43 and Aaron Wilson, rector of St Stephen Walbrook 1625-35 and vicar of Plymouth 1625-43, who left London after becoming Archdeacon of Exeter in 1635.
[232] According to Newcourt (1.377) he was forced out by the Presbyterians.

March 1643 for Arminianism, ceremonialism, opposition to preaching, malignancy to Parliament and pluralism.[233] In addition to the six matriculants Lewis Hughes migrated to Pembroke from All Souls College. He took an MA while at Pembroke in 1625, and by 1640 had published two works of a recognisably Presbyterian character.[234] Another was Walter Balcanqual who entered the college in 1618 after completing an MA at Edinburgh University. He remained attached to episcopacy despite his theological opposition to Arminianism.[235]

Of the three men who entered Peterhouse as matriculants all had left before Matthew Wren's arrival. The first of them, Richard Cheshire, was harassed and forced to leave his living by Isaac Pennington, but otherwise remains a virtual unknown.[236] Thomas Soame (MA, 1611) seems to have at least acquiesced to the English Arminian altar policy, it being said of him that among other things he 'often times made a leg to the Altar after the Sacrament'.[237] Finally, Thomas Raiment (matriculated 1599) was one of the early advocates of the definitive symbol of the English Arminians the altar-wise communion table, which he installed in his Hertfordshire parish of Ashwell after his appointment there in 1624.[238] In this sample Peterhouse is one of the few colleges which experienced a net gain through migration from other colleges; specifically Jesus, Pembroke, and Magdalene at Cambridge and Oriel College, Oxford. In the first two cases the men involved were Luke Proctor and George Moore. Both left before the advent of Wren with no trace of any inclination toward English Arminianism. Calybute Downing, the vicar of Hackney, was a prominent puritan in the 1640s but of more orthodox views in the 1630s. He left Oriel College after the award of BA in 1626.

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[233] Walker Revised, p. 48.
[234] Hughes' published works are discussed in Chapter Five.
[235] See Chapter Five below.
[236] Walker Revised, p. 44.
[237] Walker Revised, p. 262. Soame was made Doctor of Divinity in 1627 possibly after moving to Oxford.
[238] Anti-Calvinists, p. 199.

Brian Walton migrated to Peterhouse from Magdalene College in 1619. Early in his career he was assistant to the puritan rector of All Hallows Bread Street, Richard Stock. This may imply an early puritan outlook on the part of Walton. But, if so, it was, apparently abandoned as soon as it became expedient. In 1628 he was preferred to the living of St. Martin Orgar by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's and soon developed strong ties with prominent English Arminian clergy. However, Walton is most conspicuous for his role as principal advocate among the London clergy in their tithes dispute with the city. Throughout this episode he clearly had the support of Laud and Juxon.[239]

In general it can be argued that the English Arminian clergy were drawn from only a small number of Oxford and Cambridge colleges. The main centre was St John's College, Oxford. Christ Church, Oxford, and Christ's College and Peterhouse, Cambridge were of a lesser significance; while Pembroke and Queen's are at the periphery due to their lack of representation among this sample. Outside these few institutions it is difficult to judge what role the university experience played in the fostering English Arminianism among the clergy. Jesus College, St. John's College, and Trinity College at Cambridge have already been discussed. The remaining institutions attended by English Arminian clergy were either of no dominant persuasion or inclined to be puritan in temper.[240] At King's College, Cambridge Edmund Reeve may well have had one exemplar in Richard Montague, who was a fellow there from 1597-1604, but on the whole it was an institution still dominated by men such as Thomas Goad, one-time representative to the Synod of Dort and chaplain to George

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[239] Aspects of Walton's career are covered in both Chapters Six and Seven, below.
[240] The distribution of English Arminian clergy among other institutions were as follows Oxford :
Roger Mainwarring, All Souls; Henry Mason, Brasenose; William Quelch, Broadgates Hall; Jonathon Brown, Gloucester Hall; John Donne, Hart Hall; George Palmer, Lincoln.
Cambridge : William Watts, Caius; Benjamin Stone, Corpus Christi; Edmund Reeve, King, 's; James Halsey, Sidney Sussex; Richard Maden, Magdalene.

Abbot.[241] Of the three Oxford colleges, none seem to have had any reputation for English Arminianism, and it is quite likely that the men who attended them left the university without any significant exposure to English Arminianism. Certainly this would appear to be the case with Henry Mason whose earliest published works bear the approbation of Daniel Featley, and who was reviled by John Owen for having forsaken Calvinism for English Arminianism.[242] Several other instances of later adoption of English Arminianism have already been mentioned suggesting that a significant section of the English Arminian clergy had only a minimal exposure to English Arminianism, if any at all, during their university careers.

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[241] Goad went to Dort a supporter of the Contra-Remonstrants but apparently changed his views during the course of the Synod, G. J. Hoenderdaal, 'The Debate about Arminius outside the Netherlands', p. 154.
[242] Alan Argent 'Thesis' p. 72.

Chapter Four:
CLERICAL CAREERS

The individual careers of the London and Middlesex clergy were diverse and are subject to few generalisations. Within their ranks were men such as William Mainstone who passed more than fifty years of his life in a single rural parish that provided him with a yearly revenue of no more than £45. At the other extreme was Samuel Baker whose preferment and offices included: the rectories of St. Margaret Pattens, of St Christopher le Stocks, St Mary at Hill, South Weald, Essex plus the posts of household chaplain to Bishop Juxon, prebend of St Paul's, canon of St. Paul's, canon of Windsor, canon of Canterbury, and Licenser for the Press. The total value of Baker's benefits is unknown, but the value of his three London benefices in 1637, when they were all held together, was £288.11s. The difference between Mainstone and Baker has not simply to do with the number, type or value of their offices. There are more fundamental factors such as education and the level of patronage that each man was able to attract. Mainstone had no university experience at all and secured the vicarage of Hampton from a local gentleman in the early years of James I. Some twenty years later it was as a Doctor of Divinity, with the support of Laud and Juxon, that Baker was able to obtain such a high level of preferment. Undoubtedly it was the value of Mainstone and Baker as clients and the relative influence of their patrons that did so much to determine the outcome of their careers. The differences between the two open up a number of questions about the ways in which clerical careers developed and the forces that influenced them.

Whatever university training meant in terms of conditioning the religious outlook of individuals, it is clear that it was a protracted experience often extending into and

running concurrently with parochial responsibilities. It was not unusual for a graduate in his mid-twenties to wait until his mid-thirties before he obtained his own living.[243] In the case of the London and Middlesex clergy, this may have been all the longer because of the large proportion of men with higher degrees. The average length of time taken to complete successive degrees is given in Table 8. On either side of the averages, the range in years taken to complete the various degrees was quite long. For the MA degree Thomas Thrall is recorded as having taken only two years and John Weston three years, while George Eccop took as long as fourteen years. However, the majority of results clustered around the average with twenty-five men taking 6 years, forty-nine taking 7 years and a further twenty-nine taking 8 years to reach the MA. For those proceeding to the BD the shortest term was eleven years and the longest was twenty-six. Where four degrees were taken the shortest period from matriculation to Doctor of Divinity was fifteen years, Sampson Price (1602-17), and the longest period was thirty-four years for Thomas Horne (1591-1625), Richard Watson (1594-1628) and Henry Rainsford (1596-1630). The most frequently occurring terms taken to complete the respective sequence of degrees were seven years for the BA/MA, fourteen years for the BA/MA/BD and twenty-five years to reach Doctor of Divinity.

Table 8:
Completion of degrees by years taken

Degree	Number of degrees held[244]	Average years to Complete[245]
BA	149	3.7
MA	148	7.2
BD	65	16.2
DD	52	23.2

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[243] Margaret Stieg, 'Some Economic Aspects of Parochial Churches in the Diocese of Bath & Wells in the Seventeenth Century', Albion, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1972, p 219.

[244] This figure represent the total number of men in each class of degree for whom the total number of years taken to complete the last degree can be asserted without difficulty.

[245] This figure is derived by simply summing total number of years taken by the candidates to reach the final degree and dividing by the number of candidates in the corresponding degree class to give a mean average figure for the completion of the stated degree from the date of matriculation.

These figures do not, of course, mean that such lengthy periods of time were wholly taken up with study in residence at the universities. By the early seventeenth century it had become the norm to grant dispensations from residence and from attendance at lectures and exercises for candidates for the higher degrees.[246]   It is not surprising therefore that most of those who eventually proceeded to either a BD or DD degree left the university after the award of the MA. This can be gauged from the degree that each man held at the time of appointment to his first benefice. For 202 men the degree held when first beneficed was as follows :

Table 9:
Degree held when first beneficed[247]

Nil	BA	MA	BD	DD
12	14	123	42	11

The distribution highlights the important role which education played in the cleric's career in particular the status of the MA as something of a minimum standard. The very small number of men who left the university with only a BA to support their professional aspirations no doubt reflects the devaluation that the Bachelor's degree was undergoing. Of the fourteen men first beneficed as BA's nine eventually gained an MA within 1 to 2 years of their first appointment.

The transition from the university to the parish was not a uniform experience by any means. Henry Burton, the celebrated puritan rector of St. Matthew Friday Street, took his final degree of MA in 1602, but did not take up his first living at St Matthew's Friday Street until 1621. He passed the intervening eighteen years as tutor to the sons of Sir Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth and as Clerk of the Closet to Prince Henry and

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[246] Mark H Curtis Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, Oxford, 1959.
[247] This sample is based on those clergy for whom the dates of their first benefices are certain..

Prince Charles.[248] Edward Terry spent some part of the fifteen years between taking his MA at Oxford and his appointment as rector of Great Greenford, Middlesex, as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe at the court of the Mogul emperor. Many other men experienced shorter pauses in the progress of their careers and for more conventional reasons. Matthew Gardiner, Terry's predecessor at Great Greenford, was fellow of his College for five years before securing the living of Littlebury, Essex. John Goodwin was a fellow of Queens College, Cambridge between 1617 and 1627, and passed another four years in uncertain circumstances before his appointment to St. Stephen Coleman St. Robert Pory spent five years as lecturer in logic at Cambridge. Perhaps more typical were John Vickers, lecturer and curate at St. Michael Cornhill from 1593 till he secured the London rectory of St Augustine in 1600, and Ephraim Udall, Henry Vertue and William Watts, who all served at least ten years as curates before securing their own benefices. In addition there are a number of men for whom it is impossible to establish just what they did during this intervening period between their university career and their first benefice. There is a seventeen year gap between Roger Warfield's proceeding MA in 1618 and his appointment to the poorly endowed parish of St. Benet Fincke.[249]

Rosemary O'Day has suggested that most clergy served a period of some six years duration in a form of apprenticeship such as a chaplain, curate, tutor, schoolmaster, college fellow or some similar occupation.[250] But, not all men were required to pass lengthy periods as curates, teachers or chaplains before they were able to gain their own parish living. Some were beneficed almost immediately upon the completion of their final degree, while there were others who obtained a parish even before their final degree and apparently without any gaps in the progress of their careers. For a sample

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[248] R.L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.) Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, 3 Vols., Brighton, 1982-84, Vol. 1, p. 110-112.
[249] The parish was a perpetual curacy worth £100 to the impropriators but only £25 to the curate.
[250] English Clergy, pp. 20-21.

of one hundred and ninety-three men 96 were beneficed only after they had completed their last degree, 10 were beneficed in the same year as they took their last degree,[251] and 87 were beneficed before they had taken their last degree. The distribution in five yearly increments is as follows:

Table 10:
Relationship between last degree taken and first benefice

Beneficed after last degree		Beneficed before last degree	
No. of Years	No. of Men	No. of Years	No. of Men
1-5	49	1-5	39
6-10	34	6-10	28
11-15	7	11-15	13
16-20	5	16-20	5
>20	1	>20	2
Total	96	Total	87

Those beneficed after their last degree show an obvious break between university career and first benefice. For a slight majority this term was five years or less, and for 68% of the sample the term was 6 years or less.

All of those beneficed before the completion of their final degree were largely those who had completed the formal residential qualification of MA and were pursuing higher studies in theology. For example, Gerard Scarborough was rector of Cranford, Middlesex from 1597 eighteen years before completing his BD at Corpus Christi, Cambridge. Thomas Horne was presented to the parish of Mettley, Yorkshire, in 1615, the year prior to his becoming BD and a decade before proceeding DD. Edmund Calamy became Bachelor of Divinity in 1632. He was Chaplain to Bishop Felton of Ely before 1626 and through him vicar of Swaffam Prior. Calamy was also lecturer at Bury St Edmunds from 1627.

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[251] John Simpson(MA), Andrew Janeway (MA), John Buckeridge(DD), Zachariah Evans(MA), George Moor(MA), Edmund Reeve(BD), Philip Edlin(BD), James Marsh(DD), William Muffet(MA), Robert Gell(DD).

For these men residence was not a requirement for their higher studies consequently they were able to pursue ordination and their clerical careers. The evidence of their undertaking some form of apprenticeship is often seen in an extended interval between the last degree taken in-residence and the higher degree. For instance, Brian Walton was made MA in 1623 and ordained in the same year. He obtained some clerical and educational work in Suffolk where he married. He then became assistant to the puritan Richard Stock at All Hallows Bread Street before he was presented to St. Martin Orgar in 1628. He became a Doctor of Divinity in 1639. As illustrated in Walton's case the inevitable break in the progress from University to parish occurs almost always following the award of the MA degree. In a few instances there is a pause between the BA & MA[252] and between the BD & DD,[253] but in the majority of cases the interval between these two pairs of awards was the same as, or very close to the minimum required period set by the universities, four years in the case of the former and seven years in the case of the latter.

For the majority of clergy in this sample there is evidence at least that their progress from university to parish was interrupted, either through extended intervals between degrees or through a pause between the date of their last degree and their first benefice. The term over which this ran varied between two years and in excess of twenty years. For those beneficed after their last degree the average for the term passed between the last degree and first benefice is 6.3 years. For those beneficed before their last degree the only indicator of a gap between university and parish responsibilities is the number of years between the year in which the degree held, when

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[252] Four men fall into this group :Samuel Cheney , James Chibbald ,Thomas Gouge, and John Taverner all entered their first living with a BA only , though all did subsequently become MA's.
[253] In this category were John Childerley , Daniel Featley, William Gouge , Henry Roberts , John Warner, Richard Watson , and Thomas Worral

first beneficed, was taken and the year of preferment to a first benefice. The average gap is 7.2 years. Both of these figures are close enough as to be consistent with that put forward by Rosemary O'Day for the average length of curacies, chaplaincies and Schoolmasterships that made up the bulk of clerical employment between university and the first benefice.[254]

Over an extensive period of six years the ideas to which many had been exposed at university would inevitably be challenged or reinforced depending upon opportunities that presented themselves. Some such as Brian Walton appear to have used this period to re-orient themselves from an early alignment with Puritanism to a strong commitment to English Arminianism. Others more established in their careers found that re-aligning themselves with the English Arminians had significant benefits in terms of patronage. Whether these changes in outlook can be attributed to material causes such as the need to secure employment in a crowded market, to changes in prevailing attitudes, or to political changes cannot be answered from the available evidence. What is apparent is that from the late 1620s a number of clergy found a level of patronage under the English Arminians which had not been previously available.

Patronage

Patronage had the potential to deliver into the hands of elements within society a degree of power in influencing the character of the English church. This point was not lost to some sections of the laity and attempts to exploit patronage for religious ends could be highly organised as in the Feoffees for Impropriations. [255] Beyond such cooperative ventures a few individual nobles were able to exercise a 'puritan

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[254] English Clergy

[255] For instance see I. M. Calder , 'A Seventeenth Century attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', American Historical Review, LIII, No. 4, July 1948; G. E. Gorman 'A Laudian Attempt to 'Tune the Pulpit': Peter Heylyn and His Sermon Against the Feoffees for the Purchase of Impropriations'; E. W. Kirby, 'The Lay Feoffees: A Study of Militant Puritanism', Journal of Modern History , XIV, No.1, March 1942.

patronage' over comparatively wide spheres of influence. Edmund Calamy remained

at St Mary Aldermanbury under the patronage of the Earl of Warwick.[256] Thomas

Lord Coventry was able to promote the career of his chaplain Gilbert Sheldon,

although he was no puritan, despite Sheldon being fundamentally opposed to English

Arminianism.[257] But, as Rosemary O'Day has argued, most religiously motivated

patronage was fragmented - 'most puritan patrons could present by right to only one

or two livings in a lifetime'.[258] Nonetheless, the potential existed for lay patronage to

be organised against clerical interests.

The ability of lay patrons to influence the religious character of the church was limited

also by the extent of ecclesiastical patronage. In London, at least, the major

stakeholders influencing the presentation of clergy to parochial livings were the church

hierarchy. The Bishop of London controlled 13 livings,[259] the Dean and Chapter of St.

Paul's held 17,[260] in addition the Archbishop of Canterbury indirectly controlled 13

parishes that made up the Deanery of the Arches[261] and three others.[262] A small

number of other parishes were in the gift of foundations such as the Dean and Chapter

of Windsor and various University colleges. Christopher Hill has estimated that 60 of

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[256] Alan Argent, 'Thesis', p. 81. R.L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.) Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. 1, p. 116-18.

[257] Victor D. Sutch Gilbert Sheldon Architect of Anglican Survival, 1640-1675, The Hague, 1973, p. 3-8.

[258] Rosemary O'Day 'Ecclesiastical Patronage: Who Controlled the Church of England?' in Church and Society in England Henry VIII to James I, F. Heal & R. O'Day (eds.), London, 1977, p. 147.

[259] St. Alphage London Wall, St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Anne Aldersgate (Anne & Agnes), St. Botolph Bishopsgate, St. Christopher le Stocks, St. Clement Eastcheap, St. Ethelburgh, St. James Garlickhithe, St. Catherine Coleman Street, St. Magnus Martyr, St. Margaret New Fish Street, St. Martin Ludgate, St. Matthew Friday Street.

[260] St. Antholin, St. Augustine Watling, St Benet Paul's Wharf, St. Benet Gracechurch, St. Botolph Billingsgate, St. John Zachary, St. Martin Orgar, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street, St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street, St. Michael Bassishaw, St. Michael le Querne, St. Michael Queenhithe, St. Nicholas Olave Street, St. Olave Silver Street, St. Peter le Poor, St. Peter Paul's Wharf, St Thomas Apostle.

[261] All Hallows Bread Street, All Hallows Lombard Street, St Dionis Backchurch, St Dunstan in the East, St. Leonard Eastcheap, St Mary Aldermary, St. Mary Bothaw, St. Mary le Bow, St. Michael Crooked Lane, St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Pancras Soper Lane, St. John the Evangelist Watling Street, St. Vedast Fosterlane.

[262] All Hallows the Great, All Hallows Barking, St Edmund the King Lombard Street.

the 107 London parishes were in the gift of 'bishops, deans and chapters and colleges'.[263] The Crown also had a major share in the right of presentation which extended to about twenty parishes.[264] Collectively these distribution rights provided the church hierarchy with an opportunity to influence the religious character of the London clergy.

Prior to 1628 only a small group of clergy who were to have some connection with English Arminianism were beneficed in London and Middlesex. Included in this group were Samuel Baker, William Brough, John Buckeridge, Abraham Colfe, Francis Dee, John Donne, Henry Mason, Thomas Mountford, William Piers, Thomas Raiment, John Squire, John Warner, and William Watts. While all of these men occupied London parishes prior to 1628 some, notably Brough, Baker, Mason, Piers and Colfe, adopted English Arminianism later in their careers. George Mountain is generally considered to have been an English Arminian prelate but the extent to which he used his position to promote the welfare of English Arminian clergy is not clear. Thomas Raiment appears to have followed Mountain from Lincoln, or was brought by Mountain, when the latter was translated to London in 1621. Mountain may have been directly responsible for Raiment's numerous promotions. Henry Mason and Thomas Mountford received their benefices from Bishops John King and Richard Bancroft respectively. In 1628 the ranks of English Arminian clergy in London were boosted when Thomas Swadlin,[265] Jonathon Brown,[266] William Fuller,[267] and Brian Walton[268] were all beneficed in London. During Laud's episcopacy Richard Bayley acquired Northall in Middlesex on

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[263] Economic Problems, p. 60.
[264] All Hallows London Wall, St. Andrew Wardrobe, St. Bartholomew Exchange, St. Benet Sherehog, St Faith's by St. Paul's, St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street, St George Botolph, St. Giles Cripplegate, St. John the Baptist Walbrook, St. Margaret Lothbury, St Margaret Moses, St Martin Ironmonger, St. Martin Vintry, St Mary Staining, St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Mary Woolnoth, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Nicholas Acon, St. Olave Jewry, St. Peter Cornhill.
[265] Appointed curate of St. Botolph Aldgate an impropriation held by the King in fee farm, CM/8/23.
[266] Appointed to St Faith's by St. Paul's of which the Crown was patron.
[267] Fuller succeeded John Buckeridge which was in the gift of the Crown.
[268] Appointed to St. Martin Orgar in the gift of the Dean & Chapter of St. Paul's

the promotion of William Piers to Bath and Wells; William Bray succeeded Thomas Mountford at St. Martin in the Fields; Jonas Cook came from Bath and Wells to replace Thomas Raiment at Hanwell, and William Fuller acquired St. Giles Cripplegate from John Buckeridge. By 1640 the flow of clergy in and out of London left a balance of about twenty-one English Arminian clergy beneficed in London with a maximum number of twenty-nine beneficed there during the period 1628-40.[269]

The source of patronage for English Arminian clergy was the hierarchy of the church, in particular from the time of Laud's appointment as Bishop of London. Marginally more than one-quarter (24) of the parishes held in London by the major patrons cited above fell vacant during the period from 1628 to 1640. During the 12 years of effective diocesan government under Laud and Juxon the distribution of livings in London that were under the control of the church hierarchy tended to favour English Arminian clergy. Outside episcopal and archiepiscopal patronage support for English Arminians is not so obvious. Five parishes belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's fell vacant. Thomas Turner was appointed to St. Augustine Watling Street and Brian Walton to St. Martin Orgar in 1628.[270] Among the thirteen parishes in the Deanery of the Arches five fell vacant and were subject to appointment by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Three of the men appointed are relatively obscure but John Weston and Thomas Browne were both closely linked to English Arminianism. Seven of the thirteen parishes in the gift of the Bishop of London were among those which fell vacant. Virtually all went to English Arminian clergy.[271] Two parishes in the gift

[269] This estimate is based on the list of clergy in Appendix A.

[270] The other clergy appointed were William King, 1629-36; Philip King, 1633-44 (St. Botolph Billingsgate); Thomas Banks, 1630-31;, William Rolf 1631-35; Philip Edlin, 1635-43; (St. John Zachary); John Jones, 1637-42 (Mary Magdalen Milk Street); Edward Marbury (St. Peter's Paul's Wharf). All appear to have been orthodox in outlook, but could not be regarded as English Arminians.

[271] The parishes and clergy appointed to them were: St. Alphage London Wall (James Halsey), St. Botolph Bishopsgate (Thomas Weckes), St. Christopher le Stocks (Samuel Baker), St. Clement Eastcheap (Benjamin Stone), St. Ethelburgh (William Bray, John Clarke), St. Margaret New Fish Street (Robert Pory) and St. Matthew Friday Street (Robert Chestlin). Robert Chestlin was certainly

of the Archbishop of Canterbury fell vacant during Laud's archiepiscopal reign. Laud's nephew, Edward Layfield, obtained All Hallows Barking in 1634. William Quelch, already holder of two rural livings, was appointed to St Benet Gracechurch in 1637 after exchanging one of his rural livings with Edward Layfield. The parishioners of St. Benet Gracechurch were later to recall that the appointment of the English Arminian Quelch under the patronage of Laud had frustrated their attempts to 'procure a godly man'.[272]

In 1628 there were somewhere in the vicinity of twenty-four clergy beneficed in London who could be considered puritans.[273] While individuals came and left London this group remained more or less constant in size throughout the 1630s. About 35 puritan clergy held some benefice in London during the 1630s. Twenty were appointed prior to 1628, sixteen between 1611 and 1621, the period of John King's episcopacy, and four under George Mountain. King and Mountain appear to have made little effort to eliminate non-conformity during their respective terms as Bishop of London.[274] Even more interesting perhaps is the fact that 21 puritan clergy moved into London parishes in the years between 1628 and 1640. During Laud's episcopacy at least seven puritan clergy were beneficed in London with another three who found parishes in 1628 that may have just predated his appointment.[275] A further 9 puritans found livings in London during 1633 to 1640 when William Juxon was Bishop.[276]

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aligned with aspects of English Arminianism, but he is difficult to categorise. He might more correctly be regarded as an Episcopalian and a Royalist.

[272] 'Humble Petition of Diverse of the Parishioners of St Benet Gracechurch in London', House of Lords Main Papers, 23 December 1641.

[273] See Appendix B for a list of the best known puritan clergy. The selection of these clergy as puritan is not based on any definitive or even common beliefs. It is intended to be descriptive of their views. No attempt has been made to deal with lecturers, however some of the conclusions reached by Paul Seaver have been used for comparison.

[274] O. U. Kalu, 'Continuity in Change...', op. cit., pp 28-46.

[275] Those beneficed during Laud's episcopacy were John Downame (All Hallows the Great, 1630), John Tribiche (All Hallows the Less, 1632), Philip Nye (All Hallows Staining, 1629), William Prince (St Anne Blackfriars, 1631), John Stoughton (St Mary Aldermanbury, 1632), John Goodwin (St Sepulchre, 's). In addition John Lawson (All Hallows Bread St), William Gouge (St Anne

Puritan clergy not only appear to have secured livings in London but often held them for extended periods through the 1630s. Individuals such as John Lawson, Andrew Janeway and Charles Offspring saw the arrival and departure of English Arminianism. Several parishes also showed a succession of puritan clergy even during the 1630s. Henry Burton's suspension is the major instance of a puritan minister being removed from office under the English Arminians, however by 1639 Josias Symons had 'utterly fallen from the Church of England, abandoned his benefice and gone beyond the see' while Daniel Votier of St Peter's Westcheap fled when called to the High Commission.[277] The geographic distribution of puritan clergy throughout the City is shown Appendix B. About half of the puritan clergy were beneficed in the smaller inner parishes with a significant grouping of contiguous parishes located in this region. A significant element among the parishes held by puritan clergy is the extent to which they were impropriations with the parishioners often exercising the right of presentation. At least ten parishes fall into this category.[278] Patronage from other non-ecclesiastical sources provided only limited support to puritan clergy. Lay patrons presented William (1604) and then James Chibbald (1641) to St. Nicholas Cole Abbey. The Grocer's Company held the parish of All Hallows Honeylane where Henry Vertue was minister from 1628-1660. The Lord Mayor and Alderman of London were patrons of five City livings[279] and showed little tendency to present puritan clergy.[280]

Blackfriars), Ezekiel Clarke (St James Duke's Place) were beneficed around the time of Laud's appointment as Bishop.

[276] Andrew Blackwell, Edmund Calamy, Calybute Downing, John Goodwin, Thomas Gouge, Percival Hill, Thomas Horton, George Rush, and Ephraim Udall.

[277] 'Notes for Archbishop Laud's Account of his Province', LPMS 943, p. 292.

[278] All Hallows the Less, All Hallows Staining, St. James Duke Place, St. Katherine Cree, St. Lawrence Pountney, St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Mary Colechurch, St. Stephen Coleman Street, St. Bride Fleet Street, St. Sepulchre.

[279] St. Bartholomew the Less, Christ Church, Newgate, St. Peter Cornhill, St. Margaret Pattens and St. James Duke's Place.

[280] See D. A. Williams, 'Puritanism and the City Government', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. I, No. IV, Feb, 1955, p. 10. In general this conclusion holds but John Wood (St. James Duke's Place 1630-39) was mentioned in 1635 by Archbishop Laud as 'a wild turbulent preacher', LPMS 943 p. 267.

In 1637 during the mayoralty of Edward Bromfield James Meggs was installed in St. Margaret Patten to succeed Samuel Baker.

Length of Incumbency

The length of incumbency served by the London and Middlesex clergy ranged from several terms of one year or less to more than 50 years served by John Kendall who was vicar of Acton from 1576 till his death in 1627. The distribution table below provides a summary of the length of incumbency for a sample of 219 men.

Table 11:
Length of Incumbency

Range(yrs)	Midpoint(x)	Frequency (f)	f*x
1-5	3	36	108
6-10	8	48	384
11-15	13	36	468
16-20	18	31	558
21-25	23	15	345
26-30	28	19	532
31-35	33	13	429
36-40	38	6	228
41-45	43	10	430
46-50	48	4	192
51-55	53	1	53
Total		219	3727
Average			17

The mean term of incumbency for this group was 17 years. The frequency of this figure is actually quite low. Only eight men were incumbent for a period of seventeen years. More than half (120) of the total sample held their benefices for less than 16 years, and 84 of those held their benefices for ten years or less; of the English Arminian clergy, 18 held their benefice for less than 10 years. Also, the highest density for the sample occurs in the two lowest ranges, 1-5 years and 6-10 years. This certainly suggests that the calculated mean term of incumbency of 17 years has only limited value as an average determination. A lower figure than 17 years for the length of incumbency would be a more accurate reflection of actual distribution of the sample.

However attempting to secure a revised lower figure is problematic. The reason for this is that 40% of total sample had their incumbency cut short by sequestration or were otherwise deprived during the 1640s. Table 12 shows the causes that led to clergy leaving their primary parish.[281]

Table 12:
Reasons for Clergy leaving Primary Parishes 1620-1645[282]

Reason	Number	% Total
Sequestration	85[283]	38
Forced out[284]	12	5
Death	64	26
Resigned	46	18
Deprived[285]	2	1
Ejected[286]	2	1
Unknown	26	11
Total	237	100

If the figures for those sequestered, forced out, or deprived of their livings are combined then close to 45% of the total number of clergy in this sample left their primary parishes in circumstances that could not be regarded as normal i.e. resignation, promotion, or death of the incumbent.

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[281] The, 'primary parish is the parish in London or Middlesex by virtue of which an individual is incorporated into this study.

[282] The subject of this table is the individual rather than parish. It includes only the primary parish for each of the clergy studied here, but not pluralities whether in London and Middlesex or elsewhere. Clergy who were sequestered from two livings have not been counted twice (Matthew Bennet, William Fairfax, Matthew Griffith, William Launce, Luke Proctor, Matthew Styles and Benjamin Stone). Similarly, those who died in possession of two livings (John Macarness resigned two livings have been counted only once. The inclusion of second livings or previous livings is not significant enough to alter the overall proportions.

[283] This figure is made up from 85 clergy who were sequestered from one living. It does not include the parish curates and also omits a small number of men who were appointed after 1642 (John Hansley, Richard Carpenter, John Tireman) and so are outside the scope of this study.

[284] Represents those forced to leave their livings as a result of parish hostility or who were imprisoned, but not formally sequestered. Clergy forced out of more than one living are counted only once.

[285] Deprived represents those clergy who were removed from their parish by Arminian authorities - Henry Burton and Josias Symons

[286] ejected post-restoration.

Over one-quarter of clergy forced from their livings or sequestered were English Arminians.[287] Taken as a group they show a significantly shorter tenure in their primary living than do other clergy. The average term for English Arminian clergy was 12.3 years with a range from 2 years to 38 years. Half of the English Arminian clergy held their benefice for 10 years or less. The average for the remaining clergy was 17.8 years with a range from 1-51 years, 35% of other clergy held their living for 10 years or less.

Pluralism

Pluralism undoubtedly stands out as one of the early Stuart Church's most difficult dilemmas. To its critics the practice was responsible for some parishes being left without an incumbent minister; and only a poorly paid and often poorly qualified curate, while the greater part of the profits of the parish went to an absentee. To reform such an abuse was the avowed aim of any number of Bishops and other interested parties. In practice the distribution of pluralities was an extremely useful means of rewarding chaplains and other functionaries, or, as the more principled might have expressed it, of providing a suitable maintenance for learned orthodox clergy.[288]

Pluralism was a widespread phenomenon. Although it could never sit comfortably with the highest ideals of a reformed church it was so entrenched in the practice of the Church of England that arguments justifying the practice and rules seeking to regulate

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[287] John Weston, Thomas Turner, William Quelch, Samuel Baker, William Fuller, Robert Pory, Brian Walton, Thomas Brown, John Gifford, William Brough, Edward Layfield, Thomas Swadlin, George Palmer, Benjamin Stone, Jonathon Brown, Richard Maden, Thomas Crane, Abraham Colfe, Jonas Cook, William Graunt, William Haywood, Edmund Reeve, John Squire, William Watts. In addition Roger Mainwarring and William Bray found it prudent to resign their respective livings to escape unwanted attention. The former for his writings and the latter for his licensing of books.

[288] Arguments in favour of pluralism assembled by Archbishop Whitgift are presented in R. M. Haines, 'Some Arguments in favour of Plurality in the Elizabethan Church', Studies in Church History, 5, Leiden, 1969 and Economic Problems Chp. X.

it had been developed from early Elizabethan times.[289] Though the intention was to admit as pluralists 'such only as shall be thought very well worthy for his learning and very able and sufficient to discharge his duties' in reality this sort of general description made for broad parameters. According to the Canons of 1605 there were five requirements to be met before a man could lawfully hold more than one benefice. The candidate should be an MA or higher and be licensed to preach. The two benefices were to be not more than 30 miles apart, and the pluralist was 'to make his personal residence for some reasonable time every year' in each benefice. Finally a lawfully licensed preacher was to be allowed into the benefice where the pluralist did not principally reside.[290]

The exact extent of pluralism throughout the church is probably beyond precise calculation, but one estimate by Mark Curtis suggests a ratio of 1500 pluralists for a total of 10,500 career openings throughout England and Wales.[291] Ian Green suggests a range of 2,500-3,000 pluralists to 12,500-13,500 openings.[292] In a simpler form these figures suggest that the proportion of pluralists in the early Stuart Church ranged from one man in seven (Curtis) to as high as one man in five or more (Green).[293] The actual context from which these two sets of figures were obtained is not in itself important except in so far as it provides a point of reference for investigating the extent of pluralism among the London and Middlesex clergy. On this point it should be noted that the above figures apply to the total number of career openings available within the church (cathedral and university posts, rectories, vicarages, perpetual curacies and chapels, endowed chaplaincies and lectureships) as well as several hundred less regular

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[289] R. M. Haines, op. cit.,
[290] J. P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution, Cambridge, 1966, p. 140.
[291] Mark H Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', Past & Present, No. 23, 1962.
[292] Ian Green, 'Career prospects and Clerical conformity in the Early Stuart Church', op. cit.,
[293] Ian Green 's highest possible ratio would be 1:4.5 calculated on 3,000 pluralists for 13,500 places in the church.

opportunities as assistant curates, chaplaincies, and the like. The assessment presented here is concerned only with the extent of pluralism in parochial livings; the distribution of higher ecclesiastical and university offices will be considered later. It is therefore likely that at the outset there will be a higher incidence of pluralism among the London and Middlesex clergy because of the different bases from which the respective figures have been obtained.[294]

There were seventy-seven clergy in this sample who held more than one benefice giving a ratio slightly less than 1:3 . This is a higher proportion of pluralists than even Green's ratio of 1:4. Moreover it only includes clergy who were in possession of one or more additional benefice for a period of two years or greater.[295] If the clergy who held other posts are included then the total number of pluralists for the sample would be in the order of 100, or a ratio of 1:2.3. In the majority of cases pluralism extended to the possession of only one additional benefice, but in a few cases there were men who held more than one benefice in plurality so that the 77 pluralists held 86 benefices between them in addition to their primary parish. Walter Balcanqual, chaplain to James I and appointee to the Synod of Dort, was Master of Savoy Chapel from 1617-1643. He also held in plural to the vicarages of Goudhurst, Kent (1625-39), and Addisham, Kent (1625-40), and the rectory of Kingston, Kent (1632-44). A few other men similarly well provided for throughout their careers included Thomas Burton, Edward Layfield, Roger Mainwarring, Thomas Mountford and Sampson Price, although not all the livings held by them fall into the scope of this survey.[296] Despite

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[294] A corrective to this calculated on the figures for the total number of benefices in England and Wales (9,244) and the respective estimates of the number of pluralists made by Curtis (1,500) and Green (2,500) gives a slightly higher ratio of 1:6 and 1:4. Of course, this would be subject to further marginal adjustment as the elimination of non-parochial offices from the calculation would reduce the estimated number of pluralists to some degree.

[295] Without this time limit the number of pluralists would have risen to close to 100 and would have included many whose pluralism was simply a result of an overlap between their acquiring one benefice and resigning from another.

[296] Thomas Burton rector of St. Mary Somerset London 1620-31; Stixwould Lincoln. 1611-1635, St. Mary Edmonton, 1620-31. Burton was also a prebend of Lincoln, his native county, and had held two

the numerous benefices that they held between them the pattern of their careers is not markedly different to that of other clergy. Between them there is a notable cleavage in terms of age and ideology. Although Thomas Burton is difficult to place in any category it appears that the older men owe something of their endowment to a strong Protestant outlook or patron. This was true of Walter Balcanqual, (1586-45). Thomas Mountford, was old enough to have had his career advanced initially by Ambrose, 2nd Earl of Warwick, but prior to his death in 1632 he had been chaplain to George Villiers and was responsible for instituting communion table reform at St. Martin in the Fields. Roger Mainwarring and Edward Layfield both owed a great deal to their respective relationship to William Laud.

In the majority of cases (62 of the 87 plural benefices), the second benefice was located outside of both London and Middlesex. As the table below shows the geographical distribution of pluralities did not range far beyond London.

Table 13:
Location of Pluralities

Location	Benefices	Location	Benefices
London	11	Surrey	9
Middlesex	15	Sussex	4
Buckinghamshire	2	Other	10
Essex	15		
Hertfordshire	10		
Kent	11	Total	87

benefices there (Boothby Pagnell 1606-1619 & Barkston 1606-18)before he came to London. Edward Layfield was vicar of All Hallows Barking , London from 1632-1642. In addition he held the rectory of West Horsley, Surrey 1637-1645; Wrotham, Kent, 1638-45. For a brief period he also acquired Chiddingfold, Surrey from 1640. Roger Mainwarring held the rectories of St Giles in the Fields, 1616-1635 during which time he held for various terms Muckleston, Staffordshire; Muggington, Derbyshire; and Stanford Rivers, Essex in which he succeeded Richard Montague. Thomas Mountford was Vicar of St Martin in the Fields(1602-32), Rector of St Mary at Hill, London (1606-16), as well as Tewin and Aspenden in Hertfordshire. Sampson Price held All Hallows the Great (1617-30), St. Chad's Shrewsbury (1620-28) and Christchurch Newgate (1617-1630).

The relative nearness of the majority of pluralist livings to London and Middlesex is undoubtedly the result of the canonical injunction limiting the distance between benefices to 30 miles. So far as can be established a distance of 30 miles would be sufficient to bring within the range of primary benefices the majority of plural benefices held by the sample including all of those in London (11), Middlesex (15), Surrey (9), and Buckinghamshire (2); the majority of those in Essex (14)[297] and Hertfordshire (9)[298] and four of those in Kent.[299] The four parishes in Sussex[300] were outside the specified limit as were the remaining parishes classed as 'Other'. The last group of parishes were distributed across ten counties.[301]

Altogether some nineteen clergy held plural benefices that were more than thirty miles from their primary living. Although eight were English Arminians there is little continuity among them. It may be that Laud's influence was behind the preferment of his chaplain, William Bray to Chaldon-Herring, Dorset but others such as Warner, Watts and Dee acquired second livings before Laud's rise to power. Similarly, Walter

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[297] The only exceptions being Michael Gardiner who held Greenford, Middlesex 1584-1630) with Littlebury, Essex (1583-1618).

[298] The exceptions were Jonathon Brown who held St. Faith's, London with Hertingfordbury and Matthew Bennet who held St. Nicholas Acon, London with Harlington.

[299] The exceptions were the three parishes held by Walter Balcanqual Goudhurst (1625-39), Addisham (1625-40), and Kingston, (1632-44) were more than thirty miles from his primary living of Savoy Chapel which he acquired in 1617, but they were within the limit in relation to Rochester where Balcanqual was made Dean in 1625. John Warner held St. Dionis Backchurch, London (1625-38) with Bishopbourne (1619-46) and Francis Dee held All Hallows Lombard Street (1615-34) with Sutton (1619-38) both exceeded the 30 mile limit.

[300] The clergy and parishes concerned were Joseph Henshaw who held St. Bartholomew the Less (1631-36) with Stedham 1634-45 and East Lavant (1635-45); Michael Jermin who held St. Martin Ludgate (1626-43) with Edburton (1625-46); and James Marsh who held St. Dunstan in the West (1631-43) with Cuckfield 16.

[301] The clergy who held these benefices in plural were: William Bray St. Martin in the Fields (1633-43) with Caldon-Herring, Dorset (1634-39); Thomas Burton St. Mary Somerset and All Saints Edmonton (1620-31) with Stixwould, Lincoln (1611-31); Richard Chambers, St. Andrew Hubbard (1622-42) with Spofforth, Yorkshire (1632-47); Andrew Clare, Ickenham (1639-44) with Walton on Hill, Lancaster (1639-44; William Fuller, St. Giles Cripplegate(1628-41) with Weston, Nottingham (1616-43); Sampson Price, All Hallows the Great (1617-30) with St. Chad's Shrewsbury (1620-28); William Watts, St. Alban Wood Street (1626-43) with Barwick, Norfolk; John Weston, All Hallows Lombard Street with Cholsey, Oxfordshire (1622-1637); Aaron Wilson, St. Stephen Walbrook (1625-35) with (1625-43); Gilbert Wimberly, St. Margaret's Westminster (1630-43) with Stansfield, Suffolk (1621-35).

Balcanqual's appointments can be related to the patronage he received from George Abbot. In the case of Michael Jermin, who held two distant parishes (St Martin Ludgate and Edburton, Sussex) for nineteen years, and who was never anything more than a moderate in terms of religion, the critical influence may have been royal favour, since he had served as royal chaplain to both Prince Charles and to Princess Elizabeth. The only other mitigating factor which might further explain appointments of this nature is that of local influence, which may have been responsible for Jonathon Brown, Thomas Burton, Joseph Henshaw, John Warner, and William Watts being able to obtain plural livings in their home counties.

Only two men failed to meet the requirement that pluralists should hold at least an MA. These were Abraham Colfe and Emmanuel Hodges. Both men held a BA from Oxford, as alumni of Christ Church (1599) and All Souls College (1602) respectively. They were somewhat older than other clergy in this sample, Colfe having been born in 1580 and Hodges in 1582. Colfe was aligned with the English Arminians and held the parishes of St Leonard Eastcheap, London and Lewisham, Kent, in tandem from 1610. Although, these appointments occurred well before he might reasonably have secured any effective sort of patronage from the nascent English Arminian party. The patron of the latter parish is not known but the former was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. However, despite his limited qualification he held both livings for something of a record term of 36 years until he was sequestered in 1646. Hodges came to the adjacent Middlesex parishes of West Drayton (1624) and Harmondsworth (1628) after having spent eighteen years as vicar of Chertsey in Surrey, his patron was in both cases William Lord Pagitt. He remained in possession of both livings until well into the Interregnum, when he died at some time after 1650.

If there is any significance in the fact that Colfe and Hodges were able to secure second benefices for themselves while clearly ineligible it is entirely overshadowed by the compliance of every other man with the minimal requirement of the MA. Of the 77 pluralists in this sample a clear majority of 53 exceeded this limitation. Twelve pluralists had the Bachelor of Divinity as their highest degree and forty-one were Doctors of Divinity, one other was a Doctor of Law. This level of educational attainment clearly distinguishes the pluralist clergy from the larger sample. Among the latter the MA was the highest degree achieved for about 42% of clergy, but it was the highest degree held for only 29% of pluralists. This sharp decline is matched by a sharp increase in the distribution of higher degrees from a level of just over 30% for the whole sample to 70% for the pluralist clergy. In other words, the pluralist clergy represent only one-third of the total sample considered, but they held more than half of the higher degrees awarded to the London and Middlesex clergy. By some reason men of limited achievement, such as Colfe and Hodges, could still become pluralists, but all questions of patronage and ideological qualifications aside, the trend was for plural benefices to fall to those with higher degrees.

Pluralism could be regarded to some extent as the preserve of a clerical elite at least in terms of education. But in the strict sense of possessing only an additional parish living pluralists are not sharply differentiated from other clergy. Nor is there any significant correlation between pluralism in this limited sense and English Arminianism. Of the 77 pluralists only 29 were pluralists by virtue of holding a second benefice only.[302] The remainder belong to a much more significant group of clergy who were in

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[302] The double-beneficed clergy were: William Bedwell; Matthew Bennet; Thomas Berisford; Nicholas Bradshaw; Thomas Burton; Richard Chambers; Richard Cheshire; Andrew Clare; Abraham Colfe; Stephen Denison; John Elborow; Michael Gardiner; John Gifford; Emmanuel Hodges; Thomas Horne; William Isaacson; Andrew Janeway; John Johnson; John Macarness; Edward Marbury; Richard Owen; Luke Proctor; William Quelch; James Speight; Humphrey Tabor; William Walker; Richard Walmsley; Richard Worme; Thomas Worral.

possession of higher offices within the church and who were linked much more closely to English Arminianism.

There is virtually nothing in the careers of the 29 double-beneficed clergy to distinguish them from the bulk of single-beneficed men. Their pattern of university degrees does not depart radically from that previously established. There is only limited evidence of strong partisan views among them. Eleven of the men in the sample died before the Long Parliament and are relatively obscure,[303] 14 of the remainder were sequestered or removed from their parishes and are more accessible.[304] The proportion of English Arminians in this group is lower than the proportion in the whole sample of clergy studied.[305] Puritan clergy are also not common among the pluralist clergy. Thomas Berisford was vicar of the puritan parish St. Sepulchre's Holborn (1614-1638) and also held Loughton in Essex from (1609-1638). Cornelius Burgess held St. Magnus Martyr (1626-41) and Watford (1618-45). Stephen Denison a well known puritan preacher in London could also be included but only since he held the curacies of St. Katherine Cree (1616-1636) and St James Duke's Place (1622-1626) for a brief overlap of four years. Another Puritan, Andrew Janeway, has been included but only because he held All Hallows London Wall with Tiltey in Essex from 1593 till 1598.

On the basis of evidence available the most prudent course tends to the conclusion that, on the whole, this particular group of clergy adhered to neither English

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[303] William Bedwell; Thomas Berisford; Michael Gardiner; Thomas Horne; Andrew Janeway; John Macarness; James Speight; John Taverner; William Walker; Richard Worme; Thomas Worral.
[304] Matthew Bennet; Nicholas Bradshaw; Richard Chambers; Richard Cheshire; Andrew Clare; Abraham Colfe; John Grant; William Isaacson; Edward Marbury; Richard Owen; Luke Proctor; William Quelch; Humphrey Tabor; Richard Walmsley. Of the four unaccounted for Stephen Denison and John Elborow left their parishes during the 1630s, Emmanuel Hodges (St Martin West Drayton) died in 1650, John Johnson appears to have survived the Interregnum and been deprived in 1666.
[305] No more than three of this group could be described as Arminian (William Quelch, John Elborow, and Abraham Colfe). This gives a proportion of 10% compared to the overall proportion of 17% for the whole sample.

Arminianism or Puritanism. One man in this sample has already been discussed in this context. Richard Worme (d.1636), Rector of St Michael Paternoster and St Pancras Soper Lane has been described by Paul Seaver as 'occupying a kind of middle ground in a church increasingly polarised by the forces of Puritanism and English Arminianism'.[306] The grounds for such a remark are limited and as a generalisation it inevitably runs the risk of becoming a convenient catchment for every obscure individual who cannot otherwise be described. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary it seems the only appropriate way of viewing the remainder of Worme's fellow pluralists. For those who died before the Long Parliament there is really very little evidence to proceed on. The best known among them is William Bedwell the prominent biblical translator, mathematician, and linguist. His outlook is unclear.[307]

In the case of the men who lost their livings by sequestration the charges that were brought against them tends to discount the likelihood of their being English Arminians. Of those individuals who can be commented on, one was forced from his parish and the others formally sequestered. In most cases ejection arose out of political, financial, or disciplinary matters and not as a consequence of English Arminianism or related charges such as Popery and Ceremonialism. John Elborow William Quelch, and Abraham Colfe are the only ones who stand out because of any connection with English Arminianism.

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[306] P. S. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662, Stanford 1970, p. 198.

[307] Bedwell published four works on mathematical subjects and a history of Tottenham he also served as one of the Westminster bible translators under the Presidency of Lancelot Andrewes. It was through Andrewes that Bedwell obtained his Tottenham living, but the connection appears to have been one of scholarly collaboration than theological affinity; when Bedwell visited Leyden in 1612, just 3 years after the death of Arminius, his pursuits were apparently restricted to Arabic studies. DNB II, p. 119-120.

Michael Jermin appears to have been the only man in this group sequestered for pluralism.[308] Richard Cheshire was molested and chased from both St. Nicholas Olave and Heston largely as the result of a vendetta waged by Isaac Pennington. But, the fact that he was not entirely unregenerate is evident in his removal from London and Middlesex to Wiltshire, under an order from the House of Lords for the protection of his goods and servants, where he was installed as rector of Dauntsey apparently until his death in 1660.[309] Four clergy were ejected from their livings without any reason being given.[310] The rest were ejected on grounds that bore little resemblance to English Arminianism. Nicholas Bradshaw was effectively retired from St Mildred Bread Street as he was seventy years old when the order for his sequestration was made. However he did manage to retain his rectory of Ockham, Surrey until his death in 1648.[311] Ralph Cook was likewise left in possession of a rural parish when he agreed to the sequestration of his London parish.[312] John Johnson lost one of his livings in the course of a dispute with the parish of Wapping over possession of the parish rate books.[313] Although he was actually imprisoned for a brief term he may still have retained possession of Stepney where, according to Newcourt, he was rector until 1668. John Grant was harassed and assaulted at the pulpit of St Bartholomew Exchange and later left the parish prior to being formally proceeded against.[314]

Four men were ejected for political activities. The well known Royalist pamphleteer Bruno Reeves was sequestered for his absence with the royal army. Andrew Clare, rector of Ickenham, Middlesex and of Walton-on-Hill, Lancashire, was sequestered from the latter early in 1645 for deserting his cure and joining the royal forces. He did

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[308] Walker Revised, p. 52.
[309] Walker Revised, p. 44.
[310] Matthew Bennet, Edward Marbury, Luke Proctor and Richard Walmsley.
[311] Walker Revised, p. 42.
[312] ibid., p. 45.
[313] ibid., p. 52.
[314] John Grant, God's Deliverance of Man by Prayer, 1642.

not lose his Middlesex parish until 1650, after which he fled to Paris where he was observed preaching before Charles II.[315] William Isaacson was sequestered from St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (1629-42) on matters of discipline, pluralism, for employing a scandalous curate; and on political matters involving refusal to take the Protestation and joining the Royal Army. Despite his implied hostility to the political and religious ideals of the new regime Isaacson was not entirely ruined and was left with the parish of Woodford, Essex for the remainder of his life.[316] Similar complaints were made against Humphrey Tabor who was sequestered from All Saints, Hereford for non-residence, pluralism, and infrequent preaching. In response to the last he informed his parish that he would put them out to a dry nurse, a curate who would preach only once or twice a year. His pastoral ineptitude was compounded by refusal to read parliamentary orders and denigrating of parliamentary soldiers as rebels.[317] As a result Tabor was sequestered from All Saints and also from St Margaret Lothbury, and briefly imprisoned in the Kings Bench, only to die in penurious circumstances after his release.[318]

The collective experience of these men is indicative of the limited extent to which English Arminianism permeated the ranks of the London and Middlesex parish clergy. Their links with English Arminianism, where they existed at all, were limited and tenuous. For the most part there is little evidence from their own histories or from other sources to justify any view other than that they were merely compliant with English Arminian reforms. Most importantly, they were not recognised as Arminians by their parishes or by the Committee for Scandalous Ministers. Indeed, while most were found wanting in some respect they were virtually all judged to be sufficiently orthodox to retain some living throughout the Interregnum. From this it would seem

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[315] Walker Revised, p. 229.
[316] ibid., p. 51.
[317] L J, Vol. V, p. 663.
[318] Walker Revised, p. 59.

that English Arminianism was not a movement which had its basis in the ordinary parish clergy of London and Middlesex. This does not mean that the majority of parish clergy were anti-Arminian but only that they were not actively engaged, or seen to be engaged, in the struggles for the implementation of English Arminian reforms. Many were undoubtedly prepared to countenance these alterations to the church as the high degree of conformity discovered in London and Middlesex during the visitation of 1637 testifies. But to conform to change is not the same as to promulgate it actively, and, in general, the militant face of English Arminianism appears to have had little connection with the ordinary parish clergy.

The Higher Clergy

In addition to their parochial holdings the London and Middlesex clergy also held a number of higher offices. These consisted primarily of cathedral appointments, chaplaincies, and diocesan offices. Seventy-five men held positions of this kind and, significantly, more than half of these positions were concentrated into the hands of the pluralist parish clergy, who represent only one-third of the total sample. Forty-eight of the men who held a parish living in plural also held a higher office. Taking together all 237 clergy in this study the distribution of their offices is as follows:

Table 14:
Distribution of Offices Held by all Clergy

Single-beneficed	Pluralists		
	Double beneficed	Higher office	Both
	30	27	48
131	106		

These figures are a truer representation of the degree of pluralism among the clergy in this sample than that based on parish livings only. They do not include positions such

as lectureships which are difficult to measure because so many were short term. In view of this it would not be out of the question to suggest that the degree of pluralism among the clergy studied here could marginally exceed a ratio of 1:2. Although a significant proportion of higher offices were concentrated in a relatively few individuals.

As far as can be calculated the number and type of offices held by the pluralist clergy throughout the period from c.1620-42 would include: 117 parish livings, 11 Bishoprics, 84 cathedral posts (29 canonries, 33 prebendaries, 15 deaneries, 5 chancellorships, and 2 precentorships) 18 other administrative functions (14 Archdeaconries, 2 Archiepiscopal secretaries),[319] 49 chaplaincies (19 royal, 9 episcopal, 6 archiepiscopal and 15 others) and 9 educational appointments excluding those of college fellow.

Positions such as these inevitably brought clergy into close contact with the centres of ecclesiastical power and politics. At a time when position depended upon patronage, such places in the church were often made available to those who were party to a patron's goals and outlook, whether that patron be George Abbot, William Laud, or some other. To secure patronage at this level meant obligations as well as rewards. Consequently, in the confines of the cathedral chapter, as with the university college, the spread of English Arminianism within the church is more evident here than among the parish clergy generally.

Of the seventy-five men who held some higher office thirty-one were English Arminians, with at least three others John Hill, chaplain to Valentine Carey, Gilbert

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[319] At least 20 clergy also acted as Licensers for the Press for varying periods these have not been included here but are discussed in Chapter 5

Wimberly, prebend of Wells and Thomas Piers, prebend of Wells, possibly connected with English Arminianism.[320] As might be expected, holders of higher office also held a disproportionate share of higher degrees. Forty-five men with higher office held a Doctor of Divinity, 9 others were Bachelors of Divinity, and one a Doctor of Laws. In addition to this preponderant share of the higher degrees some interesting observations can be made about the colleges from which they originally came. The pattern of their distribution among the colleges roughly corresponds to that of the whole sample; that is, the majority are distributed over a number of institutions making it impossible to formulate any statistical generalisations. But, as with the larger sample, some colleges (5) are represented more frequently. Of these, two show a proportional representation - that is, the number of clergy from these institutions represented among the higher clergy is about the same in percentage terms as the ratio of higher clergy to the whole sample, about thirty-three percent. These were Magdalen Hall, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge. Three of the seven men who attended the former institution later became holders of some non-parochial office. The first was Thomas Horne, canon of Windsor, who acquired his place in 1616, and retained it along with the parishes of Isleworth, Middlesex, and Farnham Royal, Buckinghamshire, till his death in 1636. The two others were John Warner the English Arminian Bishop of Rochester[321] and Joseph Henshaw chaplain to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham until his assassination, and Prebend of Chichester, 1623. Henshaw's career mushroomed when he received a special dispensation from Laud to hold together the parishes of East Lavant, Stedham, and Hayshot in Sussex in 1635. Seven Cambridge graduates from Trinity College also held some sort of office over and above their parish livings.[322]

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[320] Only a small number of the English Arminians did not hold some higher office, these were: Abraham Colfe, John Elborow, John Gifford, Richard Maden, William Quelch, Edmund Reeve, John Squire, Thomas Swadlin.

[321] See The Articles and Charges Proved in Parliament Against Doctor Walton, Minister of St Martin Orgar Cannon Street, 1641, p. 2-3, for an example of Warner's own particular enthusiasm for Arminian ceremony and reform. The incident is also discussed in Chapter Five below.

[322] Strictly speaking 10 men connected with Trinity College acquired higher office. Three of these migrated to other institutions: William Fairfax to St. John's College, William Fuller to St. Catherine's College and William Graunt to Exeter College, Oxford.

The men concerned and their various positions are listed in Table 15. The most interesting feature of this group is the extent to which the positions they held were mostly outside the patronage network that was dominated by the English Arminian church in the 1630s.

Table 15:
Trinity College: Clergy and non-parochial offices

Name	Office	Date
John Hackett	Archdeacon of Bedford	1631
	Canon Residentiary of St Paul's	1642
	Chaplain to Bishop John Williams	1623
	Chaplain to James I and Charles I.	-
William Launce	Chaplain to Dudley Lord North	-
Charles Pasley	Prebend of Lincoln	1625
Henry Rainsford	Prebend of Lincoln	1618-50
Josias Shute	Archdeacon of Colchester	1642
	Chaplain to the East India Company	1632
John Taverner	Secretary to Bishop John King	
Gilbert Wimberly	Prebend of Wells	1632
	Chaplain to Charles 1	

Gilbert Wimberly is the only one of this group to have been possibly linked to English Arminianism. Among the others chaplaincies, in the service of laity, provided an alternate network of patronage. While, those who did gain cathedral and diocesan posts did so under the patronage of John Williams in Lincoln diocese. In a sense their success in attaining higher office in Lincoln is a measure of their alienation from higher offices under the control of English Arminian patrons. John Hackett was made Archdeacon of Bedford and in this capacity was a vocal critic of Peter Heylyn and the altar policy.[323] For Charles Pasley the appointment to a Cathedral stall at Lincoln also meant he exchanged the parish of St. Mary Staining for that of Buckden. Josias Shute's appointment as Archdeacon of Colchester in 1642 might be considered the

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[323] At a visitation of his Archdeaconry on 18 May 1637 Hackett made a speech attacking Heylyn and arguing in favour of the communion table as opposed to the altar, LPMS 1030/58. He wrote an apology to Laud for his criticisms, LPMS 1030/65.

exception which proves the rule since he had to wait until 1642 before he was appointed..

Three university colleges are over-represented in the number of their graduates who possessed higher offices. Two of these, St. John's College (6)[324] and Christ's College, Cambridge (7) are only marginally so. Among the St. John's graduates there were two men who were to secure bishoprics during the 1630s: David Daulben, Bishop of Bangor from 1631 until his death in 1633, also prebend of St. Asaph, 1625; and Francis Dee, Chancellor of Salisbury, 1619, before becoming both dean of Chichester, and Bishop of Peterborough in 1634. There is nothing to link Daulben with the English Arminians; he was ordained and consecrated by George Abbot.[325] Francis Dee, on the other hand, is well known as an advocate of the altar and of Confession.[326] Of the remainder, William Fairfax who migrated from Trinity College and was later to be Dean of Zion College is more notorious for his moral profligacy than for his theological stance through John White's The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests.[327] But, Fairfax also refused communion to all who would not accept at the rails and resisted attempts by parishioners to establish a weekday lectureship. Another well-endowed St. John's graduate was Richard Holdsworth, a canon of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Huntingdon in the same diocese, both of which posts he secured in 1633. In 1637 he became Master of Emmanuel College and like John Hackett was opposed to English Arminianism although an undoubted supporter of both the monarchy and episcopacy. The remaining two - Henry Burton, and George Walker - were all clearly influenced by the 'spirit of Johnism'. Not surprisingly, they both held offices as private chaplains rather than diocesan officials or cathedral clergy.

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[324] Edmund Layfield who was chaplain to the earl of Cumberland entered St. John's College in 1610 but his first recorded degree was taken after he migrated to Christ's College.

[325] Dictionary of Welsh Biography, London, 1959, p 172.

[326] Anti Calvinists pp. 204, 206

[327] Fairfax was described as 'a frequenter of ale-houses, taverns, and of notorious incontinent women': Century, No. 18.

Except for Francis Dee and, possibly, William Fairfax none of the men cited above from Trinity College or St John's College, Cambridge could be regarded as English Arminians or even as sympathetic to English Arminianism, indeed most opposed their influence within the church. The coincidence of this with the obvious concentration of these men in positions that were either outside the hierarchical framework of the church, or limited to a few dioceses such as Lincoln, or whose appointments were made before or after the 1630s is the striking feature of this group. It highlights the limited spheres of action and opportunity that were open to those in opposition to the English Arminians and stands in stark contrast to the pattern of recruitment from among the alumni of Christ's College, Cambridge and St. John's, Oxford.

Christ's College, Cambridge had among its graduates a not insignificant number of men who, if they were not in actual conflict with the English Arminian church, were at least ideologically opposed to it. The cleavage between these and the English Arminians who were from Christ's is a chronological one and centres on the advent of Valentine Carey as Master of the College in 1609. Only two of the men who spent their time at Christ's free of Carey's influence assumed some office in addition to their benefices during the 1630s. Samuel Proctor who took his final degree in 1588, was a Canon of Gloucester 1586-1602, and a prebend of Salisbury, 1589-1638, while Jeremiah Leech graduated MA in 1604 and served as chaplain to Lord Knyvet until the latter's death in 1622. Leech appears to have been generally reconciled to the church during the early part of his career, but in the early 1640s he was active in calling for the complete removal of the trappings of the 'Popish faction'.[328] Six other men from Christ's

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[328] Leech was one of a number of puritan clergy who lost their livings, for a variety of reasons, despite their opposition to English Arminianism. Leech resigned his living on 14 Feb 1643/4 when the House of Lords admitted another. He died on 17 June 1644. Walker Revised, p. 53. See Chapter Five below for Leech's views.

College acquired church offices beyond their parishes. Virtually all of them were, arguably, English Arminians. Edmund Layfield, who took his first degree in 1610 and his last in 1624, is the least conclusive. He served as chaplain to the Earl of Cumberland and his published sermons show some inclination to a number of themes developed by more resolute colleagues. John Hill was chaplain to Valentine Carey in his capacity as Bishop of Exeter but there is little to substantiate his theological position. Robert Pory, possibly the youngest man in the sample, was chaplain to Bishop Juxon and was sequestered for teaching Arminianism. The three others were Samuel Baker,[329] William Bray,[330] William Brough.[331]

Though three examples are far from conclusive, the careers of Baker, Bray and Brough do illustrate the extent to which a number of higher ecclesiastical offices, some strategically powerful, were concentrated into the hands of a relatively few individuals. These men, often themselves highly educated, and of considerable talent, were drawn from a relatively narrow but by no means restricted base. The positions to which they were promoted were in a similar way arrayed along a narrow front, and clustered about the key personalities of William Laud and William Juxon. As if to stress the years of English Arminian dominance, it was not until 1643 that the puritan John Downame, the only other man in this sample from Christ's College to gain a higher office, assumed the function of Licenser for the Press, and Examiner of London Clergy, a role usually fulfilled by the Bishop of London's chaplains. These trends take on a clearer definition when viewed in conjunction with the evidence provided by St. John's College, Oxford.

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[329] Prebend of St Paul's 1636, Chaplain to Bp. Juxon, Canon of St Paul's 1636, Licenser for the Press, Canon of Windsor 1638, Canon of Canterbury 1639.
[330] Prebend of St Paul's 1632, Licensor for the Press , Chaplain to Abp. Laud
[331] Canon of Windsor 1639, Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles I

Seventy-five percent of graduates from St. John's College, Oxford eventually acquired some higher church office. Not all were English Arminians: John Childerley was a chaplain to two Archbishops of Canterbury - Bancroft and Abbot - but he also graduated under a different regime, having matriculated in 1579 a full 10 years before Laud. John Buckeridge, a contemporary of Childerly's, was to become one of the elder statesmen of the English Arminians, but he acquired virtually all of his numerous posts in the later years of Elizabeth I and James I.[332] The only exception was his appointment to the Bishopric of Ely which came in the same year as Laud's appointment to London in 1628. The rest of the St. John's graduates all secured their higher appointments in the wake of Laud's own promotion. Laud's episcopal career began in 1621 when he was appointed to St David's; after five years he was translated to the equally distant diocese of Bath and Wells, which he left in 1628 for London, and then Canterbury in 1633. Though heavily centred on London, the appointment of St John's men to higher church offices clearly shadows Laud's own progress through his diocesan appointments. Robert Bayley went to St David's as Laud's Chancellor in 1622 and left with him in 1626. In 1627 Jonas Cooke was installed as a Canon at Wells, less than a year after Laud's translation. William Dell became Laud's secretary after graduating from St. John's in 1628. Bayley also enjoyed a number of other appointments: in 1628 he was made Archdeacon of Nottingham in York Diocese, where he remained till 1635. In 1631 he became a Canon of St Paul's, and in 1635 Dean of Sarum. However, the outstanding example of his promotion under the English Arminian banner is his succeeding Juxon as President of St. Johns in 1632.

The appointment of St John's graduates to London diocese followed Laud's appointment as Bishop in 1628. By the late a number had obtained positions as canons or prebends of St. Paul's. The first was Thomas Turner, domestic chaplain to Laud

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[332] Buckeridge's offices during this time were as Prebend of Rochester 1587, and of Hereford 1604, Archdeacon of Northampton 1606, Canon of Windsor 1606 and Bishop of Rochester 1611.

and also chaplain to the King, who was appointed prebend of Newington and Chancellor of St Paul's in 1629. In 1642 he was made Dean of Rochester under John Warner and in the following year Dean of Canterbury. William Haywood was appointed a prebend of St. Paul's in 1631 and later joined Peter Heylyn and Matthew Wren as a prebend of St. Peter's Westminster. Edward Layfield was made prebend of Harleston in 1633 and further collated by Laud to the Archdeaconry of Essex in 1634.[333] Thomas Weekes, who had been Chaplain to Laud while the latter was Bishop of Bath and Wells, was appointed Prebend of Finsbury in 1636 and Precentor of St Paul's in 1638, he was also chaplain to Bishop Juxon.[334]

This survey of recruitment into the higher clergy though unavoidably limited to only a few university colleges, still serves as a useful illustration of the manipulation of these offices by the English Arminians. The evidence of these cases indicates a clear rift between the sort of non-parochial offices available to English Arminian and non-Arminian clergy. The latter were clearly limited to service in private or institutional chaplaincies, if they were in possession of a mainline higher ecclesiastical office their spheres of operation were restricted. Those who did come to occupy important offices in the Church only did so after 1642 when the back of the English Arminian church had been well and truly broken; this applies to John Downame, Licenser for the Press and Josias Shute Archdeacon of Colchester. In general no clergy opposed to English Arminianism were appointed from this sample to similar posts or to cathedral posts; and if, as we shall see, some other clergy held such posts then it was largely because they had been appointed to them before the 1630s. As for the English Arminians, the pattern of recruitment from university into the higher clergy highlights the extremely

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[333] A further observation on the narrow front from which these men were drawn concerns the fact that Layfield was a relative of Laud, 's, being the son of the Archbishops half-sister; as was Robert Bayley, who married the daughter of Lauds half-brother. While Thomas Turner though not related did come from the Archbishops home town of Reading where his father was Mayor.
[334] Laud, Works, Vol. IV, p. 239.

narrow base upon which the English Arminian edifice was raised. Of course, English Arminians who had attended other institutions were also drawn into the higher clergy, thus broadening the base somewhat. But no extension of this in ones and twos will conceal the fact that graduates from St. John's, Oxford. and Christ's College, Cambridge were so abundantly over-represented among the higher clergy in this sample. Graduates from these two colleges are in a sense the foundation of English Arminianism among the higher clergy in London and Middlesex. But they were not unique, only dominant, and the recruitment of English Arminian clergy from outside of Christ's and St John's into higher office proceeded on similar terms.

The focus on institutions such as St John's, Cambridge and St John's, Oxford although unavoidable due to their numerical preponderance, does perhaps present the pattern of recruitment into the higher clergy in terms that are too stark. Outside these institutions there was a greater diversity, but not to the extent that it changes the pattern of advancement of English Arminians during the 1630s at the expense of Calvinist clergy. The London and Middlesex clergy held positions in 21 foundations in 19 dioceses throughout England and Wales. Nine of the clergy in this study acquired episcopal office and their appointments reflect the dominance of English Arminians in securing higher office.[335] John Buckeridge was appointed Bishop of Rochester in 1611 and then Ely in 1628. William Piers was promoted to Peterborough in 1630 and Bath & Wells in 1632; Francis Dee succeeded Piers at Peterborough in 1633, after the short episcopacy of Augustine Lindsell; Roger Mainwarring was appointed to St. David's in 1636; and John Warner to Rochester in 1638. All of these men were closely connected to the growth of English Arminianism. The only episcopal appointment made from the London and Middlesex clergy during the 1630s which does not reflect the prominence of English Arminians is that of David Daulben to Bangor, where he served from 1631-

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[335] There were others such as John Hackett, Gilbert Sheldon and Brian Walton but their appointments were made following Charles II's restoration and are outside the scope of this study.

33. Further appointments to the episcopacy were not made until 1642 when those with established links to the earlier mainstream of Calvinist Episcopalianism were promoted. Henry King became Bishop of Chichester and Thomas Westfield of Bristol, both were also nominated to the Westminster Assembly. The like-minded Thomas Howell succeeded Westfield when the latter died in 1644.

By far the greatest number of appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices were made within London. Virtually all were made following the death of the appointee's predecessor; only four appointments followed the promotion of the previous office holder, and three as a result of resignation. So, there can be no question of men being forced out of office with the advent of the English Arminians. There is, however, every indication that the men drawn from the London and Middlesex clergy to fill these offices on their vacancy were being drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the English Arminian faction.

The distribution of offices in London between those appointed before Laud became Bishop of London and those appointed afterwards is roughly even. Sixteen appointments to higher offices were made prior to 1628: nine were prebends or canons at St. Paul's and six were archdeacons Among the former five had some subsequent link to English Arminianism, but only Thomas Raiment can be linked to English Arminianism at the time of his appointment.[336] Henry Mason was made a prebend in 1616, though at that time he was clearly in the Calvinist camp. William Piers was appointed in 1618 and Thomas Mountford was appointed under Richard Bancroft and served 48 years as a prebend till his death in 1632; both appear to have moved with changes in the religious climate that occurred in the late 1620s and 1630s. Others who

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[336] Raiment was also a prebend of Lincoln from 1621-31, which he acquired during Mountain's episcopacy. He appears to have followed Mountain to London.

acquired higher office appear to have maintained a Calvinist Episcopalian position. Thomas Westfield, collated as prebend of Chamberlainwood in 1614, was appointed Archdeacon of St. Albans in 1631, and Bishop of Bristol in 1642. Westfield, a Calvinist of strong Episcopalian sympathies, was the client of John King and of the Earl of Warwick, Robert Rich. Of a similar outlook were Henry King, son of the former Bishop of London; Richard Cluett, a client of both Henry King and John King; and Thomas Soame. The pattern is also relevant to the appointment of archdeacons who held office in the diocese. Seven clergy filled the various archdeaconries in London diocese throughout the 1630s: George Gouldman (1609) and Edward Layfield (1634) in Essex, Henry King (1617) in Colchester, Richard Cluett (1620) in Middlesex, Thomas Paske (1626) in London, and Thomas Raiment (1624) and Thomas Westfield (1631) in St. Alban's. At least three of these men serving in the middle of the 1630s proved to be less than satisfactory in the 1630s by Laud's standards. In 1635 the Archbishop mentioned in the account of his province to the King that three of the Archdeacons had made no returns to Juxon for that year. Again in 1637 he wrote "My Lord Treasurer complains that he hath little assistance of his Archdeacons and I believe it to be true".[337] By 1639 Laud remarked that 'the Archdeacons in this Diocese and others are too negligent in giving their Bishop due information of such things as are committed to their charge.[338] The names of those under suspicion are not disclosed. However, Layfield was a strong supporter of Laud and, unless administratively incompetent, he is likely to have complied, similarly the learned and, judicious Thomas Paske, who was also made a prebend of York in 1628.[339] Laud's reports do contain some detail of irregularities in London and Essex. Of the three other archdeacons, Henry King and Thomas Westfield were both prominent Calvinist Episcopalians and Richard Cluett was closely linked to them by patronage.

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[337] LPMS 943, p. 276.
[338] ibid., p. 292
[339] DNB, 15.436

When Laud came to London in 1628 there was already in place, as a legacy of John King, a powerful bloc of men in key positions within the diocese. Unable to remove them, Laud could only fill their places as they became vacant with his and later Juxon's own nominees from among the London and Middlesex parochial clergy. This process began in 1629 when Thomas Turner, a BD from St. John's, Oxford; and domestic chaplain to, Laud, became Prebend and also Chancellor of St Paul's. A succession of St John's men followed: the ubiquitous Richard Bayley and William Haywood went to St Paul's Chapter in 1631; Edward Layfield became prebend in 1632 and archdeacon of Essex in 1633; and Thomas Weekes acquired a prebends stall in 1636 and the Precentorship of St. Paul's. Added to these were William Bray and Samuel Baker in 1632 and 1639 respectively, while Benjamin Stone and Brian Walton also became prebends in 1639.[340]

A number of other institutions afforded opportunities to the London and Middlesex clergy. Closest at hand was St Peter's, Westminster, where John Williams was Dean, and where there was established a significant group of his countrymen, kinsmen, and clients. Williams was no enemy of liturgy or even of ceremonial splendour, but nor was he an English Arminian. More importantly he maintained a fierce enmity towards Laud, and given his position as one-time Lord Keeper and as Bishop of Lincoln, his opposition could not be ignored. So, despite the fact that Williams dominated Westminster until his humiliation before the Star Chamber in 1637, there was always a small group of Laud's supporters there to obstruct Williams at every opportunity. At first this group was led by Laud himself, who was appointed to St Peter's in 1621, the same year that Williams became Lord Keeper. When Laud became Bishop of London

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[340] Walker Revised p 58. Stone was Chaplain to Juxon and was considered to be one of 10 clergy unfit to be beneficed. He was sequestered for Popish doctrine, drunkenness and for emphasising the power of convocation and the clergy. 20-21.

the leadership of the faction passed over to Peter Heylyn.[341] In 1635 Heylyn was joined by Matthew Wren. The few clergy from this sample to be made prebends at Westminster included the largely unknown Roger Bates in 1632 and two well-known English Arminians, William Haywood in 1638 and Jonathon Brown in 1639. Five men secured appointments at Christchurch, Canterbury: John Warner in 1634, Thomas Paske in 1636, William Bray in 1638, Samuel Baker in 1639, and Thomas Turner in 1642. At Windsor a significant trio of English Arminian clergy from London and Middlesex were promoted in 1638-39: Samuel Baker, William Bray, and Thomas Browne. John Buckeridge had been appointed canon in 1606, but Thomas Howell, not known for English Arminianism, was also appointed in the 1630s.

The most notable group of appointments outside London, Westminster, Windsor and Canterbury for English Arminian clergy was in Laud's former diocese of Bath and Wells. In addition to Bishop Piers eight clergy held some office in this diocese. Edward Abbot was both Precentor and Prebend from 1617/18, but that was under the episcopacy of Arthur Lake. Jonas Cook became a canon of Wells in 1627 under Laud and then acquired Northall in Middlesex when it was resigned by William Piers on his appointment as Bishop. William Watts was appointed to Wells in the wake of Piers in 1633, continuing to hold St. Alban Wood Street till sequestered in 1643. Gilbert Wimberly was promoted to his stall from St. Margaret's Westminster. It is not clear whether the remaining men connected with Bath and Wells were appointed from the diocese to parishes in London and Middlesex or whether the obverse was the case. Thomas Crane, Thomas Piers, Thomas Turner, and John Weston, all held prebends stalls from which they were sequestered.[342]

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[341] Edward Carpenter (ed.) A House of Kings: A History of Westminster Abbey, London, 1966, pp. 155-161.
[342] Walker Revised, p. 16.

With the exception of Bath and Wells the number of London and Middlesex clergy appointed to higher offices during the 1630s declined as the distance from London increased. Most appointments beyond Windsor and Canterbury were limited to one or two instances across a number of institutions. While this means that there are no longer sufficient subjects for comparison between English Arminian and non-Arminian appointments, it is still clear that the men to whom these positions fell during the 1630s were drawn from the English Arminian faction of the London and Middlesex clergy: These miscellaneous appointments are summarised in the table below:

Table 16:
Miscellaneous Appointments of English Arminian Clergy to Higher Offices

Diocese	Appointee	Date	Diocese	Appointee	Date
Chichester	Francis Dee	1630	Nottingham	Richard Bayley	1628
	Joseph Henshaw	1623	Peterborough	John Weston	1631
Ely	William Fuller	1636	Rochester	Thomas Turner	1642
Gloucester	William Brough	1643	Sarum	Richard Bayley	1631
	George Palmer	-	St. David's	Richard Bayley	1622
Hereford	Jonathon Brown	1636	Winchester	James Halsey	1631
Lichfield	John Warner	1633	Worcester	Roger Mainwarring	1633

To some extent these appointments were made to dioceses that were under the control of English Arminian prelates: Richard Montague at Chichester; Francis White at Ely; Walter Curle at Winchester. Although Worcester, where Mainwarring was appointed, had been held by Bishop Thornborough who had been installed in 1617[343], and Gloucester was held by the 'Romanist' Godfrey Goodman.

Another forty men who have no known connection with English Arminianism or opposed English Arminianism were appointed to some form of higher offices. They

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[343] As Dean, Mainwarring reported to Laud on the condition of the church service at Worcester. He was succeeded by one of Laud's Oxford supporters, Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's College who also informed on Thornborough. Trevor-Roper Archbishop Laud, p. 178.

held a total of 73 positions. Twenty-six men held 45 cathedral or diocesan offices.[344] The remaining positions comprised royal, episcopal, and lay chaplaincies and a small number of university posts. The episcopal and diocesan appointments were generally limited to a specific time range, certain dioceses, or to specific functions outside the church hierarchy. Of those 44 positions in episcopal or diocesan offices to which non-Arminians were appointed 22 occurred before 1630, 13 during the 1630s and 7 after 1642 (2 are unknown). Those appointed during the 1630s were generally dispersed over a number of foundations and dioceses: Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Durham (1639); Roger Bates, Canon of Salisbury (1630); John Hackett, Archdeacon of Bedford (1631); Richard Holdsworth, Archdeacon of Huntingdon & Canon of Lincoln (1633); Thomas Howell, Canon of Windsor (1630); Henry King, Dean of Rochester (1638); James Marsh, Archdeacon of Chichester (1639); Matthew Styles Canon of Lincoln (1631); Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's (1631); Aaron Wilson, Archdeacon of Exeter (1634). The majority of these appointments were made to dioceses that were under Bishops not aligned with English Arminianism, including: Thomas Moreton of Durham, Joseph Hall of Exeter, John Davenant of Salisbury and John Williams of Lincoln.

The distribution of these higher offices illustrates the virtual monopoly that the English Arminian faction within the London and Middlesex clergy enjoyed in promotions to higher office during the 1630s. There were a few exceptions, but so isolated as to have no real impact on the conclusion. Many were also linked to an earlier ecclesiastical regime dominated by Calvinist Episcopalians. The only systematic exception to the wholesale advancement of the English Arminian clergy during the 1630s comes from John Williams' diocese of Lincoln. Seven London and Middlesex clergy held higher office in either the diocesan or cathedral posts at Lincoln, which is a

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[344] This includes Calybute Downing who was made Licenser for Divinity Books in 1643.

larger number than for all other foundations except for St Paul's, Bath and Wells and Windsor. They held eight positions: three prebends, three canons, and two archdeaconries. Thomas Burton held his prebendary from 1603, during the episcopal reign of William Chatterton, and Henry Rainsford was presented under George Mountain in 1618. Thomas Raiment was presented in 1621 while George Mountain was still Bishop, and is conspicuous in this group for his attempt to shift altar-wise the communion table in his Hertfordshire parish. The other five men who found preferment in Lincoln Diocese were Charles Pasley, Canon of Lincoln, 1626; Matthew Styles, Canon of Lincoln, 1631; John Hackett, Archdeacon of Bedford, 1631; Richard Holdsworth, Canon of Lincoln, 1633, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1633; John Tireman, Canon of Lincoln, 1641.

None of these had any established link to English Arminianism, with Hackett, Holdsworth, and Styles all subsequently approved to sit in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Hackett was also Williams' chaplain. Organised as they were around John Williams, this Lincoln connection provided, as did Westminster, a focus of opposition to the English Arminians. Though opposed to English Arminian power they supported the episcopal structure of the church and were not averse to elements of reform such as ceremony and tithes. In terms of numbers, the appointment of these men to Lincoln hardly bears comparison with the number and extent of English Arminian appointments to the higher clergy. However, this should not detract from their importance as, apart from one or two individuals, they represent the only institutional exception to the wholesale advancement of the English Arminian clergy in this study.

Without wishing to claim any wider significance for such a small sample as the London and Middlesex clergy it is evident that by the 1630s a change had taken place in the composition of appointees to higher office. It may have been the case that the

appointment of Laud, Buckeridge, Neile and others to higher offices within the Church under James I was due to a combination of political pressure and chance vacancy,[345] but by the 1630s the promotion of English Arminians to higher office was a matter of partisan patronage. In this study clergy who were either hostile or indifferent to English Arminianism were in the majority, but the greater proportion of higher ecclesiastical offices fell to the English Arminian clergy. This is apparent in Bath & Wells as well as the more central foundations of St. Paul's, London, St Peters, Westminster, Christchurch, Canterbury and Windsor, but also in the outer areas where, if the appointments were few, they nonetheless conform to the chronological and ideological patterns of recruitment that apply to those closer to London. If this suggests, as it must, that the English Arminian clergy represent some sort of elite, then it is a conclusion that is entirely consistent with other aspects of the collective identity of the English Arminian clergy previously discussed. Aspects of this elitism include the very narrow range of university colleges from which they were drawn, the close personal ties that existed between Laud, Juxon, and their closest nominees, the inordinate share of higher degrees which they possessed, and the extent of pluralism that they enjoyed in both parochial livings and higher offices. Indeed, in any area of comparison the English Arminians held the lion's share of the benefits that might fall to the whole sample. Of course, there were some English Arminians who were not pluralists, graduates of St. John's, Oxford, or Doctors of Divinity. These were, however, a minority; what is significant here is the trend and this clearly points to a picture of English Arminians as a occupying a number of significant positions within the church that were increasing falling out of reach of other clergy. In this respect they are reminiscent of Marc L Schwartz's description of the Laud and his supporters as 'a cadre of generals without battalions, a clerical elite without a lay following'.[346]

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[345] G. W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c1529-c.1642', p. 198.
[346] Marc L Schwartz, 'Lay Anglicanism and the Crisis of the English Church in the Early Seventeenth Century', Albion, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1982, p. 1.

Chapter Five:
THEOLOGY AND POLEMICS

In Chapters Three and Four an attempt was made to examine the careers of the London and Middlesex clergy with particular reference to the positions occupied by the English Arminians among them. The present chapter aims to consider the relation of English Arminian ideas among the same body of clergy. The principal source for examining opinions and ideas is the published works of the clergy. Occasionally, these have been supplemented by other sources. Any assessment of English Arminian ideas must necessarily involve some commitment to identifying the ideas of men who were not English Arminians. In the present context, however, any detailed study of these writings is a practical impossibility because of their sheer bulk compared to the smaller collection of English Arminian works. To maintain a focus on the principal subject of English Arminianism the treatment of other authors has been kept to a minimum. In the case of certain very well-known men such as Thomas Adams, Henry Burton, John Davenport, and John Stoughton no attempt has been made to elucidate their already well-established views. The publications of clergy are viewed in three phases. Firstly, those published before 1630, which are generally characterised as Calvinist and conformist. Secondly, it covers those works published during the 1630s which are generally those of the English Arminians. Lastly, a small number of works published after 1640 are considered.

Among the clergy studied there were, as completely as can be reckoned, a total of sixty-five published authors. In whole numbers this represents a ratio of two authors to every seven clergymen. The number of works that they produced up until 1642 is in

the vicinity of 350, an average of 5 works per author.[347] In reality, though, only a small proportion reached that figure; 49 of the authors published fewer works than five works, twenty-four men published only once, and thirteen others twice. The sort of average that might be expected from these latter figures is distorted by the presence of 15 men who published more than the mean average of five works. Included in this group were men such as Henry Goodcole[348] and Henry King[349] who produced 6 works each, as well as John Donne[350] who can be attributed with up to 40 published items.[351] Collectively, the works published by these men represents a strong body of Calvinist opinion that took in Calvinist Episcopalian and moderate Puritan views.[352] More than 200 works and editions can be ascribed to this relatively small group. John Donne, Henry Mason and John Squire provide the only dissenting voices, but a number of their early publications were not explicitly religious or else were Calvinist.[353] While these 14 authors were far from ideologically uniform they did uphold a theological framework in which predestination had a central place and was clearly a theme that was dealt with approvingly.[354]

One further common feature of this group, Donne, Mason and Squire excepted, is that there is a hiatus in their publishing careers during the 1630s. Although they were

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[347] The date 1643 has been selected as a cut off point because evidence of theological or ceremonial Arminianism sometimes exists in personal defences made by clergy up to this date against complaints by parishioners. About 12 authors published in the Interregnum and post-Restoration.

[348] STC 12009-12014.

[349] STC 14965-14972.

[350] STC 7022-7058.5.

[351] Other men with high published output were Thomas Adams, (STC 104-134); Henry Burton, (STC 4134-4157.5); Stephen Denison, (STC 6598-6608.5); John Downame, (STC 7125.5-7151); Daniel Featley, (STC 10725-10740); William Gouge, (STC 12109-12130.5), Henry Mason, (STC 17602-17614); Sampson Price, (STC 20328-20334); John Squire, (STC 23113-23120); John Stoughton, (STC 23299-23313); Thomas Tuke, (STC 24303.7-24317). Some of the works by Denison, Downame, Featley, Gouge, King, Mason, Price, Squire and Tuke are discussed below.

[352] After 1640 some of the moderates moved to a more radical posture.

[353] For Donne's Arminian views see Anti-Calvinists p. 182, 261. The Arminian works of Henry Mason and John Squire are discussed below.

[354] For evidence of the dominance of Calvinist ideas in the press see D.D. Wallace, Puritans and Predestination.

prolific authors for a number of years prior to the 1630s and some also published in the 1640s, their output in the intervening period, as it appears in Pollard and Redgrave, was limited. Thomas Adams, the so-called 'prose Shakespeare of puritan theologians', has thirty-four publications listed against him in Pollard and Redgrave.[355] Only three of these were issued in the 1630s. Reprints of The Workes of Thomas Adams, 1629 and Eirinopolis, 1622 were issued in 1630[356] and A Commentary or, exposition upon the Second epistle by St. Peter appeared in 1633.[357] John Downame of All Hallows the Great produced a concordance to the Bible in 1630 which went through numerous editions during the 1630s.[358] He also wrote a moral tract, A Treatise against Lying in 1636,[359] of his more overtly theological works The Christian Warfare, was the only one to be reissued during the 1630s when the fourth edition appeared in 1634.[360] Stephen Denison's A compendious Catechisme, had a seventh impression in 1632, but he published no new works after 1627.[361] Daniel Featley's Clavis Mystica appeared in 1636 after it had been through the hands of William Bray and Featley had appeared before Laud to answer for its contents.[362] Ancilla Pietatis had several editions[363] and in 1638 Featley published Transubstantiation exploded.[364] Henry Goodcole published accounts of his ministrations at Newgate Prison throughout the 1630s, Adulteresses Funeral Day, 1635;[365] Heavens Speedie Hue and Crie after Lust and Murther, 1635;[366] and Natures Cruel Stepdames..., 1637.[367] The Workes of William Gouge, were reissued in 1627, 1628, 1629 and again in 1639.[368] A Guide to God and God's three

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[355] DNB, STC 104-134.
[356] STC 105 & 113.
[357] STC 108 .
[358] STC 7125.5-7132.
[359] STC 7149.
[360] STC 7137.
[361] STC 6600
[362] STC 10730.
[363] 4th edition, 1630, 5th edition, 1633, 6th edition 1639, STC 10727-10729.
[364] STC 10740.
[365] STC 12009.
[366] STC 12010, 12010.3, 12010.5.
[367] STC 12012.
[368] STC 12109-12110.5

Arrowes: Plague, Famine, Sword were reissued in 1636.[369]   The Whole Armour of God had a fourth issue in 1627, but apparently did not did not reappear till 1639.[370] Gouge's A Short Catechism also appeared in several editions.[371] The second edition of Henry King's An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer appeared in 1634, he did not publish again till 1640. John Stoughton did not publish anything until 1639/40. Thomas Tuke published A sermon of the Last and Great Judgement[372] in 1632 and had two works reissued The High-way to Heaven in 1635 and Concerning the holy eucharist, in 1636.[373]

The survey of the publications by this group of authors points to a significant gap in their publications. It does not suggest that there was a total censorship of their works or opinions, but it does show that relative to their record of publication prior to the 1630s they produced few new works under the English Arminians. Those which were produced in the 1630s were often moral tracts rather than overtly theological treatises or polemical works. Possibly the only major exception to this was Henry Burton who published a number of works up to 1636, mostly in Amsterdam. These included the two sermons published as God and the King, for which Burton was removed from St. Matthew Friday Street and imprisoned.

The publications of Puritan/Calvinist authors who had a lesser number of works to their credit follows a similar pattern to that outlined above. That is, the range of dates

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[369] STC 12116.5 & 12118.

[370] Among the reissues that are discussed in this Chapter are: Daniel Featley Clavis Mystica: a key opening divers texts of scripture in seventy sermons, London, 1636; Thomas Tuke The High-way to Heaven: or the doctrine of election, effectual vocation, was published in 1609 and reissued in 1635; Stephen Denison, The Doctrine of both Sacraments. Or a commentary upon [Acts xxii. 16 and I Cor. xi. 23-24] Delivered in Sundry Sermons, was first published in 1621 and reissued in 1634.

[371] 6th edition, 1631; 7th edition, 1635; 8th edition, 1636 and 1637 (STC 12129-12130.5.

[372] STC 24314.7.

[373] STC 24306, 24310.

during which they published straddles the 1630s. Only a very small number of works were published during the 1630s. This is illustrated in Table 17 which lists the output of Puritan/Calvinist clergy credited with less than 6 published works during the period of this study.

Table 17:
Calvinist/Puritan Authors[374]

Author	Title
Walter Balcanqual	A Joynt Attestation, Avowing That The Discipline Of The Church Of England Was Not Impeached By The Synod Of Dort, 1626.
	A Sermon Preached At Saint Maries Spittle, 1626.
	The Honour Of The Christian Churches, 1633.
Cornelius Burgess	A Chain Of Graces Drawne Out At Length For Reformation Of Manners, 1622.
	The Fire Of The Sancturie Newly Uncovered, Or A Compleate Tract Of Zeale, 1625.
	A New Discovery Of Personal Tithes: Or The Tenth Part Of Mens Cleere Gaines Proved Due, 1625.
	A Most Compendious Direction To All That Desire To Be Made Meete Partakers Of The Lord's Supper, 1622.
	Baptismall Regeneration Of Elect Infants Professed By The Church Of England, According To The Scriptures, The Primitive Church The Present Reformed Church, And Many Particular Divines Apart, 1629.
Adoniram Byfield	The Principle Of All Principles, 1624
	The Summe Of The Principles, 1630
Richard Chambers	Sarah's Sepulchre: A Funeral Sermon For The Countess Of Northumberland, 1620.
William Chibbald	A Tryal Of Faith: By The Touchstone Of The Gospel, 1622.
	A Defence Of The Treatise Called, A Tryal Of Faith, 1623.
	An Apology For A Treatise Called A Tryal By Faith, 1623.
	A Cordial Of Comfort To Preserve The Heart From Fainting With Grief And Feare: At The Plague, 1625
	The Summe Of All, (Namely) God's Service, 1629
John Davenport[375]	A Royal Edict For Military Exercises, 1629
	A Just Complaint Against An Unjust Doer, 1634
	A Protestation Made And Published Upon Occassion Of A Pamphlet Entitled A Just Complaint, 1635.
	An Apologetical Reply To A Book Called: An Answer To An Unjust Complaint Of W.B, 1636.
Calybute Downing	A Discourse Of The State Ecclesiastical Of This Kingdom 1632 & 34
Lewis Hughes	A Letter Sent Into England From The Summer Islands, 1615
	A Plaine And True Relation Of The Goodness Of God To The Sommer Ilands, 1621
	The Covenant Of Grace And The Seales Hereof, 1640.
	Certain Grievances Well Worth The Consideration Of Parliament, 1640.
Jeremiah Leech	St Paul's Challenge, 1643.
Ephraim Pagitt	Christianography, 1635
James Speight	A Briefe Demonstration, Who Have The Spirit Of Christ, 1612
	The Day Spring Of Comfort, 1615
Josias Shute	Divine Cordials Delivered In 10 Sermons Upon The Ninth And Tenth Part Of Ezra, 1643.
Nathaniel Shute	Corona Charitatis, 1626
Richard Stock	The Churches Lamentation For The Loss Of The Godly, 1614
	The Doctrine And Use Of Repentance, 1618.
Henry Vertue	A Plea For Peace ,1637.
George Walker	Fishers Folly Unfolded, 1624
	The Summe Of A Disputation Between Mr Walker And A Popish Priest, 1624.
	The Doctrine Of The Sabbath, (Amsterdam) 1638.
Thomas Westfield	A Sermon Preached In St Paul's, 1641.

Of the 38 works listed in Table 17, 24 were published before 1630, nine during 1630s and 5 after 1640. Of those published during the 1630s, three by John Davenport and

[374] Works produced by Josias Symons, St Martin Ironmonger (The Case, A Cure of a Deserted Soul, 1639 and A Sermon Lately Preached at Westminster before the House of Commons, 1641) have been omitted because he had left London by the time of their publication. Symons had been deprived.

[375] Davenport's writings in the 1630s were published in Amsterdam after he had fled England in 1634. R.L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.) Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. 1, p. 215-16.

one by George Walker were published in Holland. Those by Henry Vertue, Ephraim Pagitt, Calybute Downing and Walter Balcanqual reveal definite support for some of the public principles of the English Arminians.[376]

Publications before 1630

Among the authors who were writing before the 1630s the dominant theological concern was the reformed doctrine of predestination to both election and reprobation. It appears as a subject of intense systematic study and as a commonplace. James Speight made his views plain when he argued that: 'effectively saveth He the alone foreordained sort to life, ... for his sheep laid He down His life, not for the goats only for the sheep'.[377] His The Day Spring of Comfort, is fiercely anti-Catholic but there is no hint of antipathy between his theology and the Church of England. William Chibbald adhered to the doctrine of the elect so as to understand 'how could there be any reprobates at all'.[378] Cornelius Burgess upheld the same doctrine of predestination against English Arminian criticism, and accused them of treating all of those who subscribed to the doctrine of absolute election as Calvinists.[379] Adoniram Byfield held five principles as the core of election: 'First that there was a choice and election made by God. Secondly, that this choice was before the foundation of the world. Thirdly, that onely some men are chosen; not all men. Fourthly, that the cause of our election is the only free grace of God, not our works. Fifthly, that God's election is unchangeable.[380]

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[376] The works of these authors are discussed below.
[377] J. Speight, A Brief Demonstration, who have, and of the Certainty of their Salvation, that have the Spirit of Christ, 1613, p. 18,19.
[378] W. Chibbald, The Trial of Faith by the Touchstone of the Gospel, 1622.
[379] Cornelius Burgess, Baptismall Regeneration of Elect Infants Professed by the Church of England, 1629, p. 341-3.
[380] Adoniram Byfield, The Summe of the Principles, 1630 (no pagination)

In his The Doctrine and Use of Repentance, (1618) Richard Stock argued that true faith and repentance belonged only to the elect:

> all have not faith, so repentance is not common to all, that is to say, true sincere and saving repentance, for there is a repentance of Ethnics and Infidels. .. And there is a serious repentance of the wicked... [But] true sincere and saving repentance is only of the elect, and that none can truly turn to God from their sin but they who are elected of Him.[381]

John Downame provided one of the most developed statements of predestinarian theology in his The Christian Warfare. First published in 1604 it had several editions, a fourth edition appeared as late as 1633.[382] Downame regarded election as 'the severing and setting apart of certaine men which were to bee saved, selected from the rest who were rejected'. It had two ends: the greater was God's glory and the lesser the salvation of the elect.[383] Downame expressly precluded human will, divine foreknowledge of works or worthiness, faith, and the merits of Christ as the efficient cause of election.[384] God's election was from all eternity and could therefore have no temporal cause.

Downame dealt with a number of arguments which he regarded as 'Sathan's temptation concerning God's election'. First among these was the suggestion aimed at 'Carnall worldlings' that 'there is no election at al (sic) or reprobation, but that all in the end shall be saved'.[385] Downame dismissed this as 'Grosse absurditie' and argued that the worldling is duped into accepting this view because Satan 'setteth before them the infinite Mercie of God, and the Generall promises and consolation

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[381] Richard Stock, The Doctrine and Use of Repentance. . . in Sundry Sermons, 1618, p. 167-168.
[382] STC 7137.
[383] John Downame, The Christian Warfare, 1604, pp. 182-84.
[384] ibid., pp. 175-76.
[385] ibid., p. 178.

of the Gospel'.[386] The worldling also sees in predestination an excuse for licentious behaviour.[387] These same criticisms of predestinarian theology became part of the standard attacks on the doctrine made by English Arminians writing in the 1630s.

Stephen Denison, minister of St. Katherine Cree, was a scripturalist who looked to the Bible as the model for the church. His commentary on Acts and Corinthians applied this approach to the sacraments. [388] It was published in 1621 and was among those works of predestination theology to be reissued in the 1630s. In expounding his views Denison represented the communion as a simple celebration which could literally be celebrated in an upper room, but which was of benefit to the elect only.[389] He argued that the reprobate 'neither doe or can repent' as they are 'ordained to condemnation'.[390] Denison's commentary had as its purpose to call out the elect from among the reprobate. But in dealing with predestination Denison went to some lengths to try and provide some guidance to those who wondered at their election and sought assurance of election. He counselled the elect to self-examination for evidence of repentance, truth, and rejection by the world.[391] Denison used the doctrine of predestination to criticise Transubstantiation on the grounds that if the latter held then 'the very reprobate might eate the flesh of Christ, and drinke his bloud, as well as the elect...'.[392] In his 1627 volume The White Wolfe, Denison attacked one John Hetherington, a lay familist for anti-sabbitarianism, conducting private conventicles and heterodox beliefs including the suspiciously Arminian charge that 'he confoundeth Reprobation and Damnation,

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[386] ibid.
[387] ibid., p. 180.
[388] The Doctrine of both Sacraments. Or a commentary upon [Acts xxii.16 and I Cor. xi. 23-24] Delivered in Sundry Sermons, 1634.
[389] ibid., pp. 201-203.
[390] ibid., p. 338.
[391] ibid., p. 342.
[392] ibid., pp 123-4.

making the foresight of man's folly and wickednesse to be the cause why God preordaines any to condemnation'.[393]

Thomas Tuke of St. Olave Jewry is not so well known as Stock, Burgess, Downame and Denison. He was complained of by his parishioners as 'superstitious in practesinge and pressinge the late innovations in the worship of God'.[394] But it was mainly through defiance of Parliament that he aroused their opposition.[395] Tuke published a number of works that were imbued with predestinarian theology, which he balanced with an element of sacramentalism. He was a translator of William Perkins' A Christian and Plain Treatise of Predestination, (STC 19683) and his own works mirror Perkins' theology. His The High-way to Heaven: or the Doctrine of election, effectual vocation, was published in 1609 and was a clear statement of predestination to election and reprobation. In this work he took the doctrine to the extremes that Arminius had criticised by claiming the 'creation is a meane of the execution of God's election. For a man must first be, before he can be saved. Yet it is no special or peculiar meanes. For all that are created shall not be saved, some shall be damned.[396]

In 1617 Tuke published A Theological Discourse of the Gracious and Blessed Conjunction of Christ and a Sincere Christian. In this work Tuke dealt with the 'effectual calling and turning to God'. Following Perkins, Tuke held to a two stage conversion.[397] In the first human will is passive 'wee were in Christ, and Christ in

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[393] Stephen Denison, The White Wolfe, 1627, p. 45.

[394] GLMS 4415/1, 23 March 1642, fo. 113 v.

[395] J. D. Alsop, 'Revolutionary Puritanism in the Parishes: The Case of St Olave, Old Jewry', London Journal, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1990, p.30.

[396] Thomas Tuke, The High-way to Heaven: or the Doctrine of election, effectual vocation, 1609, (1635 reprint), p. 93.

[397] R. T. Kendall Calvin and English Calvinism, p. 65.

us, before the foundations of the world were laid'. But the evidence of election is the second stage of active turning to God: 'he is not actually given to us, and we to him untill we be actually regenerated, or called'.[398] It follows from this that 'our being in Christ by eternall foreknowledge saves us not without our actual calling and adoption'.[399] To be 'in Christ' is to some extent a matter of application and Tuke prescribes both the ministry of the word and sacraments as 'the *golden pipes* through which the *oyle* of the spirit is convayed and brought to us, and by which we become enriched with the merits and vertues of our saviour'.[400] Tuke's views on the sacraments illustrates that Calvinist theology and sacramental faith happily coexisted in the early parts of the seventeenth century. Tuke viewed the sacraments as 'not only memorials, signes and testimonies, but effectual meanes and instruments (not naturall, but morall: not humane, but divine) by which God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth unto us Christ Jesus and his merits, and that grace that is needeful to salvation.[401] Tuke was quick to qualify his views by stating that the grace obtained through the sacraments was not inherent in the elements but they were the means of grace that derived from God. He clearly valued the sacraments and argued that: 'They are worthy to goe without him [Christ], that will not use the meanes to get and keepe him'.[402] But, Tuke was not holding out a means of grace for the general community, only to the 'sincere Christian'. In 1625 he published a verse criticism of the Roman Catholic Eucharist in which he distanced himself from any interpretation of his views that might suggest a real presence in the sacramental elements. Tuke did not publish any new work in the 1630, but in 1634 his treatise on predestination The High-way to Heaven was reissued.

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[398] A Theological Discourse of the Gracious and Blessed Conjunction of Christ and a Sincere Christian, 1617, p. 132-33.
[399] ibid.
[400] ibid. p. 144.
[401] ibid., p. 147.
[402] ibid., p. 145.

In one way or another the doctrines of election and of reprobation are evident in all these early authors. The exposition of predestinarian theology in their work is made without apology or self-consciousness, but beyond the general acceptance of this Calvinist axiom there were a number of subjects open to speculation and disagreement. What polemic exists in their work, is not directed at the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England but against advocates of more extreme doctrines than their own. Areas of dispute included such matters as the effects of the manifestation of the spirit of Christ in regenerate man, the degree to which sin remains with the regenerate, and whether justifying faith can be totally lost. William Chibbald was one who fell victim to numerous objections to these and other questions from those more zealous than himself. In response he wrote his Defence of a Tryal by Faith, 1623 and An Apology for a Trial by Faith, 1623. In both he defended his views against his zealous critics by appealing to the combined authority of William Perkins, Calvin, Luther, the judgment of the Synod of Dort, and the Church of England's Catechism and Articles of Religion. His views were also endorsed by Henry Mason, then a Calvinist, and Daniel Featley, a similarly prolific writer who maintained his Calvinist faith in an Episcopalian framework throughout the 1630s.

Cornelius Burgess expressed dissatisfaction with those who adhered to the doctrine of the infallibility of the elect in his tract The Fire of The Sanctuary newly uncovered.[403] Nathaniel Shute, emerged as a supporter of Presbyterianism after 1640,[404] in the 1620s he expressed some disquiet over the question of whether or not sin might make a shipwreck of faith, which he 'resolved to leave on the bosom of the Church till it be determined'. He was less compliant when it came to dealing with those he termed

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[403] Cornelius Burgess, The Fire of the Sanctuary newly uncovered, 1625, p. 55.
[404] See below p. 192.

'peripatetic professors', for their habit of following certain preachers, and the clergy whom they followed. In his Corono Charitatis, (1626) Shute attacked them as a threat to the unity of religion.

> O the strangeness of these times
>
> Religion, which was wont to have but one face
>
> is now a monster; and hath many. Nay there are some
>
> ministers, that have so much stout blood in their
>
> veines, that they start not to give the people this
>
> sour milk, some indirectly some directly, that this sin,
>
> to leave their own pastors, is a part of religion.[405]

To their lay followers, who charged the ministers of the church with not edifying in their preaching, Shute warned that to say so 'wants but a hairsbreath of blasphemy',... For edification, being a work of the spirit, is clasped to no certain persons or gifts'.[406] This being so, he concluded that if there were some who were not edified by the preaching within the church then it might be as a result of their own failure in preparing themselves through prayer and repentance, or else because of their prejudice against the minister. In 1622 William Chibbald, in a sermon entitled The Tryal of Faith by the Touchstone of the Gospel, which was concerned with the nature of justifying faith made clear his own view of the compatibility of predestinarian theology with the Church of England by criticising separatists who rejected the church to go on pilgrimage to Amsterdam. In 1624 George Walker, the self-styled Pastor of St Augustine Watling Street, published two disputations with a Catholic priest.[407] In both

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[405] Nathaniel Shute, Corono Charitatis ,1626, p. 28-9.
[406] ibid., p. 30.
[407] The Summe of a Disputation between Mr Walker and a Popish Priest, 1624, Fishers Folly Unfolded, or the vaunting Jesuites vanity discovered, 1624.

works he made a spirited defence of the doctrine of predestination as a minister of the Church of England. Walker was imprisoned in 1638 and broke with the national church, his next book, The Doctrine of the Sabbath, was published in Amsterdam, for the scrutiny of the 'true Reformed church'.

In addition to works dealing with aspects of doctrine and anti-Catholic controversy, there were also a number on religious duties and the pastoral aspects of religion. Undoubtedly, the most curious is Lewis Hughes' small treatise God's Goodness Towards the Summer Islands, 1621. The work is both an exercise in historical geography and in religion. It begins with an account of the settlement of the Caribbean Summer Islands ('St. George's', 'Port Royal', and 'Cooper's Islands'), a description of their natural assets, and then proceeds to advise on making bread from 'Casua' root, and the planting of Mulberry for silk production. After this Hughes begins to caution the islanders against drunkenness, non-observance of the Sabbath, non-confession of sins, and omission of prayers for grace.

Hughes' principal purpose was to commend to the inhabitants a set of questions and answers for the ordering of their religious life. He offered nothing in the way of doctrine in his catechism, but kept to questions on the Sabbath and the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. He concluded with two graces for use before and after 'meate', and with a prayer for the morning. While none of this yields any definitive statement of Hughes' views at the time of writing, his religious predilections may be inferred from his attitudes concerning the public exercise of religion. On the Sabbath Hughes was adamant that there be no labour of any kind performed, save for that which is scripturally sanctioned. He made no mention of lawful or unlawful sports, but it would appear that by Hughes' standard there could be no room for such exercises on the Sabbath.

Hughes regarded Baptism as one of two sacraments, along with Holy Communion. He declared it to be "a seale of the everlasting Covenant of Grace, that God has made with his Elect'.[408] He added that Baptism was the means by which the candidate is marked as one whom God 'hath elected', whom Christ 'hath redeemed', and who is regenerate and preserved by the Holy Ghost. Finally, Baptism was an expression of 'mutual obligation between God and His Elect, wherein they stand bound one to the other'. For 'the party baptised' the obligation is that of a 'covenant' servant, bound to serve God and renounce both Satan and sin. His instruction on the matter of Communion was restricted to a very general understanding of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the nature of the elements and the condition in which they should be received. No precise instructions were given for its ministration. But he did manage to communicate his belief that the efficacy of the sacrament of Holy Communion, as for Baptism, is not generally available. According to Hughes, part of the symbolic ritual of Christ's handling of the bread signified that, as that bread was by him received apart: so he was from everlasting (by the eternal Decree of God his Father) sett apart alone from all others, to suffer for all the Elect.[409]

The celebration of Communion itself, claimed Hughes, was ordained only for 'all true-hearted Christians'. The thread of the elect carries over into the prayers that Hughes wrote for the conclusion of his catechism. In his prayer for the morning a supplication was made to God to 'accomplish the number of thine Elect', and while his theology is

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[408] Lewis Hughes, 'Questions and Answers Concerning the Keeping Holy of the Sabbath day, and the Publick Exercises of Religion', in A Plaine and True Relation of the Goodness of God Towards the Sommer Ilands, 1621, p. D2.
[409] ibid., p. E4.

not stated explicitly there is no doubt that Hughes 'Questions and Answers' was inspired by Calvinist Protestantism.

William Chibbald's The Summe of All Gods Service which was licensed in 1599, but reissued in 1630. It was dedicated to his parishioners in the radical enclave of St. Anne Blackfriars, with the wish that by reading the book they should 'serve God and be saved'. To that end he urges that it be read often, that their lives be amended , and that it be looked into 'before going to any ordinance of God'. Chibbald took it as axiomatic that 'the truly regenerate do not fall from grace, but are preserved therein'.[410] However, he did not allow this view to collapse into an excuse for neglect of spiritual exercise or licentious conduct. Chibbald established an onerous burden of obligation and service for the elect. He formulated these with respect to five persons all of whom the regenerate man is bound to consider. At the head is God whom the regenerate should love, have faith in, and not offend; Christ is to be obeyed by hearing the Gospel and receiving the sacraments; the Holy Ghost is not to be resisted; and one's neighbour is to be loved. Most comprehensive of all are the responsibilities of the regenerate man to himself. These are given as: 1) daily repenting, 2) serving God, 3) mortifying the old man, 4) strengthening the new man, 5) taming of appetites , 6) professing the faith to others, 7) getting and keeping a Good conscience, 8) striving to persevere in right doctrine, 9) proving of Christian virtues and graces.[411] Chibbald regarded all of this instruction as necessary for the service of God, but was adamant that the end of this service is 'not to be justified or saved'. Its aim is to glorify God, to confirm and win others to the same service, and to establish the truth of the believer's faith.[412] He did acknowledge that there was a threefold reward for the regenerate in the service of God; namely the eternal which is deliverance; the spiritual which amounts to an

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[410] William Chibbald, The Summe of All God's Service, 1630, p. 185.
[411] ibid., p. 241-251.
[412] ibid., p. 111.

increase in grace, peace, joy and the comfort of a good conscience; and the temporal rewards of long life, health, wealth, children and a good name.[413]

In addition to those already mentioned there were five other authors who published in the 1620s who could well be regarded as Calvinists and proponents of predestinarian views, although within the constraints of a more rigid Episcopalian outlook. for the most part their treatment of the subject is not so explicit as those authors discussed above. These were Richard Chambers, Richard Cook, William Hall, William Walker, Sampson Price and Henry King. Richard Chambers employed the language of election in his funeral sermon for the Countess of Northumberland, his highest accolade being to stile her 'elect Lady'.[414] Richard Cook published the text of a sermon preached in the parish of St Swithin's on the occasion of an act of public penance for fornication by a member of the parish.[415] However, it offers little evidence of his religious outlook. William Hall's sole publication was a verse composition of more than one hundred and eighty stanzas called Mortalities Meditation, or a Description of Sin ,1624. Its subject is the folly of pride, rank, wealth and other trappings of mortal existence. In the course of his verse Hall advised his readers to remember their mortality and to meditate upon the judgment to come. He also touched upon the state of the elect but did not elaborate his views. William Walker dealt with the subject of sacrilege in a Paul's Cross sermon in 1628. His text was 'Thou that abhorest idols, doest thou commit sacrilege?' (Romans 2.22), which he used as a basis for criticising those who had rejected Romanism but who persisted in committing acts of sacrilege against the church and clergy, especially through the deprivation of tithes. Walker advocated tithes as due by divine right as well as by human law. However, while Walker left no explicit statement about his views there is no doubt about his loyalty as he owed his

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[413] ibid., p. 99-100.
[414] Sarah's Sepulture, or a funeral sermon, preached for the Lady Dorothea countesse of Northumberland, 1620.
[415] Richard Cook, A White Sheet or A Warning for Whoremongers, 1629.

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career to the patronage of the Calvinist peer Philip, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Montgomery, and Chancellor of Oxford.

Sampson Price died in 1630 as vicar of Christchurch and so there is no evidence for what his views were during the zenith of English Arminian power in the later 1630s. He published a number of works from 1617 to 1626 (STC 20328-20334) and is probably best regarded as a Calvinist Episcopalian. In The Clearing of the Saints Sight, Price touched upon the condition of the reprobate and clearly accepted some form of predestination, but not on quite the same terms as others already considered. He rather simply stated only that 'He foreseeth all our Troubles before they be, wisely ordereth them and preordaineth what shall be the end'.[416] His London's Remembrancer: For the staying of the contagious sickness of the plague, was published in 1626 when Price was Chaplain to the King. In it he urged survivors of the plague to avoid the company of the 'ungodly' and to get the inward mark of God's spirit, by 'making your election sure'.[417] Whether this qualifies him as a proponent of predestinarian theology is uncertain, however Maclure notes that in his Paul's Cross sermons Price cited Foxe, Jewel, Whittaker, Humphrey, Perkins, Reynolds and Abbot as his preferred Anglican apologists and omitted to mention Hooker, Bancroft and Andrewes.[418] This may be taken as an indication of Price's underlying Calvinism, but if so Price had no difficulty in balancing this outlook with support for some aspects of the nascent English Arminians. The Beauty of Holiness was delivered as a sermon at the consecration of a school chapel in Shrewsbury by John Overall, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. In it Price took a strong anti-Catholic posture in regard to churches and their use. He attacked the Catholic approach to ceremony and the sacraments. Equally, he condemned those who thought 'their private conventicles to

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[416] Sampson Price, The Clearing of the Saints Sight, 1617.
[417] Sampson Price, London 's Remembrancer: For the staying of the contagious sickness of the plague, 1626, p. 36.
[418] M. Maclure Paul's Cross Sermons, p. 95.

be the onely true church'.[419] For Price the Church was God's house and it followed that nothing should be done there 'but what may be fit for the presence of God; the name of it teacheth us to pray: It is a house of Prayer. Reverence is due to the very Cloysters & Churchyard...'[420] Obviously Price's views and language have some similarity with views expressed later by English Arminians. But his were limited by an acceptance of predestinarian theology which, if it was less well-defined than that of others, was still part of his theological outlook and consistent with his views on church discipline and order.

Henry King's opinions reveal a similar outlook to that expressed by Sampson Price. Along with Daniel Featley, King represents the major published voice of Calvinist Episcopalianism among the clergy in this study. His published works include a sermon delivered in 1621 in which he defended the reputation of his father against charges of apostasy, this was followed by a series of sermons published in 1625, 1626 and 1627. In the present context his most important works are An exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, 1628 and A sermon Preached at St. Paul's, 1640. In both of these King clearly stated his support for Calvinism and the doctrine of predestination, but always within the confines of the discipline and order established by the Church of England.

In An exposition upon the Lord's Prayer King rejected what he called the 'Sophistrie of Free-will' that meant 'it is in each man's free election and choice either to stand or fall'.[421] Election was from birth and through the grace of Christ's only. Although, to some extent King linked election to God's prescience, which would appear to separate him from authors such as Denison and Downame who took a much more rigid view of

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[419] Sampson Price, The Beauty of Holiness, 1628, p. 23.
[420] ibid.
[421] An exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, 1628, p. 9.

God's sovereignty in election. Unlike some authors discussed above, King did not dwell too much upon the sovereignty of God and shows signs of having been aware of the potential for the latter doctrine to undermine his treatise on prayer through the criticism of 'those other Heretickes, who out of the infallibilitie of God's Prescience, would conclude the act of Prayer needlesse'.[422] King argued, contrary to any view that predestination renders prayer superfluous, that 'the same God who fore-saw what should be, foresaw also that we should pray to him....This act of invocating him being so necessary to salvation, that without it [there are] no meanes to salvation'.[423] King extended this reasoning to the sacraments and worship generally and shows an affinity with some of the views expressed by English Arminians: 'God's name must be sanctified, as by our inward, so also by our outward worship, by the Gesture as well as the Heart'.[424] Based on this view King was an ardent supporter of episcopacy and as Archdeacon of Colchester an efficient administrator of ceremonial reform, but unlike many of the English Arminians he refused to extend his loyalty to the Church to a rejection of Calvinism. In 1640 King maintained his conviction that the 'Book of Common Prayer is according to Mr Calvins own rule ... was approved as a worke beyond exception, every way consonant with to the word of God.'[425]

While this survey hardly does justice to the complexity of relations between these authors, a more comprehensive survey could only detract from the main purpose, which is to provide a view of the salient features in the works of these authors as a basis for considering the works of the English Arminian clergy. The impression obtained from the works surveyed above is that their theological outlook is broadly

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[422] ibid., p. 10. In a sermon delivered in 1640 King indicated clearly that he supported Charles' Declaration concerning God's decrees of election and reprobation, but not because he rejected these doctrines but because 'they only filled the Hearers with scruples, and sent them home with feares' A Sermon Preached at St. Paul's, 1640, p. 48.

[423] ibid., p. 11.

[424] ibid., p. 95.

[425] A Sermon Preached at St. Paul's, 1640, p. 46.

Calvinist and inspired with the language of predestinarian theology in respect of both election and reprobation. Variations in the treatment of these themes are clearly apparent, especially between the Calvinist Episcopalians such as Henry King and the conforming Puritans such as Downame and Denison. At most the divergence between the two lies in the extent to which the Calvinist Episcopalians allowed their Episcopalian views to constrain their treatment of predestinarian theology. Where their puritan brethren were prepared to examine the doctrine in some detail, the Calvinist Episcopalians perceived a certain risk to the unity of the church in any over zealous treatment of election and reprobation. During the 1620s the views expressed by both groups extended to open criticism of sectaries and Roman Catholicism, but there is little evidence of antagonism between even the most rigid expression of predestinarian theology and the rites and customs of the national church.

Publications 1630-1640

The Calvinist clergy published only a small number of works during the 1630s.[426] Firstly, there were a few innocuous publications which are not conspicuous for their theological outlook. Matthew Griffith published a discourse on the Christian family called Bethel, or a form for Families in 1633. Michael Jermin published his Paraphrastical Meditations by way of Commentary on Proverbs in 1638 and A Commentary upon the Whole Book of Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher in the following year. Neither of these men could reasonably, on the evidence of their lives or publications, be regarded as English Arminians. Griffith's book was dedicated to Lord Keeper Coventry and was an extensive work in the form of a catechism on the Christian form of the family. It is decidedly anti-catholic and anti-puritan. He finds space to criticise both the *Sancti Papae* and all 'dissembling professors of God's true

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[426] Walter Balcanqual, The Honour of The Christian Churches , 1633 ; Calybute Downing, A Discourse of the State Ecclesiasticall of this Kingdom, 1632&34; Ephraim Paggit, Christianography, 1635; George Walker, The Doctrine of the Sabbath, 1638; Henry Vertue, A Plea for Peace, 1637.

religion'.[427] There is nothing in his written work to suggest that Griffith was of any particular outlook. Subsequent events, however, suggest that Griffith was at least disaffected with the church during the 1630s. A set of articles presented against him claimed he had been critical of bishops, members of the church courts, and been observed celebrating communion from a tavern bowl. In addition it was claimed that he had committed various indiscretions in his preaching, abandoned the table of parish fees for his own arbitrary schedule, and kept a pregnant maid servant in his house.[428] By comparison, Michael Jermin approaches more closely the English Arminianism of the 1630s in that his books were approved for publication by Samuel Baker, but the only indication of English Arminianism is the absence of an overtly Calvinist commentary. This appears to have been Jermin's position generally. While he was undoubtedly an Episcopalian who later suffered much for the rites and ceremonies of the church, there is no evidence to suggest that he was an English Arminian. If his books were acceptable to Baker it was probably less on account of their content than because of the fact that he had once been chaplain to Princess Elizabeth and Prince Charles to whom he had dedicated his works.

The second group of works published in the 1630s are from recognised Calvinist Episcopalians or moderate Puritan authors.[429] The tone of these works represents the exception that proves the rule of English Arminian dominance in the 1630s as each of them demonstrates adherence to the threads of a common English protestant tradition shared by Calvinist Episcopalians and English Arminians. To some extent these works represents an attempt on the part of their authors to come to terms with the new ecclesiastical regime. Walter Balcanqual's theological reputation rests upon his

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[427] Matthew Griffith, Bethel or a form for Families, 1633, p. 524-25.

[428] PRO SP 16/339/61.

[429] George Walker's Doctrine of the Sabbath, 1638 and three works by John Davenport are excluded since, in all probability, they would never have seen light of day had they not been published in the Netherlands.

involvement in the Synod of Dort. In 1626 he was co-author with several others of A Joynt attestation avowing the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort.[430] It was a defence of the Synod of Dort from criticisms made in Richard Montague's Apello Caesarem. Balcanqual and his fellow signatories were concerned to refute the charge that the doctrine upheld by the Synod would inevitably lead to the introduction of a Presbyterian discipline into the Church of England. Both the content of the Joint Attestation and the testimony of his co-authors indicate clearly that Balcanqual was, after the manner of both James I and Archbishop Abbot, both a Calvinist and an Episcopalian who saw no contradiction between his theology and his church discipline. While he supported the doctrine promulgated at Dort he also pursued higher office within the Church of England and adhered to its discipline. In 1625 he petitioned Secretary Conway for the Deanery of Westminster in anticipation of the fall of John Williams and though unsuccessful he was later promoted to the deaneries of Rochester and Durham.[431] Whatever the extent of Balcanqual's support for Calvinist doctrine in the Joint Attestation it is his support for the Church of England that is most evident in both his two remaining publications and his subsequent career.

About the same time as the Joint Attestation was issued Balcanqual published a sermon on a short text from Psalm 126 verse 5 ' They that sow in teares, shall reape in joy'. The sermon preached at St. Mary Spittle is a sustained exposition of the short text, full of metaphor and allegory. It contains no overtly doctrinal material, and though the Godly are spoken of it is not clear from the context that this has anything to do with the elect. More significant is his sermon delivered at Whitehall before King Charles and published in 1633 by a royal command as The Honour of the Christian Churches.

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[430] His fellow authors were George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester; John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, and Thomas Goad.
[431] Walter Balcanqual to Sec. Conway PRO SP 16/9.19; DNB. Vol. 1, p. 945.

Though it hardly stands out as a model case for English Arminian reform it is still significant as an enthusiastic apology for participation in the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Just which rites and ceremonies Balcanqual was in support of is unclear; his case was a very general one. It does not appear to have directly contradicted his anti-Arminian stance, but it might have been interpreted as a word of reconciliation to the new regime from one who had been both a representative to the Synod of Dort and a client of Archbishop Abbot. The sermon begins with an examination of the Church in terms of its antecedent: the temple. In the course of this comparison he finds parallels in both the functions and fittings of the church with the ancient Hebrew motifs of the Ark, the Altar, the Law, the Rod and so on. All of these lend a certain integrity to the church; but, he maintains, the church is more esteemed in the eyes of God and Man because it is there that the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice is made. The high estimation in which the churches have been held is evident in the 'infinite cost bestowed by our forefathers in the fabrike and maintenance of them'. The weight of these precedents demand a similar show of honour and munificence:

Whose charity then can be straitened when a house of God is to be inlarged; when either it is to be built, or being built is to be kept from ruin ? Can men have Summer and Winter houses, and the Temple of God lie so, as it keepeth out neither summer sun nor winter weather? the Temple of God I say, a name so glorious, that even the most glorious; all the persons of the Trinity delight to be called by it.[432]

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[432] Walter Balcanqual, The Honour of the Christian Churches, 1633, p. 11.

If the church is God's Temple, then according to Balcanqual this demands that all must 'observe a reverend distance in all our approaches that we make to God in it.[433] If the approach is for prayer then the supplicant should be prepared to prostrate themselves; 'a reverent preparation' is prescribed before taking the sacrament; if the approach is to hear God speak by 'his Word read or preached', then he counsels that a distance should be kept just as the Israelites kept their distance from Mt. Sinai. Balcanqual's interpretation of the nature of the church is based on Christ's declaration that 'my house shall be called a house of prayer'. So, while he accords the hearing of the word and the celebration of the sacraments a place in the church they are all subordinated under prayer: 'Why not the house of Sacrifice, Sacraments, Prophesying, Preaching? Because all these are worth nothing unless they be seasoned with Prayer'.[434] Under the headship of prayer there is a harmony of all other aspects of the church's function, Balcanqual is critical of all those who aim to exalt one of these subordinate functions over another, and singles out those who give undue weight to preaching as offensive:

> There is a generation of fooles risen up in the world, who think that all religion consisteth in preaching and hearing of sermons and will run some miles to hear them: But for the publike prayers of the Church, they will hardly cross the street; but cast themselves to come into the Church about the ending of Divine Service, and beginning of the Sermon.[435]

Balcanqual made clear his own views on preaching by insisting that 'Theological truths must be expounded' but he is insistent that there is no religious duty which may not be overdone and preaching is overdone when it takes precedence over prayer.[436]

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[433] ibid., p. 12.
[434] ibid., p. 20.
[435] ibid., p. 22.
[436] ibid., p. 23.

On the subject of prayer a distinction is made between private prayer and public prayer. The former is praised for its private communion with God, its security from 'vain-glory' and its greater freedom of expression. But despite these virtues, Balcanqual made it clear that his purpose was to elevate the public prayers of the church and not private prayer:

> although thou givest never so much to private prayer, which is well done, do not neglect the publike prayers of the church, in the church, which is here called the house of prayer. So that those men who do wilfully excommunicate themselves by not coming to the prayers of the Church, but only to the sermon, or usually go out of it before the blessing or last prayer, they are like them who come unto a school, but will not learne, to a battell, but will not fight, to a bed, but will not sleep, to a feast, but will not feed.[437]

Balcanqual's purpose in this sermon is to reconcile dissenters to the public worship of the Church of England. Arguably, this work elevates sacrament over sermon and public observance over private enthusiasm. All of which might cast some doubt on Balcanqual's continued adherence to Calvinism and the Synod of Dort which he had defended in 1626. However, it is not necessary to regard him as a turncoat after the manner of Henry Mason in order to comprehend his position at this time. Balcanqual was as much an Episcopalian as a Calvinist, a position which he shared with King James, Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Davenant, Bishop Carleton, and others. His idea of the church as a house of prayer seems to occupy a middle ground between the factional interests of those who stressed preaching and those who stressed the sacraments as the

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[437] ibid., p. 27.

normal channel of grace. It is hard not to conclude that Balcanqual was attacking English Arminianism by inference, on the grounds that they elevated the altar above other elements of the church. However, Balcanqual stayed clear of openly criticising sacramental practices in the same way as he attacked excessive use of the pulpit. How seriously Balcanqual adhered to this middle position is open to question. It may have been merely expedient, calculated not to give offence to the new archiepiscopal regime, rather than an entirely independent perspective. Balcanqual's call for participation in the public worship of the church is utterly devoid of any declaration about the appropriate form of public worship, thus leaving it open to manipulation by others whose views Balcanqual, by this time, may or may not have shared. The middle ground between the pulpit and the communion table may have represented Balcanqual's position, but it also had the benefit of commending Balcanqual to the new regime as one whose Calvinism did not corrupt his Episcopalianism.

Calybute Downing is best known as a puritan. In the 1640s Downing was a licenser for the press, one of the preachers of the parliamentary fast sermons, and a regimental chaplain in the Earl of Essex's army, all of which earned him a reputation as 'Hugh Peter the second'. In the 1630s Downing's ideas were considerably more restrained and orthodox. He had been a contender for the position of chaplain to the Earl of Stafford in the hope that it might lead to a bishopric[438]; and whatever his feelings on prelacy after 1640, his Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical was a reasoned defence of episcopacy against Romanism and Presbyterianism as the ecclesiastical form most appropriate to the state of England. Published in 1632 it may have contributed to Laud's decision to appoint Downing as vicar of Hackney.[439] Downing begins by dividing Ecclesiastical government into three forms which he labels 'Monarchicall, Aristocraticall, Democraticall'. The second of these is the model to which Downing

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[438] DNB, Vol. 5, p. 1303.
[439] Laud, Works, Vol. 4, p. 298.

claims the Church of England conformed. The first is representative of Popery and the last of Presbyterianism. Both of these are treated as equally subversive of the English state. In the case of the Roman church the threat lay in subjection to a clergy and a set of laws that had their direction from a foreign source, thereby reducing the nation from a monarchy to a province.[440] On the other hand Presbyterianism establishes the rule of lay elders in direct opposition to that of the monarch.[441]

Downing condemned both 'Romanists' and the 'Disciplinarians' for their populism, vulgarity and superstition.[442] In the case of Roman religion superstition exists in their ceremonies, the Mass, and auricular confession. While the 'Disciplinarians' were condemned both for their 'superstitious rage' in overturning the ceremony of the Roman church without considering whether it were good or bad; and for their profanity in overthrowing and profiting from the spoils taken from the Church of Rome, which though they were undoubtedly consecrated after 'a false manner' were nonetheless 'dedicated and devoted to the true God'.

The principal concern of Downing's work was not to disparage the rival disciplines of Roman Catholicism and Presbyterianism but to demonstrate the compatibility between the Church of England and the prevailing civil order. He began from the position that: 'All that the state ecclesiastical enjoyes belongs to it as to a principall member of the body politique; and is derived to it from the supreame civil head on which it doth depend, and in whom it is united to the civill state'.[443] The subjection of the spiritual to the temporal suggested by this remark was not treated as a debasement of the church, because its basis was not in natural law, but part of the divine order, a reflection of the

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[440] Calybute Downing, A Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical, 1632, p. 6 ff.
[441] ibid., p. 16.
[442] ibid., p. 26-7.
[443] ibid., p. 64.

belief that 'in Heaven there is an order among the Blessed Angels'. As a mirror of divine order the supremacy of the sovereign is of great benefit to the clergy. The benefits that ensue to the clergy are broadly classed as Power and Honour. The former is subdivided into power of order which is concerned with the reformation of doctrine, manners, and ceremonies; while those concerned with the power of jurisdiction touch upon the legal processes of the church such as Convocation, laws, edicts, and matters of discipline. These powers are in respect of their institution immediately derived from Christ as the mystical head of the church; their right of execution comes from the sovereign.[444] The honour of the clergy encompasses both their revenues and their privileges. In Downing's view these are both payable by divine right, and he criticises John Selden because 'his history is only de facto, what hath been done; he gives not his judgment de jure what ought to have been done'.[445] However, though he holds that tithes are by divine right in respect of their due to the clergy, this claim is still confirmed by the King's laws according to which all tithes and other benefits that belong to the clergy are held in accordance to the laws of the land. The second aspect of the honour of the clergy concerns their privileges and immunities, which arise from the 'Kings lawes and prerogatives' According to Downing the King's powers in respect of these privileges are absolute and above any law.[446]

Downing's hope in writing his treatise was to direct the power of the monarch towards the enhancement of the privileges of the clergy. Though he approved of the removal of privilege that had occurred at the reformation he regretted that the position of the clergy had further been 'impeached by those that professe themselves the maintainers of the King's peace, Lawes and Royall Prerogative.[447] Downing's aim was to see this depredation redressed and the church restored for both its own sake and as one of the

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[444] ibid., p. 68.
[445] ibid., p. 75.
[446] ibid., p. 91.
[447] ibid., p. 93.

pillars of monarchy. Whatever his outlook after 1640, when he wholeheartedly threw his energies behind the Presbyterian cause, it is clear that certain features of his Treatise of the State Ecclesiastical were worthy of a Sibthorpe, a Mainwarring, or a Montague. In a manner reminiscent of these authors Downing supported absolute monarchy, the divine right of tithes, and the restoration of the church to a position of wealth, power and independence from the laity. All of these ideas have a significant place in the works of some of the most important English Arminian authors; and this resemblance, probably based more on ambition than upon assent, explains why Downing was able to publish his Treatise freely in 1632 and again in 1634.

Ephraim Pagitt's career gravitated between extremes. He was a strong royalist and favoured the use of the prayer-book, but he also took the covenant and joined a petition to parliament for the establishment of Presbyterianism.[448] He is best known for his Heresiography; or a Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries of these Latter Times. This work first appeared in 1645 and was uncompromisingly Calvinist in its treatment of religious opinion; granting orthodox status to whatever tends to Calvinism and condemning as heterodox anything that is tainted with Brownism, Anabaptism or Independency. He also criticised from a Calvinist perspective the opinions of Arminianism on predestination, the merits of Christ's death, the corruption of Man, and conversion.[449] Pagitt's earlier Christianography was quite a different work. It was published in 1635, licensed by Samuel Baker and dedicated to Francis White, Bishop of Ely. In it Pagitt recommended his readers to study 'the conference between the most reverend Father in God the Lo. Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, my Honorable Patron, and Fisher the Jesuit bound with the Lo. Bp. of Ely's Book against Fisher'.[450] In 1638 Pagitt sent copies of both Laud's book and his own to the various

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[448] DNB, Vol. 15, p. 65.
[449] Ephraim Pagitt, Heresiography , fourth edition, 1648, pp. 116-129.
[450] Ephraim Paggit, Christianography, 1635, p. 119.

Patriarchs of the Eastern churches. <u>Christianography</u> is strongly anti-Roman and attempts to establish a confederacy of European Protestants, Orthodox, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian, Marionite and other lesser Churches against Roman Catholicism. The basis for the proposed alliance was the essential unity of fundamental doctrine that transcended the differences in religious discipline and ceremony among these churches. This is the pivotal point in Pagitt's book, for it establishes numerous international and historical precedents for one of the most critical claims of the English Arminian church vis `a vis the validity of its ceremony and liturgy, namely that the form and practice of a national church are fixed with reference to the authority of the national church and no other; not by the Pope in Rome, nor any supposed scriptural model. Since the essential orthodoxy of the churches lies in the nature of their public confession, the subject of language, form, and ceremony is a peripheral one, not a basis for deciding issues of orthodoxy but merely a matter for tolerance between the churches:

.   .   . the general society of these Orthodox churches, in their public confessions of their faith, do so agree, that there is a most sacred harmony between them, in the more substantial points of the Christian religion necessary to salvation, as touching the Holy Scripture, the Sacred Trinity, the person of the son of God, God and Man, the providence of God, sin, freewill, the law, the Gospel justification by Christ, faith in his name, Regeneration, the Catholic church and supreme head thereof, Christ, the Sacraments, their number and use, the state of soules after death, the resurrection and life eternal: they differ rather in Phrases and formes of speech, concerning Christ's presence in his Holy Supper and other things than on substance of doctrine, and also in ceremonies.[451]

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[451] ibid., p. 129.

In Pagitt's scheme of things this orthodoxy, based on the essentials of faith, is so comprehensive that, apart from Roman Catholics, only Anabaptists, Brownists, and 'private men' dissent from it. Pagitt, like Downing, enjoyed some material support from Laud.

Henry Vertue was a noted puritan preacher and vicar of All Hallows Honeylane from 1628-1660.[452] In 1637 he published an uncompromising sermon attacking disciplinarians who criticise 'innocent ceremonies' enjoined by the church with respect to decency and uniformity in the worship of God.[453] The sermon was delivered at Paul's Cross and licensed for publication by Samuel Baker with the title of A Plea for Peace. Vertue had no interest in answering the particular objections of those who dissented from his own views. His arguments rest on an assumption of rectitude and from there he went straight to what he judged to be the core of the argument: the very legitimacy and morality of the dissent. His sermon contains advice for avoiding the flaws of character which have inexorably brought the Disciplinarians to the point of dissent and nonconformity. At the head of the list is an admonition to abandon pride, and labour for humility; he also counsels against seeking wealth and honour too vehemently, he exhorts the use of righteousness in dealing with others as well as avoiding groundless suppositions, he advises that all abstain from curious searching into unprofitable controversies, and that in things indifferent 'let us not be too stiff in yielding'. Finally, he cautions against gossip. Vertue's approach to the problem of nonconformity with church ritual is that as the ceremonies of the church are rightfully ordered for worship and decency there can be no question of their being altered or removed. The remedy lies with those who will not accept the church's authority in this area and amend their lives according to his prescription.

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[452] Alan Argent 'Thesis' p. 79.
[453] Henry Vertue A Plea for Peace ,1637, p. 44.

The published works of Balcanqual, Downing, Pagitt, and Vertue are all at odds with sort of views that might be expected to have followed from what is known of their lives. To some extent this divergence appears to have been linked to their desire for promotion under the new regime. The issues discussed in their works were clearly public matters which might have attracted attention more than matters of personal religion. Given the subjects that they wrote on they might also have been prompted by principles that upheld both the church and state in the abstract, rather than the specific reforms of the English Arminians. For many the principle of the church's authority to approve ceremonies and support the state would not have necessarily appeared sinister. But, whatever the precise motives of these clergy for writing it is clear that they were unable to sustain them. Their temporary and sometimes loose alliance with aspects of English Arminianism may point to certain commonality of views on certain questions based on the shared Episcopalian values, but the eventual severance of these links also underscores the novelty of English Arminianism.

English Arminian Publications

During the 1630's the Calvinist perspective virtually disappears from the published works of the London and Middlesex clergy. In its place there appeared, under the regulation of men such as Samuel Baker, William Bray, William Haywood, and Thomas Weekes a new set of opinions which challenged the supremacy of predestinarian theology and its attendant attitudes to religious life and worship. Sheila Lambert has argued that books of all complexions were published throughout the 1630s and that the high incidence of unregistered publications makes it difficult to establish the existence of formal policies of censorship.[454] This is certainly true, censorship was imperfect and it is a relatively simple exercise to find reissues and even

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[454] Sheila Lambert, 'Richard Montague, Arminianism and Censorship', Past &Present, No. 124.

new works being published in the 1630s that were sympathetic to predestinarian theology. But an ineffective mechanism for regulating the press does not mean that there was no policy or even no mechanism of censorship.

The censorship of printed material was far from an English Arminian innovation.[455] It was an important part of Tudor and Stuart government. It restricted the flow of sectarian and counter-reformation views, and other undesirable ideas. English Arminian licensers worked within a framework that had been largely established prior to their appointment. It was George Abbot, under James I, who formulated the 1624 proclamation against 'Popish' books on one hand and 'seditious Puritanicall Books and Pamphlets, scandalous to Our person, or state, such as have been vented by some Puritanicall spirits'.[456] The intention of the proclamation may not have been widely troublesome under Abbot, but under the English Arminians a new attitude emerged towards things 'popish and 'puritan' which was much broader than that entertained by James I and Abbot.

The 1624 Proclamation tightened other elements of censorship to restrict the importation of books and the exercise of licensing powers.[457] However, from the English Arminian perspective it was still inadequate in that it did not require re-approval of works that had been previously published. Laud was apparently aware of the implication of this and after his appointment to Canterbury he employed Sir John Lambe to investigate the affairs of the Stationers Company as a prelude to formulating a new Star Chamber decree. A body of 'Commissioners concerning the Printers of

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[455] D.M. Loades, 'The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth -Century England', Royal Historical Society Transactions, 5th Series, Vol. 24, 1974, suggests that at least until late Elizabethan times the mechanism of censorship operated with, 'great assiduity and relative effectiveness (p. 156).
[456] W.W. Greg, Companion to Arber, Oxford, 1967, p. 226-7.
[457] ibid., p. 228.

London' comprising Lambe, Nathaniel Brent and Arthur Duck was established in 1634. The end result was a Star Chamber Decree in 1637 which reinforced existing powers and required any material previously published to be re-licensed:

> no person or persons, do hereafter reprint, or cause to be reprinted, any book or books whatsoever (though formerly printed with licence) without being reviewed, and a new licence obtained for the printing thereof.[458]

For contemporaries English Arminian censorship was real. In 1628 the House of Commons heard reports that Laud and his chaplains had suppressed orthodox books while licensing Arminian and Catholic works.[459] Thomas Turner was reported to have deleted from one work a reference to certainty in salvation and suppressed criticism of Rome and licensed the opinion that the Roman church was as a true church.[460] Ten years later John Downame wrote to Samuel Ward at Cambridge in order to try to have a book on doctrine and prayer licensed. Downame explained that it was the work of a 'deceased brother' and he desired 'that it may come out with a little alteration as may be, lest he may be sorted to speak otherwise dead than he did living'.[461]

At least 21 of the clergy in this study are known to have been licensers for the press.[462] They operated for varying lengths of time and during distinct periods. The most significant licensers were Richard Cluett, Henry Mason and Daniel Featley under

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[458] A decree of Starre Chamber concerning Printing, London, 1637. Greg Companion to Arber, p.347.

[459] Wallace Notenstein, Commons Debates for 1629, Minneapolis, 1921, p. 138.

[460] ibid., p. 58, 125.

[461] John Downame to Samuel Ward, 5 April 1638, Tanner MS LXVII.3.

[462] The following appear in W W.Greg, Licensers for the Press to 1640, Oxford, 1962: Samuel Baker, William Bray, Thomas Browne, John Buckeridge, Richard Cluett, William Dell, Richard Etkins, Daniel Featley, Thomas Goad, John Hansley, William Haywood, Henry Mason, Thomas Mountford, William Piers, James Speight, John Taverner, Thomas Turner, John Vicars, John Warner, Thomas Westfield, Thomas Worrall.

George Abbot and Samuel Baker, William Bray, Thomas Browne, William Haywood, Thomas Turner and Thomas Weekes under Laud and Juxon. The activities of Cluett, Mason and Featley are relatively uncontroversial, but the activities of Laud's and Juxon's chaplains as licensers figured prominently at Laud's trial and in their own demise.[463] It was observed by some that works which had been crucial for the development of English Protestantism were virtually suppressed between 1633 and 1640. For instance, Foxe's Book of Martyrs was only one of a number of 'divers old books against popery formerly licensed ... which the Archbishop and Bishop of London's Chaplains refused to new license'.[464] When Samuel Baker refused a new licence for John Vicars Mischeefes Mysterie: or Treasons Master Peece, The Powder Plot it was , according to Prynne, because Baker was of the view that:

> we were not so angry with the papists now as we were about 20 years since and that there was no need of any books as these to exasperate them, there being now an endeavour to win them to us by faireness and mildness.[465]

This was enough for Prynne to conclude that Baker and the regime in general were conspiring to suppress all anti-Catholic sentiment. However, this is inconsistent with the efforts of Laud and other English Arminians to inhibit Catholicism. A more consistent explanation is that censorship was aimed at curbing protestant enthusiasm. This could explain the treatment of both the Book of Martyrs and of Vicars work. It also consistent with the treatment given to Daniel Featley's Clavis Mystica by William Bray.

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[463] In addition to the examples mentioned below William Bray was attacked for licensing Heylyn's criticism of Henry Burton Laud, Works IV. p. 84-5, Thomas Weekes for licensing a Bible with pictures, Laud, Works IV. p. 239, Haywood and Weekes were also mentioned for expunging passages from a sermon by Richard Clerke of Christ's College Cambridge, Laud, Works IV. p. 281-2. Part of the reason for Baker's sequestration was partiality in licensing, W W.Greg op. cit p. 8.
[464] William Prynne, Canterburies Doome, London, 1646, p. 184.
[465] ibid.

As a licenser under George Abbot, while Laud was still Bishop of London, Featley had licensed Prynne's refutation of John Cosin's <u>A Collection of Private Devotions</u> when it had been refused a license by Laud. Featley was also a critic of Richard Montague. [466] To some extent Bray's treatment of <u>Clavis Mystica</u> was part of a protracted struggle between Featley and the English Arminians. According to Prynne's account Featley's book had already been printed when he was called to Lambeth on the matter of its licensing. Featley sought to defend the printing of the book on the grounds that it had been licensed by Archbishop Abbot. Laud ordered the work to be submitted to Bray who then 'gelt them exceedingly and purged out all the smart and masculine passages against papists and Arminians.[467] However, Bray's deletions were not simply a matter of removing anti-catholic rhetoric. Passages describing the Pope as Antichrist appeared intact in the 1636 edition.[468] However, Bray did not overlook passages that tended to incite protestant enthusiasm. He deleted text exhorting magistrates to use their power to save their sons and daughters 'who are daily enticed by secular Priests and Jesuits and by their agents conveyed over beyond the seas to be sacrificed to the Moleck of Rome'.[469] He also deleted calls by Featley for the laity to treat catholic relatives as 'capital enemies'.[470] Coupled with moderating anti-Catholic feeling Bray did not overlook passages which were 'against the total and final Apostasy, or falling away of the Saints from grace'.[471]

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[466] Featley's opposition to Montague is evident some of the correspondence from Montague to John Cosin, see Cosin, <u>Correspondence,</u> 2 September 1625, 1.84; 26 August 1626, 1.102; 28 June 1626, 1.97.

[467] ibid., p. 255.

[468] See, for instance the sermon 'Bloody Edome' where Featley argued ... 'in the Pope all of the principal marks of Antichrist are to be found: Ergo the Pope is Antichrist'. Daniel Featley, <u>Clavis Mystica</u>, London, 1636, p. 787.

[469] Prynne, <u>Canterburie's Doome</u>, p. 269.

[470] ibid p. 270

[471] ibid p. 279-82.

Suspicions about the catholic sensibilities of the Bishop's licensers were further aroused when Francis de Sales', An Introduction to a Devout Life was published unabridged in 1637 under the license of William Haywood. The book was quickly recalled, publicly burnt and Haywood absolved of any culpability. An expurgated version was apparently corrupted by the translator and stationer.[472] Laud considered the licensing of Sales 'a most notable piece of villany practised against my chaplain, and through his sides against me'.[473]

Of course, the experience of Haywood, and the fact that so much of the evidence against Laud and his chaplains comes from William Prynne, must be a caution against concluding too readily that there was an organised and coordinated programme of censorship in place in the 1630s that was any more or any less efficient than that of previous regimes. However, if the English Arminians did not achieve complete control over licensing and censorship activities they did play a role in approving a number of highly controversial works during the 1630s that were clearly aimed against the prevailing ideas of predestinarian theology and which extended these ideas into the realm of public worship and personal devotion.

The appearance of Arminian works among the London and Middlesex clergy is perhaps more noticeable because it occurred against a background of Calvinist writings, rather than because the volume of publications involved. J. Sears McGee has argued that the suppression of Calvinist doctrine by Laud was also accompanied by a muzzling of English Arminians, however the examples used to support this view are drawn from 1630 and before, some time prior to the zenith of English Arminian power

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[472] W. W. Greg, Companion to Arber, p. 347-9.
[473] Laud, Works, Vol. 4, p. 286.

from which a critical assault on predestinarian views could be made.[474] The expression of views on predestination may have been curtailed in the universities at this time, but there is little evidence that it was stifled in the works of London clergy and even less that criticism of predestinarian doctrine or even Calvinism was restrained.

There is evidence in the careers of some of the men writing during the 1620s and 1630s that Calvinism was being supplanted by English Arminian ideas. The first indication of a move away from the Calvinism that had hitherto dominated the works of the London and Middlesex clergy came in the published sermons of William Fuller. He succeeded John Buckeridge at St. Giles Cripplegate in 1628. Interestingly, Fuller's first published sermon which was delivered before King Charles at Dover Castle in June 1625 took what appears to have been a Calvinist approach by declaring that 'there be three things in the glorious work of man's salvation, which God doth wholly challenge to himself, and prevents copartners: our predestination, our creation, our renovation'. Fuller further commented in his earlier work that predestination was established 'before all time'.[475] In a sermon delivered two years later he held that the judgments of God were not absolute but conditional upon repentance. Fuller attacked the notion of absolute predestination by declaring 'that if it were revealed to any one that hee were a reprobate to be condemned, that man were bound to esteeme of it, not as a divine revelation, but a diabollical illusion'.[476] In his view mercy was the pre-eminent affection of God towards mankind. With God there is mercy that he may be feared. God's judgments may be threatened, but according to Fuller, 'they are not absolute'.[477]

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[474] J S McGee, 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion', p. 325.

[475] William Fuller, A Sermon Preached before his Majesty at Dover Castle on Tuesday the Seventh of June 1625, 1625.

[476] William Fuller, The Mourning of Mount Libanon, Or The Temples Teares, 1627, p. 7.

[477] ibid. See also the works of Thomas Browne, Joseph Henshaw and Thomas Turner which are discussed below.

Henry Mason is well known as an English Arminian, although his earliest works reveal a strong Calvinist loyalty. With Daniel Featley he penned a testimony to the orthodoxy of the treatment given to the doctrine of justifying faith by William Chibbald in An Apology for a Trial by Faith, 1623. One of Mason's best known works The Epicures Fast is a fierce attack on the Roman doctrine and practice of fasting. It was dedicated to John King in memory of his father and namesake the late Calvinist Bishop of London. It was intended as a testimony of Mason's 'thanks service (and) duty' to the late Bishop. His volume Christian Humiliation, or the Christians Fast, in the 1627 edition was dedicated to the eldest of the Bishop's sons Henry King for the same reason. Mason's Calvinism is amply illustrated in his use of Calvin, Cartwright, and Daniel Featley as 'Most necessary authorities' whom he employs to give intellectual weight to his largely practical guide. However, by 1634 Mason's theology, his patrons and his gratitude had changed. In Hearing and Doing he continued to dispense practical religious advice, but did so under the banner of William Juxon, 'My worthy patron and Diocesan'. While this particular work is far from being a resolute English Arminian polemic in the following year Mason collaborated with Samuel Hoard to produce God's Love to Mankind in which the title theme was developed by first of all disproving any absolute decree for damnation.

John Squire, vicar of St. Leonard's Shoreditch championed some of the most cherished causes of the English Arminian church in his writings. He published several works before 1630.[478] They are mostly sermons, on a variety of subjects, and of a moderate tone. Like many other clergy Squire penned a treatise in the wake of the plague in 1637. This work was issued under the authority of Samuel Baker.[479] In it he makes a

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[478] STC 23113-118.
[479] A Thanksgiving for the Decreasing, and Hope for the Removing of the Plague, 1637,

fierce attack on the Roman Church, especially the cult of the saints, and endeavours to foster an attitude of thanksgiving for the abating of the plague. Such gratitude, he ventures to suggest, might be expressed by gifts to hospitals, poor scholars and preachers, schools, charities and for the beautification of churches.[480] Later, he advocated the beautification of St. Paul's Cathedral London, and St. Andrew's, Rochester, as worthy channels for an expression of gratitude.[481]

In the same year Squire published a sermon dedicated to the Lord Mayor of London Edward Bromfield, whose mayoralty coincided with some of the less popular aspects of royal policy such as shipmoney and the soap monopoly. In the pursuit of shipmoney he ruined a prominent London Puritan MP, Alderman Richard Chambers.[482] Bromfield and others, (William Abel, and Edmund Wright), were tainted as both Royalists and supporters of Laud through the support they gave to the High Commission in the arrest of Henry Burton and the seizure of Andrew Leighton's papers.[483] The sermon that Squire dedicated to Bromfield was on the subject of good works. In it he adopts a view which clearly exceeded much that passed for Protestant opinion. While adopting the more or less orthodox view that good works are necessary for edification, he also regarded them as a species of prayer[484] and while rejecting the Roman doctrine of a meritorious value in works he undoubtedly held out some form of reward to the doer of good works:

> Our good works shall produce a good reward a double reward, yea a treble, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, 1 Tim. 4.8. Do not censure, nor suspect this

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[480] ibid., pp. 38-9.
[481] ibid., p. 41.
[482] Valerie Pearl London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, pp. 293-4.
[483] ibid., pp. 91, 118.
[484] John Squire & John Lynch Three Sermons Two Sermons of them for the Spittle, 1637, p. 98.

doctrine for Popish and imply merits...I abhor all Popery, and of all popery I abhor this heresy merits.[485]

So insistent was Squire that good works were necessary to salvation that he flatly declared that he would 'turn Papist' should the contrary be established.[486] He concluded the sermon with a brief diatribe against lay impropriators or 'Sacrilegious Church Robbers'. 'The stones in their walls', he writes, the' sheaves in their barns, and loaves on their tables will cry sacrilege against many a man of worth in our nation'.[487] Finally connecting this diatribe with his earlier discourse on good works he makes a call for the redemption of impropriate livings to the church, not by the voluntary surrender of those in possession, but by their purchase through funds raised from private charity as an expression of good works.

Squire's proposal was not an original one and there is clearly something of the 'Feoffees for Impropriations' about it, however his purpose is the restoration of the church along English Arminian lines. The rebuilding of St. Paul's and the recovery of church livings in lay hands were important priorities in the English Arminian agenda. Moreover, while he makes no use of an explicitly anti-Calvinist rhetoric, he nonetheless employs theological ideas such as a doctrine of works in a manner which is at odds with predestinarian beliefs.[488] Complementary to the evidence of his sermons is Squire's conduct in his parish of St Leonard Shoreditch. His last publication was a reply to articles presented against him in 1641 by a discontented element within his

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[485] ibid., p. 99.

[486] ibid., p. 104.

[487] ibid., p. 107.

[488] Works were not themselves antithetical to predestinarian theology but only certain corollaries drawn from them such as that which suggested there was some merit towards salvation from works. Advocates of predestinarian theology could still extol works as grounds of assurance.

parish.[489] The charges against him, which he printed with his reply, claimed that he had, among other things, introduced popish ceremonies[490] allowed pictures of the Virgin Mary and Christ and his twelve apostles to be made in glass and erected,[491] and refused communion to those who would not come up to the rails.[492] Finally they claimed of Squire :'That in all these Popish observations, and Ecclesiastical Ceremonies he hath been no less offensive than Canterbury himself'.[493]

Edmund Reeve's The Christian Divinity Contained in the Divine Service of the Church of England, was published in 1630. Reeve was then vicar of Hayes, Middlesex and his publication was intended to serve the laity as a corrective to those who aimed to challenge the authority of the Church. It was not an original work but a compilation of texts taken from the Homilies, Articles of Religion, and scripture with only occasional marginal comment. In this respect it demonstrates something of the interests of English Arminians in the general opinion of authority rather than private opinion. Also, the use of established authorities rather than Reeve's own views may be indicative of reluctance to promulgate novel views. Despite the derivative form of the work it was entirely unambiguous in its rejection of the doctrine of Predestination. In the 25th chapter ' Of the Merit of the Redemption wrought by Jesus Christ' he contends that the death of Christ was made 'universally for all mankind' and for support he quotes the Homily Concerning the Blessed Sacrament: 'The Death of Christ is available for the redemption of all the world'. In subsequent works Reeve and other English Arminian authors attacked the elect and predestinarian theology with greater force and invective.[494] Reeve contributed further to the criticism of Calvinism by

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[489] John Squire An Answer to a Printed Paper Entitled Articles Established in Parliament against Mr Squire Vicar of St Leonard Shoreditch, August 7, 1641.

[490] ibid., Article 1 p. 2

[491] ibid., Article 10 p. 6

[492] ibid., Article 12 p. 6

[493] ibid., Article 17 p. 8

[494] As Peter Lake has noted, such criticism by English Arminians could only occur, 'when their cause was, really, perhaps definitely, in the ascendant' 'Calvinism and the English Church 1570-1635', p 45.

arguing for the fall of the elect in his Communion Book Catechism.[495] However the venom of his criticism was reserved for the doctrine of absolute predestination, which he argued was contrary to Christ's righteousness and the impartial judging of all mankind. It was the very antithesis of Religion:

> It is not possible to utter unto the full, into what slumber, sleep yea death in sinfulness the said doctrine of Absolute predestination hath brought the world wherever it hath been received for a truth.[496]

In 1633 Thomas Browne, who became rector of St Mary Aldermary in 1638 and domestic chaplain to Archbishop Laud, published a sermon which he had delivered at St Mary's, Oxford which criticised predestination. Browne took up the themes of divine mercy and the need for a reverent fear of God as the foundation of salvation.[497] Fear of God is inspired by consideration of divine judgment. Such fear leads to God's mercy through reverence and worship. Hence 'when both of them (fear and mercy) are mingled together, then, they make the cup of salvation, fittest to be taken'.[498] Repentance, he argued, should be compounded out of mercy and fear.[499] According to Browne there were two sorts of heretics in the primitive church. One group taught that 'man could commit some sinnes which could not be forgiven. The other taught that 'no sinne whatsoever could endanger the state of him that was justified and Predestinated by God'.[500] The former had abandoned God's mercy while the latter had rejected fear of God.

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[495] Edmund Reeve, Communion Book Catechism, 1635, p. 64.
[496] ibid., p. 40.
[497] Thomas Browne, Sermon Preached before the University at St. Mary's Oxford, 1633. See also Anti-Calvinists, p. 83.
[498] ibid., p. 44.
[499] ibid., p. 39-40.
[500] ibid., p. 39.

This theme of mercy was taken up in Thomas Turner's sermon delivered before King Charles in 1635 where the idea of divine mercy was contrasted with the notion of sacrifice. Turner contends that God prefers mercy and its attendant works, which, it is suggested, have their most appropriate expression in a sacramental approach to religion. The religion of Sacrifice is understood to be that of the Elect. So much is to be presumed from Turner's criticism of those who opposed the Declaration on Lawful Sabbath recreations: 'Those that presume to censure such Declaration, they give in clear evidence against themselves, that they are (to speak no worse of them) better friends to sacrifice than to mercy'.[501]

Joseph Henshaw published two works during the 1630s. The Horae Succisivae, or, Spare Houres of Meditations went through five editions from 1631 to 1640 and the Meditations Miscellaneous: Holy and Humane was published in 1637 and 1639. Both dealt with themes of mortality and morality as part of a call for repentance. Henshaw was critical of predestinarian views. He was less vitriolic than some of his colleagues, but no less vehement in denouncing what he felt was the inevitable spiritual sloth inherent in the doctrine of predestination:

> Desperately wicked is that of some, 'if I shall be sav'd I shall be sav'd: as if "Heaven" would come "unlook'd" for, and they should be 'sav'd', whether they 'would or no' God never did, nor will save any man in spight of his teeth, or against his will; as we cannot keepe body and soule together without sweating; no more can we bring our soule together and God together with sitting still.[502]

In common with other English Arminians, Henshaw invited his readers to repent and respond to God's offer of grace. He did not posit a doctrine of human sovereignty

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[501] Thomas Turner, A Sermon Preached before the King at WhiteHall, 1635, p. 21.
[502] Joseph Henshaw, Horae Succisivae, or, Spare Houres of Meditations, 1631, part II, p. 15-16.

over divine will, except in so far as he accepted that human will could be a barrier to repentance. But in salvation God remained sovereign:

> God in not the cause of impenitency but the individual, the individual is not the cause of conversion but God and the meanes made available.[503]

Like Browne and Turner, Henshaw was impressed by the themes of God's justice and mercy. Justice should inspire a sense of fear in the impenitent because it is God's inevitable response to sin.[504] However, the state of the impenitent is not fixed and immutable. Henshaw advised his readers: 'do not despair, if thou hast done anything, thinke every sinne great, but none so great but may be forgiven...'.[505] The sense of fear set the penitent on a path to salvation which, Henshaw argued, was 'got with a great deal of struggling; thou must fast and watch and fight...'.[506]

Richard Maden entered the debate over Predestination with the publication of Christ's Love For Jerusalem, 1637. Claiming to abjure all controversy he declared that his position was that which:

> is generally granted by the more moderate and best learned on both sides : to wit, that all mankind are capable of salvation, upon such terms and conditions as are expressed in the Covenant of Grace: that is if they repent of their sins, and believe in Christ, and that when God offers life and salvation to all and everyone in the ministry of the Word, he is truly willing and doth seriously intend to bestow the same upon them in that way that He hath commanded

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[503] Henshaw, Meditations miscellaneous: Holy and Humane, 2nd. ed., 1639, p. 63.
[504] ibid p. 118.
[505] ibid p. 143.
[506] Horae Succisivae, or, Spare Houres of Meditations, 1631, part II, p. 15-16

them to seek it, and according to the course of providence that he hath taken for their good, that is if they apply themselves unto Him, and follow the council and direction that he gives them.[507]

According to Maden the above statement represented the general doctrine of the Fathers, Schoolmen, and many modern divines but he adds that it is rejected by those who 'follow and embrace Mr Calvin's way, and build on his foundation'.[508] By putting it in this manner Maden effectively alienates from the best of Christian tradition and scholarship those who hold different views, particularly those who subscribe to double predestination. He would even appear to have separated the followers of Calvin from Calvin himself. Like his compatriots Maden was convinced that in God's dealings with mankind He was preeminently a merciful God and one who made the way of salvation accessible to all. If any remain ignorant of the Faith or 'have the things of the Gospel hid from them' it is not because they are predestined to reprobation, but:

the cause why men perish is in themselves, because they do not desire salvation neither are they willing to have it, upon such terms and conditions as it is offered unto; so that they come to perish, not simply for want of good will in God towards them, but because they are wanting to themselves, in the use of those means that lead to life.[509]

Maden does not altogether dismiss the notion of election, admitting that there is even a grain of truth in the doctrine of an absolute decree of election, based on Augustine;

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[507] Richard Maden, Christ's Love for Jerusalem, 1637, Epistle Dedicatory.
[508] ibid.
[509] ibid., p. 52.

however he is quick to claim that even Augustine qualified this view. For Maden there is an election, but it is conditional; that is, it is determined not by the absolute will of God, but by the individuals response to the Covenant of Grace.[510] This is very close to Arminius' own formulation of election based on divine foreknowledge of who would accept and who would reject Christ.

If Maden identified his opponents as embellishers of Calvin, Thomas Swadlin was adamant that the advocates of absolute election were no less than schismatics. In his Meditations and Prayers on the Plague, 1637 he began his criticism by cautioning survivors of the plague from drawing uncharitable conclusions about those who had perished:

> You that live, must take heed how you censure them that die: for the plague, to die of the plague is no evidence of Reprobation.[511]

A more sustained and provocative attack comes in the meditation 'Our thankfulness for God's Mercy' in which he pours scorn on the doctrine of absolute reprobation and its implications for the nature of God while emphasising the attribute of God's mercy:

> If he [the schismatic] did not think to speak too much of mercy, would he ever come in with his absolute reprobation, that God made some men purposely to damn them? A likely thing that God should be more cruel than man. Did any of you, nay, did ever any man get or beget a child purposely to

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[510] ibid., p. 51.

[511] Thomas Swadlin, Meditations and Prayers upon the Plague, 1637, p. 43.

break his neck when he was born? Why if there could be a man so cruel to his child that come from his loins, why yet God would be more cruel, if he should make any man on purpose for to damn him: For damnation is a thing far worse than death. .. Reprobation is a word that came from fury not from mercy let him believe it that never means to give God thanks, and despair: I will believe that I, the greatest of sinners, that thou or any man may be saved, if thou or I or any man do believe that God's mercy does endure forever, so that thou, and I, and any man do live answerable to that mercy, and repent and believe.[512]

The attacks by Swadlin and his colleagues on the doctrine of predestination, and their emphasis on God's mercy rather than sovereignty in dealing with humanity is not simply abstract theological debate, or simple spite and invective. For behind these criticisms of predestinarian theology were a quite different set of ideas about the appropriate form of the individual's relationship to both God and the Church. If the elect make for an exclusive company, then the church that is motivated by the notion of God's mercy to all mankind aspires to be a comprehensive national church. It holds forth salvation as something that is open to all who will accept the conditions upon which it is offered. Whereas among the elect there is no invitation or striving for salvation, only the absolute will of God. The difference between the two approaches is simply captured in a comparison of two characteristic ideas: expressed by Richard Stock and Thomas Swadlin. According to Stock the life of the elect is characterised by the possession of faith by the absolute will of God, after which follows repentance as a form of spiritual exercise which contributes nothing to faith but is important as a testimony to it. In this sense faith is a constant, an intensely individual experience, unaffected by external considerations.[513] Swadlin clearly inverted this order when he

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[512] ibid., 57-58.
[513] Richard Stock, The Doctrine and Use of repentance . . . in Sundry Sermons, 1618 pp. 167-8.

invited his auditory to 'repent and believe', so making repentance the first step on the way to faith.

The invitation to repentance made by English Arminians was based on a belief that God's mercy was greater than God's justice, it was based on an element of fear. 'As church Discipline is the bridle of our faith, so fear is the bridle of our nature'.[514] Those who did not repent should 'fear the inevitable outcome God's justice. If fear bound the excesses of human nature, the evidence of reverent fear of God lay in observance. This applied to both private devotion and public worship. William Watts' Apostolic Mortification, 1637 provides a model of the former. The work was licensed by Samuel Baker and regarded by William Prynne as one of twenty or so books tending 'to the corruption and subversion of religion'.[515] Watts developed a devotional regimen for bringing under control those appetitive instincts and unwholesome traits of character that may be a barrier between man and God. His advice is based on the assumption that:

If we present our bodies as a living sacrifice: Mixing repentance, confession, prayer, and promises of amendment; together with our fastings and our Mortifications: our faith may comfortably expect it will be holy and acceptable to God; because a reasonable service.[516]

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[514] Thomas Browne, Sermon Preached before the University at St. Mary's Oxford, p. 16.
[515] William Prynne, Canterburie's Doome, op. cit. p. 186. Prynne also mentioned John Elborow, Evodias and Syntache, 1637 which is discussed below and was also approved by Baker.
[516] William Watts, Mortification Apostolic. Delivered in a Sermon in Saint Paul's Church, upon Summons received for the Crosse, 1637, p. 10.

Watts claimed that his <u>Mortification</u>, like so many other aspects of English Arminianism was based in primitive practice. Whatever its provenance, Watts' prescription amounts to an active pursuit of God. He denigrated his own sermon, and preaching generally, as being useful only to impart information; in this case: 'to teach you how to mortify'. The practice of mortification, not hearing of sermons, was the valid religious exercise. Watts urged his auditory to practice mortification as a way by which 'we may cast off our sinnes by Mortification and Repentance: and prevail with his mercy, by our prayers for the removing of his heavy judgments'.[517] In both the nature of these conditions and their end Watts offers a more comprehensive and active approach to God. There are no prohibitive factors such as God's absolute will in election and reprobation, instead there is a path along which God may be pursued. Faith in this sense as represented in Watts and others is a conditional experience no longer guaranteed by the absolute will of God but by the individuals adherence to the conditions involved. Accordingly, faith might be hindered by outside influences, but it might also be aided by them.

Edmund Layfield urged repentance and turning to God and argued that 'men are hindered from Heaven by severall sinnes' Like Watts, Layfield prescribed spiritual exercises as the means to make God the 'souls whole contentment,. The means of doing so were: hearing, reading and meditation of the sacred word of God, the pattern of the Saints, mortification and self-denial, sanctified afflictions and fervent prayer. [518]

In general the English Arminians upheld the various forms of observance and ceremony as important aids to worship. The proper observance of ceremony was of paramount importance to English Arminians because the communion table was 'God's peculiar

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[517] ibid., p. 48.
[518] Edmund Layfield <u>The Soules Solace</u>, p. 82-94.

seat in the church'.[519] The church was a place to be approached with a measure of reverence and fear and the gestures of worship such as kneeling were intended to reinforce feelings of contrition and sorrow in those who approached God.[520] Thomas Browne exhorted his audience to worship in fear. 'I say therefore as we looke to have our bodies, to be raysed in glory, when they shall enter into joy:... let us fall downe with them, and worship, when we come before him, in true reverence, and feare'.[521] Consequently, much of the prescriptive content of English Arminian authors is concerned with defining the forms of discipline, ceremony and observance which the new found sanctity of the church demanded.

Because of its association with the divine presence the church building itself demanded special treatment. There is a tendency among English Arminian authors to speak of the church as a temple and to demand of the laity appropriate behaviour within the confines of what is considered a separate and holy place. Thomas Swadlin argued that:

> Jesus is an extraordinary person, as the temple is an extraordinary place: and therefore my coming tither, and carriage there, must be more than ordinary. The place requires zeal and reverence: reverence in my behaviour and zeale in my affections. The person requires zeale and reverence obedience and confidence: Zeal obedience and confidence inwardly and reverence outwardly...My soul must stoop and my body must bow: For at the name of Jesus every knee must bow. Every knee not onely that of the soul, but that of the body also.[522]

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519 Edmund Reeve, Communion Book Catechism, op. cit., p. 134.
520 Horton Davies Worship and Theology in England, vol. II, p.212.
521 Thomas Browne, op. cit., p. 28.
522 Thomas Swadlin, Meditations and Prayers upon the Plague, 1637, p. 169-170.

The affirmation of ceremony and observance was often made with a brashness which quickly degenerated into an attack on those who would presume to oppose ceremonies. None of the English Arminians could be said to have succeeded in making a reasonable justification or explanation of the use of ceremonies. In The Christian Divinity, 1631 Edmund Reeve sought to justify a number of ceremonies that were part of the Church of England. These included the ministry of priests and bishops, the use of the surplice, the proper use of the Sabbath, confession, catechism, and perambulation. Like virtually all his compatriots, Reeve approached his task with the view that as there was no scriptural decree either for or against any particular form of ceremony it was the sole right of the Church to establish and enforce its own form and usage. From this position Reeve was unwilling to admit any fault on the part of the church, and so turned his attention to the non-conformists themselves. Though he made no actual criticism of Calvinists, Puritans, or anyone else Reeve did put considerable responsibility on preaching for violating the peace and order of the church. In particular he attacked the practice of 'going abroad' to hear sermons in other parishes as 'an offence to the Minister, and a great scandal to the people of the congregation'..[523] In Reeve's estimation preaching was a potentially factious exercise and of dubious merit:

The true Christian religion doth not totally consist in the hearing of sermons preached every Sunday. Christ's Kingdom of Grace. .. is not in word but in power. It is righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God and approved of men. Let us therefore follow after things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.[524]

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[523] Edmund Reeve, The Christian Divinity, 1631, p. 131.
[524] ibid., p. 127.

Reeve further denigrated the function of preaching as a religious exercise by arguing that if due attention were given to the Homilies read in church they would go a long way to discharging their duty concerning hearing sermons. And he claimed that the Homilies have this advantage to commend them, that they 'are not made by any private spirit, but by the public spirit of the church, and are allowed by the whole clergy of the same'.[525]

William Quelch was cited by his parishioners as an English Arminian who was 'very corrupt in doctrine'. Among the doctrines he is said to have preached were:

> that Baptism washeth away original sin and that if children die in their infancy being baptised they are all saved, and that God had elected since the fall, and for faith foreseen, and maintains universal redemption.[526]

Quelch's published output supports the views of his parishioners on his teaching. In 1636 he published his Church Customs Vindicated. It was licensed by William Bray and consisted of two sermons. The first dated from 1628 on the occasion of the primary visitation of Richard Neile in the diocese of Winchester; while the second was delivered at the first metropolitical visitation of Archbishop Laud in 1635. The subject of the first sermon is the 'contentious man' in opposition to the customs of the church. Quelch does spend some time pointing out the dangers of contention. On the subject of covering the head at prayer he advises that contention 'threatens to bring us within danger of sin' as the injunction is apostolic. More frequently though Quelch simply

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[525] ibid., p. 126.
[526] 'The Humble Petition of Diverse of the Parishioners of St Benet Gracechurch in London', Main Papers of the House of Lords, 23 December 1641.

attacks those who resist the rites and ceremonies of the church. He links them with schism and heresy,[527] and ends his sermon with a call for their extirpation:

> These waters of contention must be stopped in the first breach, that they may not come to an inundation. These Babylonish Brats must be dashed against the wall, that they may not grow to further mischief. This cockatrices egg must be cracked in the shell that it may not bring forth a flying serpent.[528]

Quelch's second sermon dealt with the rites and ceremonies of the church rather than those who opposed them. Quelch's argument is threefold. He, first of all, defended their usage by seeking to establish that the principle of each church establishing its own forms of ceremony is apostolic. He not only uses this as the ultimate justification for current usage, but also finds in it a convenient implement with which to bludgeon his opponents:

> if you seek to rob us of those rites which we know the Apostles once delivered, why should we give way to your new pretended form of Genevan discipline, which I doubt the Apostles never heard of? Show us that warrant for your discipline as we have showed you for our customs, and we shall have cause to hearken to you...[529]

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[527] William Quelch, Church Customs Vindicated in two Sermons, 1636, p. 26.
[528] ibid., p. 27.
[529] ibid., 2nd Sermon.

From the Apostolic justification for customs in general, Quelch proceeded to maintain that the church has a right to make its own customs on the grounds that there is no scriptural or Apostolic warrant for or against any particular ceremony. He acknowledged only the broad Pauline injunction 'That all things be done decently and according to order' 1 Cor 14.40, leaving all else up to the church. From this right to order particular ceremonies comes Quelch's third point which is simply that if the church has the right to order then it has the power to press its customs.

John Elborow's views are probably the most direct and forceful of all. The target of his 1637 sermon Evodias and Syntache was:

> that generation of evil workers everywhere in our Church of England (Evill workers I call them in point of discipline and conformity) otherwise perhaps blameless in their lives, and painfull in their ministry: Amongst whom many are clamorous, schismatic scripturalists; most of them sermonizing tender paraphrasts..[530]

Almost immediately after this Elborow heaps derision on the 'scripturalists' as those:

> who though they have scarce a fag end of a gift, yet will boldly perking up into the pulpit, and can make a shift of three or four times a week to throw over such stuff, as that workmen may well be ashamed: carrying a bold face instead of savoury provision, and think it sufficient that the people hear thunder, hear them loud and earnest, though they see no rain. These have

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[530] John Elborow, Evodias and Syntache, 1637, p. 5.

learnt this method from the devil, to lead silly women captive; They have their Mulieres Calvinianus.[531]

Despite the caricature Elborow nonetheless recognised that the threat posed by these preachers was aimed at the heart and soul of the English Arminian church. He identified a number of contentious areas, such as 'preaching against the government and discipline of our church, against the order of Bishops, against our church-liturgy; yea and letany too, against the use of the surplice, the ring in marriage, the cross at Baptism, kneeling at the communion, bowing at the name of Jesus'. All of these, he declared, were subject to criticism as 'popish and anti Christian'.[532] Elborow's response was to entreat sidesman and churchwardens to faithfully present ministers and people who disturb the peace of the Church, and 'do not conform to the Laudable ceremonies of the our church'. In particular he mentioned those 'that ... run disorderly from their own minister ... unto other parishes to hear some Allobogricall disciplinarian, or some Genevan Passavantian'.[533] In turning his attention to the critics of the church Elborow was following the oft heard English Arminian position which holds that rites and ceremonies are not fixed by Scripture, but, being things indifferent, are at the discretion of the governors and customs of the church. Elborow insisted that these decisions and customs 'are to be taken for a law', and claimed that Calvin himself allowed things indifferent to be referred to the church's discretion.[534] Elborow's final words were aimed at the conforming clergy as an exhortation to be 'exemplary to your people, in your severall charges, in all religious comportments, reverend prostrations, Genu-flexions, incurvations in the service of God'.[535] His hope was that if the people

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[531] ibid.
[532] ibid., p. 6.
[533] ibid., p. 18. Allobogricall [Allobrogical] was an epithet applied in the 17th Century to Presbyterians or Calvinists in allusion to the fact that Geneva was anciently the town of the Allobroges. Oxford English Dictionary , 2nd Edition, 1989, Vol. VI, p. 339.
[534] ibid., p. 20.
[535] ibid., p. 23.

could not be coerced into conformity then they would at least be inspired by example. Elborow's argument was not simply about the shortcomings of preaching, but about the propagation of a quite different set of religious values. It stands for an expression of religion that is experienced, rather than heard; which celebrates the image rather than the word; and regards the sacraments rather than preaching as the principal channel of grace. Moreover, it stands for the public expression of faith rather than the private, making for a comprehensive church with a claim to the loyalty of all, not only the elect.

Publications after 1640

English Arminianism all but disappear from the publications of the London and Middlesex clergy after 1640. In 1641 William Bray was required to preach and publish a recantation sermon entitled A Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, as an unfortunate consequence of his having licensed Job Pocklington's Sunday No Sabbath and Altare Christianum. On the subject of the Sabbath, Bray confessed his belief that it should be celebrated by hearing the word of God, the administration of the Sacraments, the reading of meditations, and public prayer. On the contentious issue of Sunday sports he made no comment at all. When dealing with the difficult subject of the doctrine and practise of communion Bray was openly critical of Transubstantiation and its attendant doctrines and practises such as adoration of the sacrament and the belief in the sacrament as a propitiatory sacrifice. He affirmed his belief that 'the Body and Blood of Christ, are verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's Supper'.[536] But for the most part Bray is content to define his position in negative anti-catholic terms and not by positive prescription:

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[536] William Bray, A Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 1641. p. 19.

I do here solemnly protest against the manifold and dangerous errors in the doctrine and practise of the popish mass, against their pretended oblation of the very natural body and blood of Christ, against their propitiatory sacrifice in that intended oblation, and theirs (or any other sort of men their) true and proper altars, and against their idolatrous adoration of the sacrament, acknowledge only one true sacrifice of Christ himself offered up on the altar of the cross once and for all.[537]

Expressed in these terms Bray's recantation is not entirely a recantation of the views which he endorsed in Pocklington's book against the Bishop of Lincoln. They are more correctly a rejection of Roman Catholic doctrines on the mass, a position that no English Arminian could fail to condemn.

Another English Arminian who published in the 1640s was William Haywood, who of all the London and Middlesex clergy was probably the most favoured by Laud. Given the contents of his sermons and his use of authorities such as Calvin and Daniel Hensius, there is some suggestion that Haywood may have abandoned his earlier loyalties. Certainly, his publication of two sermons in 1642 appears to have been a calculated attempt to forestall the criticism that was mounting against him in consequence of both his relationship with Laud and his conduct as Vicar of St Giles-in-the-Fields. It was probably no accident that Haywood selected as the text for his first sermon : 'And now abideth, Faith, Hope, Charity; but the greatest of these is charity'. Haywood gave his unqualified support to this text and interpreted contemporary events as arising from an imbalance of sorts in the relations between these three virtues:

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[537] ibid., p. 46.

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Never more needful sure for charity to bee preached of, the world being so full of rents and divisions; the church so distracted with factions and schisme, while few regard the public, so their private may be safe. Faith and Hope much boasted of, but little goode works seen. Knowledge and Revelation of the Spirit mightily talked of, but little peace and amity towards one another. If ever therefore it were seasonable to have Charity commended and pressed upon us, I think never more than in these last and worst days.[538]

Much of Haywood's argument is taken up with putting Faith and Charity in their proper relation on the matter of Justification. Here, Haywood seems to side with Calvin whom he interprets as presenting the relation between the two in terms of the relation between gold and iron. Gold (Charity) is regarded as the inherently superior metal, but for the express purpose of making a weapon (justification), iron (faith) is superior. In addition to adopting Calvin's point of view, Haywood also joined with the Contra-Remonstrant Daniel Hensius in criticism of a Catholic commentator, and in the conclusion that ' justification depends not upon any vertue, or any merit of man, but onely on the mercies of God, and the merits of Jesus Christ'. The extent of Haywood's agreement with Calvin and Hensius is impossible to determine, but it does not seem to extend very far. In a concluding metaphor he compares Faith to the hand of a sinking man which apprehends a cord cast by God (justification), and charity to the neck or some nobler part which holds together all the other parts. In essence this is no different to the comparison based on gold and iron, but he elaborates to the point where he declares that while it is not in human power to achieve salvation without the aid of God the providential means to salvation (faith) must be made use of: 'unlesse we take hold by this hand, we sink'.[539] Though this metaphor was not formulated to elaborate upon the issue of absolute predestination it does bring to mind some of the

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[538] William Haywood, Two Sermons. . . .1642, p. 4.
[539] ibid., p. 17.

comments of earlier English Arminian authors who insisted that God would never save a man in spite of himself, and when Haywood describes faith plainly as the instrument for 'apprehending the means of our salvation' this would seem to be contrary to any description that could be formulated in accord with a doctrine of absolute predestination.

His unwillingness to embrace absolute predestination is even more apparent in his second sermon, which was based on a text from Hebrews 11.6: 'For he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a Rewarder of them that diligently seek Him'. In this sermon Haywood plainly ranks belief in God and not election as the first step in acquiring a justifying faith: 'there is no coming to God then, except we believe, so no believing in the least degree, except we believe this much touching God's existence, 'quia est'.[540] In this context belief is not simply assent to God's existence, it also embraces a belief in God's concern for human affairs, and it is this manner of belief that Haywood argues is the prelude to a justifying faith.[541]

The small number of authors that remain to be considered fall into two groups: the first consists of men who, if they were not all Presbyterians, were all allied in their opposition to the English Arminians and the Royalist cause. Among them Josias Shute was appointed Archdeacon of Colchester in 1642, and his 10 sermons on the ninth and tenth chapters of Ezra were published posthumously in the following year with a testimony by William Reynolds and the approval of the Presbyterian James Cranford. Others in this category were Jeremy Leech, Josias Symons, and Lewis Hughes. Leech was rector of St Mary le Bow until his resignation in 1643. In the same year he published a sermon entitled St Paul's Challenge, or the Churches Triumph. Its theme

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[540] ibid., p. 29.
[541] ibid., p. 34.

was the idolatry and superstition of the Popish faction, whose altars, images, idolatries and vanities Leech exhorted his listeners to tear down. He encouraged them to do so in the knowledge that 'men cannot prevail against us ... because of God's predestinating us. Nor the world, because of God's calling us. Nor the flesh because of God's justifying us. Nor the Devil, because of God's glorifying us.[542] In 1640 the Independent Josias Symons, then the Pastor of a church in Amsterdam, published a sermon delivered at Westminster encouraging the House of Commons to further reform. Lewis Hughes, also heartened by the efforts of the House, published a manual, The Covenant of Grace and Seales Thereof, for practical instruction in the observance of the Sabbath, the sacraments, prayer, and public worship. He also produced Certain Grievances well worthy the consideration of Parliament. This took the form of a dialogue between a country gentleman and a minister ' for the satisfyinge of those that do clamour, and maliciously revile them that labour to have the errors of the Book of common prayer reformed...' In the course of the dialogue a number of objections to both the prayer book and recent innovations are raised, including: the appointment of 'horrible blasphemies and lying fables' (from the Apocrypha) to be read instead of scripture; the making of an idol from the name of Jesus; kneeling to receive Communion; the use of the title priest; the Catechism's claim that Christ came to redeem all mankind; and the transformation of the communion table into an altar. But the most damning criticism that Hughes could relate against English Arminian ceremony was the recital of two instances of God's judgment against these innovations and falsities. The first came from the parish of Willcombe in Devonshire and the other from Anthony in Cornwall. In 1638 and 1640 respectively these parishes were reported to have been visited by disaster, which resulted in death at Willcombe and fearful injury at Anthony. Hughes also reported considerable damage to the church fabric at Willcombe, but most ominous of all was the report that: 'The noise did not

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[542] Jeremy Leech, St Paul's Challenge, or the Church's Triumph, 1643, p. 13.

descend from above, but was heard and seemed to begin close to the North side of the Communion table'.

The final group of authors consists of those who were, broadly speaking, both Royalist and Episcopalian in their sympathies. William Stampe, who is difficult to place, brought out a sermon preached before the King at Oxford in 1643. From the security of the royalist capital Stampe criticised 'changelings in the pulpit' and those who devised 'subtle arguments from the paucity of the elect'.[543] The remainder were more reserved, and while they were certainly not blind to the problems of the church, unlike, say, a Hughes or a Leech they were intent on retaining the episcopal structure of the church. Henry King published a Paul's Cross sermon in 1640 in which he reaffirmed the link between Calvinism and the Church of England.[544] Thomas Westfield, who was to become Bishop of Bristol in 1642 and an approved member of the Westminster assembly in the following year, aligned himself in a sermon preached at St. Paul's with a host of authors whom he said had opposed 'all popish, antichristian, Arminian, Pelagian Doctrine'.[545] Ephraim Udall, rector of St Augustine Watling Street, published three tracts in 1641 and 1642 advocating a number of reforms to the church but never questioning the validity of the episcopal system. His 1641 titles were Good Workes, If they be well handled and Communion Comlinesse. The first of these concerned the vexed problems of London tithes and put forward suggestions for resolving conflicts over the payment of tithes, and the funding of parish lecturers; the second advocated certain reforms to the method of celebrating communion but without dismantling the railed table. In his 1642 title Noli me tangere he described his book as:

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[543] William Stampe, A Sermon Preached before his Majesty at Christ Church Oxford , 1643, p. 9&10. Stampe was imprisoned in 1642 for criticising troops of the Earl Essex as 'roundheaded rascals' and seeking to raise funds for the royalist cause. DNB XVIII.877-78.
[544] Henry King, A sermon Preached at St. Paul's, 1640
[545] Thomas Westfield, A Sermon Preached ...Fourteenth Day of November 1641, 1641, p. 20-21.

The thoughts of one, that hath no relation for the present, to, nor any expectation for the future, from the Bishops, or Cathedralls, unlesse it be this; that the one would preach oftener in the other, and both of them governe, and be governed better hereafter than heretofore.; labouring to advance the Gospell, to promote Religion, to oppose error in Doctrine, and viciousnesse in manners.[546]

Udall saw the problems faced by the church as arising from bad government which was predicated on bad governors who were appointed in an inappropriate manner. Hence, one of Udall's most ambitious schemes was to reform the episcopacy by making the office of Bishop an elective one, with only the clergy as electors. In addition he advocated an increase in the number of preaching ministers, a competent living for all clergy, an end to impropriations, and the revival of the Feoffees for Impropriations. Though undoubtedly reform-minded Udall was only prepared to go to certain lengths to achieve these goals, and it is a measure of his devotion to the episcopal church that he made considerable effort to justify the sanctity of cathedral lands and revenues, and was not tempted use them to finance his reformist hopes.

Virtually no other clergy , save for those intent upon the dismantling of episcopacy, showed so definite an attitude towards changing the church as did Udall. The remaining four urged submission and peace to their respective auditories, and remonstrated against those whom they supposed to be at the heart of the church's ills. This mentality is clearly evident in the published sermons of John Grant[547], Matthew Griffith[548], William Hall[549], and Matthew Milward.[550] Both Graunt and Griffith had

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[546] Ephraim Udall, Noli Me Tangere, 1642, p. 1.
[547] John Grant, God's Deliverance of Man by Prayer, 1642.
[548] Matthew Griffith, A Pathetical Persuasion to Pray for Public Peace, 1642.

little to say beyond their condemnation of sectaries, atheists and Papists. William Hall, preaching on 27th March 1642, tried to persuade his auditory to render subjection, honour, reverence, fidelity, obedience, paying of tribute and prayer to the king and 'all who derive power from him'.[551] Matthias Milward addressed the men of the Artillery Company, in the artillery gardens at St. Michael Cornhill in August 1641. After attacking both the separatists and Jesuits as enemies of the church he invited them to consider the church in terms of three symbols: A City to be protected from Jesuits and separatists; a Flock to be fed; and a Bride to be ordered with decency throughout. By the latter he intended the use of 'comely ceremonies, void of superstitious abuse which serve to edifying and preservation of unity and order'.[552] He did not indicate just what he meant by 'comely ceremonies' apart from to say that too few ceremonies led to will worship and too many to superstition. After making a plea for reformation of 'misgovernors' and not a change of government he took up a new theme of the several virtues appropriate to the soldier. The efforts of men such as Milward and Graunt were obviously in vain, and given the shifts in ideology that have been plotted in this survey it is probably fitting that the last of the published works produced by the London and Middlesex clergy we shall notice was a letter penned by Thomas Paske, Subdean of Canterbury and published as A Copy of a Letter Sent to an Honorable Lord.. Its purpose was simply to recount the pillaging of Christ Church, Canterbury by parliamentary soldiers. It is clear from the contents that, Paske had presided over a full English Arminian ceremonial.[553]

[549] William Hall, A Sermon preached at St Bartholomews the less in London . . . ; being the day of the inauguration of our sovereign Lord King Charles, 1642.

[550] Matthias Milward, The Soldiers Triumph and the Preachers Glory, 1641.

[551] William Hall, op. cit., p. 32.

[552] Mathias Milward, op. cit.,. p. 8.

[553] Thomas Paske, Copy of a Letter Sent to an Honourable Lord by Thomas Paske Subdeane of Canterbury, 1642.

The literary output of the London and Middlesex clergy in the 1630s offers a significant parallel to the career histories outlined in the previous chapter. That is, just as there was a marked rise to prominence of English Arminians at the expense of non-Arminian clergy in the 1630s, so there is a clearly observable shift in ideology behind the written works of the London and Middlesex clergy from Calvinism to English Arminianism in the same period. Of course there were isolated exceptions, and generalisation does neglect the diversity of opinion that abounded in the works produced in the 1620s, but it is still possible to characterise this material as Calvinist in its inspiration. During the 1620s these 'Calvinist clergy' produced more than three-quarters of the published works written by the London and Middlesex clergy covered by this study. By comparison the published works produced during the 1630s by the English Arminian clergy amounted to less than twenty percent of the total output of all clergy. The sheer bulk of material produced is not the true measure of the relative success or failure of these two groups. The measure of success lies in the apparent effectiveness with which the English Arminians were able to suppress the rival Calvinist ideology in the period of their ascendancy. During the 1630s few works, based upon Calvinist predestinarian theology were published in England under the name of any of the London and Middlesex clergy. A few, as has been noted, were published overseas, and there were reprints. A number of works published during this time that might reasonably regarded as supporting neither Calvinist or English Arminian views, but there were none that openly avowed the doctrine of absolute election. Whereas predestinarian theology was widely discussed and debated among the men writing in the 1620s, the subject is noticeably absent among the writers of the 1630s, except where it was attacked and its followers derided. Even men such as Walter Balcanqual, Calybute Downing, Ephraim Pagitt and Henry Vertue who were able to publish during this period, and are best known for their links with Calvinism and Presbyterianism, produced works in which the issues of Calvinist predestination were totally ignored, and in which the broadest claims of the English Arminian church often found support. As the relative distribution of works between the two rival

factions indicates, the hegemony of the English Arminians at this time probably owed more to the influence they exercised from above through censorship than through the acceptance of their ideas on the ground. For, while it appears that the publication of works by Calvinist authors was limited during the 1630s, the views of English Arminians were remained those of a minority that were thrown into prominence by the apparent absence of contrary published opinions.

Chapter Six:
ENGLISH ARMINIANISM AND PARISH LIFE

The impact of English Arminianism as a theological rival to Calvinism is not immediately obvious at the parish level. The theological issues debated within the universities had little direct impact outside. Many of the charges levelled against the English Arminianism were readily accepted, but there is little evidence of the use or recognition of the term 'Arminian' in relation to reforms undertaken in the 1630s. Few London parishes articulated their dissatisfaction with their clergy in terms of Arminian theology. Of course, this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that English Arminianism was a non-event; it simply indicates that at a parochial level English Arminianism was not evident in terms of theological argument. At this level the face of English Arminianism was more likely to be recognised in a set of practical and highly visible physical manifestations than a set of novel theological assumptions.

The physical manifestations of English Arminianism were not without underlying principle, just as the iconoclasm of the reformation was not devoid of justification in protestant thought. The changes brought about by English Arminianism were the visible expression of Arminian theology and represented a shift in emphasis from preaching to the sacraments as the normal channel of grace. They were based upon the view that the church was coterminous with the nation and that the opportunity for salvation was available to all who would respond to it, and not simply to the few who were predestined to election. According to this scheme the role of the church was not simply to preach grace but to provide the means to grace. The means in question was the sacrament of Holy Communion. At the trial of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick Archbishop Laud expressed with force the English Arminian view of the inherent

superiority of the altar over the pulpit in terms of the superiority of the Body to the Word. Laud claimed the altar as the highest place of God's residence on earth based on the obvious distinction between the phrases *Hoc est verbum meum* referring to the pulpit and *Hoc est Corpus meum* in reference to the Altar.[554] Between these two phrases is a significant theological gulf over issues of grace, freewill and the means to salvation. The obvious corollary of Laud's view was to think of the church as no longer merely God's auditorium with the pulpit as its focus but as the place of God's residence on earth by virtue of the altar. It was the application of this view that brought English Arminianism to many parochial churches. The contemporary significance of this change together with its local impact led to the communion table policy becoming one of the most resisted aspects of English Arminianism.[555]

To some degree it was the efforts of the English Arminians to rehabilitate churches as the houses of God that were the most damaging of their endeavours. Questions can always be raised about the extent to which a realistic understanding of theological ideas might filter down among ordinary parishioners and the impact such ideas might have. The beautification of churches gave a physical form to certain ideas which some at least saw as subverting their religion.[556] Beautification was intended to make the church an acceptable place of worship, one of encounter between worshipper and God through the sacraments. Central to this was the general adornment of churches for religious ends and the railing and relocation of the communion table against the eastern wall of the chancel.

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[554] Laud, Works vi, Pt. i, pp. 56 ff. The same argument was used by George Palmer, Vicar of St Gabriel Fenchurch and prebend of Gloucester, when he was required to answer for his support of Arminian innovation before the House of Lords. Palmer argued that 'there is a sacramental and special presence of Christ upon the Altar by reason of these wordes *Hic est corpus meum* than either at the desk, font or pulpit' Lords Journal V.666.

[555] Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s', p. 203.

[556] J. Sharpe, 'Scandalous and Malignant Priests in Essex: The Impact of Grassroots Puritanism'.

In general Elizabethan and Jacobean churches lacked ornamentation and visual aids to devotion in favour of a functional auditory approach to church design and layout.[557] At various times Church authorities demonstrated an interest in promoting a greater degree of reverence in churches which implied specific forms of furnishing and church design. Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, 1597-1604 made provision for kneeling at communion in his visitation articles of 1604, and so necessitated some interior alteration to accommodate this demand.[558] In so far as he was promoting an attitude towards the celebration of communion, Bancroft was making clear certain assumptions about worship and the role of the parish church, which if not precisely the same as English Arminians were at least not fundamentally different. George Mountain, who was diocesan from 1621 until 1628, was something of an English Arminian, and promoted similar attitudes toward reverence in church. These included a number of orders for curbing irreverent behaviour in church, and the appropriateness of kneeling at communion.[559] By 1629 concern over the state of churches resulted in a proclamation for their better care and regular inspection, which provided authorisation for English Arminians to promote church restoration.[560]

The extent of repair and restoration undertaken during the 1620s and 1630s is mostly accessible through parochial accounts and the 1633 edition of John Stow's The Survey of London. This volume incorporates a survey of parish churches up until 1633, based on an examination of parish records and parish officials. While it certainly has limitations its scope completely overshadows the surviving parochial records in the descriptions of work undertaken and the costs involved. The earliest entry included in

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[557] Susan Doran and Christopher Durston Princes, Pastors and People: The Church and Religion in England 1529-1689, London, 1991 (Chapter 3 'The Fabric of the Church').
[558] VCH, Vol. 1, p. 324.
[559] PRO SP 16/43/20, 16/75/87; Visitation Articles 1627.
[560] Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s', p. 202. Although he ascribes little else to William Laud, Julian Davies considers that Laud was, 'the grand causer of the repairing of churches': The Caroline Captivity, p 74.

the survey is from 1605 and it thus provides a useful source for comparing the nature and extent of renovation and renewal in parish churches.

From early in the seventeenth century there was in London, a reaction in favour of reverence, solemnity, and careful observation of ritual in worship.[561] This manifested itself in substantial repairs and decoration of parish churches, but in the 1630s it was extended to embrace the 'beautification' of churches, especially reform of the status and function of the communion table. Leaving aside these later reforms, the initiator of much of the early change in this direction was Richard Bancroft and it appears to have proceeded under subsequent bishops. Both during and after Bancroft's episcopacy London parishes were clearly involved in significant programmes of church renewal and reconstruction. The financial range of these undertakings was considerable, from a modest £55.00 for unspecified repairs at All Hallows, Honey Lane in 1625 to an outlay of £1,500 for the enlargement of St Anne Blackfriars. In a number of parishes large-scale structural work and extensive repairs were undertaken. At St Martin Vintry £460 was spent in 1605 on general repairs.[562] In the parish of St Mary Magdalen Bermondsey £860 was spent on repairing and enlarging the church between 1608 and 1610.[563] St Clement Danes spent £1,000 in 1608 to build a chancel and a further £496 on a steeple in 1616.[564] In the same year St Antholin, one of London's best known puritan parishes was repaired by benefactors to the cost of £900. The repair of the north wall and of the roof at St Botolph Bishopsgate cost £600 in 1617, and similar work cost £500 at St Michael Crooked lane in 1621.[565] Other parishes where substantial building and maintenance costs were incurred are given in Table 18.

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[561] VCH, Vol. 1, p. 324.
[562] Stow, p. 854.
[563] Stow, p. 905.
[564] Stow, p 809.
[565] Stow, 878& 856.

Table 18:
Parish repair and maintenance costs 1615-1630[566]

Parish	Cost (£)	Year
Alphage London Wall	400	1624
Botolph Aldersgate	415	1627
Botolph Bishopsgate	600	1617-20
James Garlickhithe	700	1624
Magnus the Martyr	500	1623-5
Michael Cornhill	644	1618-20
Peter le Poor	1587	1615-30

The scale of these undertakings implies a measure of necessity rather than reverence in carrying out these repairs. For instance in 1623 the chancel of St Katherine Cree was in such a state as to be described as 'not being able to stand without being propped and shored with divers peaces of timber'.[567] Examples such as this reinforce the view that much of the money and effort put into the repair and reconstruction of parish churches in this period was a structural necessity rather than a veneer inspired by devotion.

The process of major work on churches continued into the 1630s and for similarly urgent reasons. In 1632 the parish church of St Alban Wood St. was pulled down since it was recorded that:

> many of the parishioners refused to go to it, many that went, went unwillingly, but all with much fear, where they sate with more; their danger all the time much troubling and disturbing their devotion.[568]

Unfortunately efforts to gain funds for restoration of the church were impeded by the need to raise funds for the reconstruction of St Paul's.[569] But other parishes show evidence of extensive spending on major repairs:

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[566] Stow, pp. 823, 867, 878, 838, 844, 856, 867
[567] MPL 22 March 1623/4.
[568] Stow, p. 819

Table 19:
Parish repair and maintenance costs 1630-1636[570]

Parish	Cost (£)	Year
Andrew Hubbard	600	1630
Augustine	1200	1630
Benet Finke	400	1633
Dunstan in the East	2400	1631-33
Edmund Lombard St	240	1631
Peter Cornhill	1400	1633
James Garlickhithe	700	1636

In addition to the parishes listed above St Gabriel Fenchurch spent more than £500 enlarging the church nine feet in length, and at All Hallows the Great £600 was spent in 1632 when ' all the illes to the chancel were raised a foot and a half, and the pewes a foot above that'.[571] This not only graced the appearance of the church, but was 'especially done for a ready and more easy hearing'. The effect of renovations such as these, transforming the parish church into a more efficient auditorium, could be interpreted as something more than simply renovation of the church. It was also a declaration of religious sympathies.

Most of the examples considered so far were structural rather than decorative or spiritual in their inspiration. Certainly, the impetus for carrying out this kind of work may have been aided by the growth of a climate of opinion which tended to encourage attitudes of reverence, but sheer necessity must usually have been enough to force such costly undertakings. Although in the case of Christchurch intervention by Nathaniel Brent in the course of Laud's metropolitical visitation of the diocese in 1637 was necessary. According to Brent's account of the visitation the parish church was in

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[569] ibid.
[570] Stow, pp. 824, 827, 828, 832, 833, 867, GLMS 4813/1.
[571] Stow, p. 821.

such a state of decay that 'in the judgement of workmen, it will cost £1,000 to be repaired'. Brent found that the cost of repairs was the responsibility of the Lord Mayor and Alderman of London and found them guilty of excessive delay and reluctant to carry out the work.[572] Structural work such as replacing roofs or walls could give rise to issues of authority and jurisdiction, however religious sensibilities were more likely to be expressed or challenged in connection with alterations made to church interiors.

English Arminians were not alone in promoting a sense of reverence toward the 'house of God'. Calvinist Episcopalians could also respect order and decency. However, there was a sense in which even the most mundane physical detail was a matter of religious significance to the English Arminians. Arthur Duck saw fit to comment on a number of apparently minor details such as 'pewes in churches are so made that men do as much sit as kneel at prayers', as a remedy for this spiritual ill he suggested 'taking away the lower edge on which the knees do rest would be well commended'.[573] This attention to detail was important because the church was the place of God's residence, by virtue of it being the repository of the communion table or altar and consequently demanded an appropriate and reverent response.[574] Prophane use of churches was also anathema. Arthur Duck reported that some churches in London were used by members of the City companies to change their gowns and cloaks whenever they met with the Lord Mayor or Sheriffs.[575] He also commented on the use of churches by the City Wards for the election of officers, despite a prohibition from Juxon.[576]

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[572] 'An Account of the Metropolitical Visitation of the Diocese of London' PRO SP 16/351/100.
[573] 'Information of Irregularities by London Clergy' PRO SP 16/371/39.
[574] See for instance comments made in the previous chapter on worship and reverence in relation to Thomas Swadlin, Meditations and Prayers upon the Plague; Thomas Browne, Sermon Preached before the University at St. Mary's Oxford, and Edmund Reeve Communion Book Catechism.
[575] PRO SP 16/371/39.
[576] ibid.

It followed that both the exterior and the interior of the church should reflect this unique dignity of the house of God. So far as the interior of the churches was concerned, the pursuit of this ideal involved beautifying churches and maintaining them in a manner which was consistent with the central place of the sacraments in church life. The principal way of pursuing this was by removing the ambiguities that surrounded the communion table and by either railing it, or setting it up against the east end of the chancel. This process will be discussed below. But there were other means by which the beauty of holiness was made manifest in the churches of London. In his survey of London parish churches William Dyson describes the major part of the churches which he surveyed as having been beautified from as early as 1605 up until 1633. His account of this process in a large number of parishes suggests that there was already a willingness to blend the aesthetic with the spiritual before the rise to power of English Arminianism. Certainly, it is clear from Dyson's limited descriptions that these changes involved more than structural repairs, and were connected however loosely with the spiritual function of the church.

In the 1630s the issue of the beautification of churches took on a more aggressive theological aspect as it shifted from the seemingly innocuous generalities of earlier decades to a much more dogmatic and partisan issue under the English Arminians. Not only did the later changes involve the appearance of churches, but to some extent they also altered the function of the church. Principally this was achieved through altering the form and place of the communion table, but the impact of this sort of innovation was enhanced by the appearance of a variety of attendant devices. A common device designed to grace the communion table was the construction of chancel windows which by the introduction of light highlighted the chancel in a physical manner, but with clearly spiritual implications. One example of this interior transformation is St

Mary Magdalen Milk St., where a chancel window was built in 1619 at a cost of £60 paid by one Benjamin Henshaw.[577] Other examples are from more than a decade later. The parish of St Peter Westcheap 'agreed to make a great window at the east end' in 1633.[578] And although it was already in place the glass window in the chancel of St Martin in the Fields was repaired in 1629, possibly following vandalism, with careful consideration for the proper choice of coloured glass.[579] More dramatic than these was the appearance, as reported by John Pory, of 'A Crucifix', which, 'has been caused to be painted in St Gregory's parish by Mr Hart Proctor, in the newly repaired East Chancel window'.[580] Other devices were also employed. Artistic representations were introduced into some parishes, especially those under English Arminian clergy. At St Leonard Shoreditch John Squire imposed a scene of the Virgin Mary and of Christ and his 12 Apostles done in glass upon a parish which desired a simpler motif.[581] Some similar alteration appears to have been undertaken in William Brough's parish of St Michael Cornhill, since it is recorded in the parish accounts for 1641 that a sum was 'paid the painters man and glassers man for putting out the crosses in the chancel and the church'.[582] On the subject of paintings and images William Graunt, Vicar of Isleworth in Middlesex might have spoken for English Arminians in general when it was charged that he had claimed 'that pictures are lay-mens books'. He was articled against for attempting to set up the picture of a saint in the chancel of his parish church and admitted to carrying a Testament which contained crucifixes and pictures.[583] In addition to painting and glass work, the area about the chancel was also decorated in a manner that reflected its new-found glory. At St Andrew Undershaft the chancel was raised to give it greater prominence.[584] William Brough's parish of St Michael Cornhill

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[577] Stow, p. 854.

[578] St Peters Westcheap, VMB, GLMS 642/1, 8 August 1633.

[579] VMB, Victoria Library, MS F2002, 3 November 1629, fo. 88.

[580] PRO C115/35/8391

[581] An Answer to a Paper entitled Articles exhibited in Parliament against Mr John Squire...,7 August 1641, p. 6.

[582] Michael Cornhill, CWA, GLMS 4071/1, fo. 137.

[583] William Graunt, The Vindication of the Vicar of Isleworth . . . , 1641, p. 9, 10.

[584] Stow, p. 824

posted £8 in the 1637 accounts for painting and gilding the area about the communion table.[585] The area was also decorated with what Dyson described as 'a faire and very curious table of commandments'.[586] Articles associated with the communion table were also adorned. In 1637 St Dionis Backchurch acquired a communion cloth of rich purple velvet at a cost of £11 16s.[587] Samuel Baker's first appearance in the records of St Mary at Hill is in association with the purchase of new communion plate.[588] St Pancras Soper Lane acquired an engraved communion flagon which sported an emblem with a latin inscription which was later condemned as 'a superstitious, jesuitical, and idolatrous mark'.[589] At St Giles in the Fields the chancel was decorated with 'blue velvet carpet and blue taffeta curtains'.[590]

The collective impact of these individual changes precipitated by English Arminian influence in parish churches is illustrated in a description of the parish church of St Giles in the Fields during the incumbency of William Haywood. Although a hostile account, it was not challenged by Haywood in any significant way when he made his reply. Haywood entered the parish in 1636. His predecessor in the living was Roger Mainwarring, who may have established some of the innovations complained of by Haywood's opponents in the parish. According to the articles presented against Haywood in 1641 the church was divided into three parts, one which they described as the 'sanctum sanctorum' was located within the chancel, but separated from it by a:

large screen in the figure of a beautiful Gate, in which is carved two large pillars, and three large statues: on the one side is Paul with his sword, on the

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[585] Michael Cornhill, CWA, GLMS 4071/1, fo. 137.
[586] Stow, p. 856.
[587] St Dionis Backchurch, CWA, GLMS 4215/1.
[588] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/1.
[589] St Pancras Soper Lane, CWA, GLMS 5018/1.
[590] St Giles in the Fields, VMB 1617-1718, p. 47.

other Barnabas with his book, and over them Peter with his Keys, they are set above with winged cherubims, and beneath supported with Lions. Seven or eight foot within this Holy place is a raising by three steps, and from thence a long raile from one wall to the other, into which none must enter but the Priests and the Subdeacons, this place is covered before the altar with a fair wrought carpet, the altar doth stand close up to the wall on the east side, and a desk raised upon that with degrees of advancement; this desk is overlaid with a covering of Purple Velvet, which hath a great gold and silk fringe round about, and on this desk is placed two great books wrought with needle work, in which are made the pictures of Christ, and the Virgin Mary with Christ in her arms, and these are placed on each side of the desk, and on this Altar is a double covering, with a very rich Bone-lace. The walls are hanged round within the rail, with blue Taffeta Curtaines.[591]

Haywood's reply to the published Articles does not alter dramatically the description made in the articles against him. He merely pointed out that some of the phrases used by his detractors, such as *Sanctum Sanctorum*, were their own invention but he did not challenge the underlying criticism. Instead Haywood attempted to distance himself from the introduction of the offensive innovations, by claiming that a few were in place before his coming to the parish, and that the rest had been commissioned and funded by a prominent member of the parish with the assent of the parish vestry. In Haywood's own words:

The Screen, a fair ornament of the church and great honour to the religious Lady who bestowed it, was assigned where to stand by the parishioners, nor

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[591] The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Doctor Heywood. . . By the Parishioners of St Giles in the Fields, 1641, p. 5&6.

can it be placed conveniently but where it now is. The Doctor neither persuaded the making of the screen, nor contributed a penny towards it, nor knew of what fashion it would be made, nor was present in the parish when it was set up. The Ornaments of the Holy Table, the Silk Curtains, Carpet, Covering, Books, and much plate are all the pious gift of the same honourable Lady which bestowed the screen. And being for the decency of Gods service, and well accepted of by the Parishioners, the doctor had no reason to refuse them.[592]

Haywood's testimony is of doubtful validity so far as it touches his own degree of culpability. He was after all one of Laud's own chaplains and he 'learnt' his Arminianism at St John's, Oxford, and his liturgy from the Chapel Royal whence he derived the pattern for his own ceremony.[593] But an interesting point that arises from his defence is the degree of lay involvement in the process of beautification.

Despite the antagonism which the introduction of ornamentation of this kind could arouse, there is some evidence pointing towards a certain amount of lay support, if not enthusiasm, for ceremonial and decorative changes. Presumably Haywood's 'Honourable Lady' was Lady Rous who is mentioned in the minutes of St Martin in the Fields for 'her love and liberality in decorating and adorning the pulpit and communion table' at a time when the parish was in the process of glazing the chancel and railing the communion table.[594] In January 1630, while Bishop of London, Laud was petitioned by the parson and parishioners of Stanmore Magna for his approval for the rebuilding and relocating of the parish church. The proposal was that the old church, described

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[592] R.M, An Answer to a Lawless Pamphlet, 1641, pp. 14 &15.
[593] ibid.
[594] St Martin in the Fields, VMB, Victoria Library MS F2002, fo. 89.

as 'in great decay and danger to fall', be demolished and the material used in the construction of a new one. Laud insisted upon three provisos in the plan: that there be two acres of land supplied, that the church be kept in good repair, and that 'the said new church be decently and strongly built in comely form, proportion and uniformity and be well and sufficiently with all things necessary thereto belonging, furnished, and adorned fit for the use for which it is appointed.[595] Laud must have gained some satisfaction at the willingness of the parishioners to comply with his terms, but possibly even more satisfying was the knowledge that the burden of the whole project was being taken up by lay people as a work of piety. Sir John Wolstenholme was to meet the cost of building the new church while the cost of the land was to be met by members of the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields including Sir Thomas Lake.[596] Other examples may not detail the same degree of pious generosity, but they do point to support for the process of beautification in some quarters. At St Christopher-le-Stocks 53 individuals ranging in rank from city alderman to widows offered sums from £50 to £1 for the beautification of the church.[597] Despite the subsequent complaints of some parishioners the beautification of All Hallows Barking was initiated with the unanimous approval of the parish vestry, regardless of the scale and cost of the proposed undertakings.[598] On the death of Edward Abbot a testimonial notice was made in the churchwardens accounts eulogizing his role as the inspiration for the reconstruction and beatification of the church. In later years the parish claimed that the various trappings of 'English Arminianism' that were to be found in the church were in fact the gifts of laymen: these included 'gilt plate and divers rich ornaments' and 'a marble fount stone'.[599] As late as 13 August 1640, when discontent with innovation was rising the vestry of St Lawrence Jewry voted 21:1 in favour of beautifying the church.[600] An

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[595] Laud, Episcopal Register, GLMS 9531/15.4.

[596] Laud, Episcopal Register, GLMS 9531/15.3. Sir John Wolstenholme was a prominent London Merchant and customs farmer DNB, 21.815. Sir Thomas Lake was a former secretary of state who retired to Little Stanmore after his dismissal in 1621 DNB, 11.417.

[597] St Christopher le Stocks, VMB 1593-1761, 19 December 1633, GLMS 4425/1.

[598] All Hallows Barking, CWA, fo. 58, 58 b.

[599] All Hallows Barking, CWA, fo. 26-26v.

[600] St Lawrence Jewry, VMB 1556-1669, GLMS 689/1.

element among the parishioners of St Lawrence continued to support so-called innovations as late as 1645 when removal of the rails from about the communion table resulted in a schism within the parish.[601]

Beautification was a process distinct from restoring and renovating the churches of London. Though they are linked in the sense that the latter preceded the former, the process of beautification was divisive in religious terms while renovation was not necessarily so. Hence beautification was a matter of controversy and enforcement. At St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street five parish officers were bound on behalf of the whole parish for the sum of £150 for repairing and beautifying the church.[602] In the visitation conducted by Arthur Duck in 1637 the parish of St John Walbrook was the subject of such an order to :

> beautify their church and repair it, it being much out of repair and were indecent and ruinous on the inside thereof, they have stock and lands; the communion table is not railed that the parishioners may come up to it.[603]

The failure of St John Walbrook to beautify their church has no apparent cause, the outlook of the minister Richard Walmsley is unknown, and there is no extant vestry book to provide any relevant details. If it were a deliberate attempt to resist the trend of reform it can only have been so by default. There were some parishes, however, which, if they did not actually defy innovation, did find ways of subverting the principles behind them. One means of doing so was to locate pews in the chancel.

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[601] H.M.C., 6th report, p. 90.

[602] VMB, 1619-1668, GLMS 2597/1, 22 Dec 1634.

[603] Diocese of London, Visitation Books, GLMS 9753/15, fo. 63v.

From an English Arminian perspective the significance of this was not only that it elevated the laity above the sacrament, but it also made the proper administration of the sacrament an impossibility. Efforts made by the churchwardens of St Leonard Fosterlane in 1632 to raise pews at the east end of the church led to their being called to the High Commission and to a statement being issued discouraging the practice.[604] When churchwardens sought to explain their practice to Bishop Laud he prohibited any further work in repairing the church until the offending pews were pulled down. He further called for the administration of the sacrament to be reviewed by the diocesan chancellor and forbade the minister to administer the communion to any in the galleries.[605] Henry Burton's parish of St Matthew Friday similarly raised chancel pews when their vestry agreed on 21 February 1631 to 'the repayring and adorning of the church, & pewes in the chancel, & a frame for the communion table, & a head for the pulpit, & removing the font, & bringing in water from the alley. .. & for setting up a vaine on top of the steeple and other needful things'.[606] At St. Olave Jewry the vestry set up seven pews in the chancel for the 'more convenient assembling of the parishioners at such vestryes as hereafter shall be held in this church, and for the seating of strange preachers'.[607] The pewes remained standing until 1638 when Arthur Duck ordered their removal and the table to be set up altarwise.[608] Among the irregularities recorded in London in 1637 was the erection of a new gallery in the parish church of St Martin Ironmonger, where the puritan Josias Symons was minister, which resulted in the communion table being 'pent up with pewes about it'.[609] It was further noted that in some parishes pews were constructed in such a way that communicants could not receive on their knees.[610]

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[604] For the case of St Leonard's Fosterlane Reports of Cases in the Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, S. R. Gardiner (ed.) Camden Society, New Series, 39, 1886, 302, 312.

[605] Laud's, Episcopal Register, GLMS9531/15 fo 26.

[606] St Matthew Friday St, VMB 1576-1743, GLMS 3579, p. 49.

[607] VMB, GLMS 4415/1, fo. 68v, March 1634.

[608] ibid., fo. 93.

[609] 'Information of Irregularities by London Clergy' , PRO SP 16/371/39.

[610] ibid., St Anne Blackfriars, another strongly puritan parish was specifically named.

Where there was resistance to innovation the attitude of the incumbent could be vital in enforcing compliance. At St Martin Orgar the parishioners were unable to resist the efforts of Brian Walton to beautify the church, particularly the chancel. They were incensed not only by the innovations themselves but also by his diversion of parish funds for that purpose, and by his raising of a commemorative inscription bearing his own arms and those of the benefactor whose funds he had also employed.[611] Walton also forced the removal of pews from the chancel to provide an open passage to the altar, despite some in the parish seeking a stay of their removal.[612] However, not all attempts to challenge innovations were fruitless. According to Richard Newcourt, in 1639 some members of the parish of All Hallows Barking, where Edward Layfield was the incumbent, took offence at certain images, a cross over the font, and the altarwise removal of the communion table. They petitioned Bishop Juxon. His Chancellor Arthur Duck investigated the complaints and ordered certain items taken down, and others which were deemed more appropriate to be put in their place.[613] Juxon's action in satisfying the appeal of All Hallows Barking is the only such instance to be found. The reason for doing so is not known. Nor is it known what he ordered to be taken down. It is only certain that he made no concessions on the position of the communion table. As for the rest, the whole process of beautification was subordinate to the primacy of the communion table. So there may have been room for concessions over certain images and crosses without any corresponding violation of English Arminian principles. But as is suggested by the items mentioned in Newcourt's report it was probably the unavoidable association of these images and crosses with the communion table that lead to their being criticised. After all, the parish had shown that they were prepared to undertake considerable costly repairs and restoration of their parish church

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[611] The Articles and Charges Proved in Parliament against Doctor Walton. . ., London 1641, p. 8 & 9. Walton had the inscription set up on the east window over the altar
[612] ibid., p. 11.
[613] Newcourt, I.241.

under Edward Abbot the previous incumbent. On this point it would appear that it was not the renovation or beautification that was objected to, but its overtly catholic character.

Communion table innovation was the most visible and emotive intrusion of English Arminianism into the parishes of London and Middlesex. Not only was it highly visible but it stood for a particular view of the church, faith and the individual that many regarded as being at odds with received opinion that had developed since the reformation. The evidence dealing with communion table reform in London is mostly derived from churchwarden's accounts for approximately one quarter of the total number of London parishes. In addition there are a smaller number of cases which arise in the context of enforcement for non-compliance and in articles exhibited against clergy after 1640. The reliance on accounts rather than vestry minute books is unavoidable, but poses a number of problems that should be mentioned. The first of these is that the churchwarden's accounts are the least expansive of all of the classes of parish documents relevant to this study; consequently the instances cited here should be regarded as a minimum base only. Having searched the extant parochial records for London, it is difficult to avoid the impression that an even greater number of examples are buried beneath the surface of abbreviated account entries such as 'paid to the joiner as per bill'. Secondly, even in those parishes where it can be established that some modification was made to the communion table, the brevity of account entries often means that much of the significance of the event is lost. Such examples leave unanswered a number of important questions such as the precise form of the innovation, whether it involved the railing of the table and also its relocation from a free standing position in the middle of the chancel to the east end of the chancel, the provenance of the decision, and the attitude of the parish. However, the sample that remains, together with evidence from other sources, does establish a useful basis from

which to investigate the changes that English Arminianism imposed through communion tables reform and upon patterns of worship and observance.

The conversion of communion tables into altars that were permanently railed in at the east end of the chancel was implicit although probably never intended in the Elizabethan injunctions of 1559 and the Jacobean Canons of 1604. The injunctions set the table in place of the altar when it was not in use, and within the chancel for the celebration of communion, to allow the minister to be heard and the maximum number of parishioners to receive communion conveniently. The Canons followed this prescription but were not so specific concerning the position of the table when it was not in use. Like the injunctions the Canons maintained that the communion table was moveable.[614] However, in practice this procedure was largely abandoned and the table came to be placed more or less permanently in the middle of the chancel.[615] The ambiguous position of the table left open the possibility that individual clergy might pursue a more 'catholic' approach to the communion table within their own parish.

Communion table innovation in and about London can be considered in two phases.[616] The first concerned the railing of the table. This was generally undertaken to ensure that the table was not subject to profane use and did not necessarily imply its relocation to an altarwise position. In most parish accounts and other records the phrasing suggests that the table was in fact free standing at the time of railing, as the rail is usually described as going 'about' the table. At St. Mary Aldermary there is an account for 'enclosing the communion table'[617] and at St. Botolph Billingsgate the

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[614] Anti-Calvinists, p. 200-1.
[615] ibid.
[616] Both phases are clearly evident in parishes such as All Hallows Barking and St. Martin Orgar
[617] CWA, GLMS 6754, 1637/38.

accounts are for 'railing in' the communion table.[618] In a few cases there is mention of more than one type of rail, presumably one going about the table and one enclosing it. The second phase of innovation involves the relocation of the table on a north-south axis against the east wall of the chancel, altarwise. Both of these changes are illustrated in a number of parishes, with the railing of the table preceding its relocation. For this reason it cannot be assumed that the railing of the table automatically involved its relocation to an altarwise position. In general, it would appear that the authorities in London were only concerned with the railing of the table up until the metropolitical visitation in 1637. After that, the concerns of diocesan authorities appear to shift emphasis and extend to the altarwise relocation of the table.

The earliest example of railing the communion table is probably from the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, where the churchwardens and parishioners petitioned Parliament during the 1640s in favour of their communion table and rails on the grounds that they were not recent innovations but 80 years old.[619] The implied date may or may not be correct, Lancelot Andrewes was the incumbent from 1588-1605 and might be reasonably expected to have encouraged such a reform.[620] This example may reflect a willingness on the part of some to embrace a form of worship in which the sacraments held a more central place. However, the apparent isolation in which it occurred suggests that early reforms had little to do with the systematic and institutional enforcement that was characteristic of innovation in the 1630s.

More generally there were some efforts during the episcopacy of Richard Bancroft, 1597-1604, to improve the interior condition of the churches in London.[621] Yet,

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[618] CWA, GLMS 942/1, fo. 148.
[619] Alan Argent 'Thesis' p. 112.
[620] Hennessy, p. 172.
[621] VCH, Vol. I, p. 324-25.

whatever impact these measures may have had was overshadowed by the implementation of the altar-wise table under Laud. From relatively early in his career Laud demonstrated his interpretation of the Elizabethan injunctions as requiring the that communion tables should be placed 'at the upper end of the choir, north and south or altarwise'.[622] He had instituted the altarwise table as Dean of Gloucester and there is ample evidence that this remained his mature determination. In 1635 William Dell reported to Nathaniel Brent on the Archbishop's wish that Brent pursue the policy in careful detail and to ensure the removal of existing impediments to the altarwise table:

> My lords Grace is informed that at Monkes-Illish in Suffolk there is a monument placed just at the East end of the church, where the Communion Table or Altar should stand; And therefore his Grace wills you, not withstanding that you are now past it, to take order that it either be removed or demolished. And that you be very careful to do the like in all churches elsewhere you find the same abuse.[623]

This same principle was actively pursued in London where pews, which had been raised in the chancel, were removed as an affront to the primacy of the communion table. Laud's views on the superior status of the altarwise table were further stated without equivocation in his speech at the trial of Prynne, Burton and Bastwick.[624]

In London, the evidence obtained from parochial and diocesan records indicates that the enforcement of the altar-wise table occurred from about 1637. To begin with,

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[622] Anti-Calvinists, p. 200-1.
[623] William Dell to Nathaniel Brent, 27 April 1635, Tanner MS. CXL.169.
[624] Anti-Calvinists, p. 200-1.

there is no indication in the various episcopal and archidiaconal visitation articles from 1628 until 1637 that any effort was being made to enforce an altar-wise policy. In these articles the communion table is mentioned in terms that could only be described as unexceptional, by the standards of the 1604 canons. For instance, Laud's 1628 visitation inquired:

Whether have you in your church or chapel ... a convenient and decent communion table standing upon a frame with a carpet of silk, or some other decent stuff, and a fair linen cloth to lay thereon at the communion time? And whether is the same then placed in such convenient sort within the chancel or the church, as that the minister may be best heard in his prayer and administration, and that the greater number may communicate? And is the same table so used out of divine service, or in it, as is not agreeable to the holy use of it, by sitting, throwing hats on it, writing on it, or is it abused to other profane uses?[625]

In its aim this article is not markedly different from the prescription set out in the 1604 Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical.[626] The phrase 'standing upon a frame' is one point of departure between Laud's articles and the prescription for the table found in the church canons of 1604. The terms 'frame' and 'rail' were interchangeable, particularly in the parochial records, as James Batty, Vicar of St Vedast Fosterlane confirmed when he petitioned Laud for 'a frame of wood commonly called a raile about the communion table'.[627] But in the visitation context Laud's expression 'standing upon

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[625] Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of London. . . 1628. in Laud, Works, Vol. V, pt. II, p. 399.
[626] Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical...., STC 22034.
[627] PRO SP 16/308/24

a frame' is no different from that used in a number of earlier visitation articles.[628] On the subject of where the table ought to be sited, Laud's instructions follow the convention established since Elizabethan times, by allowing the table to stand, more or less, wherever convenient. This same formula was repeated in visitations at various levels published throughout the episcopal reigns of Laud and Juxon.[629]

By 1637 steps were being taken to enforce the railing of the communion table at both the metropolitical and diocesan level, although a number of cases exist that predate enforcement. In his account of the metropolitical visitation in the diocese Nathaniel Brent advised Laud that he had enforced the railing of the table in Highgate and Edmonton.[630] In the *Injunctio ad Clerum* which prefaces Arthur Duck's record of Juxon's 1637 visitation, one of the articles to be inquired was that 'the communion table to be railed'. Throughout the diocese Duck cited about 100 parishes for not having done so.[631]

The introduction of the railed table into London was, in some respects, a protracted development. From the evidence available there was a full decade from the time Laud was appointed Bishop of London in 1628 until 1638, the fifth year of Juxon's episcopal reign, when it might been reasonably claimed that the English Arminians had effected conformity on the issue. During this period from 1630 until the triennial visitation in 1637 the number of parishes found where the communion table had been railed barely

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[628] See for instance Westfaling's Articles for Hereford, 1586 and Bancroft's Articles for London, 1601 in W. P. M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, Vol. III 1583-1603, London, 1924.
[629] See for instance the Archdeaconry visitation of London, 1631, and Middlesex, 1634 where the terms are precisely those stated in Lauds 1628 diocesan visitation. Also, Laud's Metropolitical visitation articles employ largely the same terms except that the phrase 'standing upon a frame' is not used; Laud, Works, Vol. 5, p. 421; Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of London. . . 1637, STC 10266.
[630] 'An Account of the Metropolitical Visitation of the Diocese of London', PRO SP 16/351/100
[631] Diocese of London, Visitation Book, 1637, GLMS/ 9537/ 15. See Table 22 for the distribution of orders dealing with rails.

exceeds the number recorded for the period from the last quarter of 1637 and until July 1638. The actual distribution derived from parish records is shown below:

Table 20:

Distribution of Communion Table Railings by Year.

Date	Parishes	Number
1630	St Martin in the Fields	1
1631	Lawrence Jewry, Matthew Friday St	2
1632	Benet Finke, Mary at Hill, Andrew Undershaft	3
1633	Bartholomew Exchange, Botolph Aldgate, Mary Magdalene Milk, All Hallows Barking	4
1634	-	-
1635	St Benet Gracechurch, St Martin Orgar, St Vedast Fosterlane.	3
1636	St Margaret New Fish St, St Margaret Pattens	2
1637	St Michael Cornhill, St George Botolph Lane.	2
1638	Holy Trinity the Less, Andrew Hubbard, Benet Paul's Wharf, Botolph Billingsgate, Dionis Backchurch, Michael Wood, Michael Crooked Lane, Mary Aldermary, Martin Outwich, Thomas the Apostle.	10

The critical factor in this configuration was undoubtedly the metropolitical visitation in 1637[632] and the diocesan visitation in the summer of 1637, but it should be stressed that these figures are based upon the more or less random survival of parochial records. However, in so far as the results tabled above suggest that the railing of the communion table was far from complete at the time of the visitation they do have some measure of support from other sources. In late June of 1636 Robert Aylett, who had made efforts to enforce the railing and proper use of the communion table in the Essex deanery of Rockford, complained to the Dean of Arches that he was experiencing a good deal of opposition 'because they [the parishioners] see no such thing, they say, in the churches in London...'.[633] These observations are again confirmed in the assessment of the London churches made for Juxon following the visitation.[634] In comparative terms the pace of alteration in the period before the visitation is not only slow, but is less obviously the product of a single cause such as a visitation. A number

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[632] The visitation of the Southern Province occurred over four years from 1634 with London the last diocese to be visited.

[633] PRO SP 16/327/187.

[634] PRO SP 16/371/39 fo. 68.

of these examples can be traced to ecclesiastical causes, others have no obvious link, while there are at least two cases where attempts to rail the table either failed or were subverted. The main details of the parishes where the table was railed before 1637 are set out below:

Table 21:
Communion Table Railings before 1637[635]

Year	Parish	Minister	Patron
1630	Martin in the field[636]	Thomas Mountford	Bp of London
1631	Lawrence Jewry[637]	William Boswell	Balliol College, Ox
	Matthew Friday St[638]	Henry Burton	Bp of London
1632	Andrew Undershaft[639]	Henry Mason	Bp of London
	Benet Finke[640]	Vacant ?	D&C Windsor
	Mary at Hill[641]	John Tapsell	Will. Ravensere
1633	All Hallows Barking[642]	Edward Abbot	Abp of Canterbury
	Bartholomew Exchange[643]	John Grant	Rex
	Botolph Aldgate[644]	Thomas Swadlin	Impropriation
	Mary Magdalene Milk St[645]	James Speight	D&C of St Paul's
1635	Benct Gracechurch[646]	John Donne	D&C of St Paul's
	Martin Orgar[647]	Brian Walton	D&C of St Paul's
	Vedast Fosterlane[648]	James Batty	Abp of Canterbury
1636	Margaret New Fish St[649]	Thomas Wood	Bp of London
	Margaret Pattens[650]	Samuel Baker	Lord Mayor

[635] This table lists all of the parishes where the issue of the railing of the communion table was mentioned in the parochial records. It does not mean to suggest that all of these parishes actually went ahead with the proposal or that it was done according to the spirit of the innovation. In the parishes of St Mary at Hill and St Matthew Friday St this was not the case.
[636] CWA, Victoria Library MS F3.
[637] VMB, 10 January 1631, GLMS 689/1.
[638] VMB, GLMS 3579.
[639] Stow, p. 824.'
[640] CWA, 1632, GLMS 1303/1.
[641] VMB, GLMS 1240/1.
[642] VMB, fos. 25v & 26.
[643] CWA, 7 February 1634, GLMS 4383/1.
[644] CWA, 1633, GLMS 9235/2.
[645] Stow, p. 854.
[646] CWA, 1635, GLMS 1568/1.
[647] CWA, 1635, GLMS 959/1.
[648] PRO SP 16/308/24
[649] 'Pd for work about the communion table 1s 6d' CWA, 1636, GLMS 1176/1.
[650] 'Paid ... for altering the rails about the communion table' 9s 2d & 6s 2d.

There are few consistent details that point to a single responsible authority for these changes. Rather they suggest a number of different though related interests at work. These include the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's which is over-represented as a patron of these livings and the individual initiatives of men such as Thomas Mountford, Brian Walton, Thomas Swadlin, Samuel Baker, James Batty and Henry Mason. Some of the decisions to rail the communion table were also referred to, or took their direction from, Laud and Juxon. However there is no hint that Laud, Juxon or any other English Arminian element was aiming at comprehensive changes during this period. The impression overall is that before the visitation they were, for whatever reason, unable or unwilling to enforce innovation on a large scale. Certainly, there was change and a number of parishes did alter their communion furniture but this change moved at an uncertain pace.[651]

Among the 14 clergy listed in Table 21 there were four English Arminians - Samuel Baker, Henry Mason, Thomas Swadlin, and Brian Walton. At St Andrew Undershaft where Mason had been rector since 1613 the addition of 'a communion table with a very fair frame about it' was made during the course of other major changes which took place between 1627 and 1633.[652] The accounts of St Martin Orgar where Walton had been rector since 1628 show a payment of £10 for a communion table with rails in 1635,[653] and at St Botolph Aldgate, which Swadlin had held since 1628, the total charge of £9.05. was recorded in 1633 for railing the communion table and unspecified work about it'.[654] All three of these might reasonably be expected to have acted as initiators of change in their own parishes. Thomas Mountford, John Tapsell and James

[651] In general it would appear that Juxon's progress on this issue was neither inordinately rapid or slow. In Bath and Wells Piers inquired in 1634, but by 1636 only 140 of 469 parishes had railed their tables. Montague did not inquire until 1638. Anti-Calvinists, p. 203-4.
[652] These included some changes already mentioned such as raising of the chancel, new pews, a black alabaster font, a clock, 'a faire wainscot press full of good books', Stow, 1633, p. 824.
[653] St Martin Orgar, CWA, GLMS 959/1.
[654] St Botolph Aldgate, CWA, 1568-1691, GLMS 9235/2.

Batty should, in all likelihood, also be considered initiators of innovation, although the details of their lives and views are not adequate enough to support unequivocally the view that they were English Arminians.

At St Martins in the Fields Thomas Mountford, also holder of prebendary stalls at St Paul's and Westminster Abbey, appears to have been instrumental in effecting the railing of the communion table in 1630. The subject was first raised in December 1626 when a vestryman was appointed to survey the area between the communion table and the chancel seats to certify that it was suitable for 'a frame or pillars' to be raised.[655] Apparently nothing came of this and three years later in November 1629 it was entered into the minute book that certain parish committees had been ordered to 'consider of the making of a frame about the communion table & of the convenience in and charge thereof and the same to certify to Mr Dr Mountford for his further approbation and direction therein'.[656] Finally, an account entry appears in March 1630 for '106 foot of black marble and paving under the communion table' and for ten yards and two foot of rayles and ballisters (being french terms) set up about the communion table...[657] This latter entry came almost four years after the proposal had been originally discussed, but only some few months after the matter was referred to Mountford.

John Tapsell's parish of St Mary at Hill is one example which appears to indicate not only clerical but also diocesan initiative. The issue of the communion table and its alteration arose in the middle of a bitter dispute between Tapsell and the vestry. Ostensibly the dispute was over the appropriate use of parish stock, but in fact it concerned the right of the parishioners to appoint lecturers of their own choice free of

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[655] St Martins in the Fields, VMB, Victoria Library MS F2002, fo. 45.
[656] St Martins in the Fields, VMB, Victoria Library MS F2002, fo. 87.
[657] St. Martins in the fields, CWA, Victoria Library MS. F3.

Tapsell's veto. Although it was formally settled by a Privy-Council appointed commission, relations between the parson and the parish were irrevocably damaged by this dispute. Tapsell never put his name to the copy of the settlement reached by the appointed commission and written into the vestry minute book. Moreover, he seems to have made every effort to frustrate the workings of the parish vestry by not attending meetings. On the 6th June 1632 a plea, one of many, was made for Tapsell to attend and 'to proceed in making up defects about the church and to fulfil [it] as Doctor Duck ordered'.[658] Just what the orders of the diocesan chancellor were concerning 'defects about the church' is not stated, but if they concerned the railing of the communion table then this would have coincided with Tapsell's own wishes as understood by his vestry. Only a few weeks after the last record of his failure to appear at vestry meetings, the minutes record with a hint of satisfaction that he 'refused absolutely to come into the vestry by which means we could conclude nothing about the communion table which he desired to be altered, but as for our other business we proceeded in our meeting as followeth'.[659] There is no further evidence that Tapsell's plan to alter the table actually involved direction from Arthur Duck. While the coincidence is suggestive there is no record of any change being made to the communion table until after Tapsell's death in 1637. If Tapsell's initiative had the support of the diocesan authorities then it was not backed by any sort of commitment to enforce the change and the subject of the communion table remained a dead issue until November 1637 when the newly installed parson Samuel Baker presided over a meeting of the vestry which agreed to purchase new communion plate and a 'faire carpet' for the table.[660]

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[658] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/1, 6 June 1632, fo. 28v
[659] ibid., 1 August 1632, fo. 29
[660] ibid., 7 November 1637, fo. 36v.

In 1635 the apparent disorder in the parish of St Vedast led the rector, James Batty, to petition William Laud, who was also patron of the living, for an order for railing the communion table. In his petition Batty described the situation at St Vedast as one where:

> there have been and still are many disorders and undecencies to his [Batty's] great grief among the parishioners of the said parish in their manner of receiving of the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper for want of a frame of wood commonly called a rail about the communion table to which they might come kneeling in most humble manner to receive of the most blessed sacrament according to the pious and religious canons of the church of England in that behalf.[661]

What Batty's interest was in so addressing Laud is uncertain. His links to Laud and other English Arminians are unclear. He attended Oriel College, Oxford and was granted a BD in 1629, though he had been incumbent of St. Vedast since 1618 through the patronage of George Abbot. If he was not an English Arminian it may have been that he was merely seeking to ingratiate himself with Laud. In any case it is an interesting commentary on the spread of innovation at this time, that a relatively unknown clergyman should petition for authority to establish a rail about the communion table. Does it suggest a certain reluctance on the part of the authorities to enforcing innovation at this time? Unfortunately, Laud's response is not known, but St Vedast was not cited for any irregularities in the visitation held in 1637.

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[661] 'Petition of James Batty Rector of St Vedast Foster Lane to Archbishop Laud' PRO SP 16/308/24.

Alterations were made to the communion table at All Hallows Barking sometime in 1633 or 1634. The precise date cannot be determined as the evidence is not from account books but from a petition prepared in defence of the English Arminian rector Edward Layfield in 1644 and incorporated into the parish books. Among other things the petition defends Layfield against the charge of innovation concerning the communion table. In his defence the vestry stated that the alterations made to the table, specifically, the incorporation of a rail about the table 'with little wooden figures of angels on the corners (lately sawn down)', actually predated Layfield's entry into the parish. Indeed article seven of the petition in his defence stated that 'the rail in the chancel had been there time out of mind...'.[662] Its introduction dates to the incumbency of Edward Abbot who encouraged the parish in a £1400 programme of renewing and beautifying the church which was complete by the time of Abbots death late in 1634.

The possibility of lay initiative in railing the communion table appears in the parish of St Lawrence Jewry where on the 10th of January, 1630 the vestry recorded that 'It is agreed that Mr Stone shall pay to the Joyner 40.s. in full for the frame which is about the Communion table'.[663] The provenance of this decision is unknown. There is no known connection with the church hierarchy. The then vicar was William Boswell a man of no particular known outlook; a graduate of Balliol College, Oxford he entered St Lawrence Jewry, then in the gift of Balliol, in 1616 and remained until his death in 1632. John Davenport had been lecturer and curate to Boswell from 1619 to 1624. However, if Boswell was not instrumental in introducing the railed table then it may be that the initiative lay with the vestry or members thereof. One prominent member of the general vestry which voted to fund the railing of the communion table was Sir Baptist Hicks, who appears to have been in general sympathy with the hierarchy of the church as he financed the purchase of four impropriations and restored them to the

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[662] All Hallows Barking, VMB. The petition in defense of Layfield is entered between fos. 25v and 26
[663] St Lawrence Jewry, VMB 1556-1669, GLMS 689/1, p. 284.

church.[664] Boswell's successor to the parish was Thomas Crane and he carried the struggle for innovation into the 1640s. With the assistance of some members of the parish he was able to disrupt the election of one of the senior churchwardens in 1645 because the candidate had removed the rails from the communion table under parliamentary orders.[665]

In the parish of St Bartholomew Exchange the advocate for railing the communion table was apparently the upper churchwarden Jeremy Jones acting under the direction of the Archdeacon of London's court. On 2nd of June 1633 he addressed a meeting of the minister, the vestry, and a number of the parishioners on certain matters 'which' he said 'did nearly concern my oath'. The oath in question was most probably that undertaken as churchwarden, as there were no diocesan or archidiaconal visitations in 1633. The subjects of his address covered a range of issues from parish funds, church repairs, catechism attendance by children and apprentices, a communicant' register, and the communion table. The matter of the oath and the scope of the subjects make it clear that Jones would not have been the source of these issues but only the herald. However, he may have been the sole advocate within the parish, for throughout the entire affair there is no record of the minister, John Grant, supporting Jones. The directions conveyed by Jones were entered into the vestry minute book as follows:

.. I made known to the vestry that I was enjoined by my oath to observe and take notice that all our communicants which were to receive Holy Communion: that they did receive it reverently on their knees according to the canons and where as it hath been heretofore propounded, to make a decent frame about the communion table as in diverse churches in this City to the end that the

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[664] Economic Problems ,p. 271.
[665] H.M.C., 6th report, p. 90.

communicants might come to the table and receive the holy sacrament kneeling.[666]

The decision to adopt Jones' proposal was neither overwhelmingly embraced or rejected by the parish. The vestry minute book simply records that 'some thought it good and fitt that such a frame should be made and others were against it'.[667] A vestry committee of twelve men was ordered to investigate the proposal further, including 'the convenience of the place where the communion table stands', although it does not specify whether that is in the body of the church or in the chancel. The findings of this committee were never recorded or possibly never reported, but the proposed alterations did go ahead. The costs incurred appear in the accounts throughout February, March, and April of 1633. The first and last of these entries are for the actual costs of the work involved in the alterations; £15 for the making of the frame about the communion table and a small sum for kneelers. The second entry records a small payment of 2s 9d made to Mr Dawson, registrar of the Archdeacon's court, it also states that the charge was paid for 'the drawing out the court for the setting up the frame about the communion table'.[668] Unfortunately there is nothing in the extant records of the Archdeacon of London to illuminate this entry. It may be an administrative charge of some sort, but it is the only record of such a payment found among the extant parish records. However, the fact that it involved the Archdeacons Court points to a level of diocesan interest in the alteration of the communion table.[669]

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[666] St Bartholomew Exchange, VMB, GLMS 4384/1 p. 441.
[667] ibid.
[668] St. Bartholomew Exchange, CWA, GLMS 4383/1, 4 March 1633/34, p. 350.
[669] From later parish records it appears that the communion table at St Bartholomew was railed within the chancel. On 26 February 1642 a decision was taken that 'the rayles in the chancell should be made into pewes and the chancell should be made wider' VMB, GLMS 4384/1 p. 564.

The idea of railing the communion table was under discussion by the vestry of St Matthew Friday Street during 1631 when the parish was under the care of Henry Burton. On 21 February it was agreed by the vestry that the sum of £30.00 should be spent on, among other things 'repayring & adorning of the church, & pewes in the chancel & a frame for the communion table & a head for the pulpit & removing the font.[670] No details of the origin of this decision are available. However, if it began with the diocesan authorities then at the very least this response is equivocal, if not actually defiant. Not only is the addition of the rail matched by the addition of a hood to the pulpit, but the concept of the beauty of holiness which is enshrined in the railed table is lost by the establishment of pews in the chancel, an innovation no less abhorrent to the English Arminians than the railed table was to puritans.

The evidence that has emerged so far shows a series of changes in the London parishes which might best be described as opportunistic. In general they are restricted to those parishes which were to some degree dominated by English Arminian clergy or patrons. There is also a tentativeness about these examples, which is evident in both the lengthy time-span over which they occurred and the lack of evidence of any coercive instrument for the enforcement of change. But with the triennial episcopal visitation of September 1637 this pattern changes; in the space of only eight months at the most, there is evidence for the railing-in of communion tables in 14 parishes out of the total sample of 29 throughout London.[671] It is true that this total is actually less than the examples that can be dated prior to the visitation. However, the critical issue is not simply the totals themselves, but also the rate of change they imply. For of all the

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[670] St Matthew Friday St., VMB 1576-1743, GLMS 3579, p. 49.

[671] The parishes railed in 1637 or early in 1638 are largely known from account records which merely show a sum spent for railing the table. The parishes which fall into this group were: Holy Trinity the Less, GLMS 4835/1; Andrew Hubbard, GLMS 1279/3; St Benet Paul's Wharf, VCH Vol. 1, p. 325; Botolph Billingsgate, GLMS 942/1; Dionis Backchurch, GLMS 4215/1; George Botolph, VCH Vol. 1, p. 325; Michael Cornhill GLMS 4071/1, Michael Wood Street, GLMS 524/1; Michael Crooked Lane, GLMS 1188/1; Mary Aldermary, GLMS 6574; Martin Outwich, GLMS 1394/1; Thomas the Apostle GLMS 662/1.

configurations that can be made of the information drawn from parochial records the most arresting is a comparison of the time period over which the two samples are drawn.

When attention shifts from the parochial records to the records of the visitation itself, there is every indication that the number of parishes which had railed their tables before the visitation may have been as great as 85%. A figure of this magnitude would clearly have implications not only for interpreting the role of the visitation, but also for interpreting the acceptance of the railed communion table. Keeping these questions in mind, it remains clear that it was not until 1637 that railing-in of the communion table became a subject of inquiry and enforcement in the course of visitation by diocesan authorities. In the records of the 1628 and 1634 visitations the failure of parishes to have a rail about their communion table does not appear at all as an article of inquiry, but in 1637 it was arguably the central concern of the visitation. Indeed, complaints on this issue clearly outnumber all other matters recorded by Arthur Duck in the course of the visitation. The point of the inquiry was clearly concerned with discovering whether or not the communion table had been railed in or not. No explicit mention is made of the position of the table, though in one case the term altar is used.[672] One parish was cited for not having a chancel and for keeping the communion table in the vestry.[673] As might be expected Duck's record of the visitation also shows an interest in a number of related issues such as the proper administration of communion and the presence of anything that might detract from the primacy of the table. In respect of these matters he ordered the churchwardens of St Martins, Colchester to present 60

[672] For the parish of Padewe Parva in the deanery of Chelmsford the following comment was recorded: Rich Hook Rec& John Newton Vic. monished to use the ceremonies of the church wholly and to administer the communion to none but who come to the altar & there kneele, '. GLMS/9537/15 fo. 8
[673] Concerning Pleshley, Middlesex the visitation recorded, 'They say they have no chancel but the communion table stands in the vestry' GLMS/9537/15/fo..33. The parish of Banstead was ordered to remove pews from the chancel, GLMS /9537/15/Fo..29v

parishioners who had refused communion 'because of the raile lately made'; and at St Peters, Colchester, where the spirit of English Arminian reform had been offended by the construction of seats inside the communion rail he ordered that they be removed and that their removal be certified.[674] In a few cases Duck also acted against efforts to subvert reform; in the parishes of Braintree and Heddington in the archdeaconry of Middlesex. It was noted in the first case that 'the communion table kneeling place is taken down' while the curate of Heddington was complained of for having ordered the table to be taken out of the rails.[675]

Orders issued by Duck for the railing of communion tables were made to just over 100 parishes throughout the diocese. They were distributed throughout the diocese as shown in Table 22. A simple arithmetical reckoning of these figures might lead to the conclusion that the bulk of the work in terms of introducing the railed communion table to the diocese of London had already been done before the 1637 triennial visitation. It might also suggest that the visitation was directed on the issue of the communion table against the intransigence of a bare 15% of the parishes in the diocese and that presumably the majority had adopted the new arrangement without any form of enforcement. This is clearly at odds with the impression created by evidence based on parochial records which, on the available evidence from 29 London parishes, argues for a bare 50% completion rate by 1637. No entirely satisfactory resolution can be had from these two figures but it is apparent that there are some anomalies in the record of the visitation itself which should at least revise the result obtained there.

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[674] GLMS/9537/15 fo. 23v, 24.
[675] GLMS/9537/15 fo. 29v, 30.

Table 22:
Parishes ordered to rail communion tables 1637

Archdeaconry	Deanery	Number of parishes[676]	Parishes ordered to rail the table[677]
COLCHESTER	Colchester	16	3
	Lexden	46	11
	Newport	22	3
	Sam ford	25	2
	Tendring	36	8
	Witham	24	0
ESSEX	Barking	15	1
	Barstable	38	22
	Chafford	15	7
	Chelmsford	28	9
	Dengy	22	2
	Ongar	24	6
	Rochford	24	8
LONDON (City)	-	108	1
MIDDLESEX	Braughing	31	2
	Dunmowe	26	4
	Harlowe	11	0
	Hedingham	43	10
	Middlesex (County)	69	1
ST. ALBANS	-	29	1
Totals		652	101

The most obvious areas where the figures concerned with the visitation are open to question is in connection with the returns for London and Middlesex. Indeed it almost seems as if these details are missing. The visitation record shows that in all of Middlesex only the parish of Enfield had been ordered to certify that their table had been railed in.[678] In London, a solitary order was recorded against St John Walbrook stated that 'the communion table is not railed, and there is a pewe above it.[679]

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[676] The totals offered here are simply those tallied from Newcourt they include not only rectories and vicarages but also daughter chapels pluralities and vacant livings where they existed

[677] This figure is taken directly from the 1637 visitation record (GLMS/9537/15) it includes all of those parishes which were ordered to rail their communion table and a very few who were ordered to correct defective or derailed tables.

[678] GLMS/9537/15 fo. 46.

[679] GLMS/9537/15 fo. 63v.

In citing these two parishes as the only ones at fault the visitation record is surely incomplete. According to parish records at least 13 other London parishes had not railed their tables by the date of the visitation, but these are not mentioned at all in the episcopal visitation record.[680] Such a low incidence of nonconformity is also at odds with evidence from Robert Aylett and from Duck's own document prepared for Juxon after the visitation and details irregularities in London.[681] So, if any estimate of conformity on railing of the communion table is to be made from the visitation record then it should in all likelihood be made without reference to the figures of London and Middlesex. This would mean that for the rest of the diocese the average measure of conformity was 79% with a range as great as 100% in the regions of Witham and Harlow, and as low as 42% in Barnstable. If the distribution of railings given in Table 20 is indicative of the proportion of tables railed by the time of the visitation then the proportion for London is marginally greater in percentage terms than the lowest level of conformity for Barnstable.

So far little reference has been made directly to the altar-wise table. This is largely because the records used provide only truncated references to changes concerning the communion table. In the parish records for London and its environs there are only a small number of parishes where the introduction of an altar-wise table is described in any detail. These are listed in Table 23. A number of other instances are known to have occurred from incidental references in a range of documents such as articles exhibited against clergy.

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[680] See Table 20 and Table 22 above
[681] PRO SP 16/371/39

Table 23:
Parishes showing removal of communion table

Year	Parish	Minister	Patron
1633	St Gregory by St Paul's	R. Jennings	D&C of St Paul's
1636	St Alphage London Wall	Josias Frith	Bp of London
1637	St Martin Orgar	Brian Walton	D&C of St Paul's
C 1637	St Benet Gracechurch	William Quelch	Abp of Canterbury
1638	All Hallows Barking	Edward Layfield	Abp of Canterbury
	All Hallows Lombard	John Weston	Rex
	Olave Jewry	Thomas Tuke	Rex

Among the additional incidental references are Northall, Middlesex where the incumbent George Palmer was charged with bowing towards the 'Communion Table standing Altarwise'.[682] William Graunt, Vicar of Isleworth was reputed to have claimed that he had been put into the parish by Laud to 'root out puritans' and had threatened to prosecute the churchwardens for coming within the altar-rails.[683] Thomas Soame was accused of having 'often times made a leg to the Altar after the Sacrament'.[684] Articles exhibited against William Haywood described him as 'becking, bowing and bending before the Altar'.[685] When Edward Finch, minister of Christchurch, sought to defend himself against the accusation of having removed the communion table his defence was that it was by 'command from Authority at a publicke Visitation'.[686] At St. Michael Cornhill, William Brough appears to have introduced the altarwise table in 1637. Payments for new rails were made directly to Brough and there was additional expenditure for painting and gilding 'about the communion table'.[687] An account entry for the construction of chancel pews in 1642

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[682] Lords Journal V. 666.
[683] Century, No. 34.
[684] Walker Revised, p. 260.
[685] The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Doctor Heywood. . . By the Parishioners of St Giles in the Fields, 1641.
[686] Edward Finch, An Answer to the Articles preferred against Mr Edward Finch, 1641, p. 10.
[687] CWA, GLMS 1188/1 fo. 124v.

indicates that the communion table had stood in the upper part of the chancel.[688] Accounts for St Mary Aldermary also indicate that the table was enclosed.[689]

St Gregory's by St Paul's is the earliest instance of the introduction of the altar-wise communion table . The living was impropriate and belonged to the canons of St Paul's. The innovation was promoted on the authority of the Dean and Chapter, a body which then included the English Arminians John Donne, Henry Mason, and William Bray as well as four other English Arminians who also shared the distinction of being graduates of St John's College, Oxford.[690] The parishioners of St Gregory's objected to the innovation and prepared a case against those who had 'removed the communion table of St Gregory's from its ancient and accustomed position in the middle of the chancel'. Their intention was to show that the move was unprecedented and contrary to the practice of the Church of England. To this end they based their arguments upon what might be regarded as an impressive array of authorities.[691] The arguments in support of the move were a curious blend of the trivial and the terrestrial. A document from Bath and Wells dated March 1634 and presumably from the hand of William Piers set out seven points in favour of the relocation and railing of the communion table. These reflect the conventional public justification for the proposed changes. Compared to the arguments set out by the parishioners of St Gregory's the English Arminian case lacked substantial precedents, even though they did begin with an appeal to the Elizabethan injunction which ordered that the communion table should stand where the altar once stood. Thereafter the cause is reduced to a series of claims about the status of the table, the likely profanation of the table that will follow if it is not railed, and finally a recourse to authority:

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[688] ibid., fo. 168.
[689] CWA, GLMS 6754, 1637/38.
[690] Thomas Turner, 1629; Richard Bayley & William Haywood, 1631; and Edward Layfield, 1632.
[691] These sources were: The rubric before communion from the Book of Common Prayer, The 82nd Canon from the Canons Ecclesiastical 1604, The Royal declaration before the articles held at London 1562 (against innovations), Bp. Jewel, The royal injunctions 1559, and Eusebius. LPMS 943 p. 719.

It is fitt the daughters should be like their mother, the parochial church should

be like the cathedral churches that so there may be an uniformity in this respect

in every church.[692]

Whatever the relative merits of the respective arguments it was by recourse to power

that the issue of the altar-wise table was eventually settled. In November 1633 King

Charles intervened with an order in council in favour of the Dean and Chapter which

also gave the right of determination to the Ordinary in every diocese. In effect this

opened up parochial churches wherever they were ruled by English Arminian bishops

to the most profound alterations of their interior that had occurred since the

establishment of the Elizabethan church.

Even with the backing of royal authority the progress of the altar-wise table was far

from a uniform affair nor was its success a foregone conclusion. Within some dioceses

enforcement was prompt; Piers of Bath and Wells prepared his justification for the

alteration just four months after the St Gregory's decision, but by early in 1636 he had

only a 30% success rate.[693] In Peterborough Francis Dee wrote the innovation into his

1634 visitation articles, but no major drive for enforcement was made until the middle

of 1637.[694] Similar patterns are evident in a number of other areas.[695] Following the

triennial visitation in 1637 Arthur Duck reported to Juxon that:

There are many Communion Tables in several churches of the City of London

that are not railed in, & that some of them are placed in the middle of the

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[692] LPMS 943 p. 475.
[693] Anti-Calvinists p. 204.
[694] ibid.
[695] Anti-Calvinists p. 203-209.

chancel where as they may be placed more conveniently at the east end thereof.[696]

Here the interest is clearly in the relocation of the table altarwise and in railing across the chancel.

In 1636 the vestry of St Alphage, London Wall agreed 'that our communion table shall be removed close under the window on the eastside'.[697] The decision was taken and approved by 15 members of the vestry including the minister Josias Frith. There is nothing to link Frith with the English Arminians. He was the minister of St Alphage from 1619 till his death in 1637. Failing the existence of any link through Frith, it can only be assumed that it was through Juxon as patron of the living that the proposal was undertaken but this is by no means certain.

At St Martin Orgar the provenance of the altar-wise table is a much more straightforward issue. The parish accounts show that in 1635 the parish spent the sum of £10: 00 on the purchase of a communion table and rails, the newly railed table was installed in the parish church in the middle of the chancel. It remained there until March 1637 when the minister of the parish, Brian Walton, entered the parish church with John Warner, William Brough, Samuel Baker, and two others. Once there the church warden Thomas Gore was summoned and was commanded:

in the King's name and in the name of the Lord Archbishop Grace of Canterbury forthwith to take the communion table, which then stood in the

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[696] PRO SP 16/371. CSPD, Charles I, Vol. 11, 1637, p. 518.
[697] St Alphage London VMB 1608-1711. GLMS 1431/2, 16 August 1636, p. 153.

midst of the chancel compassed in on all sides with a very fair rail, and to set it and mount it up under the east windows in the form of an altar.[698]

The situation then fell into a stalemate with the churchwarden demanding to see some sort of warrant authorising the deed. Walton and his companions claimed to have the document but refused to show it to Gore. The account goes on to outline the action which saw the railed table in St Martin Orgar transformed into an altar:

> then came Dr Warner to the table in a riotous way, and calling to the rest to help him, they together took hold of the table and lifted it over the rails and carried it and placed it under the east window.[699]

To settle the matter Walton then proceeded to threaten Gore with the high commission if the table was removed from its new site.

In comparison to St Martin Orgar the remaining examples of the table being transformed into an altar are mundane. At St Benet Gracechurch, William Quelch was appointed minister by Laud in 1637. The communion table had been framed prior to Quelch's appointment.[700] Once installed Quelch quickly set about working to introduce full English Arminian ceremonial, like Walton and Warner he too appears to have acted with a total lack of awareness for the sensitivities of his parishioners. He threatened his parish clerk with suspension for not bowing at the name of Jesus,

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[698] St Martin Orgar, Petition against Dr Walton. . . , 1641.
[699] ibid.
[700] CWA 1635, GLMS 1568/1.

arguing that 'he never knew any writ against it but one wretched man Prynne'.[701] When confronted with opposition over the altar-wise table issue he informed the parish that. .. 'he was put into that living by the Archbishop of Canterbury and afterward said that he who put him in told him he put him in to bring in those things peaceably and therefore they should not think much if he urged them'.[702] At All Hallows Lombard the removal of the communion table is almost lost in the brevity of the entry in the churchwardens accounts which reads: 'Pd and spent when we were sent for about the removal of the communion table...3s 6d'.[703] At St Olave Jewry the table was transferred altar-wise in June 1638 by an order from Arthur Duck under the authority of William Juxon. The copy of the order entered into the vestry minute book reads:

the communion table to be railed about with a kneeler or in such decent manner as that the minister may stand within the rail & administer the holy communion there to the parishioners kneeling about the said rails and that yee take down such pewes or seats as are about the communion and place the communion table close to the walls at the upper end of the chancel of the said parish church.[704]

Such a comprehensive order which deals with the railing of the table as well as its position highlights again some of the inadequacies of the actual record of 1637 triennial visitation for it seems likely that the problems at St Olave Jewry were detected in the course of the visitation but clearly were not entered into the record.

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[701] 'The Humble petition of divers of the parishioners of St Benet Gracechurch in London', House of Lords Main Papers, 23 December, 1641.
[702] ibid.
[703] All Hallows Lombard, CWA 1638, GLMS 4049/1.
[704] St Olave Jewry VMB, GLMS 4415/1, 13 June 1638.

The last parish from which there is any material dealing with the altar-wise table issue is All Hallows Barking, the parish where Laud was eventually to be buried. The patron of the parish was the Archbishop of Canterbury and like St Martin Orgar there were clearly two alterations made to the communion table. The first of these involved the railing of the table; this occurred during the incumbency of Edward Abbot at some time around 1633. The second belongs to some time in August 1638 when according to the vestry minute book an order was received for the removal of the table to the east end of the chancel:

Whereas this day the 6th of August 1638 it was agreed by the vestry that the communion table should be sett up to the upper end of the chancel and the table should be raised on a step according to an order whose copy is here underwritten.[705]

Unfortunately the order was never written so that the precise terms are lost. But when the innovation was later charged against the then minister Edward Layfield the parish or a section thereof rallied to his defence[706] and declared that:

the communion table was placed as it now standeth by special command from the ordinary in writing sent to the Churchwardens.[707]

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[705] All Hallows Barking, VMB, fo. 20..
[706] Layfield's supporters were made up of the Churchwardens, and Vestrymen past and present. A total of 22 signatures were appended to the petition in defence of his conduct and orthodoxy.
[707] All Hallows Barking, VMB..

The extent to which orders like this were issued to the parishes of London is probably beyond assessment. There are only a handful of parishes where there is any descriptive material dealing with repositioning of the communion table in the chancel. The chronology of the examples cited above does suggest strongly that Laud's metropolitical visitation, which passed through the diocese in February and March 1637, may have been significant as a trigger for the diocesan authorities to act. With the exception of the rather special case of St Gregory's all of the remaining examples should be viewed in the context of this event. The report of Laud's Vicar-General on the visitation makes it clear that the position of the communion table was certainly a subject of scrutiny by the provincial authorities. On 10th March Brent, acting on intelligence received from Laud, noted that in the Middlesex chapel of Highgate the table had been already been moved and railed in advance of his inquiry. At Edmonton, also in Middlesex, Brent reported:

> a faire monument is set at the upper end of the chancel which I have ordered
> to be taken down without delay and the communion table to be set in the place
> of it, with a comely raile about it.[708]

If Brent, as Laud's agent, showed such an obvious concern with the position of the communion table, then it is probably no coincidence that in the very same month Walton could act with such force in altering the position of the railed table in St Martin Orgar and diocesan orders for relocation of the table appeared from 1638.

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[708] 'An Account of the Metropolitical Visitation of the Diocese of London', PRO SP 16/351/100.

The beautification of parish churches and establishment of the altarwise table merely set the scene as far as English Arminian ceremonial was concerned. What mattered ultimately was the extent to which ceremony was adhered to. It has been argued that ceremonies aroused considerable hostility and were subject to protest and dissent through boycott to a considerable degree.[709] For Robert Baillie, 'the Canteburians' were Arminian in the manner in which they formulated the temporal relationship between election and faith.[710] But their adherence to ceremonies led them to 'tenets, which to all mere Arminians were ridiculous follies'. Baillie noted not only the revival of ceremonies in the 1630s but also 'a great bitterness of spirit, against all who ran not after these...'.[711] In 1637 John Dod of Coxall in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex was alleged to have attributed the cause of the plague to changes in religion 'and the idolatry and superstition that was crept in amongst us'.[712]

Margaret Spufford has argued that opposition often went undetected because churchwardens to whom articles of inquiry were addressed were themselves puritans or alienated by English Arminian reform.[713] Opposition to English Arminianism was not always expressed overtly, examples from Ely, Sussex and Kent indicate the success with which conformity was over-reported and non-conformity under-reported.[714] As J. Sears Mcgee has commented: 'Conspiracies of silence were a greater danger to Laud than the conspiracies of radicals he feared.[715] Likewise, they plague any attempt to reconstruct conformity and dissent to the ceremonial aspects of English Arminianism.

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[709] J. S. McGee 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion', p. 335.

[710] Robert Baillie, Laudensium AutoKatakrisis: the Canteburians self-conviction, 1641, p. 17.

[711] ibid., p. 31.

[712] GLMS 9537/15/fo 19v.

[713] Margaret Spufford, 'Can We Count the, 'Godly' and the, 'Conformable' in the Seventeenth Century?'.

[714] J S McGee, 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion, ', p 335.

[715] ibid.

A further problem facing any consideration of the response to ceremonial reform is the limited records through which the reaction towards the innovations can be studied.[716]

In considering the response to reforms a distinction needs to be kept in mind between the enforcement of canonical and non-canonical discipline. Throughout the early seventeenth century there was a general inclination towards formal religious observance. Strict sabbatarianism was waning and 'between 1603 and 1640 a great and general increase took place not only in the number of celebrations of Holy Communion held during the year, but even more in the number of those who communicated'.[717] More recently J. P. Bolton has demonstrated that even in relatively large populous parishes an efficient and comprehensive administration of communion could be operated that ensured a very high degree of formal observance.[718] Although, the existence of effective administration does not necessarily imply a greater depth of piety since the reasons for these mechanisms was to organise the collection of communion dues and to manage the distribution of communion in circumstances where not all the parish could gather at once in the parish church.[719]

Enforcement during Laud's term as Bishop and into the mid-1630s was to a large extent concerned with conformity to the Canons of 1604. Clergy were required to wear the surplice, use the sign of the cross at baptism, and subscribe to the Articles of Religion. Beyond these requirements clergy were occasionally articled against for

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[716] There are only isolated survivals for some of the most valuable classes of records such as Church wardens presentments GLMS/9583, The Vicar-General's Books are largely probate material.
[717] VCH, Vol. 1, p. 359. See Appendix G.
[718] J. P. Boulton, 'The Limits of Formal Religion: The Administration of Holy Communion in the late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', London Journal, 10, 2, 1984.
[719] ibid., p. 143, 146.

outbursts of enthusiasm.[720] At this level of ceremony there was a core of clergy who refused conformity. If these rather innocuous elements were controversial in the eyes of some clergy this may have something to do with the tolerance shown towards nonconformity by bishops such as John King and Archbishop Abbot.[721] But generally speaking the Instructions delivered by Laud to his clergy in 1629 aroused little evident resistance. They rated only one mention in the extant parochial records. At St Margaret Lothbury Humphrey Tabor delivered a brief report to his vestry on the Instructions in which he mentioned the setting up of lectureships, use of questions and answers in catechism and the wearing of the hood by the clergy as the major concerns. The only response from his vestry was to debate who should bear the cost of the hood. Most agreed freely that it should be charged to the parish.[722] The general silence on the matter may suggest that there was not a widespread reaction to the level of conformity they required. However, during the later 1630's some forms of ceremony and conduct were also enforced that had not previously been matters for prosecution. Most prominent among these were the offences of not bowing at the name of Jesus, not bowing at the altar and not dispensing communion at the rails or, in the case of the laity, not receiving at the rails. Here the response was somewhat different.

There is little evidence that the full disciplinary power of the church was used to enforce conformity among clergy. In general most clergy appear to have conformed or gone undetected as far as basic canonical conformity was concerned. While few clergy were disciplined or forced from the church during the 1630s, both Laud and Juxon dealt with breaches of order where they were detected. In most cases the approach taken was conciliatory rather than confrontatinal, and even well established puritans

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[720] For example John Beedle, rector of Barnestowe, was articled against in 1633 on several counts it was said of him that, 'upon Sundays he usually reads the lesson, sings a psalme and so into the pulpit, GLMS 9657/1 'Sundry Papers', 1605-1630, Item 12.
[721] O. U. Kalu, 'Bishops and Puritans in Early Jacobean England: A Methodological Perspective', and, 'Continuity in Change...'; S. Holland 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of Puritanism'.
[722] VMB, GLMS 4352/1, 15 January 1629/30, fo. 133v.

found Bishop Laud to be full of 'patient forebearing' when dealing with non-conformity.[723]

There were some early suspensions of clergy during Laud's bishopric that reflected concern over canonical conformity. Henry Burton was the only parish minister among them.[724] The others were curates. James Nalton, curate of St Mary Colechurch, was suspended in July 1629 for refusing to use the sign of the cross at baptism while officiating on behalf of John Davenport at St. Stephen's Coleman Street.[725] Abraham Grimes, of St Catherine Cree, was suspended for asking why the name of 'Jesus' should have more reverence than 'Christ'.[726] Elias Crabtree of St Lawrence Pountney was articled against in the High Commission and sent to Laud as a person schismatically affected.[727] While the action taken against these men demonstrates on the surface a concern for canonical conformity, it also shows a distinct break with earlier official tolerance towards non-conformity for the sake of the alliance against Roman Catholicism; more so because it was undertaken along with efforts to curtail predestinarian preaching.

In 1635 several clergy including John Stoughton and John Goodwin were convented for breach of the Canons of the Church in sermons or practice or both.[728] However, in the preamble to his report of the 1637 metropolitical visitation, Nathaniel Brent painted a picture of relative harmony when he stated that:

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[723] Brian Burch, 'The Parish of St Anne's Blackfriars, London to 1665...., p. 29.
[724] Laud, Episcopal Register, GLMS 9531/15, fo. 21 18 June 29.
[725] PRO SP 16/147/67, 16/151/98.
[726] Laud, Episcopal Register, GLMS 9531/15, fo. 21v, 22, 20 December 1630.
[727] GLMS 9657/1 'Sundry Papers'. Laud, Episcopal Register, GLMS 9531/15, fo. 26.
[728] LPMS 943, p. 267.

The ministers are generally conformable to their habit only two or three very young men and about as many poor curates were faulty in their kind. They are now canonically admonished, and have promised a serious and a sudden reformation.[729]

In London and Middlesex Josias Symons, John Goodwin and Adoniram Byfield were reported by Brent for not wearing the surplice and for rejecting the legality of bowing at the name of Jesus. On the first point they were admonished and for the second were ordered to appear before Thomas Worral and Juxon's chaplains to profess their obedience or else face suspension.[730] Richard Cowdall of St Mary Colechurch and Andrew Janeway were reported for omitting part of the Service and reading in a cloak.[731] Matthew Rendall of Teddington was interviewed by Brent on account of his excessively long Sunday afternoon sermons, despite having been admonished by Arthur Duck.[732] Nathaniel Brent informed Laud that Rendall 'now sees and acknowledges his fault. Rendall sought a canonical admonition, but Brent added in his report 'I keep him in fear still'.[733] James Palmer of St Brides Fleet Street was detected not wearing the surplice and was suspended on suspicion of having been previously admonished.[734] Arthur Duck's account of the triennial episcopal visitation later that year detected the same men for largely the same offences.[735] In 1637 some 25 London ministers were summoned before the Chancellor for some non-conformity.[736] George Walker was imprisoned by the Star Chamber in November 1638 on account of his preaching.[737]

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[729] PRO SP 16/351/100, fo. 259.

[730] ibid., fo. 263.

[731] ibid., fo 262 v, 263.

[732] PRO SP 339/53/123, 351/100/262.

[733] PRO SP 351/100/262.

[734] ibid.

[735] PRO SP 16/371/39. Duck also mentioned John Lawson of All Hallows Bread Street for failure to appear, George Walker of St John the Evangelist for praying ...'loosely and factiously as for the conversion of the queen and for a neighbouring minister in persecution' and Edward Finch of Christchurch because of parish lectures maintained by collection.

[736] LPMS 943, p. 276.

[737] Argent 'Thesis' p. 78.

Finally, John Stoughton was presented in November 1640 for reading divine service at St Botolph Aldersgate.[738]

Although the total number of actions against clergy are few, it must be pointed out that these are only the cases that could be established. Even where offences were known to have been committed or suspected they still had to be proved. Stephen Marshall was described by Nathaniel Brent as having 'an inconformable heart, but externally he observeth all'.[739] Despite Laud having informed Brent of Marshall's non-conformity Brent could take no action because of lack of proof.[740] This was not the only case where the machinery of visitation broke down because of lack of evidence or testimony.[741]

Another point in relation to the number of prosecutions made by the English Arminians was that eliminating puritan non-conformity was not their principal goal. English Arminianism had a positive program for reform of the church and much energy clearly went into implementing reforms. Acceptance of this programme was always likely to more successfully achieved by selective enforcement aimed at high profile offenders. General enforcement would have quickly alienated the wider clergy and laity and turned non-cooperation to open hostility. As Bishop of London, Laud often took care to interview non-conformists personally thereby underscoring the value of selective enforcement. As Archbishop he ensured that his metropolitical visitation paid close

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[738] Archdeacon of London, Assignation Books 1639-40, GLMS 9059/2/280.

[739] PRO SP 16/351/261.

[740] In his report to Laud Brent wrote of Marshall 'I could not prove upon him the ommitting of the blessed name of Jesus (as is expressed in the paper) nor anything else against the Ceremonies of the Church', PRO SP 16/351/261.

[741] Brent complained to Laud that he could he could take no action against one minister 'as nobody was present to testifie' and at Rockford he had questioned a number of clergy for nonconformity which he could not prove 'many gave me secret information who could not be induced to testifie anything' PRO SP 16/351/262.

attention to well-known puritan dissenters. Nathaniel Brent's account of the visitation records that John Davenport's movements were carefully recorded[742] and that John Stoughton's study was carefully searched and money seized which Stoughton had used to support efforts 'in making a pacificacon betweene the Calvinists and the Lutherans'.[743] Particular attention was paid to Stephen Marshall of Finchingford who, Brent noted, should be watched over since 'he governeth the conscience of all the rich puritans in this part and in many places far remote'.[744] What is significant about the enforcement actions of the English Arminians is not the number of prosecutions that were achieved, but the direction that it took.

The proper administration of Holy Communion by clergy was certainly a matter of some concern to authorities.[745] As already discussed steps were taken to remove pews that obstructed parishioners from kneeling at communion and parishes were required to set up rails about their communion tables. During Laud's episcopacy practices such as the clergy carrying communion to parishioners who remained seated or kneeling at their pews were discouraged. Clergy were ordered to administer communion only to those who knelt 'without regard for their rank or quality'.[746]

Elias Crabtree was articled against for administering communion to 'divers parties standing or sitting & not kneeling'.[747] Several other clergy were detected for various

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[742] 'Mr Davenport hath lately beene in these parts, and at Hackney not long since. I am told that he goeth in gray like a Country gentleman' PRO SP 16/351/261v.

[743] PRO SP 16/351/261.

[744] PRO SP 16/351.

[745] PRO SP 339/53.

[746] When Richard Padmore, Vicar of South Weald, Essex, appeared before Laud and Duck for administering to those who refused to kneel his defence was that those who refused were persons of great quality. Laud insisted that Padmore deliver communion only to those who knelt regardless of social rank and that a notice to this effect be published in the church GLMS 9657/1 Sundry Papers, Item 6.

[747] GLMS 9657/1, 'Sundry Papers, 1605-1630'.

non-conformities, but for the most part they were mildly dealt with and would probably have offended any diocesan. John Goodwin of St. Stephen Coleman Street followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, John Davenant, when he was mentioned for having administered communion to 'persons standing and sitting'.[748] Arthur Jackson, in his role as Chaplain to the Clothworkers Company, appeared before Laud for having celebrated communion on a common turn-up table.[749] Matthew Griffith was presented for celebrating communion from a tavern bowl.[750]

In absolute terms the actions taken under Laud and Juxon to stem clerical non-conformity are not significant. But, in relative terms they are more significant than they might first appear. Laud's actions on his appointment as Bishop of London was in stark contrast to previous administrations. In directing visitations Laud was clearly well informed on who the major offenders were. He had intelligence from men such as John Elborow and Robert Aylett, his chaplains such as William Bray gathered information from a wider field. If the limits of administrative machinery did not allow for comprehensive prosecution of non-conformity, Laud's notes on irregularities gave clear direction to Nathaniel Brent on those persons and parishes where special note was to be taken.[751] Consequently men such as Daniel Votier and Josias Symons were marked for attention. They may never have been harshly dealt with by the church courts, but they were forced by the innovations introduced by the English Arminians to make they own choice and they consequently broke with the Church of England altogether. A larger number of others such as Davenant, Downing, Goodwin, Palmer and Stoughton were forced into non-conformity and open opposition.

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[748] PRO SP 16/339/53, fo. 122. Davenport claimed that administration of the sacrament to a kneeling congregation was not practical because of the size of the church.
[749] DNB.
[750] PRO SP 16/339/61.
[751] PRO SP 16/339.53

The introduction of the altarwise communion table brought with it some ceremonial innovations that were in addition to the requirements of canonical observance. The most significant of these in terms of behavioural changes was reception of communion while kneeling at the rails. In general, apart from a few exceptional parishes, communicants seem to have accepted practices such as kneeling at communion in pews or even in chancel, but the requirement to kneel at rail of the altar was clearly unacceptable to many both for its implicit theology and for its association with Roman Catholicism. Although even on this point there was some degree of acceptance. At All Hallows Barking the churchwardens indicated, in a petition in support of Edward Layfield and against a section of the parish who objected to the practice, that 'the communicants have ever been accustomed to come to the rail and there receive the holy sacrament kneeling. The minister never known to goe forth of the rail and carry the blessed sacrament into pewes.'[752] According to A Complaint to the House of Commons made by free Protestant subjects of the Cities of London and Westminster troubles in the Church began:

> under the fair pretence of orderly service of God by railing in the Communion Table, providing church ornaments and the like, (which we are so farre from condemning, that we should have had cause to thanke them if they had staied there) for we wel approve of harmlesse & inoffensive Ceremonies, and decent form of God's worship & Service) but what with their new Christening our communion tables to make them Altars, setting them Altarwise at the Upper end of the Chancell, advancing them upon steps in some places, changing them from wood to stone, setting up crucifixes, and then bowing & cringing and the bold sermons for auricular confession; freewill, merit, real presence in the Papisticall sense and such other stuffe; we could not well tell where they would rest.[753]

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[752] 'The Humble Petition of the Vestrymen and chief inhabitants ...', All Hallows Barking, VMB.
[753] A Complaint to the House of Commons, Oxford, 1642, p.5.

It is evident in the petition that a degree of support for some order and decency in worship existed within sections of the laity. Problems appear to have arisen because the programme for achieving order and decency was not effectively justified, hence the concerns over how far it was proposed to go with the reforms and the inevitable connection with Roman Catholic ceremony.

It has been argued that Laud's policy with respect to reception of communion at the altar rails was not one of enforcement but one of persuasion.[754] There is evidence to support this view. According to Richard Holdsworth it was Laud's position to encourage obedience rather than to coerce the laity into accepting. As Archdeacon of Huntingdon Holdsworth wrote to one of his clergy instructing him:

> not to deny communion to any of your communicants that present themselves to receive as they ought, kneeling in the chancel, although they come not up to the Rail; to which none are to be compelled to come, save only those that are willing . (...) Sir, I am sorry you should deny these comforts to so many conformable men having no command from superiors. It might have bred you more trouble, but my Lord's Grace delights in gentleness'[755]

Whether this reflects Laud's true view of the matter may be open to question. The earlier policy of church authorities as evident in the 1637 visitation was to allow communion to be administered only to those kneeling at the rails. At Colchester 60 parishioners from St. Martin's & St. Peter's were ordered to be presented for refusing

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[754] Kevin Sharp, 'Archbishop Laud', p 29.
[755] Sent from St. Peter's London 4 April 1639, Tanner MS 460.41b.

communion because of 'the rail lately made'.[756] Laud's information on irregularities in the diocese noted that 'Holy Communion is given to many in their pews (..) and that in some churches where there is a decent rail to come to'.[757] He provided his Vicar-General with specific instances of non-conformity which he wished to be investigated, including the right ordering of communion celebration. Nathaniel Brent admonished clergy who 'never refused to give the blessed Sacramentof the Eucharist to those that kneele not'.[758] In the course of the 1637 diocesan visitation ministers were cautioned to administer only to those who knelt at the rails[759] and churchwardens to certify who does not come up to the rail.[760] Arthur Duck also saw fit to correct one individual who 'did not believe that the Archbishop when he gave order for the railes did intend they should receive the communion there but only that the table should be kept from profanation.[761]

At about the time of the 1637 visitation several clergy appear to have taken a strict line with the laity on matters to do with communion celebration. George Palmer refused to deliver the sacrament to two large groups of parishioners who would not receive it in the chancel.[762] Brian Walton, after forcing the removal of the table at St. Martin Orgar, insisted that communicants receive at the rail.[763] Thomas Crane refused to give the sacrament to those who would not come up to the rails.[764] William Fuller not only refused communion to some but also dealt harshly with what he regarded as inappropriate behaviour by the laity. He was said to have 'caused divers persons for resting thereon (i.e. on the communion rails) in sermon time, to bee violently thrust out

[756] ibid., fo 23, 24.
[757] PRO SP 16/371/39.
[758] PRO SP 16/351/261v, 262v.
[759] GLMS 9537/15, fo. 8.
[760] ibid., fo. 29v, 31v.
[761] GLMS 9537/15, fo. 24v.
[762] LJ, Vol. V, p. 665.
[763] The Articles and charges proved in Parliament against Doctor Walton, p. 3.
[764] HMC, 6th Report, p. 40; Lord's Journal, IV.401.

of the church to the great disturbance of the congregations'.[765] It was claimed that William Graunt had threatened to present one of his churchwardens for coming within the communion rail because it was holy ground to which none must come but the priest.[766]

Among the parishes of London, clergy and laity appear to have responded in several ways to ceremonial innovation. At one extreme a few clergy simply found the new regime intolerable and abandoned their parishes. Laud noted the names of Josias Symons and Daniel Votier among those who had departed.[767] In some parishes, both clergy and laity refused to cooperate in the enforcement of practices they did not accept. In 1640 James Chibbald was presented for not having received communion for 12 months and for not assisting his curate to administer communion for 3 years.[768] Along with Chibbald more than one hundred and twenty of his parishioners were also presented for not receiving communion.[769] John Biram, Churchwarden of St. Mary Somerset, was before the Archdeacons court to answer charges against him including that he did not present large numbers of absentees, nor some in the parish that doe not kneele at the reading of prayers nor bow at the name of Jesus'.[770] Biram was clearly only one among many in the parish who rejected the new ceremonies of the church. In other parishes similar widespread levels of non-cooperation existed. At St Stephen Coleman Street the vestry and parishioners resisted kneeling at communion and the use of the cross in baptism where it implied a sacramental status.[771] At St Martin Orgar there was group of about 20 parishioners who were presented for refusing to attend

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[765] Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Dr Fuller, London, 1641, Article 2.

[766] William Graunt, The Vindication of the Vicar of Isleworth , 1641, p. 7.

[767] LPMS 943, p. 292.

[768] Archdeacon of London, Assignation Books, GLMS 9059/2, fo. 201v. Chibbald was also before the Consistory Court of London for intruding himself into the pulpit of St Giles in the Fields without a licence and not giving warnings of Holy days and feast days. Consistory Court of London, Office Act Book, GLCRO MF X/19/72, p. 23.

[769] Archdeacon of London, Assignation Books, 1639-40, GLMS 9059/2/195-200.

[770] Archdeacon of London, Deposition Book, 1632-1638, GLMS 9057/1/103v.

[771] D. A. Kirby, 'The Radicals of St Stephen Coleman Street, London, 1624-1642, p. 106.

church or to receive communion.[772] Among them David Edwardes made a public show of his opposition; refusing to kneel at the reading of the confession and consecration prayer for communion, 'he sat irreverently to the publick offence of others'[773]

Some parishioners who were disaffected abandoned their parish churches for others with a less stringent approach to enforcement. During the incumbency of William Haywood dissident elements at St. Giles in the Fields were active. A number of parishioners found Haywood's sermons and ceremonialism offensive. A section of the parish complained to the House of Commons that, as a consequence of Haywood's doctrine and ceremony 'we are hereby forced against our wills to seek out the sincere saving truth in our neighbouring churches, not being able to hear, and in our consciences not daring to join in such idolatrous worship.[774] John Squire's critics claimed that on account of his insistence that parishioners should receive communion kneeling at the rail 'most of the Parishioners for conscience sake have (not presuming to submit to this ceremony) omitted receiving of the said sacrament'.[775]

Examples such as these are illustrative of the resistance which the English Arminians confronted and created in seeking to enforce conformity with ceremonial reforms. But, while illustrations can be instructive, it is clearly not possible to know the extent to which parishioners avoided ceremonial reform. The existing records do not allow

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[772] GLMS 9059/1/155v-158, 167v.

[773] ibid., fo. 156.

[774] St. Giles in the Fields The Petition and Articles exhibited in Parliament ... by the parishioners of St. Giles in the Fields against Doctor Heywood, London, 1641, p. 2. In contrast to St Giles other parishes such as St. Stephen's Coleman Street had to introduce communion tokens specifically to ensure that parishioners were not disadvantaged by the influx from other parishes; D. A. Kirby 'The Radicals of St Stephen Coleman Street, London, 1624-1642', p. 106.

[775] An Answer to a Printed Paper Entitled Articles Exhibited in Parliament against Mr John Squire, 1641, Article 12 p. 8.

for a systematic analysis of court proceedings relating to the enforcement of ceremonial reform.[776] Clearly, some individuals ceased to attend their parish church while in a few cases it appears that whole parishes sought to subvert the introduction of reforms. For these the implications of the ceremonial reforms introduced by the English Arminians broke the peace of the church that had existed under prelates such as John King and George Abbot. It would appear that many others who could sympathise with the broad aims of order and decency were offended by the direction of changes that they were witness to, by the end of the decade they too were in opposition to the English Arminians.

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[776] Appendix H provides an account of data gathered from the Archdeacon of London's Assignation Books for 1636, 1639 and 1640.

Chapter Seven:
PARISH POLITICS AND THE PARISH PURSE

'If people do not die, I cannot live'
Thomas Swadlin, St Botolph Aldgate[777]

As well as pursuing directly a policy of theological and liturgical uniformity, English Arminians also sought to enforce administrative and economic policies aimed at underpinning both the doctrine and discipline promulgated by the church. The Reformation, and particularly the rise of Calvinism, had opened up areas of religious life to lay control. By the early seventeenth century the implications of this were apparent in English church life. The emphasis on Scripture and doctrines such as election that were central to Calvinist thinking undermined much of what English Arminians stood for in areas of theology and worship. Significant efforts were made to contain and reverse these encroachments upon the orthodox church. As Marc L Schwartz has argued the unifying theme of Laud and his followers was their attempt 'to divest the church of lay influences'.[778] This effort extended beyond theology and worship to issues of political, social, and economic power embedded in a pre-reformation ideal of the church as 'a clerical corporation'. The revival of this model of clergy-laity relations posed a threat to levels of lay power and property that had been acquired by generations of the laity under Elizabeth I and James I.[779]

The protestant emphasis on the individual as arbiter in personal religious matters had important implications for the social and economic base of the church . In a collective

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[777] T.C. Dale, Inhabitants of London ,p. 224.

[778] Marc L Schwartz , 'Lay Anglicanism and the Crisis of the English Church in the Early Seventeenth Century', p. 10.

[779] Paul Christianson, 'Reformers and the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts', pp. 478-81.

sense protestant individualism[780] opened the way for a measure of lay control in the governance of church, at least at the parish level. Disputes on lay rights over impropriated livings and administrative control of parish affairs were often linked to puritan piety.[781] The extent of lay control was curtailed by a number of factors, such as the limited avenues through which it could be asserted. Two areas that were open to conflict between laity and clergy were the role of the laity in directing parish affairs and the financial dependence of the clergy upon the laity. These concerns were hardly novel in the 1630s or to London, nor were they the exclusive concern of English Arminians. However, in London during this period English Arminians directed their attention toward these issues of lay control in the church, seeing in each a clear threat to the administrative and financial autonomy of the church and ultimately to the theology and discipline of English Arminianism.

Before Laud became bishop of London parish vestries had come to play a leading role in conducting local affairs, both as general assemblies of parishioners and as more restricted select vestries. Many parishes had adopted select vestries in the early years of the seventeenth century or before. For instance, the parish of St Dunstan in the West had a select vestry of 24 imposed upon it by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London and the Lord Treasurer in 1602 to quell the disorder created' through the dissent of the inferior and mean sort of the multitude of the inhabitants'.[782] As a consequence the select vestry dealt with church affairs while all secular affairs of the parish fell to a general meeting. St Martin Ludgate claimed a select vestry of 30 granted by Bishop John Aylmer in 1591.[783] However, it is perhaps indicative of the acceptability of the select vestry during the earlier part of the seventeenth century that most of the select vestries operating within London by the 1630s did so without a

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[780] H. R. Trevor-Roper, From Counter Reformation to Glorious Revolution, London, 1993, p. 142
[781] Felicity Heal, 'Economic Problems of the Clergy', p. 115.
[782] LPMS, CM 7/3
[783] LPMS, CM 7/9

grant but by 'use and prescription'. The select vestry was established by the 1630s in some of London's most prominent Puritan parishes - St Mary Aldermanbury (1617), St Botolph Aldgate (1623), St Katherine Coleman Street (1622), and St Stephen Coleman Street (1619). The proliferation of select vestries within puritan parishes is not surprising since it was seen as an important instrument of church government within the Calvinist tradition.

It needs to be stressed that it was not the select vestry that the English Arminians found inherently objectionable. In a sense the size and composition of the vestry was an irrelevant factor. A general vestry or parish which acted as an instrument of lay power was more objectionable than a select vestry that acted under the direction of, or in concert with, the parish clergy. [784] During the 1630s some select vestries acted in support of English Arminian clergy. At St. Giles Cripplegate one of the Articles exhibited against William Fuller was that:

> the said Dr by his conclave or select vestry, exerciseth tyranny over the estates and liberties of the said parishioners; by injurious taxing and levying divers summes of money, easing themselves, and burdening others therein, disposing of the principall Officers at their pleasure, preferring friends and Allyes (though scandalous in life) and keeping out godly and well-affected persons, under the name of Puritans.[785]

At the core of the dispute over vestries was the extent to which the vestry could act as an alternative source of authority within a given parish to the ordained minister. Many

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[784] John Clark (St. Ethelburgh) and William Cooper (St. Thomas Apostle) met with opposition from the laity of their parish over the election of church wardens when the wardens nominated by Clark and Cooper were rejected by the parish. This resulted in a petition by the two clergy to Archbishop Laud to assist them in reasserting their authority. CSPD, Charles I, Vol. 7, 1634-35/ p 429; PRO SP 16/281/43.

[785] The Petition and Articles Exhibited in Parliament Against Dr Fuller, Article 8.

select vestries were able to acquire a degree of power or at least challenge the clerical authority at the parish level by arrogating certain parochial functions to themselves.

The lay vestries could achieve considerable sway over the religious and social values of the wider parish which they represented; and in partnership with a 'godly minister', they could maintain a spiritual and temporal climate at odds with that of the church hierarchy. The means for doing so were various. In the first place the vestry became responsible for administering the poor law within the parish boundaries. This included raising and disbursing various fees and duties. Over time the efforts of some vestries to raise church fees or seek to introduce new forms of revenue brought them into conflict with the authorities who regarded the exactions of the vestries as illegal and their presumption of power as 'Presbyterian'. In so far as the vestry was charged with a degree of spiritual care for the parish it inevitably happened that the vestry both sought and developed some role in the selection of clergy and lecturers. While these practices may have seemed appropriate to those who subscribed to the 'Genevan' principles that underlay them, they were inimical to the English Arminians.[786] Moreover the vestry, especially where it was select, came to be the preserve of the most prominent citizens who were inclined to assert their social and financial position in parish affairs. This combination of social and economic power had the potential to make the vestry into an effective instrument for challenging the authority of the church hierarchy, as could be readily gleaned from the leading roles taken by select vestrymen from St Stephen Coleman Street and St Antholin in projects such as the Feoffees for Impropriations and the Massachusetts Bay Company. However, even in parishes that were less overtly

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[786] The attitude of English Arminians to lectureships is well documented. Peter Heylyn was one of the leading critics of the St Antholin lectures in London. His role in drawing attention of the hierarchy to their activities is discussed in G. E. Gorman "A Laudian Attempt to, 'Tune the Pulpit', Peter Heylyn and His Sermon against the Feoffees for the Purchase of Impropriations" Journal of Religious History , Vol. 8, No.4, Dec 1975. Matthew Wren's efforts to curtail the activities of lecturers who did not conform to the Arminian regime is dealt with in Peter King, 'Bishop Wren and the Suppression of the Norwich Lecturers', Historical Journal, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1968. For London see P. S. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships

inimical to the discipline of the established church, the select vestry still sat uneasily alongside the claims of militant English Arminian clergy.

The principal danger in a strong vestry was its ability to influence or even coerce parish clergy, particularly where the vestry was united in purpose and able to wield certain social and financial powers. In 1624 the parish of St Stephen's Coleman Street had tested its power and withheld augmentations from an incumbent whom they regarded as being morally unfit for the role, despite the fact that he was the nominee of the Bishop of London.[787] More commonly vestries appear to have used the power available to them to achieve their own religious ends by attempting to purchase the connivance of parish clergy in electing lecturers or even curates who would provide an alternate expression of faith to that being promulgated by the church's leadership.

At a time when the church hierarchy was seeking to curtail the activities of lecturers several London vestries were able to obtain their own choice of lecturers by augmenting the income of the clergy. In the parish of St Christopher-le-Stocks the vestry paid £10 to the rector John Macarness to secure his help in establishing Mr Samuel Hodges as lecturer. The vestry agreed that 'Mr Macarnesse is to have £10.00 for the said year for giving [way] to his [Hodges] being lecturer'.[788] Later, in 1633 and 1634 the parish succeeded in securing the puritan Samuel Rogers as lecturer 'to read service and preach every saboth day'. In the parish of St Mary Magdalene Milk Street the parishioners, through the vestry, obtained free choice of their lecturer and curate through a negotiated arrangement with the minister, James Speight. In September 1631 the vestry acknowledged Speight's grant of a free choice of lecturer.[789] A curate

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[787] D. A. Kirby, 'The Radicals of St Stephen Coleman Street, London 1624-1642'.
[788] St Christopher le Stocks, VMB 1593-1731, GLMS 4425/1 19 December 1633, fo. 21v,24.
[789] St Mary Magdalene Milk Street, VMB 1619-1668, GLMS 2597/1, September 1631, p. 28.

was selected in 1634, but with some conditions. In the case of the selection of the curate Speight sought that 'The candidate be conformable and chosen by the major part of the vestry.... The parish supply the cure at its own charge...the parishioners would give him a piece of money to help pay his debts'.[790] While agreeing to his demands and allowing him £20 for debts, plus £8 per annum to his wife if she should survive him, the vestry also sought assurances that Speight would not interfere with the curate in any way during his life.[791] In 1634 the parish elected Anthony Burgess of Emmanuel College as curate; although he was at the time unlicensed, the parish was nonetheless gratified by his willingness to preach twice on Sundays .[792]

The role of the vestry in electing lecturers and curates was anathema to English Arminians. Laud was sufficiently concerned at the practice to make a point of rejecting the petition of the Hammersmith residents that they be free to appoint the curates to their new-founded chapel. The reason for his refusal was that the peace of the church might be disturbed as a consequence.[793] Nowhere is the realisation of Laud's concern more vivid than in the parish of St Botolph Aldgate where a lecture was procured by paying Thomas Swadlin £30 for his connivance, which extended to his ignoring the devices employed by the parish to avoid the requirement for Thomas Edwards to read prayers and wear the surplice. Swadlin's connivance provided Thomas Edwards, author of the Presbyterian work Gangraena, and a frequent preacher at other puritan pulpits around London, with a virtual haven till 1637.

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[790] The appointee was Anthony Burgess MA of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. St Mary Magdalene Milk Street, VMB 1619-1668, GLMS 2597/1, 12 December 1634, p. 33, 37.

[791] ibid., p 35.

[792] ibid., p. 37, 39.

[793] Terms and conditions imposed for the establishment of Chapel of Hammersmith are given in Bishop of London's Register, William Laud Pt I GLMS 9531/15:1-40 fo. 4-4v.. Christopher Hill contrasted Laud's attitude towards Hammersmith with the much freer line taken by Bishop King in a similar case involving Wapping in 1615, Economic Problems, p 299.

In other parishes clergy and vestries struggled over the appointment of lecturers and curates, sometimes as a matter of principle and at other times merely as a matter of pecuniary interest. In the parish of St Mary at Hill a dispute over the vestry's right to choose and support a lecturer led to total breakdown in relations between the vestry and minister.[794] William Fairfax, who held both St Peter's Cornhill and East Ham in Middlesex, was reputed to have refused agreement to a weekday lecture for eight years but to have offered to allow a Sunday lecture in return for £50.[795] John Grant, vicar of St Bartholomew Exchange, who desired the parish lectureship for himself, was fortunate enough to be elected parish lecturer twice, but only 'after much discussing he was chosen by the most hands' to read the lecture.[796] Future lectures were filled by others, led by the puritan, John Downame; and in 1631 the decision to appoint two lecturers was recorded immediately after it was agreed to pay Grant £20 for his 'charges'.[797] In St Lawrence Jewry the parish lectureship in 1632 cost £40, of which £25 went to the lecturer, and the balance was paid as a gratuity of £15 to the vicar, Thomas Crane.[798] The vestry of St Pancras Soperlane was able to secure both their desired lecturer and to fix the level of tithes by having the incumbent Richard Worme enter into a bond 'wherein he is bound not to raise his tithes, but to suffer Mr Goodall the lecturer to speak'.[799] Thomas Turner reached a compromise agreement with his vestrymen over the free choice of lecturers. Turner proposed instead that both he and the vestry should put forward four nominees, three of whom might be rejected by the other party leaving one of Turner's choice and one of the vestry's choice to be put to an election.[800] At St Michael Cornhill Laud's chaplain, William Brough, fought with the vestry over several issues including lectureships. After a period of mediation Brough agreed to allow a lectureship but only after a quarterly collection of between £30 and

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[794] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/2, fo 27-29.
[795] Century, No. 18.
[796] Bartholomew Exchange, VMB 1567-1643, GLMS 4384/1, p. 345.
[797] ibid., p 418.
[798] St Lawrence Jewry, VMB 1566-1669, GLMS 689/1, 20 September 1632, p 291.
[799] St Pancras Soperlane, CWA, GLMS 5018/1.
[800] St Olave Southwark, VMB 1604-1724, Southwark Local History Library, January 1638 fo 79.

£50.[801] Brough maintained a regulatory interest in the lectures so that lecturers were appointed 'on the good report and commendation of Mr Brough'.[802]

Circumstances in certain parishes also created the opportunity for vestries to seek to elect their own clergy by assuming or acquiring the right of patronage. In 1637 the vestry of St Mary at Hill rejected the claim of Sir Ralph Freeman to be patron.[803] Following the disastrous incumbency of John Tapsell the patronage of the parish appears to have devolved to elements of the parish vestry from 1637 onwards, although there is no notice of the parish purchasing the advowson. When Samuel Baker informed the vestry that his dispensation for holding St Mary at Hill with South Weald, Essex had been ruled invalid in point of law his request that the feoffees confer the rectory of St Mary's on him a second time was agreed unanimously.[804]

The fact that the vestry of St Mary's re-appointed such a prominent English Arminian who had overseen the imposition of a ceremonial discipline in the parish is noteworthy. For, in general, impropriate livings, particularly where the parish itself had purchased the advowson, seem more usually to have resulted in the 'election' of clergy who were hostile to the discipline of the church. Examples of this are almost commonplace. In 1590 the parishioners of St Stephen Coleman Street purchased the advowson for their parish from the Crown. While the immediate impact does not seem to have been dramatic it did lead to the parish becoming a centre of puritan activity in the 1620s and 1630s when the vestry elected first John Davenport and then John Goodwin.[805] In the

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[801] St Michael Cornhill, VMB, GLMS 4071/1, 31 October 1631, fo 150.
[802] ibid., fo. 158.
[803] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/2, June 1637, fo 36. The basis of Freeman's claim to be patron of the parish is unknown, but he was one of the committee appointed to try and effect a reconciliation between the parish vestry and John Tapsell.
[804] ibid., fo. 43.
[805] Valerie Pearl London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, D.A. Kirby, 'The Radical's of St Stephen's Coleman Street', op. cit..

impropriate living of All Hallows Staining, one of the prominent puritan parishes in London, the vestry took a conscious decision at a meeting on 25 June 1626 to investigate what power and right the parishioners had in the lease of the rectory and in the 'choice nomination and election of a fit and sufficient minister'.[806] The consideration was a prelude to the announcement that Robert Domville MA had obtained a license to be curate of the parish. The vestry regarded this as an intrusion and resolved to obtain Domville's eviction. In subsequent years the vestry preserved its authority by electing puritan clergy as parish minister. In October 1627 the vestry negotiated with the puritan independent Philip Nye as 'a fit man for the place'. Later that year they secured Adoniram Byfield who received nineteen votes from the twenty-two cast.[807] The terms of Byfield's appointment were framed to protect the parish's right to appoint its own clergy and to guard against non-residency. The Vestry Minute book records that:

> the said Mr Byfield was so elected and chosen, he promises that whensoever it should please God to call him to any other place, that he would willingly surrender his said place of minister in our parish to such and none other which could be chosen to succeed from in that place at and by the free election of the vestry.[808]

Byfield apparently stayed for only a short period and Philip Nye was curate from 1627 to 1633 when he resigned and became the minister of an English congregation in

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[806] All Hallows Staining, VMB 1574-1655, GLMS 4957/1, 25 June 1626.
[807] During the 1630's the parish had no settled clergyman but was served by Byfield in the capacity of lecturer.
[808] All Hallows Staining, VMB 1574-1655, GLMS 4957/1., 21 November 1629.

Holland.[809] Byfield returned to the parish and was mentioned by Arthur Duck for non-conformity in 1637.[810]

The puritan parish of St Mary Aldermanbury had certain requirements of its clergy before confirmation of appointment including minimum preaching duties. In return, however, the parish offered comparatively large sums for maintenance of elected clergy. When Edmund Calamy was confirmed as minister in 1639 he was required to preach three times each week in return for a stipend of £ 160.[811]

The administration of parish finances was another area where the interests of clergy and vestry could come into conflict. The single most important element in the economic relationships between laity and clergy was tithes; the achievement of an adequate revenue independent of lay control was of fundamental importance to the success of English Arminian reforms. Less elevated struggles over financial regulation of the church also occurred in connection with the control of parish stock and assets. At St James Garlickhithe a dispute over parish funds led to the vestry obtaining a promise from the minister, Edward Marbury, that he would cease to 'meddle in receiving any of the parish rents...'.[812] Marbury did not adhere to his promise but continued to 'meddle' in parish finances; in 1633 the vestry entered a cautionary note in the Minutes to the effect that:

[809] R.L. Greaves & R. Zaller (eds.) Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. 2, p. 267-77.
[810] PRO/SP 16/351/100 fo.263.
[811] St Mary Aldermanbury, VMB 1610-1763, GLMS 3570/2, 27 May 1639, fo. 43.
[812] St James Garlickhithe, VMB, GLMS 4887, 23 February 1630, fo. 37-37v.

if Mr Marbury shall let any lease hereafter of the said land by himself alone without the consent of the church wardens and the parishioners of this parish then the grant of one half of the tithes to Mr Marbury shall be void and of none effect.[813]

Quite clearly the vestry assumed the right to withhold tithes from Marbury. At any rate the dispute led to a parish committee examining the parish books and eventually Marbury's interference was a factor in his sequestration.[814]

At St Mary at Hill a dispute over the disposal of parish revenue between the vicar John Tapsell and the vestry led to a complete breakdown in relations. In 1628 Tapsell petitioned the Privy Council on the use of certain bequests belonging to the parish. He claimed that a bequest of £120 derived from tenements and land was being improperly used by the parishioners. Tapsell interpreted the bequest as providing the money to the clergy and churchwardens of the parish to be employed in 'reparacon of the said parish church, and maintenance of divine service therein, and relief of the poor of the parish'.[815] Tapsell maintained that in 1620 the churchwardens and parishioners concealed the original terms of the bequest and obtained a grant of the land and tenements from the King. He further claimed that the bequest was being employed for purposes other than those intended and that certain of the parish had declared that 'he (Tapsell) should never have any of the said moneys to be given towards maintenance of Divine Service'.[816] A Privy Council committee appointed to hear the complaint did not find that the bequest had been wrongly employed, but although verbal agreement was reached over the bequest Tapsell did not sign the written account. According to the

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[813] ibid., 8 July 1633, fo. 40v.
[814] VMB GLMS 4813/1 8 February 164 fos. 54v, 55, 59v.
[815] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/2, April 1628, fo 26-27.
[816] ibid.

vestry minutes the agreement gave the parishioners free choice to appoint and dismiss their lecturers without interference from Tapsell. However throughout 1632 and 1633 Tapsell refused to attend the vestry and so subverted the vestry in their desire to have a lecturer.[817]

The parish of St Martin Orgar was thrust into similarly divisive disputes with their minister Brian Walton. Prior to Walton's arrival at St Martin's the parish recovered in the Court of King's Bench several tenements which had been part of a pre-reformation bequest, lost because the revenue derived from them had been used to fund chantries. On his arrival Walton began letting leases and taking fines for the tenements for what were seen as his own purposes. In response some members of the parish sought redress in Chancery, but failed to obtain an enduring settlement. According to the articles presented against Walton in 1641, he had subverted the decision made in Chancery by petitioning Laud for his intervention.[818] Both Laud's role and Walton's intransigence in imposing ceremonial innovation meant that the rift within the parish was never healed and continued to be argued over a period of three to four years from entrenched positions. The articles prepared against Walton by his parishioners indicate that, in the minds of his critics, Walton's attempt to gain control of parish revenues was inextricably linked to his ceremonial practice.

The regulation of the potentially destructive influence of vestries was no less important to the English Arminians than the regulation of rival theological views or the enforcement of discipline and worship. On a case-by-case basis Laud and Juxon

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[817] St Mary at Hill, VMB 1609-1752, GLMS 1240/2, fo 27-29.

[818] The Articles and Charges Proved in Parliament Against Doctor Walton...', London, 1641, pp 5-7. Walton's interpretation of the dispute is contained in his unpublished reply to The Articles... in the Tanner Manuscripts MS 142.22. Laud's intervention on behalf of Walton was later charged against the Archbishop, Laud, Works, Vol. IV, p. 256.

sought to bring under control select vestries which came to their attention. While some parishes would inevitably regard any such action as repressive and evidence of the true nature of the English Arminian church, there was some measure of support among the laity for these moves. No less than the clergy, parishioners not qualified to sit on the select vestry could be victims of administrative and economic decisions made on their behalf. At St Mary Abchurch, where Benjamin Stone was incumbent, some parishioners took exception to the select vestry and brought their case to the diocesan chancellor who ruled against the select vestry since it was not validated by a formal grant from any Bishop of London.[819] In the parish of St Lawrence Jewry a select vestry was established in 1627 when the vicar James Boswell along with a small number of parishioners were able to obtain a grant from Bishop George Mountain despite objections from some parishioners that the grant had been obtained without the consent of the majority of the parish.[820] One of the first acts of the select vestry was to vote a gratuity of £40 to Boswell on 23 November 1627, presumably for his part in obtaining the grant for the select vestry.

Conflict between the general parish on one hand and Boswell and the select vestry on the other emerged at a general meeting of the parish on 11 March 1628 when Boswell asked the parish whether they would have a lecturer. In response the parish declared that they would ' . . .have none unless they would lay down the Instrument of the selected vestry & return to their former custom'.[821] Following this rejection of the new parish order a 'protestation and severation' was issued by 53 parishioners in which they declared that if the vestry 'shall take upon them to pay the said vicar Mr Boswell the said £40 given him formerly, that they should pay it themselves'.[822] Poor relations between the parish and select vestry continued, disrupting the election of parish

[819] GLCRO MS DL/C/343 fo. 106.
[820] LPMS CM 7/83.
[821] St Lawrence Jewry, VMB 1556-1669, GLMS 6889/1, p 269, 11 March 1628.
[822] ibid.

officers later in 1628, and remained unresolved until 1630 when the select vestry was dissolved by Laud. In 1632 Thomas Crane, the recently appointed vicar, joined sections of the parish in declaiming the select vestry as a denial of the 'ancient custome' of the parish which allowed every householder to a place on the vestry and a voice in parish affairs.[823]

The select vestry of St Botolph Aldersgate was dissolved in 1634 after 11 of the lay vestrymen were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for imposing illegal and excessive fees upon the parish.[824] The vestry was petitioned against by more than forty parishioners who charged that the select vestry had 'in many ways trenched upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and hath violated and broken the ancient approved customs of the parish'.[825] In particular the parish complained that the select vestry had over-turned the ancient rate book and established their own rate of fees and duties, and had redirected parish stock and poor money to other purposes.

On 24 July 1633 Thomas Booth the parish curate was sworn to give evidence to a commission established to investigate the vestry and the scale of charges employed by the parish. Booth's position within the parish in general is not clear. Although he was not conspicuous as an English Arminian, he was scrupulous enough to be petitioned against by members of the parish in 1643 for resisting attempts to pull down the communion rails.[826] In responding to the questions put to him Booth defended the practices of the select vestry and denied that he had any personal gain arising from the procedures established by the vestry for the collection and disbursement of funds.[827]

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[823] GLCRO, MS DL/C/343 fo. 88.

[824] PRO SP 16/255/51.

[825] 'Petition to Wm Ld Bp of London from parishioners of St Botolph Aldersgate for removal of the select vestry', Westminster Abbey Muniment 13591.

[826] Walker Revised p. 42.

[827] Westminster Abbey Muniment 13588.

However, Booth did benefit from at least one action of the vestry, in 1632 they raised £224 for steeple repairs and spent all but £40 on his house.[828]

The findings of the commission did not vindicate Booth's confidence in the select vestry.[829] In 'A Collection of Diverse Orders and Acts made by the Select Vestry of St Botolph..' the vestry was judged to have violated ecclesiastical jurisdiction at several points. Not only had the members instituted a new book of rates but they had based these on the highest rates used within London so that parishioners paid up to eight times the previous rate. It was also found that the vestry had forced their own nominees into the constable's office, and when granting pensions had required that beneficiaries should 'make a deal of worth to give all they are worth to the parish' . As a result of this it was charged that the church wardens had seized the goods of deceased pensioners and 'sold them from their children and kindred'.[830] Further offence arose from the select nature of the vestry. The 'Collection of Diverse Orders and Acts' states that 'in the selected vestry they keep out whom they please of the parish who have lived housekeepers above 25 years and are fit and able men and have born all offices and do take into their vestry some that have not been on the parish about a year and they have since the time of this inquiry taken into their vestry 4 lawyers within this two years'.[831]

According to the 'Collection of Diverse Orders and Acts' the conduct of the select vestry at St Botolph Aldersgate was significant for more than individual offences the vestry was held to account for. The vestry had been judged to have ' touched upon

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[828] Westminster Abbey Muniment 13590, 'A Collection of Diverse Orders and Acts made by the Select Vestry of St Botolph...' This document has no date or signature to identify its provenance. It is clearly a third party document for purpose of investigating and reporting on the case

[829] Westminster Abbey Muniment.

[830] Westminster Abbey Muniment 13590, item 6.

[831] ibid. item 10.

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and have violated their grant in exercising a presbytery government over their neighbours contrary to the canon which hath brought much prejudice to the parishioners and hath taken away the ancient and laudable customs which they ever had till since the said innovated vestry which hath been very hurtful also to the poor'.[832] The point illustrates the English Arminian perception that the select vestry not only undermined the administration and governance of the church but, by extension, also stood in contrast to the social model of church and society to which the English Arminians subscribed.

Evidence from other parishes also point to efforts by the authorities to curb what were regarded as the excess of power inherent in the select vestry. In the parish of St Botolph Bishopsgate the actions of the select vestry in seeking to assert their financial authority over parish affairs by increasing fees 300% led to the prosecution of the vestry in the Star Chamber in 1633 for conspiracy and combination to assume royal power in imposing burdens on subjects.[833] The puritan parish of St Katherine Cree had its 'Instrument for a Select Vestry', cancelled by Arthur Duck for claims relating to its power to order both parish clergy and property.[834]   The Instrument had been granted by Bishop King in 1622 in order to avoid disorder in the parish.[835]

The implications of these claims and conduct on the part of certain select vestries appear to have led Bishop Juxon to attempt a more methodical approach to dealing with the problems associated with vestries than could be expected from isolated prosecution. In 1636 Juxon undertook a form of survey for the purpose of discovering the form and distribution of parish government within London. The scope of the

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[832] ibid.
[833] Economic Problems, p 175.
[834] LPMS CM 7/11.
[835] GLCRO MS. DL/C/341 fo. 262.

survey reflects the concerns expressed in the 'Collection of Diverse Orders and Acts'
and those implied in the action taken against St Katherine Cree over the assumption of
ecclesiastical powers by lay vestries and the spread of select vestries. The survey was
based on four questions given below:

Q1	Whether the business of your parish be ordered by a vestry of selected persons or by all the parishioners meeting in general ?
Q2	If you have a vestry whether you have it by grant from the Lord Bp of London and his Chancellor, or that you claim it by use and prescription, if so how long?
Q3	If you claim by use and prescription what powers you claim to your vestry by use and prescription?
Q4	What fees and duties you receive in your parish for all Ecclesiastical rites, and what table of fees or other power you have by which you receive your fees?

The Lambeth Palace Manuscript which records the results of the survey contains the
returns of 109 parishes.[836] Ten of these were out-parishes of London.[837] Seven were
Middlesex parishes.[838] The returns covered some 93 parishes of the 97 parishes in the
City[839] but two parishes are mentioned twice.[840] Including the seven Middlesex
parishes that were surveyed there were 54 parishes with select vestries, 47 with general
vestries, 6 which combined both, and 2 parishes which were irregular. Of the 54
parishes with select vestries 34 had no episcopal authority for the institution of the
vestry. All of these were established before 1625. The 54 select vestries include those
from all of the most prominent puritan parishes within London, with the exceptions of

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[836] Holy Trinity Minories is listed in the survey but is blank.

[837] St. Andrew Holborn, St. Botolph Aldersgate, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Botolph Bishopgate, St. Bartholomew the Great, St. Bartholomew the Less, St. Bride Fleet Street, St. Dunstan in the West, St. Giles Cripplegate.

[838] St. Giles in the Fields, St. James Clerkenwell, St. Leonard Shoreditch, St. Mary Whitechapel, St. Martin in the Fields, Savoy Chapel.

[839] There are no returns for St. Benet Paul's wharf, St. Faith's under St. Paul's, St. Gregory by St. Paul's, St. James Duke Place, St. Martin Orgar and St. Vedast Foster Lane.

[840] There are two entries for St. James Garlickhithe (one of these could have been a mistakenly recorded entry for St. James Duke Place) CM 7/65&97, and two for St. Christopher's (one of these is marked as St. Christopher-le-Stocks the other only as St. Christopher CM 7/40&84.

St. Stephen Coleman Street and St. Christopher-le-Stocks, both of which reported having mixed vestries.[841] In the case of St Stephen Coleman Street the select element of the vestry was claimed on authority from Bishop King.[842]

There were several sets of criteria for establishing the membership of the select vestries. Seniority was one of the most commonly applied, often qualified by other economic or social criteria such as the prior holding of parish offices. St. Mary Whitechapel (Matfellon) selected 'only ancients who have borne office'.[843] At St Margaret Moses the select vestry was made up of those 'who have been seated in the first six pewes of our church...'[844] St Anne Blackfriars selected 'all sort of inhabitants that pay scot and lot and used to come to church and are not disordered or turbulent'.[845] All Hallows the Great based their select vestry on 'the most able & fitt men of our parish' by use and prescription.[846] In the case of St Bartholomew the Great a select vestry was appointed in 1606 when new building activity increased the population and introduced 'a disagreeing multitude' to the extent that the parish sought support from the Archdeacon of London for a select vestry.[847] St Margaret Pattens responded to the survey that 'we choose one another by the most voices among ourselves'.[848] A few parishes including St Katherine Coleman Street stated that they sought only 'the most able and discreet' or eminent persons; only the parish of St Andrew Holborn, where John Hackett was rector, stated that they applied any sort of religious criteria in the selection of vestry members in the form of men 'that are known

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[841] LPMS CM 7/ 41& 84.
[842] ibid., CM 7/41
[843] ibid., CM 7/113
[844] ibid., CM 7/12
[845] ibid., CM 7/42
[846] ibid., CM 7/62
[847] ibid., CM 7/36
[848] ibid., CM 7/10

to be well addicted to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and no way prone to faction'.[849]

In responding to the survey the majority of parishes stated that their vestry claimed only limited powers for themselves. These powers were restricted to the appointment of officers, examination of accounts, authorisation of church repairs and the organisation of poor relief. St Mary Mounthaw claimed that their vestry of 9 had the power to order all the affairs of the parish but that it was not to meddle with any minister, preacher or curate; churchwardens or sworn men's office; presentments; or any matter punishable in ecclesiastical courts.[850] Trinity the Less made a point of arguing for limited exercise of power on the part of their vestry:

> we neither pretend or prove any power but observe submission to authority that we may do that which is commanded; and [claim] a provident desire that all things may be carried among us according to the laws ecclesiastical and civil.[851]

All Hallows London Wall declared that 'we use no power prejudicial to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[852] There were few exceptions to this eirenic approach. The vestry of St Katherine Cree claimed the power 'upon occasion of vacancy to provide a Minister or curate and to order and capitulate with him for his means of entertainment for the church's service, and likewise upon occasion of dislike to warn him out again'. At the time of the survey the grant for the parish's select vestry had already been

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[849] ibid., CM 7/57
[850] ibid., CM 7/115
[851] ibid., CM 7/40
[852] ibid., CM 7/76

cancelled by Arthur Duck but despite this it was still claimed as the basis for the continuance of the select vestry. These claims created further problems for the parish and were the subject of suits before the Dean of Arches as well as the Lord Keeper in the Court of Chancery.[853]

So far as can be determined no comprehensive action was taken against London vestries as a result of Juxon's inquiry. This may simply have been a result of more critical issues coming to the fore. However, given that the level of lay control and government by vestry was an issue in English Arminian policy, the value of the survey should not be down played too much for lack of any discernible outcome. Coming as it did shortly after the prosecution of several parish vestries for misuse of their power, the survey did at least announce English Arminian intentions in this area. In the case of St Leonard Fosterlane this intention seemed real enough for the return to note that the 12 man vestry was 'executed modestly, and no whit, in the nature of an Eldership.[854]

The London Tithes Dispute

One issue which may well have overshadowed any attempt to further regulate the conduct of vestries was the tithes dispute which ran throughout the 1630s. Litigation and strife over tithes had been part of the religious life of London since before the reformation. The right to withhold tithes had been upheld by Wycliffe and the Lollards in the fifteenth century. For various reasons over one-third of London parishes found themselves in court as a result of tithe disputes between 1520 and 1546.[855] The growing level of disputes following the reformation in part reflected the change in relations which reform had brought about between clergy and laity.[856] Reform clearly

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[853] ibid., CM 7/11
[854] ibid., CM 7/49.
[855] Susan Brigden, 'Tithe Controversy in Reformation London', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 32, July 1981.
[856] ibid., p. 288.

diminished the financial base of the church through the wholesale shift in wealth resulting from the despoliation of church foundations and episcopal wealth. The payment of tithes, claimed as a matter of right by the priesthood, was increasingly under attack by the laity as a matter of principle and as a protest at the church to provide a preaching clergy. However, as Felicity Heal has argued, conflict over tithes between bishops and puritans in the sixteenth century were often the expression of ideology rather than attempts to alter fundamentally the existing balance of economic power in the church: 'Neither side was able or willing to effect the massive alienation of property rights necessary to place the majority of parishes in a prosperous economic position'.[857] The claims prosecuted by English Arminian clergy in London suggest that this impasse may have come to an end.

By the 1630s various practices had developed aimed at minimizing tithe liabilities. These included the withholding of rents upon which tithes were based so that clergy were unable to collect the full value of what they regarded as due to them under law. Given that the London clergy had suffered a reduced tithe rate under Henry VIII and had lost various forms of sacramental revenue as a result of the reformation, in a comparative sense at least many clergy must have felt that they were less well off. In addition the impact of inflation would have had a more significant impact on town and urban clergy who had only a fixed single income to depend on.[858] This combination of factors ensured that prosecutions for tithes long remained a feature of church life.

Tithe disputes remained largely isolated conflicts between individual clergy and their parishioners until a campaign for increased tithes was organised in 1635. In 1631 there

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[857] Felicity Heal, 'The Economic Problems of the Clergy', op. cit., p. 117.
[858] Claire Cross, 'The Incomes of Provincial Urban Clergy, 1520-1645', in R.O, 'Day & F Heal Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800, p. 69. Felicity Heal, 'The Economic Problems of the Clergy'.

were seven cases before the Consistory Court including two prosecuted by Brian Walton against parishioners of St Martin Orgar.[859] The settlement of tithes was an issue in which Laud had a declared interest, as part of his aim of strengthening the financial position of the church. Both the post-reformation despoilation of the church, and Laud's efforts to redress the plunder through exercising a more rigid stewardship of episcopal and capitular estates are well documented.[860] Laud showed no disregard for the lower clergy in his efforts to encourage better financial administration of the dioceses. The higher clergy were to be an example to the lower clergy in demonstrating resistance to hostile elements of the laity. Among the tasks which he set himself as Archbishop of Canterbury was to see 'the tithes of London settled, between the clergy and the City'.[861] The London tithes dispute not only had the backing of Laud and Juxon, but was prosecuted by some of the most prominent English Arminian clergy, led by Brian Walton.

The financial reform of the church was the most fundamental task confronting the English Arminians in their attempt to restore the integrity of the church. Without independent and adequate means the clergy would remain captives to the provision made for them by their parishioners. To be so dependent on the laity was not only beneath clerical dignity but also left clergy open to compromise on matters of doctrine and discipline. Laud made reference to the importance of providing adequately for the clergy in the account of his dialogue with the Jesuit Fisher:

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[859] Consistory Court of London, Personal Answer Books, GLCRO DLC/194 Walton had other members of his parish before the court over tithes in 1634, 1636 and 1637
[860] Economic Problems, Chps. i & ii; Felicity Heal, 'Archbishop Laud Revisited: leases and estate management at Canterbury and Winchester before the Civil War', in Princes & Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800.
[861] William Laud, Works .Vol. iii, p 254.

The King and the Priest, more than any other, are bound to look to the dignity

of the church in doctrine and manners...For that is by far the best honey in the

hive. But they must be careful of the church's maintenance too, else the bees

shall make honey for others, and have none left for their own necessary

sustenance.[862]

The link between financial independence and the dignity of 'doctrine and manners'

meant that the increase of tithes was fundamental to ensuring conformity on more

overtly religious matters.[863]

The religious dimension of the tithes dispute was not only of concern to English

Arminians. During the course of the London tithe campaign it was apparent to the

clergy that resistance to payment of increased tithes was not simply a matter of 'what

the market would bear'. Many who sought to avoid tithes could afford to pay more

but simply refused to do so. At least part of the reason had to do with the protestant

tradition of paying stipends rather than tithes to ministers. The difference between the

two was significant in so far as the stipend was, in a sense voluntary, and gave a

measure of power to those who paid it, whereas the tithe was obligatory and claimed

by the clergy as due by divine right. This difference was not simply academic, for the

level of voluntary financial support for certain elements of the London clergy could be

considerable. By way of example, Richard Newcourt recorded in his assessment of

London tithes that John Stoughton, curate of St Mary Aldermanbury received £16 per

annum from the parish. Since the parish did not make a return of tithes in 1638 there is

nothing to compare this figure with in Dale's Inhabitants of London in 1638.[864]

However an entry in the Vestry Minute Book for 1632, the year Stoughton was

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[862] William Laud, 'A Relation of the Conference of William Laud ...and Mr Fisher the Jesuit', in
Works II, xii.
[863] See Economic Problems; F. Heal and R. O, 'Day Princes and Paupers in the English Church ; J. S.
McGee, 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion', p. 332.
[864] T. C. Dale, Inhabitants of London in 1638 , op. cit..

installed, shows that individual parishioners committed sums ranging from 2s to £6 in addition to what was provided from tithes. The total paid to Stoughton from this voluntary source was close to £125 and together with the nominal payment of £16 from tithes gave Stoughton an income of £140 in 1632.[865] When a comparison is made with the level of tithe paid in 1638 as recorded in Dale, Stoughton's tithe from St Mary's ranked him among the lowest tithe recipients in London, however his augmented revenue was the tenth highest tithe payment recorded in 1638. When Edmund Calamy succeeded Stoughton in 1639 he had an augmented revenue of £160 per annum.[866] Where many clergy vainly sought a greater share of parish fees and duties, the parishioners All Hallows Staining with a strong puritan tradition of electing clergy freely granted increased tithe and additional proceeds to Adoniram Byfield as a mark of their 'further gratitude and respect of his competence and extraordinary pains for the year ensuing.[867] Daniel Votier was another Puritan clergyman who benefited from voluntary augmentations of his income.[868] William Brough's claim for a similar increase in fees was treated less enthusiastically by the vestry of St Michael Cornhill. They merely agreed to investigate the matter but appointed the churchwardens to act on behalf of Brough and two of their own members to act for the parish.[869] In his treatise 'A General Survey of the Value of the London Benefices' Brian Walton estimated that the annual voluntary contributions paid to lecturers and others was £4,000 and that some parishes paid eight to ten times in voluntary contributions than what they did in tithes.[870]

Under the leadership of Walton the grievances of the London clergy were organised into a concerted campaign for increased tithes. The outline of the clergy's case is

[865] VMB 1610-1736, GLMS 3570/2, fo. 35-36v.

[866] ibid., fo. 43.

[867] All Hallows Staining, VMB 1574-1655, GLMS 4957/1, 5 April 1632.

[868] P. S. Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships, p. 146.

[869] St Michael Cornhill, VMB, GLMS 4072/1, 16 May 1633, fo 152.

[870] 'A General Survey of the Value of the London Benefices', LPMS CM 9/26.

contained in Walton's <u>An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations of London</u>, and in a series of notes possibly prepared by Walton for the clergy's lawyers.[871] The clergy sought a guaranteed payment based on principles laid down in two Henrician statutes (27 Hen VIII c. 21, 37 Hen VIII c. 12). The first of these statutes had actually reduced the tithe rate in London from 3s 5d in the pound for domestic and commercial rents to a rate of 2s 9d. The rate was reached following a post-reformation dispute in which some citizens refused to pay the 3s 5d established by papal bull and sought a rate of 2s. However, more important from the clergy's point of view was the latter statute which, according to Walton, allowed for the tithe to be applied to improved rents. Under this statute Walton argued all annual payments including annuities and retainers were rents regardless of whether part of that rent was paid as a fine or in any other form.[872]

The case for enforcing the 2s 9d tithe rate in London was as much historical as legal. According to Walton the circumstances of the London clergy had been significantly better under Henry VIII. Prior to the introduction of the statute 27 Hen VIII, c.21 the clergy of London benefited from a higher rate of tithe paid at the rate of 3s 5d in every pound for domestic and commercial rents. There were also personal tithes, and glebe lands, as well as fees from obventions, mortuaries, and other rituals. The well being of the clergy was further aided by the presumed ease of recovery of tithes without need to resort to law and 'the great conscience of the citizens and others made to the

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[871] An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, London; 1641; 'A Briefe of the Cause of the Clergy of London Humbly Represented in a Petition to his Majesty', State Paper Domestic Charles I, Volume 535, No. 5, (PRO SP 16/268); 'Suggestions of the Clergy of London Concerning their complaint exhibited to his Majesty for the detention of tithes', LPMS, CM/8/6.
[872] An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, p 42 ff.

compensation and recompensing of tythes and offerings detained neglected or forgotten as appeareth by their last wills and testaments'.[873]

As with the attitudes of English Arminians towards many other aspects of church life Walton's appraisal of the historic roots of the tithe problem paints a rather idyllic picture of the pre-reformation period. Not only did the clergy have benefit of a much broader base from which to draw their income, but a greater diligence on the part of the laity in paying tithes and religious offerings :

> How many voluntary oblations did people then give, few of any ability appearing at any time empty handed; but now men will come with the wise men to worship Christ, yet they are too wise to open their treasures and offer to him[874]

In his analysis of the problems besetting the clergy Walton acknowledged the loss of tithe money as a result of the reduced rate enacted under Henry VIII, the abolition of privy tithes and loss of religious fees as contributing to the impoverishment of the clergy. However Walton argued that more fundamental causes for the impoverishment of the clergy existed as a result of changes in relations between laity and clergy.

Whereas Walton asserted the ease of collecting tithes before the reformation period he regarded his contemporaries as practising all manners of artifice to avoid paying

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[873] ' Suggestions of the Clergy of London Concerning their complaint exhibited to his Majesty for the detention of tithes', LPMS, CM/8/6. The same arguments are presented in An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, pp. 14-17.

[874] An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, p. 17.

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tithes.[875] From the clergy's point of view the system of tithes in London, as it had developed since the reformation, was open to abuse through the manipulation of rental values. Instead of the actual, or real tithe, clergy complained that they were being paid only 8d in the pound as a result of the fraudulent means that were used to disguise the true value of rents. Walton cited a number of devices which were employed for the evasion of tithe. These included the payment of bonds instead of rent, the issuing of two leases showing different rental values and the disguise of rents as pensions, gifts and annuities. [876]

In addition the clergy noted that the opportunities for evasion of tithe through these means fell more to the richer and more influential citizens than to the 'meaner sort'. In a statement tendered to the Common Council the clergy argued that:

> whereas the ordinary and meaner sorts of citizens for the most part do already pay their tithe according to some reasonable proportion of rent... on the other side many fair and large houses wherein rich men dwell do by some unequal courses pay very little in comparison to some meaner houses situate near unto them.[877]

Several individual complaints and actions were launched against this sort of practice in the years prior to the organised push for increased tithes. Brian Walton alleged before the Consistory Court that one of his parishioners, Van Dam, had brought his rents down to £5 per annum by paying a £150-£200 entry fine and had thereby sought to

[875] ibid., pp.8-21.
[876] ibid.
[877] LPMS CM 8/17a.

avoid paying the tithe due on the full value of the rental.[878] Sir Francis Popham in the parish of Newington was petitioned against by the minister, John Taverner, for paying no tithe on 300 acres of land but only £6 8s pa, whereas the remainder of the parish paid 18d an acre in lieu of tithe.[879] Samuel Fawcett of St Mary Staining complained of one parishioner, Thomas Francis who:

> being a man accounted of good ability and among the richer sort of the parish sitting in the second pew of the church and having borne all offices of the parish, dwelleth in a house which his neighbours do conceive to be worth £12 or 20 marks per annum to lett ... will pay for tithes but 4d quarterly indeed for three years together to cover the shame of his 4d a quarter he gave me 5s but that he called a benevolence and two years since a private iarr happening ever since that he hath refused to give me anything.[880]

As 'a poor minister and painful teacher of the word of God' Fawcett received financial assistance from the Haberdasher's Company in the form of a pension of 50s and an additional £10:00 for repair of his house.[881]

Twenty-eight other instances of tithe evasion through manipulation of rents were cited amongst the evidence gathered by Walton in support of the tithe dispute. A few of these showed large entry fines paid to reduce the size of rents. In Henry Burton's former parish of St Matthew Friday Street a £1,000 fine was paid on entry to a property which showed a rent of £9 per annum and which paid a tithe of 30s.[882] A shop and house in the parish of St Vedast Fosterlane raised an entry fine of £600 but

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[878] LPMS CM 9/84.
[879] CSPD Charles I Vol. 12, 27 May 1637-38, p. 461; PRO/SP/16/341/33.
[880] LPMS CM 9/88.
[881] P.S. Seaver The Puritan Lectureships, p. 162.
[882] LPMS CM 9/24.

paid only 2s 8d in tithe each quarter.[883] The majority of the cases cited were for more modest amounts, which suggests that the practice may have been quite widespread, and even these show that the level of tithes paid bore no relation at all to the real rental value of the property. In Brian Walton's own parish of St Martin Orgar it was claimed that William Gore and David Edwards, both active opponents of Walton, paid tithe of 33s on an £80 rent and 28s on a £100 rent, respectively.[884] Similar examples of under payment of tithe appear frequently throughout T.C. Dale's Inhabitants of London .

The clergy were confronted with a range of entrenched objections from the laity for which there does not appear to be any specific source. They may have been little more than rumour or the commonplace prejudices that are part of any strongly contested dispute. At least one clerical author, possibly Brian Walton, saw fit to respond to them.[885] The survey of objections appended to the document highlights what may have been some commonplace prejudices surrounding tithes. For instance the view that adjusting rents was 'provident and good husbandry' was apparently in wide enough circulation to be condemned. Other objections replied to were that the rate of 2s9d in each pound was greater than the one-tenth which tithe was customarily charged and that the tithe did not apply to the city in the same sense that it did in the country; since the farmer only pays the tithe on the increase of the ground which is 'the blessing of God', whereas in the City 'the citizens gains are from his own labour'. One major stumbling block appears to have been that increased tithes would mean that 'parsons would be Bishops some worth £1,000, some worth £2,000 per annum'.[886] In reality this could only have occurred in the largest out-parishes such as St Andrew Holborn and St Giles in the Fields. But in a dispute conducted from entrenched positions the suggestion that clergy might profit excessively from revised tithe schedules carried a

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[883] ibid.
[884] ibid.
[885] PRO SP 16/268/203.
[886] PRO SP 16/268/208.

certain force. From the point of view of the author of the 'Observations' the objection was irrelevant 'If these livings be too great the remedy should be to divide them into lesser livings and not to defraud the minister of his due'.[887] Finally the view that the clergy should be 'content as were their predecessors' prompted the response that 'ministers cannot live now as formerly'.

A further source of difficulty for the clergy was the attitude of the city government. In particular, Walton noted the failure of the Lord Mayor to act against the employment of fraudulent rents. The role of the Lord Mayor in hearing tithe disputes had become significant as a result of a decision taken under Henry VIII which allowed the Lord Mayor to try tithe disputes where any disputing party appealed directly to him. This effectively put the power of decision in the hands of an interested party, at least according to the clergy, since the Lord Mayor was a citizen of London and affected by the outcome of the dispute. As a result, Walton considered the clergy to be disadvantaged in their attempts to gain redress. The clergy appear to have been denied any support at all from civic authorities until 1640 when Sir Edmund Wright came to the aid of Robert Chestlin and imprisoned some parishioners of St Matthew Friday Street for their refusal to pay tithes.[888] One of the major concerns of Walton's treatise was to demonstrate that although this power had been granted under 37 Henry VIII, c.12 it was not to the exclusion of the Bishop's power. According to Walton, the value of tithes may have been adjusted under Henry VIII, but it was not from parliamentary statute that the tithe held its ultimate justification. Consequently the ecclesiastical jurisdiction remained valid in determining tithe disputes. A good part of Walton's treatise is concerned with justifying the role of the ecclesiastical courts in the settlement of tithes. The effort made by Walton to uphold the role of church courts gives the tithe dispute greater significance as a clash of jurisdictions which set

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[887] ibid.

[888] Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, p. 307.

ecclesiastical authority against civil authority.[889]   In seeking to confirm the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over tithes Walton appealed not only to the essentially ecclesiastical nature of tithes and the historic primacy of the Bishop over civil authority, but also to Marian statute which, he claimed, had restored jurisdiction to the Bishop of London and had never been entirely abrogated under Elizabeth I or James I.[890]

To support their claims the clergy established a fighting fund to meet legal costs for representation. The fund was based on three proportional assessments made in June 1634, November 1634, and June 1635. Approximately 105 clergy were levied and the target for the three collections was a total fund of £406 9s 4d. English Arminian clergy figured prominently in the collection of funds in support of the campaign. In the first and second collections the majority of funds were collected by Brian Walton, (£118 18s 10d), with assistance from William Brough (£8 5s), Bruno Reeves(£4), and Edward Marbury (£42 9s 4d). The total amount amassed for the first two collections was £91 13s 6d less than the levy, as a result of monies being not collected or not paid. The difference was made up by borrowing £20 each from Samuel Baker, Jonathon Brown, Thomas Worral and John Hackett; and a further £10 from William Fairfax.[891]

When the London clergy presented a petition in support of their claim for increased tithes on 6 May 1634 it contained two principal complaints. The first was directed

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[889] The antagonism between church and civic authorities in London was played out in a number of other centres as bishops sought to gain control over town corporations and their participation in church ceremonies. Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies in the 1630s', p. 208.

[890] An Abstract of a Treatise Concerning the Payment of Tithes and Oblations in London, p. 65-74. The manner in which both clergy and civil representatives sought to have the issue heard in their own legal jurisdictions is reminiscent of the, 'symbolism of power' embodied in numerous dramas between Arminian ritual and civic ceremony in the Cathedral cities during the 1630s. Anthony Fletcher, 'Factionalism in Town and Countryside', Studies in Church History, 16, 1979, pp. 297-99.

[891] LPMS CM 8/4.

against fraudulent practices used to disguise rents. The second was that when the Lord Mayor was the judge in disputes over tithes the clergy were denied justice in prosecuting tithe fraud. On 15 May the petition was referred to Archbishop Laud, Bishop Juxon, the Earl Marshall, Cottington, Windebank, and Lord Chief Justice Richardson, to be heard by a minimum of three of them including Laud. Committees of three representatives from both sides in the dispute were established to try and effect some sort of resolution. Representatives of the clergy selected by William Juxon included two English Arminians (Brian Walton and William Brough) as well as Richard Holdsworth. Three alderman appointed to represent the City: Anthony Abdy, Christopher Clithero and Edward Bromfield. The committees continued to meet until the end of July when the three alderman advised that they did not have the authority to make any agreement with the clergy.[892] This raised complaints from among the clergy and led to Richard Cowdall speculating that the representatives of the City had no intention of reaching any agreement with the clergy over the settlement of tithes.[893] The failure of this committee to bring about a solution to the tithe dispute led to King Charles taking a more direct interest in the case. On 5 November the King offered to act as arbiter in the dispute, to which course the clergy submitted in December and the Common Council in January 1635.[894] However, Charles was apparently diverted by other matters and no resolution was made.

The deferral of any decision on the part of the King Charles left in force a stay against all suits in the ecclesiastical courts for increase in tithes which had been granted following a petition from the citizens of London on 24 May 1635. This petition had been prompted by a suit prosecuted by Edward Marbury for increased tithe and sought an order that 'the proceedings of the said Marbury, and all others of the clergy in the

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[892] Samuel Brewster, Collectanea Ecclesiastica, London, 1752, p. 189.
[893] T.C. Dale, The Inhabitants of London in 1638, p. 111.
[894] PRO SP 16/282/57

Ecclesiastical court may be stayed, until your Majesty shall have determined the Differences'.[895] In reply it was ordered that 'suits of either side shall be stayed, until his Majesty shall have determined this business'.[896] The stay of prosecutions for tithe appears to have provided some citizens with a cover under which they were able to refuse to pay the existing rate of tithe. As a result the clergy issued their own petition which sought an order requiring the payment of tithes at the accustomed rate or else granting the right of the clergy to recover them . The order that was issued on 22nd January 1638 in response to the clergy's petition required that tithes be paid at their former rate and gave the clergy the right to sue for them in either ecclesiastical courts or temporal courts.[897]

At the time the order granting clergy the right to sue for tithes was issued it had already been ordered on authority of the Crown that a return should be made 'for valuation of all and several houses and other things titheable in each parish'.[898] Although the survey was intended to be carried out by both civic authorities and clergy in each parish it appears clear that the majority, if not all, of the returns were made by clergy only. Although the survey had the potential to provide a firm basis for assessing the differentials between what tithes were paid and what tithes should have been paid the clergy appear to have approached the task with mixed feelings. Edward Harrison, Rector of St Trinity the Less anticipated non-cooperation on the part of his parishioners complaining that:

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[895] Brewster, Collectanea Ecclesiatica, p. 195.
[896] ibid.
[897] PRO SP 16/409/175
[898] ibid.

knowing their return and mine will be of vast difference, I shall be charged

with unconscionable dealing; which imputation I am not content to endure

because I am unwilling to deserve it.[899]

In St Botolph Aldergate the survey was undermined with claims that it would lead to

people being dispossessed.[900] Eleven parishes made no return at all pointing to non-

compliance by both clergy and laity. In the case of St Alphage London Wall and St

Swithin's failure to make returns may have been the result of the death of the

incumbents in 1638 and early 1639.

The collated data from the survey shows that there was a marked variation in the levels

of tithe recorded as paid and in the level at which it was assessed as due.[901] According

to the data returned the average tithe paid to the London clergy was £97. This is

about 20% more than the figure estimated from the Repertorium Ecclesiasticum

Parochiale Londinense by Christopher Hill.[902] The average also conceals an extensive

range in the value of tithes paid in 1638. The value of tithes paid ranged from £400 in

St Giles Cripplegate to £21 at St Mary Staining. This skewed distribution meant that

in reality only 24 parishes returned a value greater than the average tithe paid .[903] Of

these parishes half were held by English Arminian clergy.

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[899] T.C. Dale, Inhabitants of London in 1638, p. 184.

[900] ibid., p 209.

[901] See Appendix I below for a set of summary statistics dealing with the tithe paid and claims for increased tithe.

[902] Economic Problems, p. 283.

[903] Parishes which returned a higher than average tithe were: Augustine Watling, £98; Dionis Backchurch, £98; Peter Cornhill, £100; Mary Magdalen Old Fish St, £101; Alban Wood St, £106; Martin Vintry, £115; Michael Cornhill, £117; Botolph Billingsgate, £122; Mary Hill, £122; Martin Ludgate, £126; All Hallows Great, £132; Michael Bassishaw, £132; Olave Hart St, £133; Dunstan In The East, £136; Leonard Fosterlane, £139; Andrew Undershaft, £145; All Hallows Barking , £206; Dunstan In The West, £217; Botolph Bishopsgate, £224; Christ Church, £300; Olave Southwark , £325; Andrew Holborn, £360; Botolph Aldgate , £388; Giles Cripplegate , £400.

The average increase sought by the clergy and calculated on the moderated value of rents in each parish was an additional 191% of the tithe recorded as being paid. The increases sought ranged from an additional 58% in St Botolph Billingsgate, from (£122 to £193); to a further 470% in St Michael le Querne (which would have meant an increase from a tithe of £54 to one of £308). There were 37 parishes which sought a rate of increase greater than the average, including ten parishes held by English Arminians. Only five parishes sought an increase less than double the amount recorded as paid. The level of increase sought appears to have been based on the individual calculation rather than on any attempt to rationalise and even out the London tithes. A few clergy would have seen their tithe raised from a level about or below the average reported in 1638 to a level higher than the average based on the moderated value. The major beneficiaries among the clergy would have been those who occupied the large outer parishes such as St Andrew Holborn, St Botolph Aldgate, St Olave Southwark and St Giles Cripplegate.[904] Tithes in these parishes would have reached more than £860 according the moderated value of parish rents. St Andrew Holborn would have returned a tithe of £1,415 which may explain John Hackett's willingness to support the tithe campaign despite his hostility towards English Arminians. However what these parishes promised to return on paper was purely speculation, since alongside them a number of other parishes such as St Sepulchres and St Stephen Coleman Street rejected the process of assessment, clergy and laity alike, refusing to participate.

Following the tithe survey it was required that Common councillors present the demands of the clergy to the various parishes in their wards and obtain an response from the parish. The response, in the form of a certificate, was originally to be presented in early June but was postponed until early October. The lack of

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[904] Tithe calculated for these parishes was: St Andrew Holborn, £1,415; St Botolph Aldgate, £950 St Olave Southwark, £866; and St Giles Cripplegate, £1,024. All were held by Arminians except for St Andrew Holborn which was held by John Hackett.

cooperation from civic authorities resulted in an order to the alderman for the Ward of Walbrook on 10 October 1638 requiring that he present the demands of the clergy in the parishes within the Ward for consideration.[905] The attitude of the laity to the demands made by the clergy comes from a clerical document which is a compilation of the various reactions of the laity,[906] there are also a few surviving certificates for the out parishes.[907]

Virtually all the responses made to the demands of the clergy were hostile. Some parishes simply refused to accept demands for increased maintenance and supplied no justification for their response. This is apparent from the abstracts contained in Lambeth Palace which simply indicate the refusal of parishes to comply with the demand for increased tithes. Similarly, surviving certificates from the out-parishes indicate that parishioners saw no reason to justify their refusals. Certificates from St Giles in the Fields, St Martin in the Fields, Savoy Chapel and St Margaret's Westminster stated that the parishioners refused to authorise any return by vestrymen and churchwardens in response to the petition for increased tithes.

Several parishes regarded themselves as too poor to pay an increased maintenance as a consequence of declining trade.[908] Only a few of these parishes were specific about the cause of their problems. In the parish of St Vedast Fosterlane the reason was given as

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[905] 'An Agreement made by the Committee Appointed by the Common Counsel Concerning Tithes', PRO SP 16/400/26.

[906] ' Exception of Individual Parishes to Tithe Demands' (abstracted from returns) LPMS, CM 8/37, 10 October 1638. (Hereafter CM 8/37)

[907] Certificates for the Out-parishes are gathered in the PRO SP 16/389.

[908] All Hallows Bread Street, St Faith's under St Paul, 's, St John the Evangelist, St Margaret Lothbury, St Martin Vintry, Mary Magdalene Milk Street, St Matthew Friday St, St Michael le Querne.

trading much decayed especially among Goldsmiths whose shops are now shut up or possessed by petyte trades, and the unruly market checks their intercourse with customers.[909]

The parishioners of St Faith's by St Paul's claimed that their declining fortunes were a result of 'the shutting up of doors into St Paul's'.[910] All of the parishes claiming impoverishment as a reason for being unable to comply were located in the vicinity of St Paul's which suggests a local cause as indicated in the response from St Faith's.

At St Olave Hart Street the parishioners argued that the parish had been impoverished as a result of recent repairs to the chancel and an increase in the number of poor cared for by the parish.[911] Similarly, the parishioners of St Dunstan in the East claimed that £600 spent on the chancel and a further £1200 on other repairs to the church had left them unable to meet an increase in tithes.[912] Two parishes St Nicholas Acon and St Gregory's by St Paul's, claimed to be so burdened by the present regime of tithe payments that they could not consider any increase in maintenance but sought an abatement of their existing charges.[913]

In addition to poverty a variety of other reasons were offered for the refusal to accept the demands of the clergy. St Martin Ludgate and St John the Baptist claimed to have prior agreements with their respective incumbents which rendered the demands

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[909] T. C. Dale, The Inhabitants of London in 1638, p. x.
[910] ibid.
[911] CM 8/37.
[912] ibid.
[913] ibid.

invalid.[914] At least three parishes claimed that their refusal to accept any increase in tithes was of some other authority. St Margaret Lothbury and St Margaret Moses implied that the whole campaign by the clergy was illegal by claiming that they were already paying as much as the law would permit.[915] In a similar vein St Magnus Martyr and St Mary le Bow argued that the demands of the clergy were 'against their liberty and custome'.[916] St Peter's Cheapside looked for support from civic authorities by rejecting the demand on the grounds that 'they do not have any consent from the common counsel to increase tithes'.[917] The churchwardens of St George Southwark asked that 'our Parson may be left to the ordinary course of the law' and those of St Olave Southwark took a similar line in there response.[918]

Rather than excusing their own inability to comply with the demands of the clergy most parishes were critical of the clergy for having made the demands at all. St. Benet Sherehog responded by arguing that 'the parson when he was admitted here knew what the tithes were and willingly accepted them'.[919] More common was the claim that the livings were in fact competent although very few defined what this meant; the parish of Lambeth sought to be excused on the grounds that the living was worth £200 and, St Clement Eastcheap rejected Benjamin Stone's claim on the grounds of his pluralism which brought in £200 per annum.[920] Although there is no evidence in the abstracted returns of opposition to increased tithes by the parish of St Thomas Apostle their

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[914] The VMB of St Martin Ludgate shows that on 11 August 1627 just a few months after the appointment of Michael Jermin as minister eight members of a General Vestry were appointed, 'to consider of and to set down course for the better ordering of the tithe book for giving the rector some better contentment therin', Jermin remained as incumbent till 1643.

[915] CM 8/37.

[916] ibid.

[917] ibid.

[918] PRO SP 16/389 fo 205, 215.

[919] CM 8/37. The refusal to reconsider might have been anticipated from the lack of cooperation the rector, Cadwallader Morgan, had in gathering the information. In a note to his valuation Morgan added:, 'Being denied by them that were appointed by the Alderman's Deputy to have any assistance as his majesty's order did ordaine, I have in my own person made this valuation as right and moderate as I could'.

[920] ibid.

refusal to make a glebe terrier at the height of the dispute was in response to the demands for higher tithes. In May 1638 the minister of St Thomas, William Cooper, sought Laud's assistance to force the churchwardens to bring in a true terrier of the parsonage glebe. While in itself a relatively minor component of revenue for London clergy the glebe terrier was a focus for opposition to the church.[921] As a result Laud ordered Sir John Lambe and the Archdeacon of London to 'afford the petitioner all just and lawful assistance'. Using the demands of their former parson Henry Burton as a tithe benchmark the parish of St Matthew Friday Street rejected the assessment of his successor (Robert Chestlin) on the grounds that it was twice what Burton had received.[922] Members of the parish acted on their objections to the tithe campaign and their opposition to the English Arminian regime by conspiring to pay no tithes at all in protest over Burton's imprisonment.[923]

A major platform in the clergy's case for increased tithes was that tithes in London had been in serious decline since the halcyon days of Henry VIII. A number of parishes in responding to the demands undermined this claim by arguing that the clergy had forced significant increases upon their parishes. St Andrew Undershaft claimed that 'tithes are increased so high by this incumbent [Henry Mason] that diverse are grieved'. Edward Marbury was charged by his parishioners in St James Garlickhithe of having raised tithes from £50 to £100 by suits and compositions and 'receiving £20 intended for the church fabric'. St Mary Abchurch rejected Benjamin Stone's claim on the grounds that his improvements had resulted in an annual means of £250. As a result they saw no good cause for increase since 'not one in ten of the parish are of like ability to him now'. Brian Walton was criticised by his parishioners on similar grounds. It was

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[921] According to the entries in Dale's The Inhabitants of London in 1638 the value of glebe in the assessment made by Cooper was £1:00 from a total revenue of £93 9 0. The role of glebe terrier disputes is discussed in Andrew Foster, 'Church Policies of the 1630s', pp. 200-201.
[922] CM 8/37.
[923] Valerie Pearl London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, p. 307.

claimed that he had benefit of an augmented tithe, a second benefice worth £200 per annum and an estate of £1,000.

As well as the protests a significant number of parishes indicated that their clergy were not interested in seeking any increase in tithes. A total of 21 parishes objected to the claims for augmentations on these grounds. Only one of these parishes was held by an English Arminian. By the time of the response made by his parish of St Dionis Backchurch John Warner had been appointed Bishop of Rochester and may not therefore have been resident at the time of the survey. In any case the parishioners argued not on Warner's views at the time of the return but on the basis of an agreement made two years earlier. According to the abstract it was the parish's view that :

[We] conceive that the demand is not made by the incumbent because in the year 1636 a composition was made between him and the parishioners to both parts content some few excepted, and since it is continued.[924]

Five of the clergy who were attributed with rejection of the increased tithe are little known and may have had good reason for not joining the campaign. Thomas Crane, Vicar of St Lawrence Jewry, was questioned by his vestry on 17 October concerning a demand for £75. He denied having made the demand at a meeting of the parish vestry.[925] In St Helen's Bishopsgate the parishioners stated that 'they do not think that the minister [Matthew Milward] had complained having acknowledged himself contented'.[926] Ralph Cook of St Gabriel Fenchurch was reported as having denied any

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[924] CM 8/37.
[925] Lawrence Jewry, VMB 1556-1669, GLMS 689/1, fo. 318.
[926] CM 8/37.

demand for increased tithes.[927] The response from Richard Walmsley rector of St John Walbrook was more emphatic. The parish cited the existence of a four year old tithe agreement with Walmsley as the reason for rejecting the demands and added that Walmsley 'hath disavowed the demand, he sayeth that if his Majesty should increase tithes he would raise none.[928] St Mildred Poultry responded bluntly, declaring that 'the parson made no such demand'. Richard Owen of St Swithin's was attributed with having expressed his satisfaction with the level of tithes and as a result the parish added that they 'conceive the demand of £110 hath been without his consent .[929]

The rejection of the tithe claims by the remaining 14 clergy may have been motivated by ideological opposition, at least so far as the tithe campaign was led and supported by English Arminians. Among this group were John Hackett and Thomas Westfield, both supporters of the Church of England, but equally Calvinist in doctrine and opposed to the English Arminian faction within the church. Despite the fact that Hackett had earlier loaned money to supplement the levies raised by the clergy for legal representation his parish declared that he was content with the tithe he already received. Westfield's parish were more effusive on the part of their minister, declaring that:

> there is so much love and correspondence between the minister and the parishioners that they never heard he complained for any want or desired any improvement or presented any such desire to his [laity].[930]

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[927] ibid.
[928] ibid.
[929] ibid.
[930] ibid.

The twelve remaining clergy can loosely be described as puritan.[931] While there is nothing to suggest that they were acting in concert by rejecting the tithe campaign, their common antipathy adds to the ideological dimension of the tithe dispute. Although not all the clergy who might be regarded as puritan can be shown to have rejected the claim for higher tithes this group of twelve is sufficiently large and distinguished to stand in contrast to the English Arminian leadership of the clergy's campaign. Their refusal to participate in the campaign may also explain the short fall of some £91 in the levy which the clergy sought to raise to help fund the campaign.

While the dispute over London tithes was as old as the reformation, it was of considerable significance to English Arminians because of the fundamental importance that the financial strength and independence of the church had within their scheme of things. The campaign was led and supported for the most part by prominent English Arminians and they stood to be amongst its major beneficiaries both in terms of the absolute value of their livings and the relative gains that could be expected. As an element of English Arminian reform the London tithe dispute offered an ideal opportunity to initiate a strategy of financial reform into place as a precedent for action in other areas.

The campaign was clearly based on historical developments concerning tithes that were unique to London such as the loss of agricultural tithe and the imposition by statute of a rent based standard for tithe under Henry VIII. However, during the course of the dispute claims for increased tithes were being pressed on parishes adjacent to but

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[931] John Lawson, All Hallows Bread Street; Thomas Adams, St Benet Paul's Wharf; John Wood, St James Duke's Place; Percival Hill, St Katherine Coleman St; Richard Watson, St Mary Aldermary; Arthur Jackson, St Michael Wood St; Nathaniel Shute, Mildred Poultry; George Rush, St Catherine Cree; John Stoughton, St Mary Aldermanbury; John Goodwin, St Stephen Coleman St; James Palmer, St Bride, 's; Thomas Gouge, St Sepulchre, 's; William Prince, St Anne Blackfriars.

outside the urban centre of London. This included parishes such St Martin in the Fields, Lambeth and those in Southwark. It also covered parishes further afield for which the arguments adduced in favour of the London increase had less significance. This point was understood by the parishioners of Newington, Surrey when they rejected claims for increases based on arguments developed for the London clergy. They argued that not only was the maintenance adequate but that:

our case is not (as is intimated) like that of London for the Parson, either in Law (that of London being ground on Act of Parliament) or in equity the Parsons there having little or no Glebe tithes). And as for any loss of the former Tithes of land by new buildings, which are some, we are assured that ground built on exceeds ten for one att least to the Parson in profit by oblations and obventions, whilst notwithstanding service nor sermons are not increased.[932]

Efforts were also underway in other parts of the country to identify where tithes could be improved.[933] At the same time as claims were being presented to London parishes Laud had surveys conducted in the parishes of Lincoln to ascertain the value and status of livings. The returns made to him also noted which parishes could be improved.[934]

However grand the aims of English Arminians in reforming the financial base of the church the tithe campaign was a failure since it did not achieve an increase in the tithe paid to London clergy. Its failure was in some measure due to the fact that it simply

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[932] PRO 16/389 fo. 233.
[933] Economic Problems, Pt III, xii
[934] 'Returns to Abp. Laud of Assessment of Benefices' PRO SP 16/378/106 & 379/6, 21, 31, 53.

ran out of time. It was overshadowed by issues such as the Shipmoney disputes and eventually overtaken by the Scottish wars. In the most obvious sense the impact of the tithe dispute was to put the clergy and laity into conflict on a scale which neither theological and liturgical reforms might have achieved on their own. As a result of the dispute the clergy were subject to wholesale abuse. According to Robert Chestlin clergy were abused in the streets of London for seeking increased tithes with the nickname 'Two Shillings Ninepence'.[935] Resistance to the tithe campaign appears to have been articulated in more parishes and by a much broader base within each parish than disaffection over theological and ceremonial reform. By comparison to the pervasive distrust that the financial policies of the English Arminian church seems to have provoked, these latter complaints were voiced by a smaller number of opponents, such as those parishes where puritan clergy or beliefs were entrenched. The difference would appear to be due to the much more immediate and widespread implications of a successful tithe campaign. In a purely financial sense the tithe dispute would have engendered opposition, and much resistance appears to have been on economic grounds. But tithe was also the cornerstone of a religious system which had been progressively undermined since the reformation. By the 1630s the laity in London were already familiar with ideas such as selling episcopal lands to support clergy and movements such as the Feoffees for Impropriations. Archbishop Laud considered the Feoffees to be ' the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church'.[936] Many parishes supported on merit those whom they considered worthy lecturers and ministers. These ideas and practices represent fundamental opposition to the ideological basis upon which tithes rested and by extension to the English Arminian church which sought the extension of tithes on that same basis.

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[935] Robert Chestlin, Persecutio Undecima, Or the Churches Eleventh Persecution, 1648, (1681 reprint) p. 6.
[936] William Laud, Works, Vol. III, p. 217.

In addition to the direct opposition that the tithe dispute provoked, whether financial or ideological, it is also worth noting that the prosecution of the clergy's case involved an extensive effort on the part of the church in surveying the conduct of laity. The same is also true of the survey of vestries undertaken by Juxon in 1635. Both of these surveys critically examined the practices of the laity against criteria which reflected English Arminian thinking on the relations between laity and the church. The vestry survey sought to limit the influence of the laity in the governance of the church at parish level, while the tithe survey sought to impose a clerical assessment on the payment of tithes. Both of these initiatives, despite the fact that they were never implemented, had about them an implied threat of the arbitrary rule of Bishops, particularly as they both gave the appearance of attempting to undo the post-reformation balance in relations between the clergy and laity. As a consequence the significance of both these initiatives in undermining the position of English Arminian reform in the parishes of London cannot be underestimated.

Chapter Eight:
Conclusion

The sequestration of the clergy has been dealt with in a number of studies.[937] According to Ian Green's analysis very few clergy had been deprived by the time war broke out.[938] He has argued that a degree of orchestration is evident in the nature of the complaints made against clergy.[939] Accusations against clergy demonstrate a pattern which 'was to some extent a mirror of the preoccupations of the men who implemented the campaign against the clergy'.[940] The patten of sequestrations may be simply summarised as moving from spontaneous charges originating from parish witnesses to more politically oriented removals that were a reflection of the later security concerns. The broadening of the issues that led to sequestration explains how such a large number of moderate conforming clergy, and even puritan clergy, were also sequestered.

The same analysis applies to London and Middlesex. Few clergy were removed prior to the outbreak of hostilities. In the latter stages of the sequestrations the removal of parish clergy in London was also carefully orchestrated.[941] Calybute Downing along with Cornelius Burgess and Edmund Calamy were among ministers who participated in a campaign to purge clerical ranks. They advocated the taking of arms in defence of religion.[942] Calamy and Burgess also provided intelligence to the Puritan faction in

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[937] I. Green, 'The Persecution of Scandalous and Malignant Parish Clergy during the English Civil War'; Jim Sharpe, 'Scandalous and Malignant Priests in Essex: The Impact of Grassroots Puritanism', ; J. S. Morrill 'The Church in England 1642-9' in J.S. Morrill (ed.) Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-9. London, 1982. Alan Argent 'Thesis', Chapter 3 "The havock Made in London" - The Sequestration of London's Parish Clergy, op. cit..

[938] Ian Green, op. cit., p. 515.

[939] ibid., p. 511.

[940] ibid., p. 514.

[941] Alan Argent 'Thesis' op. cit., Chapter 3.

[942] ibid., p. 53.

Parliament and in December 1642 the Common Council set up a committee to begin the process of dealing with 'malignant scandalous and seditious Ministers'.[943]

Among those who those who suffered early were a high proportion of English Arminian clergy. Virtually all were removed by 1642/43. A number of individuals were moved against prior to the outbreak of hostilities, while others saw fit to leave their parishes in 1640 and 1641 for rural livings, almost anticipating their formal removal.[944] The early removal of English Arminians owed much to the antagonism that had developed between clergy and laity in the 1630s. But the question remains of how much this antagonism had to do with the 'Arminianism' that was charged against William Brough and Robert Pory, or whether it was a reaction against the professional and institutional arrogance represented by men such as Brian Walton and William Fuller.

The answer to this question is by no means simple. However, a point which is sustained in this study is that the two cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. Doctrine had its role to play, but so did the assertion of clerical and ecclesiastical powers. It has been argued throughout that the amalgam of both represents 'English Arminianism'. When Brian Walton in company with John Warner and others forcibly removed the communion table at St. Martin Orgar to an altarwise position they were making a declaration of theology as well as a assertion of power. The theology lay in the implicit claim that the church and clergy could again play an intermediary role between God and the laity. The assertion of power was evident in their assumption of authority and refusal to produce any warrant for their actions. Equally, when William Fuller locked out 400 parishioners and the puritan lecturer John Sedgwick from the

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[943] ibid., p. 51.
[944] William Bray, William Fuller, Henry Mason, George Palmer and Brian Walton.

parish church of St. Giles Cripplegate until they were forced to depart because of rain he was both arrogating to himself an authority over the laity and declaring his views on the fit and proper use for the church.[945]

These incidents illustrate in miniature the major difficulties posed by English Arminianism as they have emerged in this study. Theological and ceremonial innovation conflicted with the broadly established religious norms. At the same time the assertion of clerical authority threatened lay society. One or other of these claims might have been tolerated. The laity were not universally ill-disposed to theological and ceremonial innovation. Moreover, even puritans could accord a special authority to the godly minister. But when theological and ceremonial innovation could be interpreted as Romanist, and assertions of authority extended to claims upon lay property and threatened to undermine lay power the advent of 'English Arminianism was bound to create discomfit for the laity.

In the space of little more than a decade English Arminians acquired positions of relative power but never succeeded in exerting the influence necessary to consolidate that power. Whatever influence they did secure among lay and clerical supporters they never achieved the status of mainstream acceptance. As indicated by the careers of many men studied here English Arminian clergy were distinguishable for reasons of age, education, and relationships as much by what they believed and practised. They were often younger men who found the opportunities for promotion and the clericalism of English Arminianism professionally satisfying. A number of them rejected early Calvinist or Puritan inclinations to embrace English Arminians. But they were a minority. The majority of clergy in this study had little if any exposure to English

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[945] Petition of Divers of the Parishioners of St Giles Cripplegate against Timothy Hutton Curate, London, 1641.

Arminianism through their university training. They were educated in a quite different tradition than that which had arisen at institutions such as St. John's College, Oxford; where a significant element of English Arminian clergy in this study were educated. While some aspects of English Arminianism attracted wider clerical support (tithes) only a small proportion of the clergy in this sample went further than to offer compliance with the innovations of the 1630s. Over time the changes taking place in the universities may well have begun to influence graduate opinion thereby providing the sort of base upon which the innovation could be implemented. But without a broader support base among the clergy the English Arminians had little opportunity to alter the prevailing Calvinist consensus. Indeed, the tone of their discourse against Calvinism and specific doctrines such as predestination highlights the precarious hold they had on opinion.

A wider acceptance by the clergy may also have influenced lay opinion. It should not be overlooked that there were some parishes where sections of the laity tolerated the introduction of innovation and were prepared to defend their clergy and the changes of the previous decade. Brian Walton could claim that only twenty-five out of four hundred parishioners subscribed to the articles prepared against him.[946] Of those whom he identified a number appear as defendants in the tithe cases which Walton launched in the parish. Edward Finch was able to publish a retraction of evidence made by some who had earlier testified against him. He also claimed to have obtained a counter-petition 'subscribed by most of the Gentry, and divers other persons of quality, honestie and abilitie in the Parish' that would put a more 'favourable construction' on his incumbency and sought 'the reformation not the ruine of the said Mr Finch'.[947] John Squire's refutation of articles exhibited against him contained over

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[946] 'Dr Walton's Answer to the petition to the House of Commons of the Parishioners of St Martin Orgar', Tanner MS 142.22

[947] Edward Finch, An Answer to the Articles Preferred Against Mr Edward Finch..., London, 1641.

two hundred names as testimony to his ministry.[948]   The identity of Haywood's accusers is not clear, however in a defence of Haywood by "R.M." it was claimed that they were 'none of any quality, not a nobleman, not a gentleman, not a vestryman, not a citizen of any better breeding, but a few ... illiterate and ignorant, many of them not able to write their names, and scant any of them using to come to church'.[949] At All Hallows Barking 'the churchwardens and chief inhabitants of the parish' signed a petition in support of Laud's nephew, Edward Layfield, to acquit him from false and scandalous accusations objected by others.[950]

That the English Arminian clergy had some support from sections of their parishes or that their critics were drawn from a relatively small group within their parishes suggests that there was a good deal of lay support for the institutional church. So does the evidence of lay support for the reconstruction of parish churches in the 1620s and 1630s.   To some extent English Arminianism may have won support because their programme was socially conservative.   In so far as it pursued order and decency it was likely to have some intrinsic appeal to those who had some interest in social order.   But this support was tested when decency in church extended to railing in the communion table enforced communion at the rails and the attendant ceremony.   The uncertainty as to where reform was heading and the vulnerability of English Arminians to anti-Catholic propaganda left them open to criticism as did their association with unpopular elements of royal policy. Parishioners seemed to be willing to support major investment in repair of their parish church but demands for ship money, augmented tithes, and collections for St. Paul's show signs of having stretched lay support.

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[948] John Squire An Answer to a Paper entitled Articles exhibited in Parliament against Mr John Squire. . . 7 August 1641, pp 10-12.
[949] R.M. An Answer to a Lawless Pamphlet, 1641, p. 6.
[950] All Hallows Barking, VMB.

During the 1630's English Arminianism merely succeeded in antagonising entrenched lay opinion rather than fundamentally changing it. While it may be too much to say that they alienated the laity entirely it is clear that they divided parishes. That they failed to capture significant clerical and lay opinion is a measure of the extent to which their beliefs and practices were at odds with existing norms. Even against the background of a different international environment or different royal policies the challenge to consensus opinion, lay power and property would hardly have gone unnoticed.

However, if it is difficult to characterise the attitudes of parishes and their response to English Arminianism it is clear from the parish records which have been studied that English Arminians forced a wedge between members of some parishes. In so doing they created conflict and uncertainty. As a section of Brian Walton's parishioners complained he was:

> a man of unquiet and unpeaceable carriage, making differences with his parishioners, both by the new way of officiating in his function to the scandall & offence of many, and his eager prosecution of such of his parishioners as are not of his party and opinion, and also by his greedy and covetous gaining into by indirect meanes the disposition of a great part of the Rents and proffits of the Church lands.[951]

Walton's support for English Arminian reforms is apparent in these complaints, but it also appears that in Walton's case, and those of some of his colleagues, these complaints also spill over into undertones of social disquiet. English Arminians were

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[951] 'The Articles and charges proved in Parliament against Doctor Walton, Minister of St Martin Orgars', London, 1641, p. 1.

often linked to a faction within the parishes they held, this inevitably stirred rivalry between the 'better sorts' and 'lesser sorts' within a given parish.

To some extent it is tempting to place responsibility for antagonism to clergy such as Walton on their own actions. To some extent this is true. A number of the English Arminians clearly made personal enemies during their incumbency. But, they did not act in isolation. Walton enforced the removal of the communion table at St Martin Orgar in the company of a future Bishop, William Fuller extended a pattern of worship at St Giles Cripplegate that had been instituted by John Buckeridge, and when John Elborow and William Watts delivered their attacks on predestinarian theology it was in the context of highly public events such as the metropolitical visitation and the Paul's Cross sermons. Behind the actions of the individuals was a comprehensive effort to reshape the church according to an historically-based English model, but one which was also consistent with contemporary criticism of Calvinism.

Appendices[952]

Appendix A	English Arminian Clergy with map
Appendix B	Puritan Clergy with map
Appendix C	Social Data
Appendix D	Education Data
Appendix E	Benefices and Higher Offices
Appendix F	Pluralist Clergy
Appendix G	Communion Consumption
Appendix H	Assignation Books
Appendix I	Parish Data

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[952] Appendices A-I summarise some of the key data that has been used throughout the thesis, particularly in Chapters three and four. The data has been presented here for reference and in order to avoid the awkwardness of repeated footnote references for basic biographical details. All the information duplicated in the Appendices and some additional data not reproduced is available from the Department of History, University of Adelaide in electronic form as a flat file database (File Maker Pro) in the Apple Macintosh format or in SYLK format for other Macintosh database programs or DOS-based database programs.

Appendix A
English Arminian Clergy

Appendix A provides a list of London clergy 1620-1640 who might reasonably be considered as English Arminians. As noted earlier there is no simple means of identifying clergy as such, just as there is no simple means of identifying clergy as puritans. Generally, clergy have been considered as English Arminians where they can be reasonably represented as promulgating a set of views that can be broadly termed anti-Calvinist; where they were active in pressing, ceremonial innovation, where they pursued less overtly religious activities that were aimed at reinforcing the power of the church. Also, personal and social links between individuals have not been ignored. The key in nominating any individual has been the aggregate weight of evidence.

Because it is difficult to define a clergyman as an English Arminian the nomination of clergy as such has been conservative. Some men who were noted against one or other of the criteria have been passed over. Those omitted include individuals such as: James Batty, St. Vedast Fosterlane; Edward Finch, Christchurch; John Mountforde, Martin in the Fields; Thomas Soame, Staines and William Stampe, Stepney. Further evidence might lead to their being incorporated into the list of English Arminians. Equally, further appraisal might lead to a few clergy being deleted. However, any adjustments would not significantly affect the main conclusions argued throughout.

The list of clergy is accompanied by a map of London which shows the parishes held by English Arminian clergy the legend indicates when a clergyman entered the parish concerned.

English Arminian Clergy

Name	Parish	From	To	Map Ref
Samuel Baker	Margaret Pattens	1625	1637	52
	Christopher le Stocks	1636	1640	26
	Mary at Hill	1637	1643	64
Richard Bayley	Northall, Mx	1632	1637	-
William Bray[953]	Martin in the Fields	1633	1643	-
William Brough	Michael Cornhill	1625	1643	74
Thomas Brown	Mary Aldermary	1638	1644	60
Jonathon Brown	Faith's by St Paul's	1628	1643	32
John Buckeridge	Giles Cripplegate	1608	1628	107
John Clark	Ethelburgh	1633	1643	31
Abraham Colfe	Leonard Eastcheap	1609	1642	46
Jonas Cook	Hanwell	1631	1644	-
Thomas Crane	Lawrence Jewry	1632	1643	44
Francis Dee	All Hallows Lombard Street	1615	1634	12
William Dell	Mary Aldermanbury	1629	1631	59
John Donne	Dunstan in the West	1624	1631	106
John Elborow	Pancras, Mx	1625	1631	-
William Fuller	Giles Cripplegate	1628	1641	33
John Gifford	Michael Bassishaw	1607	1642	73

[953] William Bray was also vicar of St Ethelburgh during 1632-33. He was succeeded in the parish by John Clarke who was sequestered in 1643 for 'popish doctrine' White's Century No. 54.

Name	Parish	From	To	Map Ref
William Graunt	Isleworth, Mx	1639	1643	-
James Halsey	Alphage	1638	1641	12
William Haywood	Giles in the Fields, Mx	1636	1643	-
Joseph Henshaw	Bartholomew the Less	1631	1636	100
Edmund Layfield	Bromley	1626	1645	-
Edward Layfield	All Hallows Barking	1634	1645	1
Richard Maden	St Helen Bishopsgate	1635	1639	
	Mildred Poultry	1638	1645	81
Henry Mason	Andrew Undershaft	1614	1641	14
Roger Mainwarring	Giles in the Fields, Mx	1616	1635	-
George Palmer	Gabriel Fenchurch	1638	1641	33
	Northall	1638	1643	-
William Piers	Northall	1611	1632	-
	Christopher le Stocks	1615	1620	26
Robert Pory	Margaret New Fish Street	1640	1643	51
William Quelch	Benet Gracechurch	1637	1643	22
Thomas Raiment	Hanwell	1624	1631	-
Edmund Reeve	Hayes, Mx	1627	1644	-
John Squire	Leonard Shoreditch	1612	1643	-
Benjamin Stone	Mary Abchurch	1613	1643	58
	Clement Eastcheap	1637	1643	27
Thomas Swadlin	Botolph Aldgate	1628	1642	103
Thomas Turner[954]	Olave Southwark	1631	1642	-
Brian Walton	Martin Orgar	1628	1643	55
John Warner	Dionis Backchurch	1625	1638	28
William Watts	Alban Wood Street	1626	1643	11
Thomas Weekes	Botolph Bishopgate	1639	1642	103
John Weston	All Hallows Lombard Street	1634	1642	6

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[954]Thomas Turner was also rector of St Augustine by St Paul's during 1634.
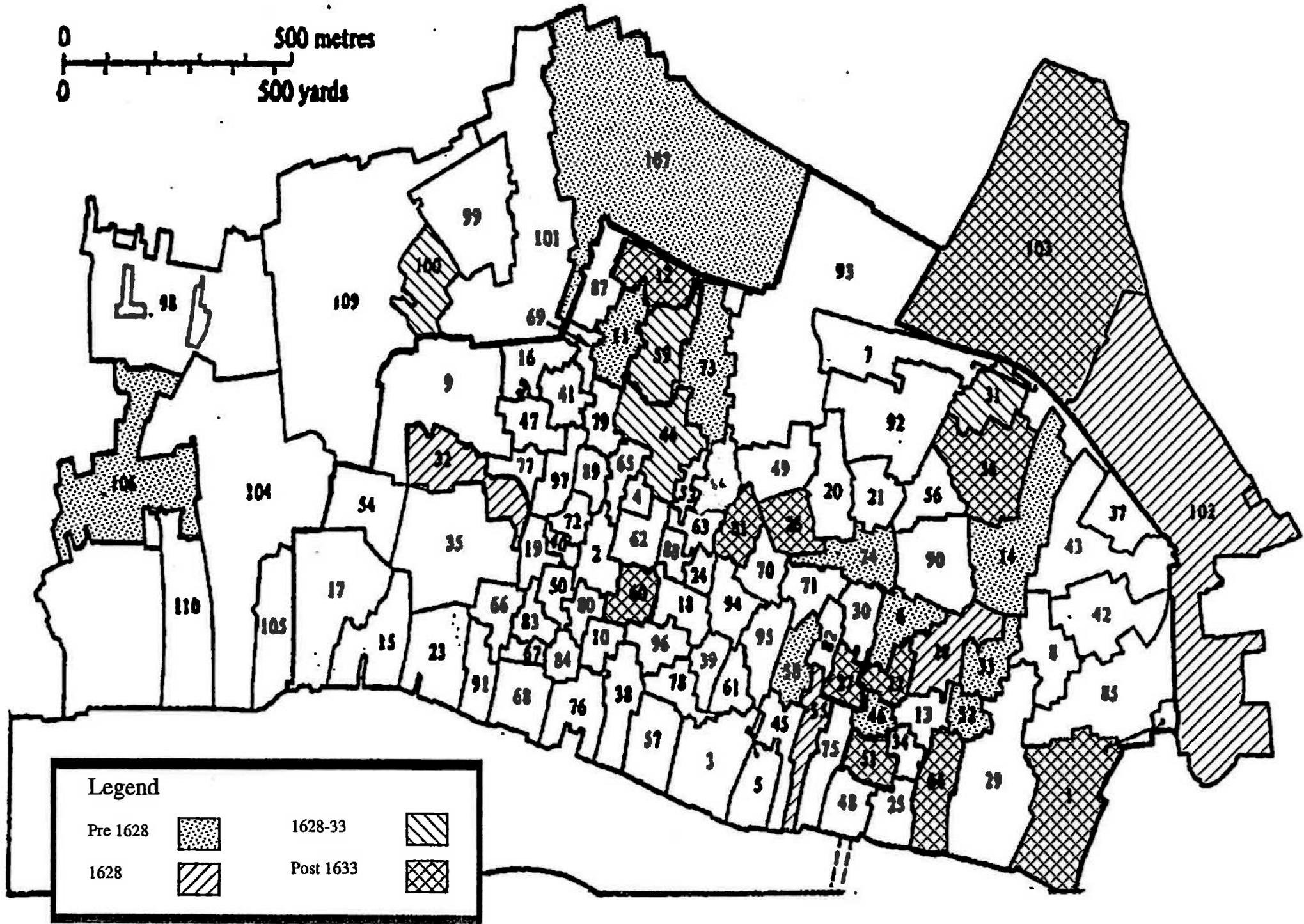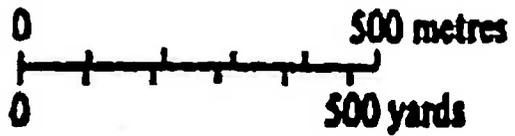
Legend

Pre 1628 · 1628-33

1628 · Post 1633

Appendix B
Puritan Clergy

The list of puritan clergy shows the best known puritan clergy and the parishes they occupied in London. Most of these men can be readily identified from standard works on Puritanism such as: William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, Columbia, 1947; Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England; P S Seaver, The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662, Stanford, 1970. A few appear from references in Alan Argent 'The Religious Complexion of the Parishes of the City of London 1640-1649 (with especial reference to the city clergy)', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983 and R.L. Greaves & Zaller R. (eds.), Biographical Dictionary of English Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, 3 Vols., Brighton, 1982-84. A map of London is included as part of the Appendix to show the location of parishes held by puritan clergy.

Name	Parish	From	To	Map Reference
Thomas Adams	Benet Paul's Wharf	1619	1652	23
Andrew Blackwell	All Hallows The Less	1638		5
Cornelius Burgess	Magnus Martyr	1626	1641	48
Henry Burton	Matthew Friday St	1621	1637	72
Adoniram Byfield	All Hallows Staining	1629		8
Edmund Calamy	Mary Aldermanbury	1639	1662	60
William Chibbald	Nicholas Cole Abbey	1604	1641	83
Elias Crabtree	St Lawrence Pountney	1620	1648	45
Richard Culverall	Margaret Moses	1618	1651	50
John Davenport	Stephen Coleman St	1624	1634	93
Stephen Denison	Katherine Cree	1616	1636	43
John Downame	All Hallows The Great	1630	1652	3
Calybute Downing	Hackney	1637	1644	-
Samuel Fawcett	Mary Staining	1628	1643	69
John Goodwin	Stephen Coleman St	1633	1645	93
Thomas Gouge	Sepulchre	1638	1662	109
William Gouge	Anne Blackfriars	1628	1631	17
Percival Hill	Katherine Coleman	1640	1641	42
Thomas Horton	Mary Colechurch	1638	1640	63
Arthur Jackson	Michael Wood St	1625	1649	79
Andrew Janeway	All Hallows London Wall	1593	1643	7
John Lawson	All Hallows Bread St	1628	1642	2
Jeremiah Leech	Mary le Bow	1617	1643	62
Philip Nye	All Hallows Staining	1627		8
Charles Offspring	St Antholin	1617	1659	18
James Palmer	St Bride Fleet St	1616	1659	104
William Prince	Anne Blackfriars	1631		17
George Rush	Katherine Cree	1636	1644	43
Richard Stock	All Hallows Bread St	1604	1626	2
John Stoughton	Mary Aldermanbury	1632	1639	59
Josias Symons	Martin Ironmonger Lane	1632	1639	53
Ephraim Udall	Augustine Watling	1634	1643	19
Henry Vertue	All Hallows Honeylane	1628	1660	4
Daniel Votier	Peter Westcheap	1615	1645	89
George Walker	John Evangelist	1614	1651	40

Thames
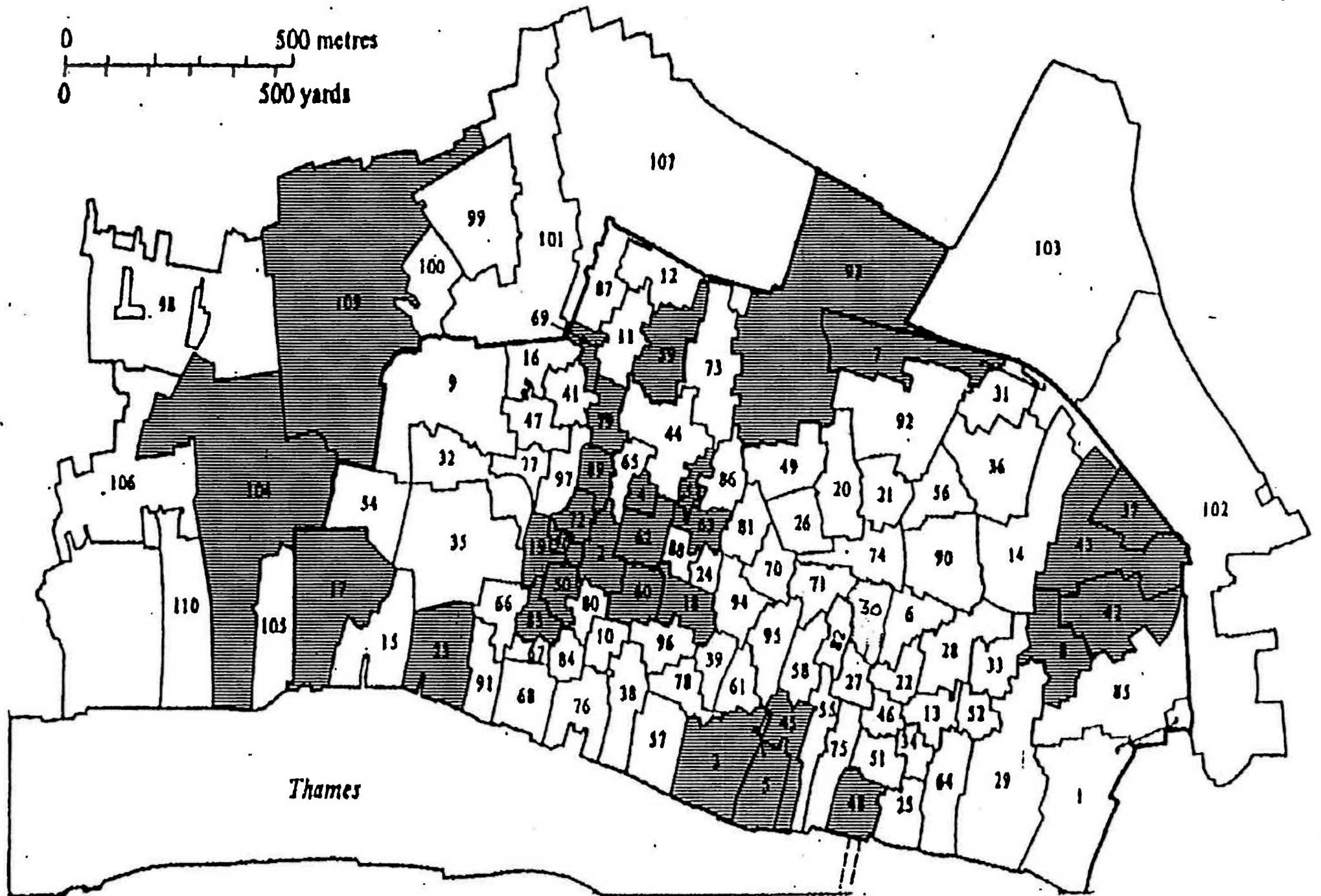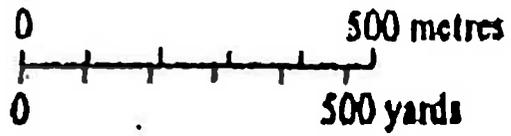
Appendix C
Social Data

Appendix C contains social statistics dealing with dates of birth and death, the place of origin and the social and matriculation status. The data is derived from <u>Alumni Oxonienses</u>, and <u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u>.

Name	Born	Died	Origin	Social Status	Matriculant Status
Edward Abbot		1634	London	Gentry	
Thomas Adams		1652			
Henry Ashwood					
Samuel Baker		1658			Pensioner
Walter Balcanqual	1586	1645	Scotland	Clergy	
Thomas Bankes	1556	1631	Yorkshire		Sizar
Roger Bates	1580	1634	Hertfordshire	Plebian	
James Batty	1587	1645	Middlesex	Gentry	
Richard Bayley	1586	1667	Warwickshire	Plebian	
William Bedwell	1561	1632			Sizar
Matthew Bennet	1599	1661			
Thomas Berisford		1638			Pensioner
Robert Bincks	1601	1658	Oxfordshire	Plebian	
Bruno Bisborow					
Andrew Blackwell					
Edward Boosie		1642	Essex		Pensioner
Thomas Booth					Pensioner
William Boswell	1581	1632	Bristol	Plebian	
Samuel Bourman					
Richard Bourne	1578		London	Gentry	
Nicholas Bradshaw	1575	1648	Buckinghamshire	Plebian	
William Bray					Pensioner
William Brough		1671			Pensioner
Thomas Brown	1605	1673	Middlesex	Plebian	
Jonathon Brown	1601	1643	Hertfordshire	Plebian	
Joseph Browne		1643			Sizar
John Buckeridge		1631			
John Buckley			London		
Cornelius Burgess			Somerset		
Henry Burton	1578		Yorkshire		Sizar
Thomas Burton	1568	1631	Lincoln		
Adoniram Byfield		1660	Middlesex	Clergy	Sizar
Edmund Calamy	1600	1666	London	Clergy	Scholar
William Carter	1597		Oxford	Plebian	
Andrew Castleton	1591	1632	London		Pensioner
Richard Chambers	1582	1652			Sizar
Samuel Cheney					Pensioner
Richard Cheshire		1660			
Robert Chestlin	1612	1659			
William Chibbald			Surrey	Plebian	
James Chibbald	1612		London	Clergy	
John Childerley	1563	1645	London	Plebian	
Andrew Clare			London		
John Clark					

Name	Born	Died	Origin	Social Status	Matriculant Status
Ezekiel Clarke					
Richard Clarke					
Richard Cluett	1579		Somerset	Plebian	
Abraham Colfe	1580	1657	Kent	Clergy	
Daniel Collins	1579	1648			
Ralph Cook	1608	1684	London	Plebian	
John Cook		1676			
Richard Cook					
Jonas Cook	1589		Berkshire	Plebian	
William Cooper					Pensioner
Robert Cooper		1650			
Thomas Copping	1612		Kent	Plebian	
Richard Cowdall					
Elias Crabtree	1591				
Thomas Crane	1595				
Richard Crooke		1641	London		
Richard Culverall	1582		Somerset	Plebian	
David Daulben		1633	Wales		
John Davenport	1597	1670	Warwickshire		
Francis Dee		1638	London	Clergy	
William Dell					
Stephen Denison		1650			
James Dent			Yorkshire		Sizar
George Dillingham		1635			Sizar
Nehemiah Dod	1596	1652	London	Clergy	Sizar
John Donne	1573	1631	London	Gentry	
John Donne					
George Douglas			Scotland		
John Downame	1571	1652		Clergy	
Calybute Downing		1644	Gloucester		
Nathaniel Duckett					Sizar
Richard Dukeson		1678			
George Eccop			Yorkshire		
Philip Edlin		1657			
Job Eglington					
John Elborow					Sizar
John Ellis		1639			
Richard Etkins	1579		Worcester	Plebian	
Zachariah Evans	1572		Kent	Clergy	
William Fairfax		1655			
Samuel Fawcett	1601		London	Plebian	
Daniel Featley	1582	1645	Oxford	Plebian	
Edward Finch					
Thomas Fox	1610		Hereford	Plebian	
Josiah Frith		1637			
William Fuller	1580	1659	Suffolk		
Michael Gardiner		1630	Hertfordshire		Pensioner
Robert Gell			Kent		
John Gifford			Essex	Clergy	Pensioner
Nazariah Gladman		1642			Sizar
Henry Goodcole	1586	1641	London		
John Goodwin	1593	1665	Norfolk		
Thomas Goore					
Thomas Gouge					
William Gouge	1574	1653	Middlesex	Clergy	

Name	Born	Died	Origin	Social Status	Matriculant Status
George Gouldman		1634			
William Graunt		1678	London	Clergy	Pensioner
John Grant		1653	London		Sizar
Thomas Grice	1587	1637	London	Plebian	
Matthew Griffith	1599	1665	London	Gentry	
John Hackett	1590	1670	Middlesex		Pensioner
Abraham Haines	1601	1649	Middlesex	Gentry	Pensioner
William Hall	1610	1662	London	Clergy	Pensioner
James Halsey		1641	Hertfordshire		Pensioner
Edward Harrison					
Lancelot Harrison			Durham		Pensioner
William Haywood			Bristol	Plebian	
William Heath			Kent		
Robert Henry					
Joseph Henshaw	1603	1679	Sussex	Gentry	
Percival Hill			Leicester	Clergy	Sizar
John Hill			London	Plebian	
Benjamin Hinton					Pensioner
Emmanuel Hodges	1582	1650	Devon	Plebian	
Richard Holdsworth	1590	1649	Northumberland	Clergy	
Nicholas Holland					
Thomas Horne	1576	1636	Wiltshire	Plebian	
Thomas Horton		1673	London		Pensioner
Thomas Howell	1589	1646	Wales	Clergy	
Lewis Hughes	1602	1660	Wales		
William Isaacson		1648	London		
Arthur Jackson	1593	1666	London		
Andrew Janeway	1565	1655	Essex		
Thomas Jennings					
Rowland Jennings					
Michael Jermin	1591	1659	Devon	Gentry	
John Johnson			Middlesex		
John Jones	1611	1658	Hertfordshire		
John Kendall	1552	1627			Pensioner
William King	1601		London	Clergy	
Philip King	1603	1667	London	Clergy	
Henry King	1591	1669	Buckingham	Clergy	
Henry Kyberd		1652	Norfolk		
Thomas Lant					
William Launce		1666	Suffolk		
John Lawson		1642			
Edward Layfield			London	Clergy	
Edmund Layfield					Sizar
Jeremiah Leech	1580	1644	London		
John Macarness		1636			
Richard Maden					Sizar
William Mainstone		1654			
Thomas Manne	1582		Warwickshire	Plebian	
Edward Marbury	1581	1656	Bedfordshire		Pens
James Marsh	1594	1646	London	Gentry	
Henry Mason	1576	1647	Lancashire	Plebian	
Roger Mainwarring		1653			
James Meggs		1672	Middlesex	Gentry	
Matthias Milward			Cambridge		
George Moor		1664			Pensioner

Name	Born	Died	Origin	Social Status	Matriculant Status
Cadwallader Morgan		1640			
Thomas Mountforde		1632	Norwich		
William Muffet	1609	1678	London	Plebian	Pensioner
Nathaniel Netmaker					
Philip Nye	1596	1672	Sussex	Clergy	
Charles Offspring			Kent		Sizar
Richard Owen	1607	1683	Wales	Clergy	
Ephraim Pagitt	1575	1646	Northants	Gentry	
George Palmer	1597	1658	Rutland	Plebian	
James Palmer	1585	1660			
Thomas Paske		1662	Middlesex		
Charles Pasley					Sizar
Thomas Piers					
William Piers	1580	1670	Oxford	Plebian	
Robert Pory	1608	1669	London		Pensioner
Sampson Price	1586	1630	Salisbury	Clergy	
William Prince					
Luke Proctor		1673			
Samuel Proctor		1638			Pensioner
William Quelch		1654			
Thomas Raiment		1631			
Henry Raynsford					Pensioner
Edmund Read	1598		London	Plebian	Pensioner
Edmund Reeve		1660			
Matthew Rendall					
William Roberts		1646		Clergy	Pensioner
William Rolf					Pensioner
George Rush			Essex	Plebian	Pensioner
Bruno Ryves	1596	1677			
George Scarborough		1630	Yorkshire		Sizar
Gilbert Sheldon	1598		Derbyshire		
Josiah Shute	1586	1643	Yorkshire	Plebian	Sizar
Nathaniel Shute		1638			
John Simpson	1561	1633	Essex	Clergy	Pensioner
Thomas Soame		1649			
Edward Sparke		1693	Kent		Sizar
James Speight	1565	1637	Yorkshire		
John Squire		1653	Middlesex	Clergy	Pensioner
William Stampe	1611	1653	Oxford	Gentry	
Richard Stock		1626	Yorkshire		
Benjamin Stone		1665			Pensioner
John Stoughton	1592	1639	Suffolk		Sizar
Matthew Styles	1591	1652	Devonshire	Gentry	
Thomas Swadlin	1600	1670	Worcester	Plebian	
Josias Symons					
Humphrey Tabor	1599	1599	Somerset	Plebian	
John Tapsell			Oxford	Plebian	
John Taverner		1638	Hertfordshire		Pensioner
Richard Taverner					
Edward Terry	1590		Kent	Plebian	
Thomas Thrall	1600		Essex	Gentry	
Richard Todd			Yorkshire	Clergy	Sizar
Daniel Tontevill					
John Tribicke					
Thomas Tuke	1583	1657			

Name	Born	Died	Origin	Social Status	Matriculant Status
Thomas Turner	1593	1672	Berkshire	Plebian	
Ely Turner		1654			
Ephraim Udall		1647			
Henry Vertue			London		
John Vickers	1564	1633	Lincoln	Plebian	
Daniel Votier	1583	1646	Middlesex	Plebian	
George Walker	1583	1651			
William Walker	1570	1642	Lancashire		Sizar
Richard Walmsley	1601		Lancashire	Plebian	
Brian Walton	1600	1658	Yorkshire		Sizar
William Ward					
Roger Warfield			Cambridge	Clergy	Sizar
John Warner	1583	1666	Surrey	Plebian	
Richard Watson	1573	1638	Durham		Sizar
William Watts	1590	1649	Norfolk		Sizar
Thomas Weekes	1602	1644			
Thomas Westfield		1644			Sizar
Edward Westley		1673			
John Weston	1598	1647	Oxford		
Nathaniel White					
Samuel Wilkinson	1600		Sussex	Clergy	
Aaron Wilson	1589	1643	Gloucester	Clergy	
Gilbert Wimberly	1594	1653	Lincoln	Gentry	Pensioner
William Wimpew					
John Wood		1639			
Thomas Wood		1640			
Richard Worme	1558	1636	Northants	Gentry	
Thomas Worral	1589	1639	Cheshire	Plebian	

Appendix D
Education

Appendix D deals with the education history of each individual. It shows the University and college attended and the year of award for various degrees. This data derived mostly from Foster's, Alumni Oxonienses, and the Venns' Alumni Cantabrigienses.

In the column 'Other' degrees marked with an * indicates that the information has been taken from a source other than Foster or Venn. . Unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes the alternative source is Hennessy's Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense.

Name	University	College	Matric. Date	BA	MA	BD	DD	Other
Edward Abbot	Ox	Balliol		1594	1605			
Thomas Adams								AM*
Henry Ashwood	Ox	Magdalen	1606	1607	1618			
Samuel Baker	Cam.	Christ's	1612	1615	1619	1627	1639	
Walter Balcanqual	Cam.	Pembroke			1609	1616	1621	
Thomas Bankes	Cam.		1575	1578	1582			
Roger Bates	Ox	Trinity	1597	1602	1605	1612	1618	
James Batty	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1603	1606	1611	1629		
Richard Bayley	Ox	St John's	1601	1605	1609	1616	1633	
William Bedwell	Cam.	Trinity	1578	1585	1588			
Matthew Bennet	Ox	Christ Church	1615	1616	1625			
Thomas Berisford	Cam.	St John's	1593	1596	1600	1608	1613	
Robert Bincks	Ox	St John's	1619	1622	1625			
Bruno Bisborow								MA*
Andrew Blackwell								AM*
Edward Boosie	Cam.	Queens'	1605	1609	1612	1619	1627	
Thomas Booth	Cam.	Jesus	1616	1620	1623			
William Boswell	Ox	Balliol	1597	1601	1605	1618		
Samuel Bourman								STB*
Richard Bourne	Ox	New	1598	1602	1606			
Nicholas Bradshaw	Ox	Balliol	1590	1594	1599	1603		
William Bray	Cam.	Christ's	1613	1617	1620	1632	1638	
William Brough	Cam.	Christ's	1613	1616	1620	1627	1636	
Thomas Brown	Ox	Christ Church	1621	1624	1627	1637	1643	
Jonathon Brown[955]	Ox	Gloucester Hall	1620					
Joseph Browne	Cam.	Emmanuel	1624	1628	1631			
John Buckeridge	Ox	St John's	1578	1582	1592	1592	1596	
John Buckley	Cam.	St John's		1609	1613			
Cornelius Burgess	Ox	Wadham	1612	1615	1618	1627	1627	
Henry Burton	Cam.	St John's	1595	1600	1602			
Thomas Burton	Ox	Exeter	1581	1587	1594	1602		
Adoniram Byfield	Cam.	Emmanuel	1620	1624				
Edmund Calamy	Cam.	Pembroke Hall		1619	1623	1626		
William Carter	Ox	Trinity	1615	1616	1619			

[955]BCL 1625, DCL, 1620.

Name	University	College	Matric. Date	BA	MA	BD	DD	Other
Andrew Castleton	Cam.	Queens'	1609	1613	1616			
Richard Chambers	Cam.	St John's	1596	1600	1603	1610	1614	
Samuel Cheney	Cam.	Emmanuel	1634	1638	1641			
Richard Cheshire	Cam.	Peterhouse		1603	1608	1617	1627	
Robert Chestlin	Cam.	Christ's		1632	1635			
William Chibbald	Ox	Magdalen	1589	1596	1599			
James Chibbald	Ox	Magdalen	1624	1630	1633			
John Childerley	Ox	St John's	1597	1583	1587	1593	1603	
Andrew Clare	Cam.	Trinity		1617	1620	1632		
John Clark								
Ezekiel Clarke								
Richard Clarke								
Richard Cluett	Ox	Oriel	1594	1600	1606	1619	1619	
Abraham Colfe	Ox	Christ Church	1594	1599	1603			
Daniel Collins	Cam.	King's	1594	1599	1602	1609	1626	
Ralph Cook	Ox	Magdalen	1624	1626	1629	1638		
John Cook								AM*
Richard Cook	Cam.	King's	1592	1597	1600	1607		
Jonas Cook	Ox	St John's	1604	1607	1611			
William Cooper	Cam.	Trinity	1611	1616	1619			
Robert Cooper[956]								BCL
Thomas Copping	Ox	St Alban	1627	1629	1631			
Richard Cowdall	Cam.	St John's	1578	1583		1595		
Elias Crabtree	Cam.	Christ's	1609	1613	1616			
Thomas Crane	Ox	Balliol	1613	1614	1619	1630		
Richard Crooke	Cam.	Emmanuel	1601	1606	1609			
Richard Culverall	Ox	Exeter	1598	1602	1607	1617		
David Daulben	Cam.	St John's	1602	1606	1609		1627	
John Davenport	Ox	Merton	1613		1625	1625		
Francis Dee	Cam.	St John's	1596		1603	1610	1617	
William Dell	Ox	St John's	1622	1623	1626			
Stephen Denison	Cam.	Trinity		1603	1606		1627	
James Dent	Cam.	Sidney	1618					
George Dillingham	Cam.	Christ's	1585	1589	1592			
Nehemiah Dod	Cam.	Clare	1613	1616	1620			
John Donne	Ox	Hart Hall	1584		1610		1615	
John Donne				-				
George Douglas	Aber.							STP*
John Downame	Cam.	Christ's	1586	1593	1596	1603		
Calybute Downing[957]	Ox	Oriel	1625	1626	1630			
Nathaniel Duckett	Cam.	Trinity	1617	1620	1623			
Richard Dukeson	Cam.	Trinity		1616	1627	-	1637	
George Eccop	Cam.	Christ's	1624	1628	1637			
Philip Edlin	Cam.	Emmanuel	1614	1617	1621	1628		
Job Eglington								AM*
John Elborow	Cam.	St John's	1606	1610	1613			
John Ellis								STP*
Richard Etkins	Ox	Christ Church	1593	1597	1600	1609	1618	
Zachariah Evans	Ox	St Mary's	1589	1598	1601			
William Fairfax	Cam.	Trinity	1618	1619	1624			
Samuel Fawcett	Ox	Queen's	1618	1621	1624			
Daniel Featley	Ox	Corpus Christi		1602	1605	1613	1617	

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[957]LLD, 1637.

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Name	University	College	Matric. Date	BA	MA	BD	DD	Other
Edward Finch	Cam.					1632		
Thomas Fox	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1629	1632	1635			
Josiah Frith	Cam.	St John's	1601					MA*
William Fuller	Cam.	Trinity		1600	1603	1610	1628	
Michael Gardiner	Cam.	Christ's	1569	1574	1577			
Robert Gell	Cam.	Christ's		1617	1621	1628	1641	
John Gifford	Cam.	Pembroke	1597	1601	1604		1614	
Nazariah Gladman	Cam.	Trinity	1598	1602	1605			
Henry Goodcole								
John Goodwin	Cam.	Queens'	1612	1615	1619			
Thomas Goore								
Thomas Gouge	Cam.	King's	1625	1629	1633			
William Gouge	Cam.	King's		1599	1602	1611	1628	
George Gouldman								STB*
William Graunt	Cam.	Trinity	1627	1631	1633			
John Grant	Cam.	Trinity	1570	1598	1601	1608	1614	
Thomas Grice	Ox	St John's	1605	1609	1613			
Matthew Griffith	Ox	Gloucester Hall	1618	1619	1621			
John Hackett	Cam.	Trinity	1609	1612	1615	1623	1628	
Abraham Haines	Cam.	Emmanuel	1619	1621	1625			
William Hall	Cam.	Christ's	1628	1631	1635			
James Halsey	Cam.	Sidney	1606	1610	1613		1631	
Edward Harrison	Cam.		1617	1618	1620			
Lancelot Harrison	Cam.	Jesus	1607	1611	1614			
William Haywood	Ox	St John's	1616	1620	1624	1630	1636	
William Heath	Cam.	Corpus Christi	1620	1626	1630	1643		
Robert Henry								AM*
Joseph Henshaw	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1621	1625		1635	1639	
Percival Hill	Cam.	Pembroke	1613	1618	1621			
John Hill	Cam.	Christ's	1605	1609	1612			
Benjamin Hinton	Cam.	Trinity	1593	1597	1600	1607		
Emmanuel Hodges	Ox	All Souls	1602	1602				
Richard Holdsworth	Cam.	St John's	1607	1611	1614		1629	
Nicholas Holland								AB*
Thomas Horne	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1591	1594	1601	1616	1625	
Thomas Horton	Cam.	Emmanuel	1624	1627	1630	1637		
Thomas Howell	Ox	Jesus	1607	1609	1612	1630	1630	
Lewis Hughes	Ox	All Souls	1619	1622	1625			
William Isaacson	Cam.	Pembroke		1613	1616	1630		
Arthur Jackson	Cam.	Trinity		1614	1617			
Andrew Janeway	Cam.	Jesus		1587	1592			
Thomas Jennings								
Rowland Jennings								
Michael Jermin	Ox	Exeter	1606	1611	1615		1624	
John Johnson	Cam.	Magdalene	1600	1602	1605	1613	1632	
John Jones	Cam.	Kings		1631	1634			
John Kendall	Cam.	St John's	1573	1574	1577			
William King	Ox	Christ Church	1616	1618	1622			
Philip King	Ox	Christ Church	1616	1618	1621		1645	
Henry King	Ox	Christ Church	1609	1611	1614	1625	1625	
Henry Kyberd	Cam.	Corpus Christi	1621	1630	1633			
Thomas Lant	Cam.	Jesus		1623	1627	1634		
William Launce	Cam.	Trinity						MA*
John Lawson								
Edward Layfield	Ox	St John's	1620	1624	1628		1633	

Name	University	College	Matric. Date	BA	MA	BD	DD	Other
Edmund Layfield	Cam.	St John's	1610	1614	1617	1624		
Jeremiah Leech	Cam.	Christ's	1598	1601	1604			
John Macarness	Cam.	Clare		1613	1616			
Richard Maden	Cam.	Magdalene	1611	1615	1618	1625		
William Mainstone								
Thomas Manne	Ox	Christ Church	1598	1602	1606	1617		
Edward Marbury	Cam.	Trinity	1597	1603	1606			
James Marsh	Ox	St Mary's Hall	1610	1613	1617	1630	1630	
Henry Mason	Ox	Brasenose	1593	1596	1603	1610		
Roger Mainwarring	Ox	All Souls		1608	1611	1625	1625	
James Meggs	Cam.	Queen's	1625	1627	1631			
Matthias Milward	Cam.	St John's		1595	1598	1605		
George Moor	Cam.	Pembroke	1613	1618	1622			
Cadwallader Morgan	Cam.	Queens'		1601	1607	1614		
Thomas Mountforde	Ox					1584	1588	
William Muffet	Cam.	Sidney	1624	1628	1631			
Nathaniel Netmaker	Ox	Merton	1628	1629	1633			
Philip Nye	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1616	1619	1622			
Charles Offspring	Cam.	Trinity	1602	1606	1609			
Richard Owen	Ox	Oriel	1622	1625	1630			
Ephraim Pagitt	Ox	Christ Church	1593					
George Palmer	Ox	Lincoln	1615	1615	1618	1626		
James Palmer	Cam.	Magdalene		1602	1605	1613		
Thomas Paske	Cam.	Clare		1603	1606	1613	1621	
Charles Pasley	Cam.	Trinity	1612	1616	1619		1638	
Thomas Piers	Ox							STP*
William Piers	Ox	Christ Church	1599	1600	1603	1610	1614	
Robert Pory	Cam.	Christ's	1625	1629	1632	1639		
Sampson Price	Ox	Hart Hall	1602	1606	1608	1615	1617	
William Prince								AM*
Luke Proctor	Cam.	Jesus	1617	1621	1624			
Samuel Proctor	Cam.	Christ's	1575	1579	1582	1588		
William Quelch	Ox	Broadgates Hall		1610	1613	1621		
Thomas Raiment	Cam.	Peterhouse	1599	1603	1606		1624	
Henry Raynsford	Cam.	Trinity	1596	1601	1604	1611	1630	
Edmund Read	Cam.	Caius	1615	1619	1622			
Edmund Reeve	Cam.	King's				1627		
Matthew Rendall	Ox	Magdalen			1619	1632		
William Roberts	Cam.	Trinity	1593	1597	1600	1609	1618	
William Rolf	Cam.	Emmanuel	1627	1621	1624	1632		
George Rush	Cam.	St John's	1619	1623	1628			
Bruno Ryves	Ox	New		1616	1619	1632	1639	
George Scarborough	Cam.	Clare	1589	1594		1615		
Gilbert Sheldon	Ox	Trinity	1614	1617	1620	1628	1634	
Josiah Shute	Cam.	Trinity	1602	1606	1609			
Nathaniel Shute	Cam.	Christ's		1604	1607			
John Simpson	Cam.	Trinity	1576	1584	1586			
Thomas Soame	Cam.	Peterhouse			1611		1627	
Edward Sparke	Cam.	Clare		1630	1633	1640		
James Speight	Cam.	Christ's				1596	1623	
John Squire	Cam.	Jesus	1601	1605	1608			
William Stampe	Ox	Pembroke	1627	1631	1633		1643	
Richard Stock	Cam.	St John's		1591	1594			
Benjamin Stone	Cam.	Corpus Christi	1598	1603	1606			
John Stoughton	Cam.	Emmanuel	1607	1611	1614	1621	1626	

Name	University	College	Matric. Date	BA	MA	BD	DD	Other
Matthew Styles	Ox	Exeter	1606	1610	1612	1623	1638	
Thomas Swadlin	Ox	St John's	1616	1619				
Josias Symons	Ox	Magdalen		1609				
Humphrey Tabor	Ox	Wadham	1617	1620	1623			
John Tapsell	Ox	Trinity	1586	1589	1597	1617	1617	
John Taverner	Cam.	Trinity	1597	1602	1605			
Richard Taverner	Ox	Balliol		1602	1606			
Edward Terry	Ox	Christ Church	1608	1611	1614			
Thomas Thrall	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1620	1620	1622			
Richard Todd	Cam.	Sidney	1626	1630	1633			
Daniel Tontevill								
John Tribicke								
Thomas Tuke	Cam.	Christ's		1600	1603			
Thomas Turner	Ox	St John's	1610	1614	1618	1624	1633	
Ely Turner	Ox	Merton		1610				
Ephraim Udall	Cam.	Emmanuel	1606	1610	1614			
Henry Vertue	Cam.	Christ's	1608	1613	1616			
John Vickers	Ox	Broadgate Hall	1581	1584	1587			
Daniel Votier	Ox	Trinity	1599	1603	1607			
George Walker	Cam.	St John's		1609	1612	1619		
William Walker	Cam.	St John's	1589	1594	1597	1602		
Richard Walmsley	Ox	St Mary's Hall	1620	1622	1625			
Brian Walton	Cam.	Magdalen	1616	1620	1623		1639	
William Ward	Cam.							MA[958]
Roger Warfield	Cam.	Clare	1611	1615	1618			
John Warner	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1598	1602	1605	1613	1616	
Richard Watson	Cam.	Christ's	1594	1598	1601	1611	1628	
William Watts	Cam.	Caius	1606	1611	1614		1639	
Thomas Weekes	Ox	St John's	1618	1622	1626	1631	1639	
Thomas Westfield	Cam.	Jesus	1589	1593	1596	1604	1615	
Edward Westley								STB*
John Weston	Ox	Christ Church	1621	1621	1624			
Nathaniel White								
Samuel Wilkinson	Ox	Merton	1618	1619				
Aaron Wilson	Ox	Queen's	1607	1611	1615	1627	1639	
Gilbert Wimberly	Cam.	Trinity	1612	1616	1619	1630		
William Wimpew	Ox	Magdalen Hall	1623	1625	1628			
John Wood								STB*
Thomas Wood								AM*
Richard Worme	Cam.	Jesus		1580	1583			
Thomas Worral	Ox	Brasenose	1606	1610	1612	1619	1623	

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Appendix E

Livings

Appendix E covers the parochial livings and higher positions held by the clergy. The parochial livings are those in London and Middlesex. Diocesan, Cathedral and other appointments were those held throughout the country. The data does not include appointments such as lectureships and schoolmasterships.

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Edward Abbot		All Hallows Barking	1616	1634	Died	Precentor of Bath and Wells 1617, Prebend of Wells, 1618
		Margaret New Fish Street	1611	1616		
Thomas Adams		Benet Paul's Wharf	1619	1644	Sequestered	
Henry Ashwood		St. Dunstan, Cranford	1628			
Samuel Baker	Yes	St. Mary at Hill	1637	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of St Paul's 1636-40; Canon of St Paul's, 1636; Windsor, 1638-39; Canterbury 1639; Household Chaplain to Bishop Juxon
		Margaret Pattens	1625	1637	Resigned	
		Christopher le Stocks	1636	1640	Resigned	
Walter Balcanqual	Yes	Savoy Chapel	1617	1643	Sequestered	Dean of Rochester 1625; Dean of Durham, 1639
Thomas Bankes		John Zachary	1630	1631	Died	
		Benet Sherehog	1583	1588	Resigned	
Roger Bates		Clement Dane	1617	1634	Died	Chancellor of Exeter, 1617-22; Canon of Salisbury, 1630; Prebend of Westminster, 1637-34; Chaplain in Ordinary James I Charles I
James Batty		Vedast Foster Lane	1618	1643	Sequestered	
Richard Bayley		Northall	1632	1637	Resigned	Chancellor of St David's 1622-6, Canon of St Paul's 1631, Archdeacon of Nottingham 1628, Dean of Sarum 1631
William Bedwell	Yes	Ethelburgh	1601	1632	Died	
		Tottenham	1607	1632	Died	
Matthew Bennet	Yes	Harlington	1628	1645	Sequestered	
		Nicholas Acon	1636	1645	Sequestered	
Thomas Berisford	Yes	Sepulchre	1614	1638	Died	
Robert Bincks		Bedfont, Mx	1630	1658	Died	
Bruno Bisborow		James Duke Place	1640			

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Andrew Blackwell		All Hallows the Less	1638			
		St Christopher le Stocks	1624		Resigned	
Edward Boosie		Olave Silver Street	1641	1642	Died	
Thomas Booth		Botolph Aldersgate	1628	1643	Sequestered	
William Boswell		Lawrence Jewry	1617	1632	Died	
Samuel Bourman		St. Magnus Martyr	1641	1645		
Richard Bourne		Hillingdon	1612	1645	Sequestered	
Nicholas Bradshaw	Yes	Mildred Bread Street	1604	1645	Sequestered	
William Bray	Yes	Martin in the Fields	1633	1643	Resigned	Canon of Canterbury; Prebend of St Paul's 1632; Chaplain to Archbishop Laud
		Ethelburgh	1632	1633	Resigned	
William Brough		Michael Cornhill	1625	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles; Canon of Windsor 1638-42; Dean of Gloucester 1643-45
Thomas Brown		Mary Aldermary	1638	1644	Sequestered	Domestic Chaplain to Abp Laud; Canon of Windsor
Jonathon Brown	Yes	Faith's by St Paul's	1628	1643	Sequestered	Canon of Hereford, 1636; Dean of Hereford, 1636-43; Prebend of Westminster 1639
Joseph Browne		St Matthew Friday Street	1637	1640	Resigned	
John Buckeridge	Yes	Giles Cripplegate	1608	1628	Resigned	Prebend of Rochester 1587 & 1589, Hereford 1604; Archdeacon of Northhampton 1603; Canon of Windsor 1606; Chaplain in Ordinary to James I; Bishop of Rochester 1611, Ely 1628
John Buckley		Edgware	1638			
Cornelius Burgess	Yes	Magnus Martyr	1626	1641	Resigned	Chaplain to Charles I; Vice-President of Westminster Assembly
Henry Burton		Matthew Friday Street	1621	1636	Deprived	Clerk of the Closet to Prince Henry and Prince Charles
Thomas Burton	Yes	All Saints Edmonton	1620	1631	Died	
		Mary Somerset	1620	1631	Died	
Adoniram Byfield		All Hallows Staining	1629			
Edmund Calamy		Mary Aldermanbury	1639	1662		
William Carter		John Zachary	1625	1630		
Andrew Castleton		Martin Ironmonger	1617	1632	Died	
Richard Chambers	Yes	Andrew Hubbard	1622	1642	Replaced	
Samuel Cheney		Mary Cole church	1640			
Richard Cheshire	Yes	St. Nicholas Olave	1613	1642	Forced out	
		Heston	1616	1642	Forced out	
Robert Chestlin		St Matthew Friday St	1640	1643	Sequestered	
William Chibbald		Nicholas Cole Abbey	1604	1640	Died	
James Chibbald		Nicholas Cole Abbey	1640	1647	Sequestered	
		James Clerkenwell	1631	1636	Resigned	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
John Childerley	Yes	Dunstan in the East	1606	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot Preacher to English merchants Strode
Andrew Clare	Yes	Ickenham	1635	1644	Sequestered	
John Clark		Ethelburgh	1633	1642	Forced out	
Ezekiel Clarke		James Duke Place	1628	1630		
Richard Clarke		Willesden				
Richard Cluett	Yes	Anne Aldersgate	1617	1643	Sequestered	Canon of St Paul's 1616; Archdeacon of Middlesex 1620
		Fulham	1621	1646		
Abraham Colfe	Yes	Leonard Eastcheap	1609	1647	Sequestered	
Daniel Collins		Cowley	1629	1641	Resigned	
Ralph Cook	Yes	St. Gabriel Fenchurch St	1638	1644	Sequestered	Canon of Rochester
		Burstow	1637	1676	Died	
John Cook		Mary Somerset	1631	1644	Sequestered	
Richard Cook		Swithin	1605	1639	Died	
Jonas Cook	Yes	Hanwell	1631	1644	Sequestered	Canon of Wells, 1627
William Cooper		St. Thomas the Apostle	1628	1643	Sequestered	
Robert Cooper		Mary Ealing	1638	1648	Died	
Thomas Copping		Mary Bothaw	1638	1639		
Richard Cowdall		Mary Colechurch	1593	1638	Died	
Elias Crabtree		St Lawrence Pountey	1620	1648		
Thomas Crane		Lawrence Jewry	1632	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of Wells.
Richard Crooke		Mary Woolchurch	1618	1641	Died	
Richard Culverall		St. Margaret Moses	1618	1651		
David Daulben		Hackney (V)	1619	1633	Died	Prebend of St Asaph 1625, Bishop of Bangor, 1631-33
John Davenport		Stephen Coleman Street	1624	1633	Resigned	
Francis Dee	Yes	All Hallows Lombard	1615	1634	Resigned	Chancellor of Salisbury, 1619; Dean of Chichester, 1630; Bishop of Peterborough
		Trinity the Less	1606	1610		
William Dell	Yes	Mary Aldermanbury	1629	1631	Resigned	Secretary to Bp Laud
Stephen Denison	Yes	St. Pancras, Mx	1643	1644	Sequestered	
		Katherine Cree	1616	1636	Resigned	
		James Duke Place	1622	1626	Resigned	
James Dent		Hammersmith	1631	1647		
George Dillingham		St Giles- in -the -Fields	1635	1635	Died	
Nehemiah Dod		Knightsbridge	1640	1647	Resigned	
John Donne		Dunstan in the West	1624	1631	Died	Dean & Prebend of St Paul's
John Donne		Benet Gracechurch	1592	1636	Resigned	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
George Douglas		Stepney	1633	1641	Resigned	
John Downame		All Hallows the Great	1630	1652		
		Margaret Lothbury	1602	1618		
		Olave Jewry	1599	1622		
Calybute Downing		Hackney (V)	1637	1643	Resigned	Licenser of Divinity Books, 1643
Nathaniel Duckett		Stanwell	1630	1632	Resigned	
Richard Dukeson		Clement Dane	1634	1643	Imprisoned	
George Eccop		Pancras Soper Lane	1636	1643	Sequestered	
Philip Edlin		St. John Zachary	1635	1643	Sequestered	
Job Eglington		St. Dunstan St Catherine	1621			
John Elborow	Yes	Pancras	1625	1631	Resigned	
John Ellis		Isleworth	1637	1639	Died	Canon of Windsor, 1623-1639
Richard Etkins		Kensington	1608	1641	Resigned	
Zachariah Evans		Hanworth	1607			
William Fairfax	Yes	St. Peter Cornhill	1627	1643	Sequestered	Dean of Sion College; Chaplain of Charles I
		Eastham, Mx	1626	1643	Sequestered	
Samuel Fawcett		St. Mary Staining	1628	1643	Resigned	
Daniel Featley	Yes	Acton	1627	1644	Sequestered	Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot Provost of Chelsea College
		All Hallows Bread Street	1626	1628	Resigned	
Edward Finch		Christ Church	1630	1643	Forced out	
Thomas Fox		Andrew Kingsbury	1639			
Josiah Frith		Alphage London wall	1619	1637	Died	
William Fuller	Yes	Giles Cripplegate	1628	1642	Forced out	Chaplain in Ordinary to James I & Charles I; Dean of Ely 1636;
		St. Mary Woolchurch	1641	1642	Resigned	
Michael Gardiner	Yes	Great Greenford	1584	1630	Died	
Robert Gell		Mary Aldermary	1641			
John Gifford		Michael Bassishaw	1607	1643	Sequestered	
Nazariah Gladman		Sth Mims	1610	1642	Died	
Henry Goodcole		St James, Clerkenwell	1636	1641	Died	Visitor of Newgate Prison
John Goodwin		Stephen Coleman Street	1633	1645	Resigned	
Thomas Goore		Twickenham	1595	1640	Died	
Thomas Gouge		St Sepulchre's Holborn	1638	1662	Ejected	
		Anne Blackfriars	1628	1631	Resigned	
		Teddington	1637	1638		
William Gouge		Anne Blackfriars	1628	1631	Resigned	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
		Teddington	1637	1638	Resigned	
		St Sepulchre's Holborn	1638		Resigned	
George Gouldman	Yes	Stepney	1605	1634	Died	Archdeacon of Essex
William Graunt		Isleworth	1639	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Bp Goodman
John Grant		Bartholomew Exchange	1623	1645	Sequestered	
Thomas Grice		Littleton	1617	1637	Died	
Matthew Griffith	Yes	Mary Magdalen Old Fish St.	1624	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to King at Oxford during Civil war
		Benet Sherehog	1640	1643	Sequestered	
John Hackett	Yes	Andrew Holborn	1624	1643	Sequestered	Archdeacon of Bedford , Lincoln, 1631; Canon of St Paul's 1642; Chaplain to John Williams 1623, James I , Charles I;
Abraham Haines		Olave Hart Street	1633	1643	Sequestered	
William Hall		Bartholomew the Less	1636	1647	Sequestered	
James Halsey		Alphage London wall	1638	1641	Died	Chaplain to Lord Treasurer; Canon of Winchester, 1638-41
Edward Harrison		Holy Trinity the Less	1626	1644	Died	
Lancelot Harrison		Ickenham	1626	1635	Resigned	
		Kingsbury	1612	1626	Resigned	
William Haywood	Yes	Giles in the Fields	1636	1643	Sequestered	Canon of Westminster, 1638; Prebend of St Paul's; Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Laud; Chaplain to Charles I
William Heath		Stoke Newington	1639	1644	Sequestered	
Robert Henry		New Brentford	1628			
Joseph Henshaw	Yes	Bartholomew the Less	1631	1636	Resigned	Chaplain to George Villiers; Prebend of Chichester, 1623
Percival Hill		Catherine Coleman Street		1641	Resigned	
John Hill	Yes	Michael Queenhithe	1618	1645	Sequestered	Chaplain To Bishop of Exeter
Benjamin Hinton		Hendon	1626	1643	Sequestered	
Emmanuel Hodges	Yes	Martin West Drayton	1624	1650	Died	
		Harmondsworth	1628	1650	Died	
Richard Holdsworth		Peter le Poor	1623	1643	Sequestered	Divinity Professor Gresham College 1629; Master Emmanuel College, 1637; Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, 1640; Canon of Lincoln, 1633; Archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1633
Nicholas Holland		Stanmore Parva	1636			
Thomas Home	Yes	Isleworth	1622	1636	Died	
Thomas Horton		Mary Colechurch	1638	1640	Resigned	
Thomas Howell	Yes	Stephen Walbrook	1636	1641	Resigned	Canon of Windsor, 1630; Bp of Bristol, 1644; Chaplain to Charles I.
		Fulham	1642			
Lewis Hughes		Shepperton	1638	1660	Died	
William Isaacson	Yes	Andrew Wardrobe	1629	1643	Sequestered	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Arthur Jackson		Michael Wood Street	1625	1649	Resigned	
		Faiths	1642	1666	Ejected	
Andrew Janeway	Yes	All Hallows London Wall	1593	1643	Resigned	
Thomas Jennings		Gregory by St Paul's	1622	1635		
Rowland Jennings		Gregory by St Paul's	1636	1653	Died	
Michael Jermin	Yes	Martin Ludgate	1626	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Charles I
John Johnson	Yes	Stepney	1628	1666	Ejected	
		Mary, Whitechapel	1626	1666	Ejected	
John Jones		Mary Magdalen Milk Street	1637	1642	Forced out	
John Kendall		Acton	1576	1627	Died	
William King		St. Botolph Billingsgate	1629	1636		
Philip King		St. Botolph Billingsgate	1636	1644	Sequestered	
Henry King		Fulham	1618	1642	Resigned	Archdeacon of Colchester, 1617; Dean of Rochester, 1638; Prebend of St. Paul's; Bp. of Chichester, 1642
Henry Kyberd		Katherine Cree	1641	1643	Sequestered	
Thomas Lant		Hornsey	1637	1645	Sequestered	
William Launce	Yes	Michael le Querne	1621	1645	Sequestered	Chaplain to Dudley Lord North
		Pinner (Harrow on the Hill)	1625	1645	Sequestered	
John Lawson		All Hallows Bread Street	1628	1642	Died	
Edward Layfield	Yes	All Hallows Barking	1634	1643	Sequestered	Archdeacon of Essex, 1634; Canon of St Paul's, 1633
Edmund Layfield		Bromley	1626	1645	Sequestered	Chaplain to George Earl of Cumberland
Jeremiah Leech		Mary le Bow	1617	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Lord Knevet
John Macarness	Yes	Christopher le Stocks	1630	1636	Died	
		Stanwell	1632	1636	Died	
Richard Maden		St. Mildred Poultry	1638	1644	Sequestered	
		St. Helen Bishopgate	1635	1639	Resigned	
William Mainstone		Hampton	1608	1654	Died	
Thomas Manne		St. Olave Silver Street	1621	1641	Resigned	
Edward Marbury	Yes	James Garlickhithe	1613	1642	Resigned	
		Peter Paul's Wharf	1632	1642	Resigned	
James Marsh	Yes	Dunstan in the West	1631	1643	Sequestered	Archdeacon of Chichester, 1639; Chancellor of Chichester, 1642;
Henry Mason		St. Andrew Undershaft	1614	1641	Resigned	Chaplain of Corpus Christi, Oxford; Chaplain to Bp King, London; Canon of St Paul's 1616-1637
		Hillingdon	1611	1612	Resigned	
		Matthew Friday Street	1612	1613	Resigned	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Roger Mainwarring	Yes	Giles in the Fields	1616	1635	Resigned	Dean of Worcester, 1633; Bp of St David's, 1636-1640
James Meggs		St. Margaret Pattens	1637	1645	Sequestered	
Matthias Milward		Helen Bishopgate	1639	1644	Sequestered	
George Moor		Hackney (R)	1622	1664	Died	
Cadwallader Morgan		Benet Sherehog	1626	1640	Died	
Thomas Mountforde	Yes	Martin In The Fields	1602	1632	Died	Prebend of Westminster; Prebend of St Paul's, 1584-1632
		Mary at Hill	1606	1616		
William Muffet		Edmunton	1631	1645	Sequestered	
Nathaniel Netmaker		Andrew Kingsbury	1635	1636	Resigned	
Philip Nye		All Hallows Staining	1627	1633	Resigned	
Charles Offspring		Antholin	1617	1659	Died	
Richard Owen	Yes	Swithin	1639	1644	Sequestered	
Ephraim Pagitt		St. Edmund Lombard Street	1601	1645	Sequestered	
George Palmer	Yes	Northall	1638	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of Gloucester
		Gabriel Fenchurch	1622	1637	Resigned	
James Palmer		Bride Fleet Street	1616	1645	Sequestered	
Thomas Paske	Yes	Hendon	1611	1626	Resigned	Archdeacon of London, 1626; Prebend of York, 1628; Master of Clare College, Prebend of Canterbury, 1636; Cambridge; Chaplain to James Marquis of Hamilton
		Mary Magdalen Bermondsey	1624	1644	Sequestered	
Charles Pasley		Mary Staining	1625	1628	Resigned	Prebend of Lincoln 1625-1626
Thomas Piers		St. Martin Outwich	1634	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of Lincoln
William Piers		Northall	1611	1632	Resigned	Chaplain to Bp King; Canon of Christ Church, 1616-32, Prebend of St. Paul's 1618, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford 1621-24, Dean of Peterborough, 1622 Bp of Peterborough 1620, Bath & Wells 1632.
		St. Christopher le Stocks	1615	1620	Resigned	
Robert Pory	Yes	Margaret New Fish Street	1640	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Bp Juxon 1637
Sampson Price	Yes	All Hallows the Great	1617	1630	Died	Canon of Hereford 1626; Chaplain to James I and Charles I;
		Christchurch	1617	1630	Died	
William Prince		Anne Blackfriars	1631			
Luke Proctor	Yes	Michael Royal	1637	1643	Sequestered	
		Mary Bothaw	1639	1643	Sequestered	
Samuel Proctor	Yes	Islington	1590	1638	Died	Canon of Gloucester, 1586-1602; Prebend of Salisbury, 1589-1638
		Shepperton	1592	1638	Died	
William Quelch	Yes	St. Benet Gracechurch	1637	1643	Forced out	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Thomas Raiment	Yes	Hanwell	1624	1631	Died	Chaplain and Sub-almoner to the King; Prebend of Lincoln, 1621; Prebend of St Paul's; Archdeacon of St Alban's
Henry Raynsford	Yes	Stanmore Magna	1618	1648	Resigned	Prebend of Lincoln 1618-1650
Edmund Read		Little Greenford	1621	1626	Resigned	
Edmund Reeve		Hayes	1627	1644	Sequestered	
Matthew Rendall		Teddington	1631	1637	Resigned	
William Roberts		Enfield	1616	1643	Sequestered	
William Rolf		St. John Zachary	1631	1635	Resigned	
George Rush		Katherine Cree	1636	1644	Sequestered	
Bruno Ryves	Yes	St. Martin Vintry	1628	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Charles I
		Stanwell, Mx	1636	1643	Sequestered	
George Scarborough		George Botolph	1603	1630	Died	
		Cranford	1597	1603	Resigned	
Gilbert Sheldon		Hackney (V)	1633	1636	Resigned	Domestic Chaplain to Thomas Lord Coventry; Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles; Clerk of the Closet; Dean of the Chapel Royal; Warden of All Souls Oxford, 1635-4
Josiah Shute		Mary Woolnoth	1611	1643	Died	Chaplain to East India Company 1632; Archdeacon of Colchester, 1642-4
Nathaniel Shute		Mildred Poultry	1618	1638	Died	
		Margaret Moses	1614	1618	Resigned	
John Simpson		Olave Hart Street	1590	1633	Died	
		Ethelburgh	1586			
Thomas Soame	Yes	Staines	1616	1649	Died	Prebend of St Paul's, 1617-49; Prebend of Windsor, 1622-49
		Twickenham	1640	1649	Died	
Edward Sparke		St. Martin Ironmonger Lane	1639	1645	Sequestered	
James Speight	Yes	St. Mary Magdalen Milk St.	1592	1637	Died	
		St. Clement Eastcheap	1611	1637	Died	
John Squire		Leonard Shoreditch	1612	1643	Imprisoned	
William Stampe		Stepney	1641	1645	Sequestered	
Richard Stock		All Hallows Bread Street	1604	1626	Died	
Benjamin Stone	Yes	Clement Eastcheap	1637	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of St Paul's 1639
		Mary Abchurch	1613	1643	Sequestered	
John Stoughton		Mary Aldermanbury	1632	1639	Died	
Matthew Styles	Yes	George Botolph Lane	1630	1645	Sequestered	Canon of Lincoln, 1631;
Thomas Swadlin		Botolph Aldgate	1628	1642	Forced out	
Josias Symons		Martin Ironmonger Lane	1632	1639	Deprived	
Humphrey Tabor	Yes	Margaret Lothbury	1627	1643	Sequestered	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
John Tapsell		St. Mary at Hill	1616	1637	Died	
John Taverner	Yes	Stoke Newington	1629	1638	Died	Secretary to Bishop King ; Professor of Music, Gresham College
Richard Taverner		Ealing				
Edward Terry		Great Greenford	1629	1660		Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe Ambassador to the Mogul Court
Thomas Thrall		Mary Mounthaw	1630	1643	Sequestered	
Richard Todd		Stanmore Parva	1633	1637	Resigned	
Daniel Tontevill		Bartholomew the Less	1620	1631	Resigned	
John Tribicke		All Hallows the Less	1632	1638	Resigned	
Thomas Tuke		Olave Jewry	1617	1643	Sequestered	
		Giles in the Fields	1616			
Thomas Turner	Yes	Olave Southwark	1631	1642	Sequestered	Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Laud; Chaplain to Charles I; Canon & Chancellor of St Paul's, 1629; Dean of Rochester, 1642; Dean of Canterbury, 1643
		Augustine Watling St	1634	1634	Resigned	
Ely Turner		Hadley	1619	1645	Sequestered	
Ephraim Udall		Augustine Watling	1634	1643	Sequestered	
		Teddington, Mx	1615	1626	Resigned	
Henry Vertue		All Hallows Honey Lane	1628	1660	Died	
John Vickers		Augustine Watling	1600	1633	Died	
		Michael Cornhill	1593			
Daniel Votier		Peter Westcheap	1615	1644	Sequestered	
George Walker		John the Evangelist	1614	1651	Died	Chaplain to Bishop Felton of Ely;
William Walker	Yes	Chiswick	1597	1642	Died	
Richard Walmsley	Yes	St. John Walbrook	1633	1645	Sequestered	
Brian Walton	Yes	St. Martin Orgar	1628	1643	Sequestered	Prebend of St Paul's
William Ward		Leonard Foster Lane	1622	1642	Forced out	
Roger Warfield		Benet Finke	1635	1643	Sequestered	
John Warner	Yes	Dionis Backchurch	1625	1638	Resigned	Chaplain to Charles I ; Governor of Sion College; Dean of Lichfield, 1633-37; Canon of Canterbury, 1634; Bp of Rochester, 1638
		Michael Crooked lane	1614	1619	Resigned	
Richard Watson		Mary Aldermary	1618	1638	Died	
		Stephen Coleman Street	1609	1618	Resigned	
William Watts	Yes	Alban Wood Street	1626	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain of Ciaus College Cambridge, 1616-26; Prebend of Wells, 1633; Chaplain to Charles I, Prince Rupert
Thomas Weekes	Yes	Botolph Bishopgate	1639	1642	Resigned	Prebend of St Paul's, 1636-44; Precentor of St Paul's, 1638-44; Chaplain to Bp Juxon
		Mary Finchley	1640	1642	Resigned	

Name	Pluralist	Benefices	From	To	Reason for Leaving	Higher Offices
Thomas Westfield	Yes	Bartholomew the Great	1607	1642	Forced out	Archdeacon of St Albans; Prebend of St Paul's, 1615-42; Bp of Bristol, 1642
		Hornsey, Mx	1615	1637	Resigned	
Edward Westley		Littleton	1637	1645	Sequestered	
John Weston	Yes	All Hallows Lombard	1634	1643	Sequestered	Canon of Peterborough; Canon of Bath and Wells
Nathaniel White		Holy Trinity Knightsbridge	1630	1637		
Samuel Wilkinson		Chelsea	1632			
Aaron Wilson	Yes	Stephen Walbrook	1625	1634	Resigned	Archdeacon of Exeter, 1639-43, Chaplain to Charles I
Gilbert Wimberly	Yes	Margaret Westminster	1630	1643	Sequestered	Chaplain to Charles I; Prebend of Wells.
William Wimpew		Tottenham	1632	1644	Sequestered	
John Wood		James Duke Place	1630	1639	Died	
Thomas Wood	Yes	St. Margaret New Fish Street	1616	1640	Died	
		St. Michael Crooked Lane	1619	1640	Died	
Richard Worme	Yes	Michael Paternoster	1606	1636	Died	
		Pancras Soper Lane	1610	1636	Died	
Thomas Worral	Yes	Botolph Bishopgate	1624	1639	Died	
		Mary Finchley, Mx	1626	1639	Died	

Appendix F

Pluralist Clergy

Appendix F supplements Appendix E by listing the pluralist clergy and the benefices they held concurrently with livings in London or Middlesex.

Name	Parish	From	To	Reason Vacated
Samuel Baker	South Weald, Essex	1640		
Walter Balcanqual	Harston, Cam	1615		
	Goudhurst, Kent	1625	1639	
	Addisham, Kent	1625	1640	
	Kingston, Kent	1632	1644	
	Boxley	1640		
William Bedwell	Tottenham Highcross	1607	1632	died
Matthew Bennet	Harlington, Hertfordshire	1628	1645	sequestered
Thomas Berisford	Loughton, , Essex	1609	1638	died
Nicholas Bradshaw	Ockham , Surrey	1600	1648	died
William Bray	East Horsley, Surrey			
	Chaldon-Herring, Dorset	1634	1637	
Jonathon Brown	Hertingfordbury, London	1630	1643	died
John Buckeridge	Nth Kilworth, Leics	1599		
	Southfleet, Kent	1610		
Cornelius Burgess	Watford, Herts	1618	1645	
Thomas Burton	Mary Somerset	1620	1631	died
Richard Chambers	Spofforth, Yorks	1632		
Richard Cheshire	Heston, Mx	1616	1642	forced out
John Childerley	Shenfield , Essex	1609	1645	sequestered
Andrew Clare	Walton on Hill, Lancs	1639	1644	sequestered
Richard Cluett	Aldates, Oxford	1614		
Abraham Colfe	Lewisham, Kent	1610	1657	died
Ralph Cook	Burstow, Surrey	1637	1676	died
Francis Dee	Sutton, Kent	1619		
	Castor, Northants	1634		
Stephen Denison	James Dukes Place	1622	1626	resigned
John Elborow	Birkby	1616	1619	
	Rainham, Essex	1628	1644	
William Fairfax	Eastham, Middlesex	1626	1642	sequestered
Daniel Featley	Nth Hill, Cornwall	1613		
	Lambeth,	1618	1644	sequestered
William Fuller	Weston, Notts	1616	1643	
Michael Gardiner	Littlebury, Essex	1583	1618	
John Gifford	Hoxton, Kent	1629	1643	sequestered
	Eynesford, Kent	1629	1643	sequestered
George Gouldman	Sth Okenden, Essex	1611	1634	died
Matthew Griffith	Benet Sherehog	1640	1643	sequestered
John Hackett	West Cheam, Surrey	1624		
William Haywood	Laindon, Essex	1631	1647	sequestered
Joseph Henshaw	Stedham, London	1634	1645	sequestered
	East Lavant, , London	1635	1645	sequestered
John Hill	Eastwick , Herts	1622	1643	sequestered
Emmanuel Hodges	Chertsey, Surrey	1606		
Thomas Horne	Mettley, Yorkshire	1616		

Name	Parish	From	To	Reason Vacated
	FarnhamRoyal, Buckinghamshire	1629		
Thomas Howell	West Horsley, Surrey	1625	1646	sequestered
William Isaacson	St Peter's, Hertfordshire		1628	resigned
	Woodford, Essex	1617	1648	died
Andrew Janeway	Tiltey, Essex	1592	1598	
Michael Jermin	Edburton, Sussex	1625	1656	ceded
John Johnson	Mary Whitechapel	1626	1666	ejected
William Launce	Pinner	1625	1645	sequestered
Edward Layfield	Ibstock, Leicester	1632		
	West Horley, Surrey	1637	1645	sequestered
	Wrotham, Kent	1638	1645	sequestered
	Chiddingfold, Surrey	1640	1645	sequestered
John Macarness	Stanwell	1632	1636	died
Richard Marbury	James Garlickhithe	1613	1642	resigned
James Marsh	Gamlingay , Camb	1630	1632	left
	Cuckfield, Sussex	1638	1643	sequestered
Roger Mainwarring	Stanford Rivers, Essex	1628	1641	
	Mackleston, Staffordshire	1630	1641	
	Muggington, Derbyshire	1631		
Thomas Mountforde	Aspenden, Herts	1595		
	Tewin, Herts	1632		died
Richard Owen	Llanfechan	1634		
	Eltham, Kent	1636	1646	sequestered
George Palmer	St George , Southwark	1631		
	Farnham Royal , Bucks	1637	1643	sequestered
Thomas Paske	Much Hadham, Hertfordshire	1625	1643	sequestered
Robert Pory	Thorley, Herts	1640	1643	sequestered
Sampson Price	St Chad's Shrewsbury,	1620	1628	
	Christchurch Newgate	1617	1630	died
Samuel Proctor	Shepperton	1592	1638	died
Luke Proctor	Mary Bothaw	1639	1647	sequestered
William Quelch	Hachford- by- Resham, Norfolk	1617		
	Carshalton, Surrey	1620	1654	died
	East Horsley, , Surrey	1621		
Thomas Raiment	Cockayne Hatley, Beds	1613	1631	died
	Ashwell, Herts	1624	1631	died
Henry Raynsford	Croxton, Camb	1610	1646	
	Hatfield, Herts	1630		
Bruno Ryves	Stanwell, Mx	1636	1643	sequestered
Thomas Soame	Stawleigh, Somerset	1609	1616	resigned
James Speight	Clement Eastcheap	1611	1637	died
Benjamin Stone	Mary Abchurch	1613	1643	sequestered
Matthew Styles	Orsett, Essex	1640	1652	died
Humphrey Tabor	All Saints Hertford	1639	1643	sequestered
John Taverner	Tillingham, Essex	1624	1629	
	Hexton, Hertfordshire	1629	1638	died
Thomas Turner	St Giles , Oxford	1632		sequestered
	Fetcham, Surrey	1634	1642	
William Walker	Corringham, Essex	1620	1642	died
Richard Walmsley	Waltham Abbey	1627		sequestered
	Mullion, Cornwall	1633		
Brian Walton	Sandon, Essex	1636		
John Warner	Beakesbourne, Kent	1619		
	Bishopsbourne, Kent	1619	1646	sequestered
	Holingbourne, , Kent	1624		

Name	Parish	From	To	Reason Vacated
William Watts	Barwick Norfolk		1643	sequestered
	Sepulchre	1615		
	St Peter's, Cambridge	1615	1617	
Thomas Weekes	Rollright	1630		
	Gt Dunmow, Essex	1635		
Thomas Westfield	Hornsey, Mx	1615	1637	resigned
John Weston	Cholsey, Berkshire	1622	1637	
Aaron Wilson	Plymouth	1625	1643	died
Gilbert Wimberley	Stansfield, Suffolk	1621	1635	ceded
	Englefield, Berkshire	1635	1653	died
John Wood	Michael Crooked lane	1619	1640	died
Richard Worme	Gt Henney, Essex	1590	1603	
Thomas Worral	Middleton Story, Oxford,	1620		

Appendix G

Communion Expenditure

One of the areas in which English Arminian reforms may have been likely to affect parishioners is in the area of communion celebration. The *Victoria History of London* claimed that there was a general increase in formal religious observance throughout the early part of the seventeenth century.[1] This was claimed to be proven by the fact that while there was little or no change in the number of communion celebrations there was a great increase in the sums expended on bread and wine. It is tempting to apply this sort of analysis to changes in communion expenditure during the 1630s. Changes in communion expenditure might contribute to a better understanding of where and by whom English Arminian reforms were accepted and where they may have been rejected.

But expenditure data could only provide these sort of conclusions where certain conditions held. For instance, the number of communions would need to be known or be assumed constant. Because of the way the data is presented in the Churchwardens accounts prices would have to be assumed as fixed, as would the number of communicants and the quantities purchased. It would also need to be established that communion wine consumption was based on standard measures. None of these conditions can, in fact, be shown to have held and so the use of communion expenditure data on its own is of little consequence in drawing conclusions about levels of observance and participation.

The data presented in this Appendix is taken from parish records and shows the expenditure on communion (G.1) and frequency of communions for a small number of parishes (G.2). In order to work with the expenditure data all sum have been converted to pence. A further section of the Appendix (G.3) provides a graphic plot of expenditure with frequency data (where available) for a select number of parishes. No conclusions have been based on this data, because of the difficulties in using it, but if certain assumptions are made then it could be argued that there is a tendency for communion expenditure to rise at least in some parishes during the 1630s. There is also evidence of a consistent and in some cases marked decrease in expenditure from 1640.

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[1] VCH, Vol. 1, p. 359.

G.1 Communion Expenditure

This table shows the expenditure on communion per annum for those parishes where figures were available. The amounts have been converted to pence value for calculation and sorting. In some parishes the figures cover wine only while in others they include wine and bread. Figures which include bread and wine purchases are in bold type. The graphs following the table plot communion expenditure for a select number of parishes.

Parish	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644
All Hallows Lombard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1182	-	-	1266	-	-	1122	-	1119	1164	1112	1050	1164	1560	1848	1488	-	-
All Hallows Great	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1824	2064	-	2700	2664	2544	2724	2862	2808	2928	2952	3300	3220	2912	2272	2256	2008	1230
All Hallows Less	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1564	1597	1920	1877	1906	1650	1086	1914	2169	2057	2050	1764	1260	940	252
Alban Wood St.	-	-	-	-	-	754	835	918	834	708	1004	816	720	752	804	699	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trinity Less	-	-	-	-	-	1091	-	1321	1510	-	372	240	32	-	1440	624	1080	1428	1708	1624	-	-	-	-	-
Alphage London Wall	-	-	-	-	1488	924	1076	846	824	1116	1060	1212	1459	1016	1386	1364	1549	1308	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andrew Wardrobe	-	-	-	-	-	-	1548	2188	3024	1740	2556	1413	1260	1404	1356	1218	1251	1248	1404	1602	1096	1291	1146	-	-
Benet Gracechurch	-	-	-	-	-	660	702	840	738	798	812	677	765	732	804	778	-	889	1120	1278	-	-	-	-	-
Benet Paul's Wharf	-	-	-	-	-	594	510	546	882	534	744	930	876	768	1026	888	846	6	572	1211	1385	912	1198	718	-
Botolph Aldgate	-	-	-	-	-	-	156	1760	2752	2856	2294	2311	2055	1920	62	3072	2364	2184	3600	3520	3360	-	-	-	-
Botolph Billingsgate	-	-	-	-	-	840	930	534	768	762	780	1146	972	1374	1110	1092	1422	1272	1512	1356	1568	1254	960	-	808
James Garlickhithe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	786	720	1296	1212	960	1492	1620	1309	2035	2196	2312	2008	1440	1540	1300	716
John Walbrook	-	-	-	-	-	875	822	900	802	828	978	1666	1404	1506	1464	1893	1544	1640	1743	1789	1998	192	1074	1074	928
John Zachary	-	-	-	-	-	846	834	828	948	642	774	1122	760	1158	948	912	924	1527	1222	1757	1622	855	480	-	-
Katherine Coleman St.	-	-	540	972	1008	870	852	1056	960	1416	960	1440	-	216	1176	982	1615	-	-	-	-	960	-	-	-
Lawrence Jewry	-	-	-	2508	2724	2568	2544	2699	2892	2940	3096	2856	2532	2940	2448	2976	3084	2952	2724	3166	2926	1956	2280	1800	1560
Margaret New Fish St	-	-	-	-	-	774	912	852	516	941	928	945	816	1125	1068	1020	1116	1340	1320	1340	1340	15	888	1128	784
Margaret Pattens	-	-	-	-	-	669	808	844	984	972	1016	836	890	588	592	332	-	740	828	659	822	586	520	692	387
Martin Orgar	-	-	-	-	-	882	1188	996	1056	906	1365	1236	1476	1227	1198	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1163	698	690
Mary Abchurch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	990	912	732	900	912	1038	996	1176	954	948	1410	1127	-	810	630	768
Mary Aldermary	-	-	-	-	-	1380	1233	1350	1272	1427	1420	1555	1485	1860	1881	1881	1764	2100	2045	1944	2232	1464	1560	1488	1504
Mary Magdalen Milk St.	-	-	-	-	552	540	600	566	-	762	930	927	804	1128	708	909	900	900	1183	1211	-	1029	-	-	-
Mary Somerset	-	-	-	-	-	1018	-	768	1011	-	1200	1348	1121	1109	2092	1554	1308	1392	1495	1640	2049	1490	1188	513	-
Mary Woolnoth	-	-	-	-	-	942	1092	1254	1344	1332	1416	1404	1536	1488	1248	1500	1524	1302	1602	1872	-	-	-	-	-
Michael Bassishaw	912	1326	1554	1188	1260	1440	1344	1596	1464	1500	1416	1512	1440	1440	1734	1668	1560	1752	2226	2140	1932	1776	1530	1356	1352
Michael Crooked lane	-	-	645	777	898	756	835	906	825	1037	1086	690	1026	1053	-	-	-	1152	1732	1202	1484	-	-	-	-
Michael Cornhill	-	-	-	-	1467	1560	-	1386	1584	1764	1824	1764	912	1524	996	1680	1848	-	2324	1116	-	1264	-	-	-
Michael le Querne	-	-	-	-	-	774	960	1014	1139	-	-	1072	858	1778	1095	1228	1128	1080	1024	1602	946	-	-	-	-

Parish	1620	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644
Michael Queenhithe	-	-	-	-	984	1263	1182	1344	84	1110	1104	1200	1383	1380	1560	1788	1836	1860	2388	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michael Wood St	-	-	-	-	585	732	768	-	1077	1128	1500	1554	1728	1614	1680	2286	1440	1806	2084	2261	1818	1776	948	274	182
Olave Jewry	-	-	-	590	518	719	600	635	712	634	852	792	862	720	808	936	1136	1112	1000	1240	1257	1008	-	-	-
Pancras Soper lane[960]	282	272	240	306	384	300	366	480	480	420	662	672	-	-	-	579	414	480	826	702	693	436	240	36	-
Peter Westcheap	-	-	-	-	1145	965	1219	1030	1087	1182	1210	1177	1080	758	880	1168	960	932	802	1268	994	774	672	200	-
Stephen Coleman St.[961]	2142	2448	2652	2880	-	-	3096	3360	3087	3720	3324	4344	4122	3834	4140	4056	6032	4915	3192	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stephen Walbrook	470	524	556	658	704	774	604	634	1000	1032	836	-	896	840	780	-	480	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swithin	-	-	-	-	873	840	834	771	838	838	1013	1114	1110	1038	1068	1284	1014	1428	1714	2220	2221	1443	1137	936	822
Thomas Apostle	-	-	-	-	718	537	551	630	866	1312	1290	1557	1790	1782	1576	1590	1488	1400	1483	1142	1148	930	944	741	-

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[960] Values for 1618 and 1619 were 252 and 240 respectively
[961] Value for 1629 was 2280

G.2 Frequency of Communions

The table below shows the number of communions celebrated each year for a small number of parishes where data was available. The data is taken from churchwarden's accounts showing either the number of collections taken per annum at communion time or the number of purchases made annually for communion wine.

Parish	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642	1643	1644
Benet Paul's Wharf					9	8	11	8	9	9	10	9	10	9	9						12	12	12	
Dunstan in the West								18	22	18	19	21	21	21	22	19	21	23	20	23	20	19	13	12
John Zachary					13	12					9	13		12	14	14	15	12			12			
Katherine Coleman St.		8	11	10	9	13	16	16	15	15	14	12	13								15			
Margaret Pattens									12		12		9	10	14	13	14		13	16	12	11	12	9
Mary Abchurch									17	17	12	14	14	15	12	15	14	16	14	16	17	13	7	8
Mary Somerset						11		13	13	9	12	14	15	14	21	16	11		17	14		15	13	
Olave Silver St.											14	13	14	12										
Pancras Soper lane962	10	10	12		11	12	15	13	12	14	13	14												
Swithin				16		15	15	16	17	17	17	17	17	17										
Thomas Apostle				17	11	11	9	13																

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962 9 communions were held in 1619.

## G.3 Communion Expenditure: Select Charts

The accompanying charts provide a visual plot of expenditure on communion for a select number of parishes. In general the examples show a steady upward trend in expenditure until the late 1630s which might reasonably be explained by variations in the number of communions held and other factors such as prices. From about 1637 there is a marked increase in expenditure in many parishes which is followed after 1640 by a fall to or below expenditure levels of the 1620s and early 1630s.

In those parishes where there is evidence for the number of communions held this does not consistently follow the increased expenditure. Where the number of communions held each year is known this is shown at the end of the expenditure column.

All Hallows the Great
### Clergy: Sampson Price, 1617-30: John Downame, 1630-52

The population of the parish increased from 920 in 1628 to 1232 in 1634 which would account for some of the increased communion expenditure. The rise in expenditure from 1627/28 levels to 1630 may also have had something to do with the change of clergy as Downame was a popular puritan preacher.

All Hallows Great
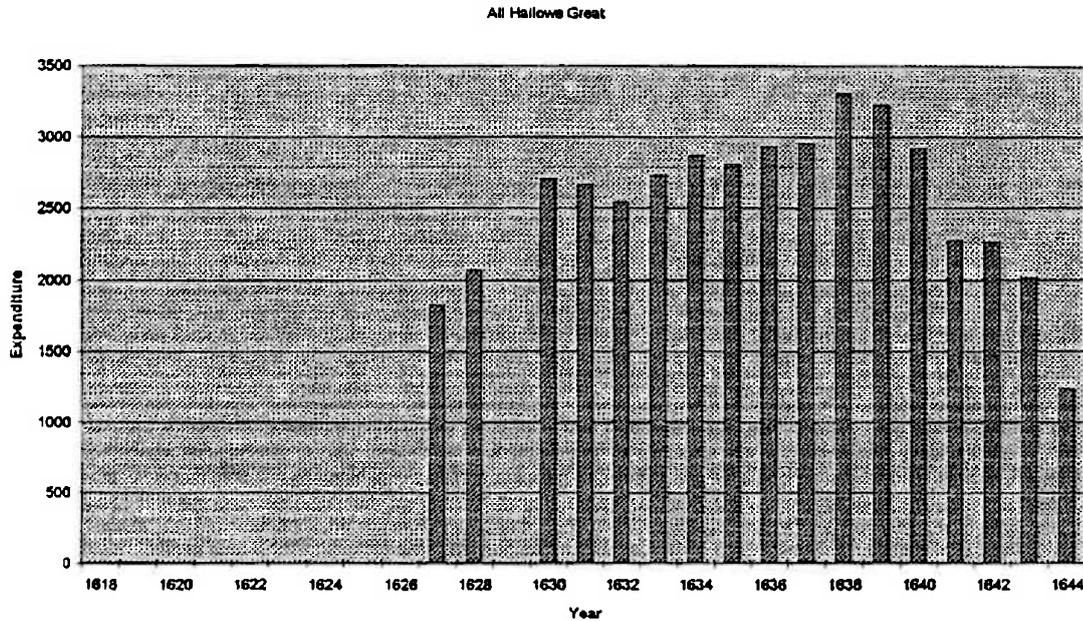
St. Botolph Billingsgate
Clergy: William King, 1629-1636; Philip King 1636-44

Expenditure tended to increase towards the end of the 1630s but fell of significantly from 1640.

**Botolph Billingsgate**
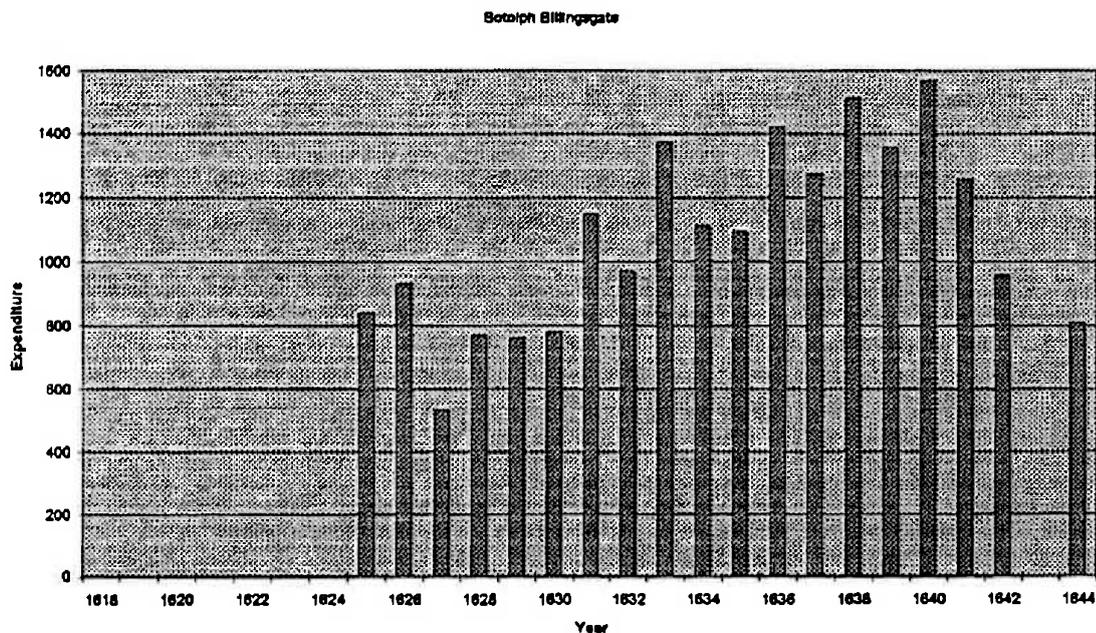
St. Dunstan in the West
Clergy: John Donne, 1624-31; James Marsh, 1631-43

The frequency of communion varied between 18 and 23 until 1643. This level of frequency was likely due to the size of the parish in 1638 the parish comprised 14.3 acres with 518 houses, 140 tenements.[963]
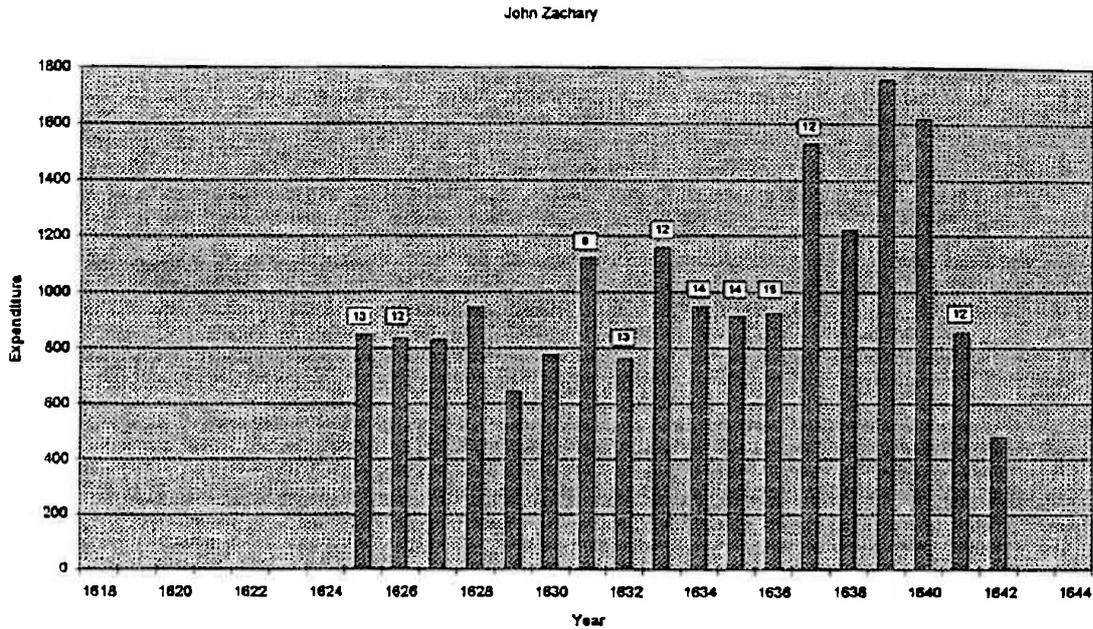
Dunstan in the West
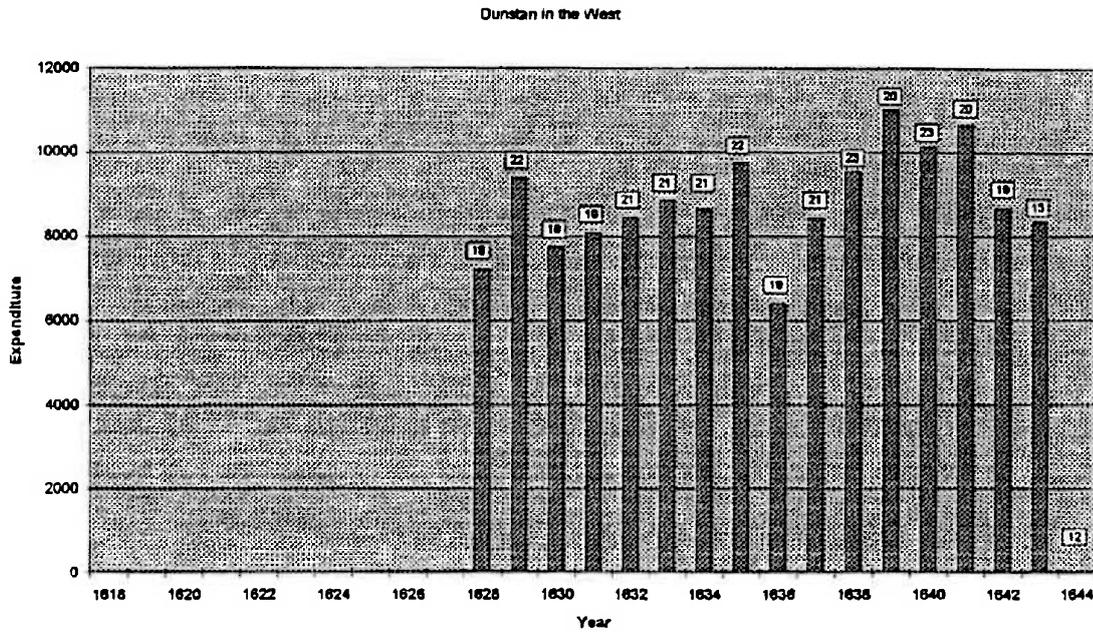
St. James Garlickhithe
Clergy: Edward Marbury, 1613-42

James Garlickhithe

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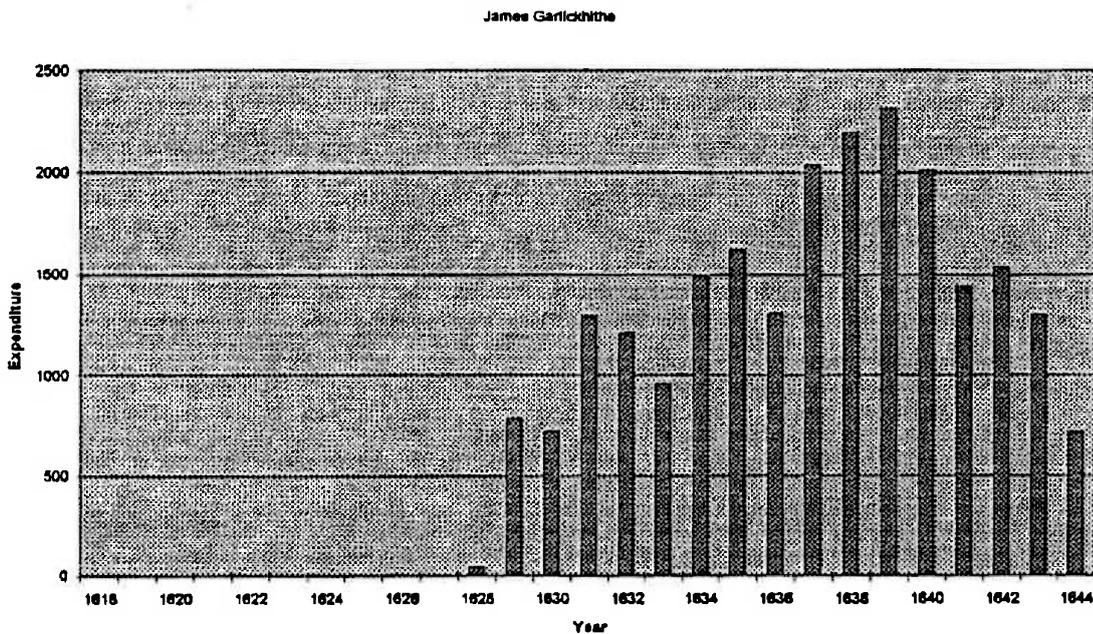
[963] Finlay, R.   Population and Metropolis. The Demography of London 1580-1650, Cambridge, 1981.

St. John Zachary

Clergy: William Carter, 1626-30; Thomas Bankes, 1630-31; William Rolf, 161-35; Philip Edlin, 1635-43.

John Zachary

St. Lawrence Jewry

Clergy: William Boswell 1617-32, Thomas Crane 1632-42

Expenditure on communion wine was roughly constant throughout the 1630s, but there is a significant decrease from 1641. This may reflect a degree of support for innovation within the parish. A frame for the Communion table was acquired in 1630. The vestry supported beautifying the church. Attempts to remove the communion table rails resulted in a parish schism in 1645. Sir Baptist Hicks, a lay supporter of English Arminianism, was a leading member of the parish.

Lawrence Jewry
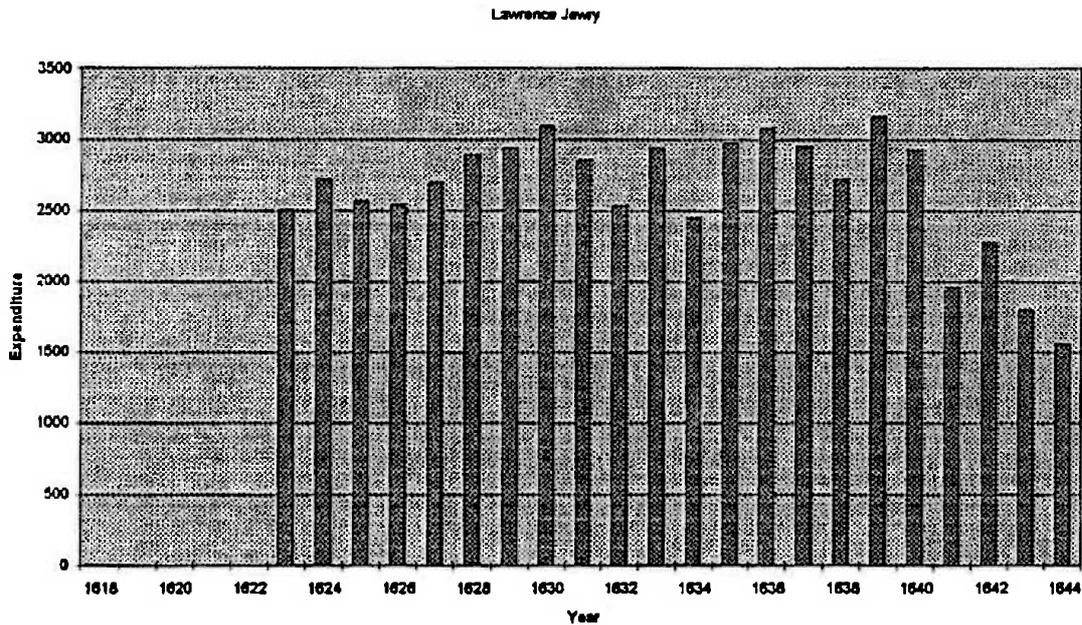
Margaret New Fish Street
Clergy: Thomas Wood, 1616-40; Robert Pory, 1640-43

Margaret New Fish St
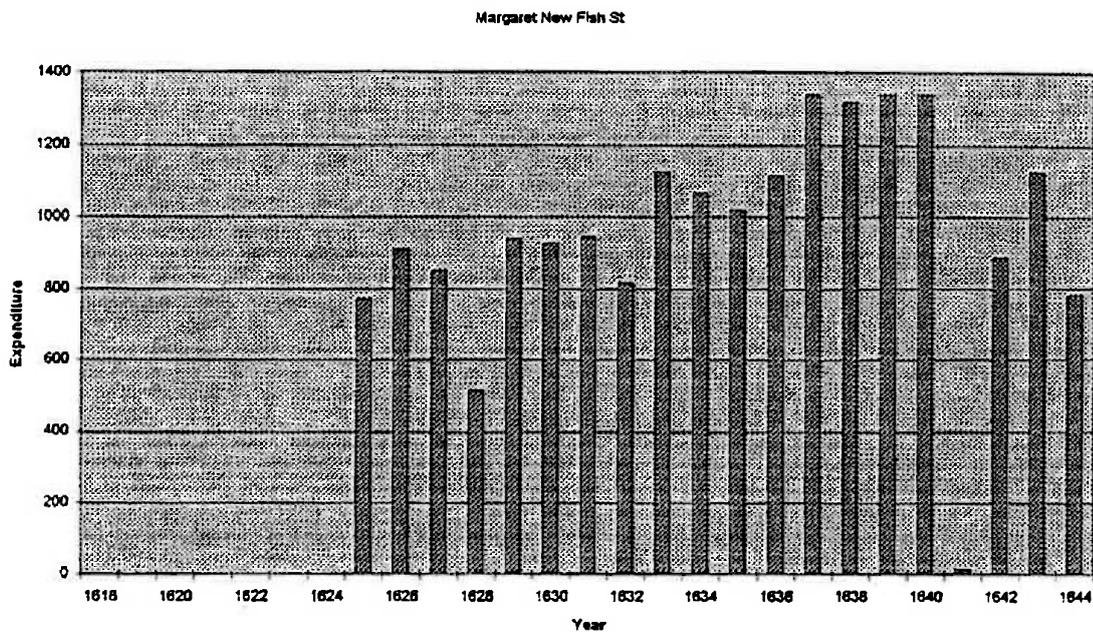
St. Margaret Pattens
Clergy: Samuel Baker, 1626-37; James Meggs 1637-45.

The parish suffered a modest decrease in population under Baker from 220 in 1628 to 200 in 1634. During the same period there is evidence of a decrease in expenditure and in the number of communions. The situation appears to have recovered from 1635.

Margaret Pattens
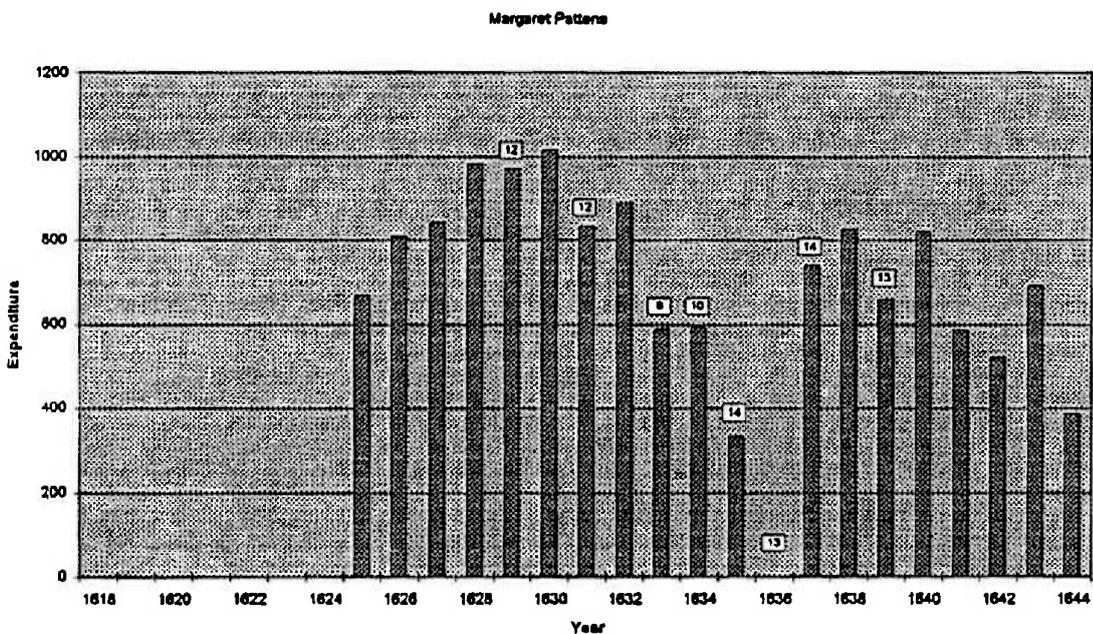
St. Mary Abchurch
Clergy: Benjamin Stone 1613-43

Expenditure shows a general rising trend through the 1630s with a significant reduction after 1641. The number of communions follows this trend but the highest number of communions were in 1629 and 1630.

Mary Abchurch
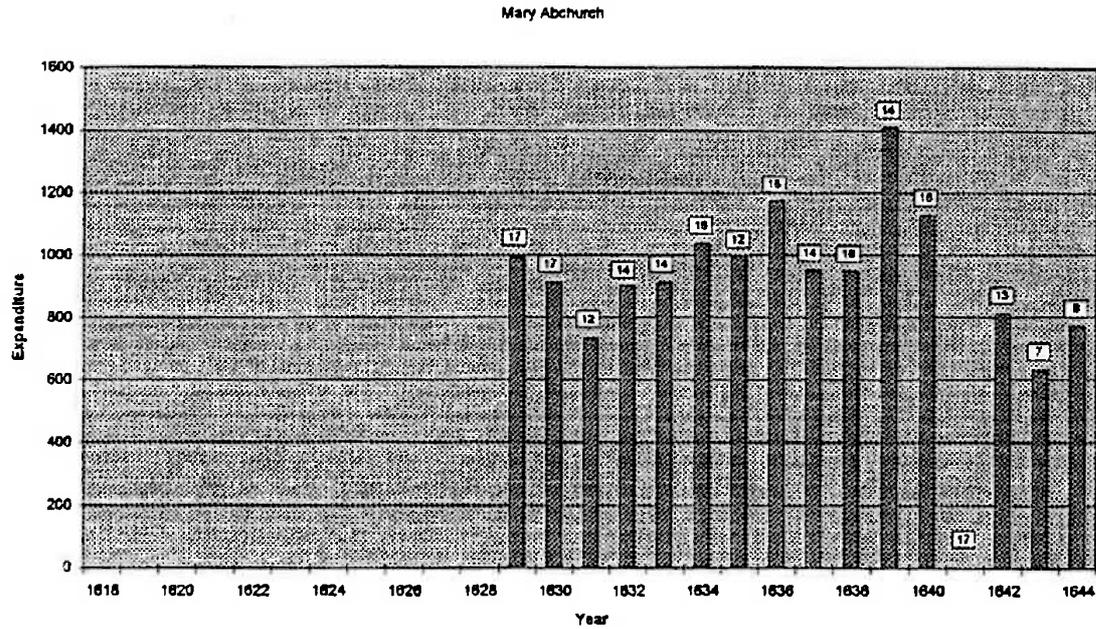
St. Mary Aldermary
Clergy: Richard Watson 1618-38, Thomas Browne 1638-41

Expenditure shows a consistent upward trend which peaked in 1640 under Thomas Browne and fell back to the levels of the 1620s.

Mary Aldermary
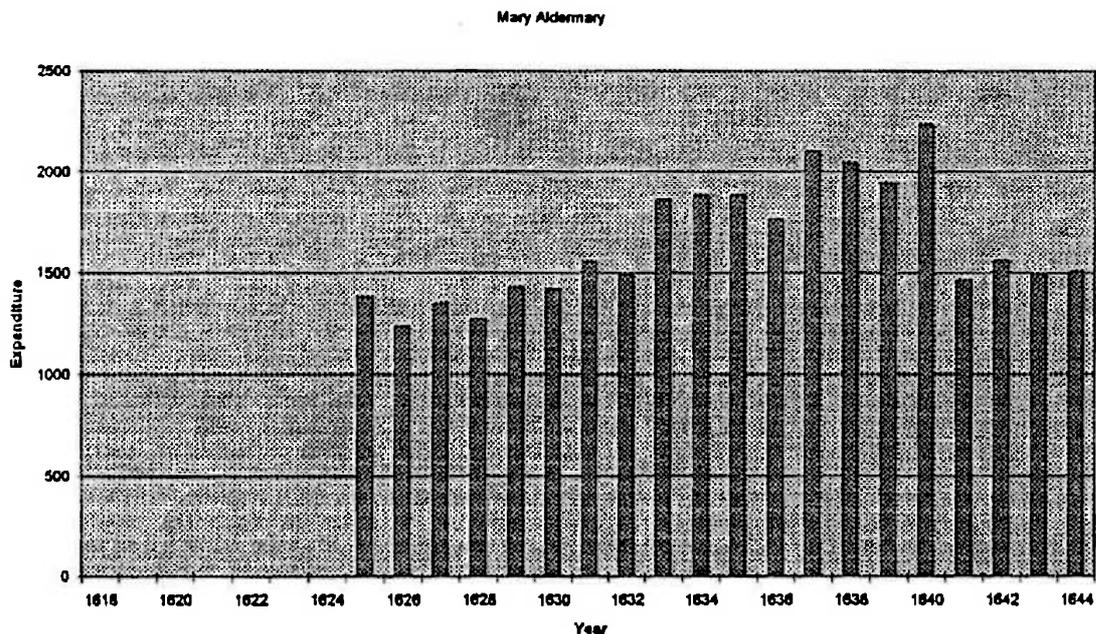
St. Mary Somerset
Clergy: John Cook, 1631-44

Mary Somerset
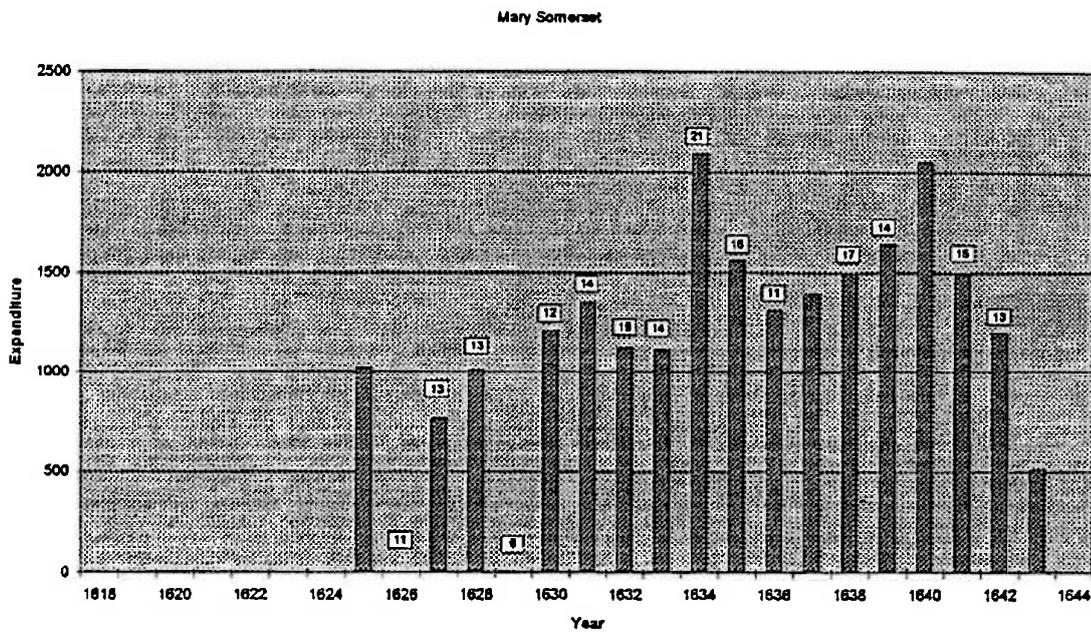
St. Michael Bassishaw
Clergy: John Gifford

Expenditure shows a general trend upwards, but with a significant increase in 1638 followed by a return to pre-1638 levels from 1642..

Michael Bassishaw
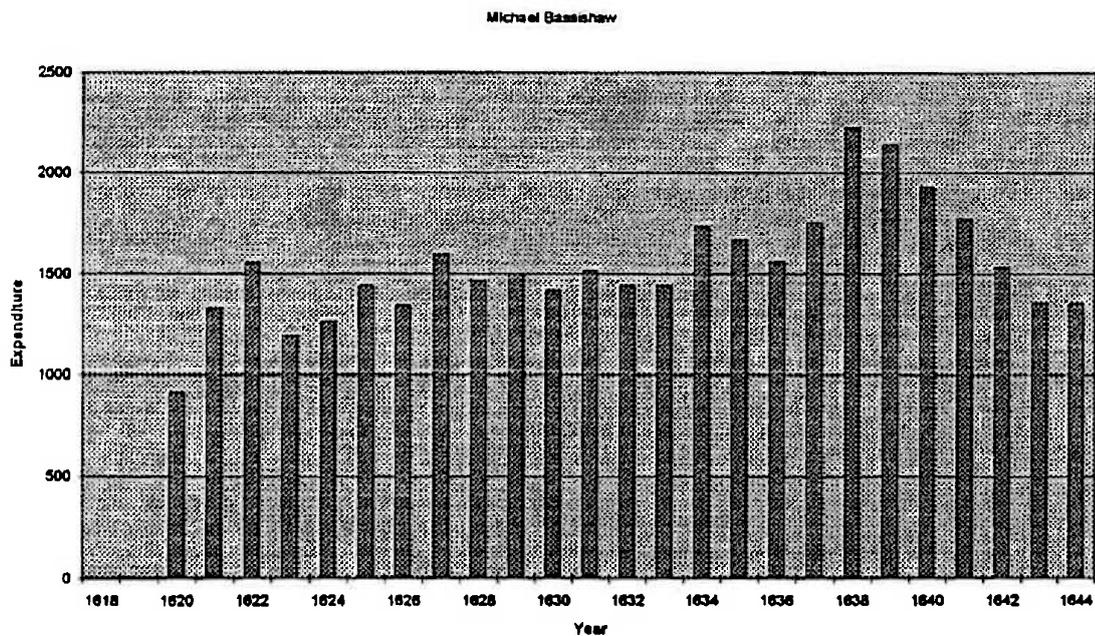
St. Michael Wood Street
Clergy: Arthur Jackson 1625-43

The parish increased in population from 400 in 1628 to 500 in 1634. The expenditure levels generally show a steady increase from 1625.

Michael Wood St
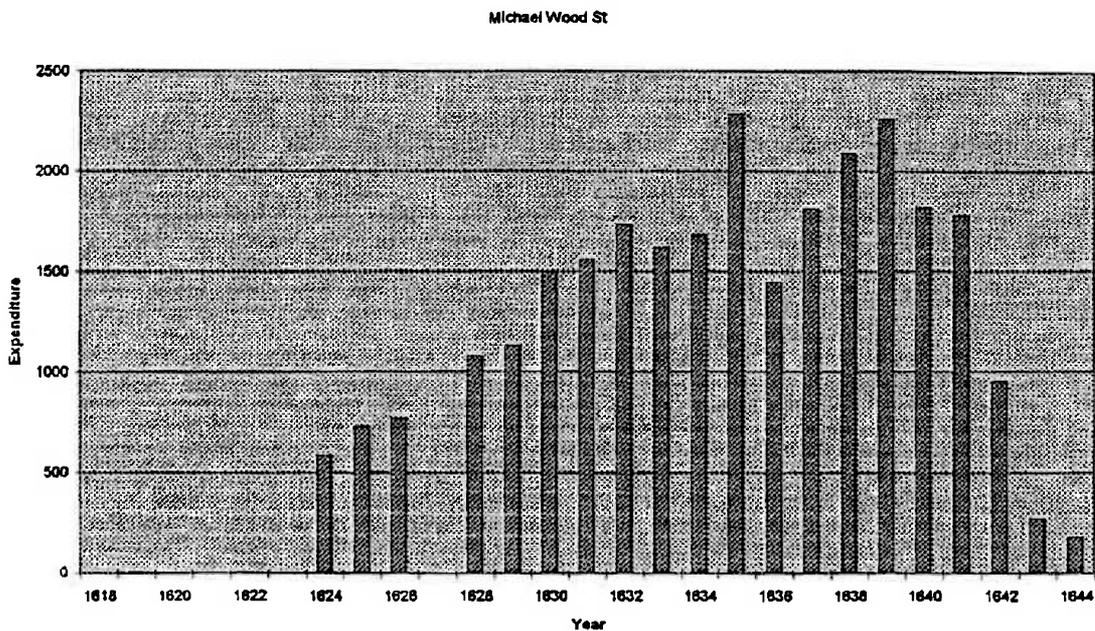
St. Olave Jewry
Clergy: Thomas Tuke, 1617-57

Olave Jewry

(342)
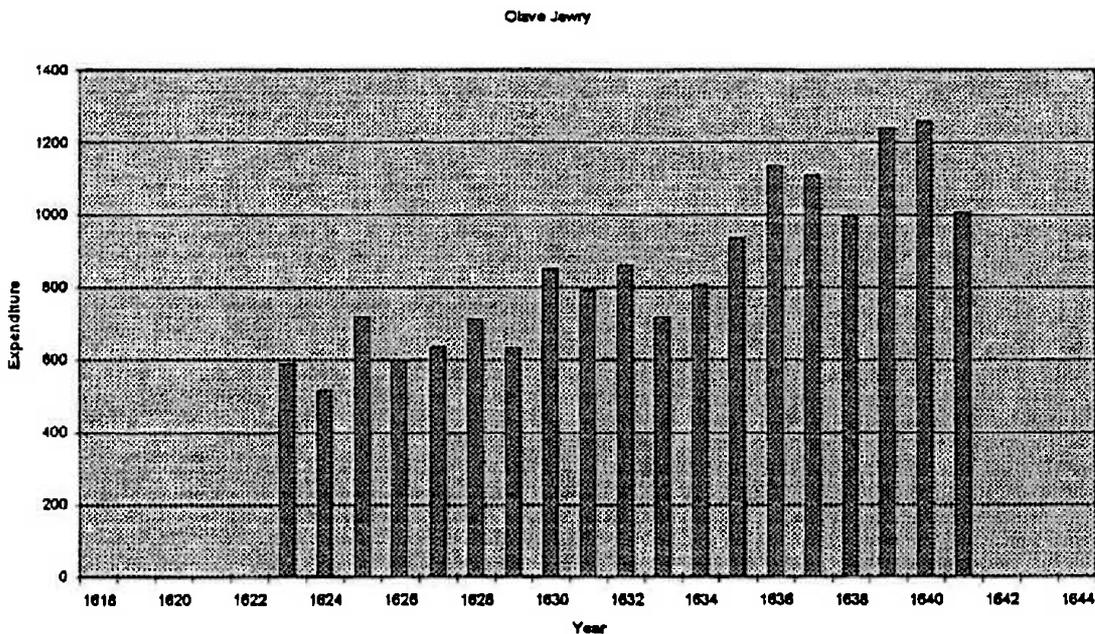
St. Swithin
Clergy: Richard Cook, 1605-39; Richard Owen, 1639-44

The frequency and expenditure is generally uniform but with a significant peak in expenditure between 1637 and 1641 when expenditure returned to pre-1637 levels.

Swithin
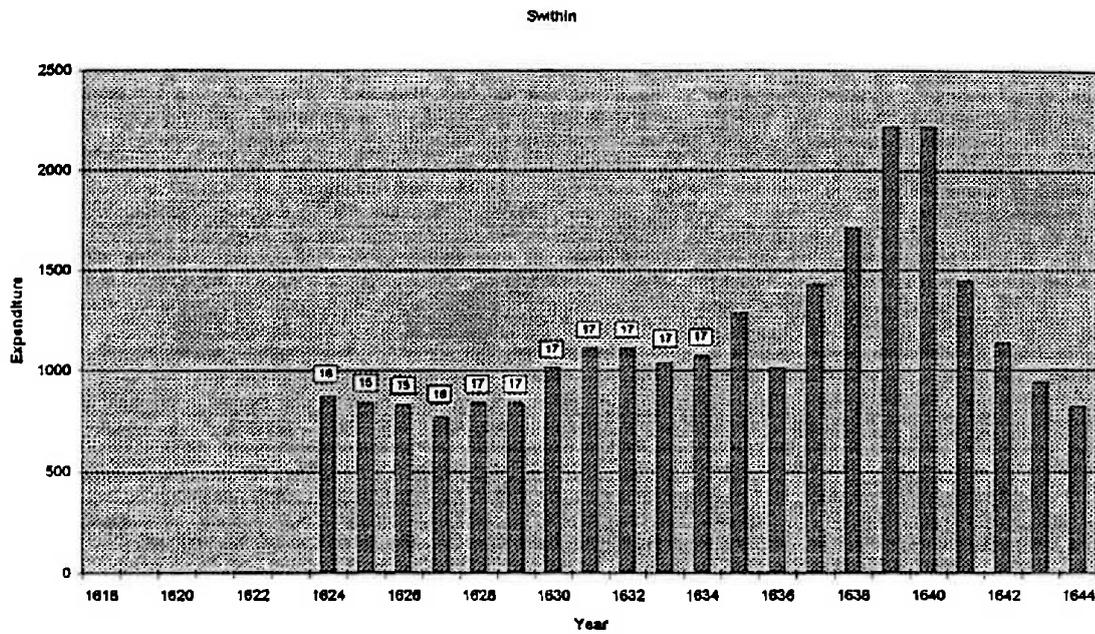
St. Thomas Apostle
Clergy: William Cooper, 1628-42

Thomas Apostle
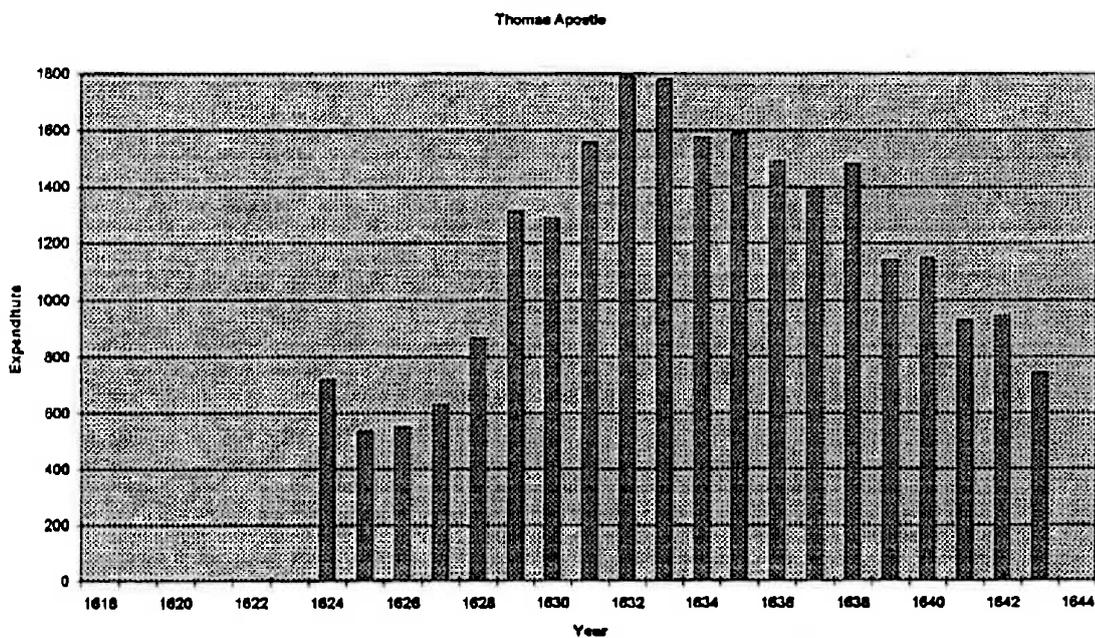
Appendix H

Archdeacon of London, Assignation Books

Appendix H reproduces the offences cited in Archdeacon of London, Assignation Books GLMS/9059/1(1635/6) and GLMS/9059/2 (1639/40). The Archdeacon of London's Assignation books provide the nearest to a systematic record of cases under consideration by the courts, that may reflect responses to reform. These records are most complete for 1636 and 1639/40 and provide cases dealing more than 619 individuals.[964] They information is summarised below:

Summary of Offences: Archdeacon of London Assignation Books

| Offence Presented	Number of Cases Presented			
	1636	1639	1640	Total
Absent from church or refusing to attend	89	18	29	136
Not receiving communion	34	3	325	362
Not paying tithes or dues		15	45	60
Excommunicant, Recusant or Schismatic	5	2	33	39
Other[965]				22
Total				619

The cases listed show a high proportion of parishioners being presented for failure to attend communion and absence from church. Unfortunately, there are no further details of these cases being dealt with by the courts that might help to elaborate on the data. Earlier records are too fragmentary to know whether they are complete so there is no possibility of comparison. However the data do point to absence from church and failure to receive communion as matters that were coming before the authorities.

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[964] A small number of cases from 1635 are available in GLMS 9057/1 and GLMS 9059/1.

[965] Includes a variety of offences namely: abusing the Minister, church wardens presented for not sending in names before communion and placing more in the pew than can fit, criticising church courts and officers, disorderly behaviour and fighting in church, going to other churches, improper observance refusing to kneel at confession and consecration prayer for communion, refusing to reverence the sacrament, resorting to other places to sermons, scandalising the ceremonies of the church, verbal assault on church warden

Month	Year	No	Parish	Offence
June	1636	1	Olave Silver St	Absent from Church and excommunicant
May	1636	1	Andrew Wardrobe	Absent from Church and recusant
May	1636	1	Augustine Watling	Absent from church or refusing to attend
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
June	1636	63	Botolph Aldersgate	" " "
May	1636	1	Gabriel Fenchurch	" " "
June	1636	1	John Zachary	" " "
May	1636	1	Lawrence Jewry	" " "
June	1636	1	Lawrence Jewry	" " "
May	1636	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
May	1636	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
June	1636	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
June	1636	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
May	1636	1	Mary Abchurch	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Somerset	" " "
May	1636	1	Michael Bassishaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Michael Bassishaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Stephen Coleman St	" " "
February	1639	1	Anne Blackfriars	" " "
February	1639	12	Ethelburgh	" " "
February	1639	1	Mary Magdalene Fish St	" " "
February	1639	1	Michael Bassishaw	" " "
February	1639	1	Olave Silver St	" " "
May	1640	1	Alban Wood	" " "
May	1640	1	Alban Wood	" " "
May	1640	1	All Hallows Less	" " "
May	1640	1	All Hallows Staining	" " "
May	1640	1	Alphage	" " "
April	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	" " "
November	1640	1	Andrew Undershaft	" " "
April	1640	13	Anne Blackfriars	" " "
July	1640	1	Catherine Coleman	" " "
May	1640	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
May	1640	1	Michael Bassishaw	" " "
April	1640	1	Olave Silver St	" " "
November	1639	1	Botolph Aldgate	Absent from church or refusing to attend and not paying dues to minister
February	1639	1	Bartholomew the Great	Absent from Church or refusing to attend and not receiving Communion
May	1640	1	Mary Abchurch	" " "
May	1640	1	Mary Abchurch	" " "
May	1640	1	Mary Abchurch	" " "
April	1640	1	Anne & Agnes	Absent from Church or refusing to attend not receiving Communion reverently on his knees at Easter

Month	Year	No	Parish	Offence
June	1636	1	James Clerkenwell	Absent from church or refusing to attend not receiving Communion, churching his wife, not paying burial duties
May	1640	1	Mary Islington	Absent from Church or refusing to attend and refusing to reverence the sacrament
June	1636	1	Mary Somerset	Abusing Minister
June	1636	2	Martin Orgar	For not sending in names before communion (Church wardens)
March	1635	2	Margaret Moses	For placing more in the pew than can fit (Churchwardens)
June	1636	2	Benet Paul's Wharf	Criticising Church courts and officers
December	1639	1	Nicholas Coleabbey	Defacing chancel (unintentional)
November	1640	1	Benet Paul's Wharf	Disorderly behaviour in church
April	1640	27	Andrew Holborn	Excommunicant
May	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	Excommunicant
May	1640	1	Michael Queenhithe	Excommunicant
May	1636	1	Catherine Cree	Excommunicant and Recusant
May	1636	1	Catherine Cree	Excommunicant and Recusant
May	1640	1	Botolph Aldersgate	Fighting in church
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	Going to other churches
May	1636	1	Anne & Agnes	Hat on in church, leaving at reading of the King's Book in contempt
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	Improper observance- Refusing to kneel at confession and consecration prayer for communion
December	1639	1	Christchurch	Not paying assessment for communion dues
February	1639	1	Botolph Aldersgate	Not paying assessment for parish repairs
May	1640	1	Ethelburgh	Not paying dues to parson, not receiving communion
May	1640	14	All Hallows the Great	Not paying dues to parson
February	1639	13	Sepulchre	Not paying duties to parson and clerk
May	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	Not paying parson dues
May	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	Not paying parson dues
May	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	Not paying parson dues
May	1640	1	Andrew Holborn	Not paying parson dues
April	1640	24	Andrew Holborn	Not paying parson's dues
February	1639	1	Bride Fleet St	Not paying parson's duties
June	1639	1	Ethelburgh	Not paying tithes sitting at the creed
June	1636	1	All Hallows Barking	Not receiving Communion
June	1636	1	All Hallows Barking	" " "
June	1636	1	All Hallows Barking	" " "
June	1636	1	All Hallows Barking	" " "
June	1636	1	Andrew Wardrobe	" " "
May	1636	1	Anne Blackfriars	" " "
May	1636	1	Anne Blackfriars	" " "
June	1636	1	Augustine St Paul	" " "
June	1636	1	Augustine Watling	" " "
June	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Bartholomew the Great	" " "
May	1636	1	Leonard Fosterlane	" " "
May	1636	1	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "

Month	Year	No	Parish	Offence
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	" " "
June	1636	1	Mary Somerset	" " "
May	1636	1	Mary Staining	" " "
May	1636	1	Margaret Lothbury	" " "
May	1636	1	Margaret Lothbury	" " "
May	1636	1	Margaret Lothbury	" " "
May	1636	1	Nicholas Coleabbey	" " "
June	1636	1	Olave Jewry	" " "
June	1636	1	Olave Silver St	" " "
June	1636	1	Olave Silver St	" " "
May	1636	1	Thomas Apostle	" " "
June	1636	1	Thomas Apostle	" " "
February	1639	1	Andrew Holborn	" " "
February	1639	1	Andrew Hubbard	" " "
May	1640	1	Andrew Wardrobe	" " "
May	1640	37	Dunstan in the West	" " "
April	1640	2	James Garlickhithe	" " "
April	1640	17	Leonard Shoreditch	" " "
May	1640	1	Martin Ludgate	" " "
May	1640	1	Martin Ludgate	" " "
May	1640	1	Martin Ludgate	" " "
May	1640	1	Mary Mounthaw	" " "
May	1640	1	Thomas Apostle	" " "
May	1640	1	Thomas Apostle	" " "
May	1640	1	Thomas Apostle	" " "
May	1640	1	Trinity Minories	" " "
June	1640	140	Andrew Holborn	Not receiving Communion and not paying dues
February	1639	1	Botolph Aldgate	Not receiving Communion and not paying dues
May	1640	120	James Clerkenwell	Not receiving communion
February	1639	1	Olave Silver St	Improper Observance
February	1639	1	Olave Silver St	Improper Observance
May	1640	1	Mildred Poultry	Improper Observance
April	1640	1	Olave Silver St	Improper Observance
May	1640	1	John Zachary	Recusant
May	1636	1	Catherine Cree	Refusing Instruction
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	Refusing to make a presentment
May	1640	1	Leonard Shoreditch	Resorting to other places to sermons
March	1639	1+	Ethelburgh	Scandalising the ceremonies of the church
June	1636	1	All Hallows Barking	Schismatic
April	1640	1	Botolph Aldgate	Schismatic
April	1640	1	Botolph Aldgate	Schismatic
March	1639	1	James Clerkenwell	Schismatic & Conventicler
June	1636	1	Bartholomew the Less	Excommunicant
May	1636	2	Catherine Cree	Excommunicant
June	1636	1	Martin Orgar	Verbal assault on church warden
		619		

Appendix I

London Parishes

The data in this table lists the parishes in London, shows what type of living each was, identifies the patron during the term covered by this study, the clergy who held the living as well as the year of entry and vacancy. The data in the fields 'Parish' 'Patron' 'Clergy' 'From' 'To' and 'Type' are taken from Hennessy. Data taken from any other source is given a footnote.

The number of communicants is also shown for each parish and is taken from LPMS CM 8/18 for 1628 and LPMS CM 8/25 for 1634.

The fields 'Moderated Value', 'Tithe Due', 'Tithe Paid', 'Actual maintenance', deal with financial details of each parish. The values are taken from T.C. Dale <u>The Inhabitants of London</u> and have been rounded to the nearest £-value. The field 'Actual Maintenance' is what the incumbent stated was the nett revenue. The field '% Increase' is a calculated field which shows the percentage increase of the actual tithe sought by clergy. Summary statistics showing the average values, range of values and standard deviation for tithe values are provided at the end of Appendix I.

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants		Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
						1628	1634					
Alban Wood St	Rectory	Provost and Fellows of Eton	William Watts	1626	1643	500		1500	206	107	103	192.52
All Hallows The Great	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Sampson Price	1617	1630	920	1232	1977	272	133	121	204.51
			John Downame	1630	1652							
All Hallows The Less	Curacy	Impropriation[966]	John Tribicke	1632	1638	600		1429	196	64	31	306.25
			Andrew Blackwell	1638	-							
All Hallows Barking	Vicarage	Abp of Canterbury	Edward Abbot	1616	1634			4892	672	206	166	326.21
			Edward Layfield	1634	1643							

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[966] Newcourt 1.250

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants	Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
All Hallows Bread St	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Richard Stock	1604	1626		300	1807	248	84	80	295.24
			Daniel Featley	1626	1628							
			John Lawson	1628	1642							
All Hallows Honey Lane	Rectory	Grocers Company	Henry Vertue	1628	1660		200	1000	137	42	40	326.19
All Hallows Lombard	Rectory	D&C of Canterbury	Francis Dee	1615	1634		370	2814	387	88	50	439.77
		Rex	John Weston	1634	1643							
All Hallows London Wall	Rectory	Rex	Andrew Janeway	1593	1634	400	600	1653	237	86	85	275.58
All Hallows Staining	Curacy	Impropriation	Philip Nye	1627		429		1351	186	81	8	229.63
			Adoniram Byfield	1629								
Alphage	Rectory	Bp of London	Josias Frith	1619	1638			-	-			
			John Halsey	1638	1641							
Andrew Holborn	Rectory	Rex	John Hackett	1624	1643	5000	4453	10001	1415	360	344	393.06
Andrew Hubbard	Rectory	Earl of Salisbury	Richard Chambers	1622	1642		304	1294	178	69	73	257.97
Andrew Undershaft	Rectory	Bp of London	Henry Mason	1614	1641	900	900	2974	407	145	107	280.69
Andrew Wardrobe	Rectory	Rex	William Isaacson	1629	1642	712		2030	283	80	84	353.75
Anne Aldersgate		Bp of London	Richard Cluett	1617	1643	400		1605	221	77	90	287.01
Anne Blackfriars	Curacy	Parish	William Gouge	1610	1653	1456			-	-		
			Thomas Gouge	1628	967							
			William Prince	1631	1631 -							
Antholin	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	Charles Offspring	1617	1659			1353	186	38	49	489.47
Augustine Watling	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	John Vicars	1600	1633	497		1700	233	99	90	235.35
			Thomas Turner	1634	1634							
			Ephraim Udall	1634	1647							
Bartholomew Exchange	Rectory	Rex	John Grant	1623	1653	300	400	2045	281	89	107	315.73

[967] St Anne Blackfriars was served by a number of clergy. William Prince is given in Hennessy, but Brian Burch has identified problems with the clergy cited in Newcourt and Hennessy and gives William Gouge a long association with the parish from 1610 till his death in 1653, Brian Burch 'The Parish of St Anne's Blackfriars, London to 1665. With a list of the Clergy: Some explorations in Ecclesiastical Records', Guildhall Miscellany, Vol. III, No.1, Oct 1969, p 26.

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants	Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Bartholomew The Great	Rectory	Robert Lord Rich	Thomas Westfield[968]	1605	1643		350			60	100
Bartholomew The Less	Vicarage	Lord Mayor of London	Daniel Tontevill	1620	1631			1287	177		25
			Joseph Henshaw	1631	1636						
			William Hall	1636	1647						
Benet Finke	Curacy	Impropriation	Roger Warfield	1635	1643		350	1175	152	55	27	276.36
Benet Gracechurch		D&C St Paul's	John Donne	1592	1636	240	180	1200	165	59	60	279.66
		Abp of Canterbury	William Quelch	1637	1643						
Benet Paul's Wharf		D&C St Paul's	Thomas Adams	1619	1644		180				
Benet Sherhog		Rex	Cadwallader Morgan	1626	1640	132		613	84	31	36	270.97
			Matthew Griffith	1640	1643						
Botolph Aldersgate	Curacy	Donative of Westminster Abbey	Thomas Booth	1628	1643						72
Botolph Aldgate	Curacy	Rex (In Fee Farm)	Thomas Swadlin	1628	1642			6910	950	389	60	244.22
Botolph Billingsgate	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	William King	1629	1636		430	1405	193	122	119	158.20
			Philip King	1636	1644						
Botolph Bishopsgate	Rectory	Bp of London	Thomas Worral	1624	1639	336		4891	672	224	241	300.00
			Thomas Weekes	1639	1642						
Brides	Vicarage	D&C Westminster	James Palmer	1616	1645	240			160		66
Bridewell	Curacy		Joseph Brown	-	-			1055	145		
Christchurch	Vicarage	St Bartholomew Hospital	Sampson Price	1617	1630				600	300	56	200.00
			Edward Finch	1630	1643						
Christopher Le Stocks	Rectory	Rex	John Macarnesse	1630	1636	253		1242	171	69	90	247.83
		Bp of London	Samuel Baker	1636	1640						
		Bp of London	John Hansley	1640	1643						
Clement Eastcheap	Rectory	Bp of London	James Speight	1611	1637		312	1008	139	40	35	347.50
			Benjamin Stone	1637	1643						

[968] Hennessy has Thomas Westfield 1605-14, Robert Hill 1614-23. Hill does not appear in Newcourt. The rectory was vacant in 1628 according to Arthur Duck GLMS 9537/13, but Westfield was sequestered from there in 1643 Walker Revised p. 1. and made the return for the survey of parish revenues in 1636.

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants		Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Dionis Backchurch		Abp of Canterbury	John Warner	1625	1638			2617	417	98	94	425.51
Dunstan In The East	Rectory	Rex	John Childerly	1606	1645			4506	620	136	110	455.88
Dunstan In The West	Rectory	Rex	John Donne	1624	1631			3985	620	217	264	285.71
			James Marsh	1631	1643							
Edmund Lombard St	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Ephraim Pagitt	1601	1645	302	350	1562	215	87	87	247.13
Ethelburgh	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	William Bedwell	1601	1632		550	1172	161	65	69	247.69
			William Bray	1632	1633							
			John Clark	1633	1642							
Faiths	Rectory	Rex	Jonathon Brown	1628	1642		500	2119	359	74	71	485.14
Gabriel Fenchurch	Rectory	Rex	George Palmer	1622	1637	267	200	1008	139	68	87	204.41
			Ralph Cook	1638	1644							
George Botolph	Rectory	Rex	George Scarborough	1603	1630		120	964	132	59	61	223.73
			Matthew Styles	1630	1643							
Giles Cripplegate	Vicarage	Rex	John Buckeridge	1605	1628			8415	1024	400	311	256.00
			William Fuller	1628	1642							
Gregory by St. Paul's	Curacy	Impropriation	Thomas Jennings	1622	1635			3743	500		10	
			Rowland Jennings	1636	1653							
Helen Bishopgate	Vicarage	Impropriate to Earl of Northampton	Richard Maden	1635	1639			1732	238	64	96	371.88
			Matthew Milward	1639	1644							
Holy Trinity The Less	Rectory	D&C of Canterbury	Edward Harrison	1626	1644	370	400	978	135	63	72	214.29
James Duke Place	Curacy	Lord Mayor of London	Ezekiel Clarke	1628	1630	500	500			-		
			John Wood	1630	1639							
			Bruno Bisborow	1640	-							
James Garlickhithe	Rectory	Bp of London	Edward Marbury	1613	1642			1648	227	93	81	244.09
John Evangelist	Rectory	D&C of Canterbury	George Walker	1614	1651		140	671	92	44	67	209.09
John Walbrook	Rectory	Rex	Richard Walmsley	1633	1645	465		1040	143	72	67	198.61
John Zachary	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	William Carter	1626	1630			1300	179	64	61	279.69
			Thomas Bankes	1630	1631							
			William Rolf	1631	1635							
			Philip Edlin	1635	1643							

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants		Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Katherine Coleman	Rectory	Bp of London	Percival Hill	-	1641	450	500	1500	206	88	104	234.09
			Henry Kyberd	1641	1643							
Katherine Cree	Curacy	Magdalene College Ca	Stephen Denison	1616	1636					-		
			George Rush	1636	1642							
Lawrence Jewry	Vicarage	Balliol College, Ox	William Boswell	1617	1632					81		
			Thomas Crane	1632	1642							
Lawrence Pountney	Curacy	Impropriation[969]	Elias Crabtree	1620	1648			1135	156	39	11	400.00
Leonard Eastcheap	Rectory	D&C of Canterbury	Abraham Colfe	1610	1657			1061	146	64	46	228.13
Leonard Fosterlane	Rectory	D&C Westminster	William Ward	1622	1642	758		3116	428	139	151	307.91
Magnus Martyr	Rectory	Bp of London	Cornelius Burgess	1626	1641	489	470	2092	288	82	68	351.22
			Samuel Bourman	1641	1645							
Margaret Lothbury	Rectory	Rex	Humphrey Tabor	1627	1642			1514	208	72	62	288.89
Margaret Moses	Rectory	Rex	Richard Culverall	1618	1651	200		1482	204	62	38	329.03
Margaret New Fish St	Rectory	Bp of London	Thomas Wood	1616	1640	350		1200	165	70	79	235.71
			Robert Pory	1640	1643							
Margaret Pattens	Rectory	Mayor and Commonality of London	Samuel Baker	1626	1637	220	200	763	104	45	49	231.11
			James Meggs	1637	1645							
Martin Ironmonger	Rectory	Rex	Andrew Castleton	1617	1632	200		606	83	40	63	207.50
			Joseph Symons	1632	1639							
			Edward Sparke	1639	1645							
Martin Ludgate	Rectory	Bp of London	Michael Jermin	1626	1643	228		3347	460	126	125	365.08
Martin Orgar	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	Brian Walton	1628	1643	384		1600	220	80	72	275.00
Martin Outwich	Rectory	Merchant Taylors Co.	Thomas Piers	1625	1637		257	1012	139	58	74	239.66
Martin Vintry	Rectory	Rex	Bruno Ryves	1628	1643	700	1100	2080	286	115	81	248.70
Mary Abchurch	Rectory	Rd Young et al	Benjamin Stone	1613	1643	474	480	1657	228	86	76	265.12

[969] Newcourt I.389

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants		Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Mary Aldermanbury	P.C.	Impropriation[970]	William Dell	1629	1631			-	-		16	
			William Wimpew	1631	1632							
			John Stoughton	1632	1639							
			Edmund Calamy	1639	1662							
Mary Aldermary	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Richard Watson	1618	1638			1490	220	62	161	354.84
			Thomas Browne	1638	1641							
Mary At Hill	Rectory	William Ravensere	John Tapsell	1616	1637	650	400	1486	205	122	150	168.03
		Mary Tapsell	Samuel Baker	1637	1640							
		C. Alston et al	Samuel Baker	1640	1643							
Mary Bothaw[971]	Rectory	D&C Canterbury	Thomas Copping	1638	1639		340	828	114	42	46	271.43
			Luke Proctor	1639	1643							
Mary Colechurch	Curacy	Mercers Co.	Richard Cowdall	1593	1638	220	220	816	112	44	33	254.55
			Thomas Horton	1638	1640							
			Samuel Cheney	1640	-							
Mary Le Bow	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Jeremy Leech	1617	1643			1905	262	89	79	294.38
Mary Magdalen Milk St	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	James Speight	1592	1637		234	1233	170	74	75	229.73
			John Jones	1637	1642							
Mary Magdalen Old Fish St	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	Matthew Griffith	1625	1642		560	1888	260	102	93	254.90
Mary Mounthaw	Rectory	Bp of Hereford	Thomas Thrall	1630	1643			392	54	27	43	200.00
Mary Somerset	Rectory	W. Stephens et al	John Cook	1631	1644	500	600	1304	179	80	79	223.75
Mary Staining	Rectory	Rex	Charles Pasley	1625	1628	170	190	900	58	22	31	263.64
			Samuel Fawcett	1628	1643							
Mary Woolchurch	Rectory	Rex	Richard Crooke	1618	1641	390		1830	252	50	57	504.00
			William Fuller	1641	1641							
Mary Woolnoth	Rectory	Rex	Josias Shute	1616	1643	280	300	1963	270	84	84	321.43
Matthew Friday St	Rectory		Henry Burton	1628	1636		300	1183	163	50	48	326.00
		Bp of London	Joseph Browne	1637	1640							
			Robert Chestlin	1640	1643							

[970] Newcourt 1.433

[971] There was apparently no settled rector for most of the 1630s, the parish valuation in 1638 was made by the curate Benjamin Kirby. There are no parochial records.

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants		Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Michael Bassishaw	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	John Gifford	1607	1642			2590	355	133	100	266.92
Michael Cornhill	Rectory	Drapers Co.	William Brough	1625	1643	723		2528	347	118	99	294.07
Michael Crooked Lane	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Thomas Wood	1619	1640	404		1280	176	80	87	220.00
Michael Le Querne	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	William Launce	1621	1641			2242	308	54	51	570.37
Michael Paternoster (Royal)	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Richard Worme	1606	1636		1634	874	120	33	27	363.64
		D&C of St Paul's	Luke Proctor	1637	1643							
Michael Queenhithe	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	John Hill	1618	1642	560		1401	193	91	105	212.09
Michael Wood St	Rectory	-	Arthur Jackson	1625	1643	400	500					
Mildred Bread St	Rectory	William Woodford	Nicholas Bradshaw	1604	1645	257	120	614	84	52	65	161.54
Mildred Poultry	Rectory	Rex	Nathaniel Shute	1618	1638			1918	264	89	86	296.63
			Richard Maden	1638	1644							
Nicholas Acon	Rectory	Rex	John Jones	1612	1636	200	230	1018	140	70	55	200.00
			Matthew Bennet	1636	1645							
Nicholas Coleabbey	Rectory	John Hackney	William Chibbald	1604	1640	400		1224	168	73	75	230.14
		Samuel Collins	James Chibbald	1641	1647							
Nicholas Olave	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	Richard Cheshire	1613	1642			804	113	37	32	305.41
Olave Hart St	Rectory	A. Windsor	John Simpson	1590	1633	800	540	2746	378	134	120	282.09
		Thomas Lord Windsor	Abraham Haines	1633	1642							
Olave Jewry	Vicarage	Rex	Thomas Tuke	1617	1657	315	320	1142	157	53	75	296.23
Olave Silver St		D&C of St Paul's	Thomas Manne	1621	1641	400		1005	138	59	60	233.90
Olave Southwark		Fee farm	Thomas Turner	1631	1642			6300	866	326	273	265.64
Pancras Soper Lane	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	Richard Worme	1610	1636		193	968	133	37	51	359.46
			George Eccop	1636	1643							
Peter Cornhill	Rectory	Rex	William Fairfax	1627	1643	538	600	3190	439	100	165	439.00
Peter Le Poor		D&C of St Paul's	Richard Holdsworth	1623	1643	350	464		-	-		
Peter Paul's Wharf	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	Edward Marbury	1632	1642	368	350	1185	163	48	37	339.58
Peter Westcheap	Rectory	Earl of Southampton	Daniel Votier	1615	1644	315		1894	260	88	66	295.45

Parish	Type	Patron	Clergy	From	To	Number of Communicants	Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Sepulchres	Vicarage	Impropriation held by parish[972]	Thomas Berisford	1614	1638	7500					
			Thomas Gouge	1638	1662						
Stephen Coleman St	Rectory	Parish	John Davenport	1624	1633						
			John Goodwin	1633	1645						
Stephen Walbrook	Rectory	Grocers Co.	Aaron Wilson	1625	1635	264	1200	165	40	48	412.50
			Thomas Howell	1635	1641						
Swithins	Rectory	G. Bolles	Richard Cook	1605	1639	300					
		T. Arlington	Richard Owen	1639	1644						
Thomas Apostle	Rectory	D&C of St Paul's	William Cooper	1628	1642	500 500	1387	191	85	78	224.71
Vedast Foster Lane	Rectory	Abp of Canterbury	James Batty	1617	1643		2702	371	96	86	386.46

[972] According to LPMS CM 8/25 the living was worth £400 in 1634 of which £140 was paid to the vicar. The Commonwealth Survey in 1650 stated that the parish income was divided one-third to the vicar and two-thirds to poor relief Home Counties Magazine Vol. 1 1899 p. 56.

Tithe Summary Statistics

The table below provides summary statistics calculated on the data provided by the valuation of London parishes by the clergy in 1638 and subsequently printed in T.C.Dale The Inhabitants of London.

	Moderated Value	Tithe Due	Tithe Paid	Actual maintenance	% Increase
Average value	1949.1	268.4	92.79	85.30	291.25
Maximum Value	10,001	1,415	400	344	570.37
Minimum Value	392	54	22	8	158.20
Standard Deviation	1585.12	216.8	70.99	59.19	

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St Botolph Billingsgate, 1592-1673	GLMS 943/1
St Botolph Bishopsgate, 1616-1690	GLMS 4526/1
St Christopher le Stocks, 1593-1731	GLMS 4425/1
St Clement Eastcheap, 1640-1759	GLMS 978/1
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St James Garlickhithe	GLMS 4813/
St Lawrence Jewry, 1556-1669	GLMS 689/1
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St Martin Ludgate 1649-1715	GLMS 1311/1.1
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