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ICONOCLASM, ECCLESIOLOGY AND  
'THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS'

Concepts of Sacrilege and 'the Peril of Idolatry'  
in Early Modern England, circa 1590 - 1642.

Peter David Yorke

University of Kent, PhD thesis 1997.

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## PREFACE AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

During the five years it has taken to complete this thesis I have accumulated a multitude of debts from people too numerous to list in this brief preface. However I must express my deepest gratitude towards a handful of those whose assistance has been invaluable. My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Dr. Kenneth Fincham. Ken has struggled patiently through many drafts of my work, and without his time, advice and support this study would never have reached its present form. Many thanks must also go to Drs. Margaret Aston and Andrew Foster. Both have read substantial sections of my material and provided much needed criticism. Professor Roger Cardinal and Drs. John Morrill, Nicholas Tyacke and Peter Roberts kindly provided me with the opportunity to present papers to their academic seminars in 1992-4, and thanks must also go to those who contributed to these meetings. I am also deeply grateful to the archivists of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, not least for their prompt delivery of manuscripts (often at a moment's notice). Dr. Michael Underwood of St. John's College, Cambridge was particularly generous with his time - devoting the best part of two days to helping me master the college rentals whilst maintaining a steady supply of relevant documents and accounts. Special thanks must go to Dr. Roger Norris, who helped me find my way around the minster and manuscripts of Durham, and to Dr. Judith Maltby, who kindly supplied me with photocopied material from Staffordshire Record Office during its closure. The archivists of Lincoln, Chester and Wigan Archives, and the libraries of Cambridge University, York Minster and the Bodleian in Oxford, have also been most helpful. Closer to home, Dr. Michael Stansfield and the staff of Canterbury Cathedral Library have provided me with excellent service, whilst Miles Banbury of the University of Kent provided valuable assistance with computing. Most of the research was carried out with funding from the British Academy, and I hope this belated offering goes some way towards repayment. Finally I must thank my immediate family and especially my father, David Yorke, whose assistance and guidance has been incalculable.

It should be noted that dates have been modernised and refer to the Julian calendar. I have only listed unprinted secondary material in the bibliography when its place of publication is known. References are to be found in the endnotes which follow the conclusion to the thesis. Where necessary, spelling and grammatical formulas have been modernised and standard contemporary contractions expanded. Throughout the thesis the term 'ecclesiology' has been used to define what the Victorians termed the 'science' of decorating church interiors. It has *not* been used with respect to various definitions of 'the Church', 'Churches' and their membership.<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion I have used a capital C to define the Church as an institution or institutions ('the Protestant Church', 'the Church of Rome' etc.), and a small c

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<sup>1</sup> As used by S. Brachow: The Communion of Saints: Radical Puritan and Separatist Ecclesiology, 1570-1625 (Oxford 1988).



for churches, church buildings and church decoration.

Peter Yorke  
Rutherford College  
January 1997.

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ALCO Archives of Lincoln College, Oxford  
 BI Borthwick Institute  
 BL British Library  
 Bodl. Bodleian Library  
BIHR Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research  
 CCL Canterbury Cathedral Library  
CJ Journals of the House of Commons  
CH Church History  
 CRO Chester Record Office  
CSPD Calendar of State Papers Domestic  
CSPV Calendar of State Papers Venetian  
 CUL Cambridge University Library  
 DCDCL Durham Cathedral, Dean and Chapter Library  
DNB Dictionary of National Biography  
 ECC Emmanuel College Cambridge  
EHR English Historical Review  
HJ Historical Journal  
HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission  
HR Historical Research  
JBS Journal of British Studies  
 JCC Jesus College Cambridge  
JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History  
 LAO Lincoln Archives Office  
 Laud: Works William Laud, Works eds. J. Bliss and W. Scott (7 vols., 1847-60)  
LJ Journals of the House of Lords  
 MCO Magdalen College Oxford  
 NCO New College Oxford  
 PC Peterhouse Cambridge  
 PRO Public Records Office  
RCHM Royal Commission on Historic Monuments  
 SJCC St. John's College Cambridge  
 SRO Staffordshire Record Office  
 TCC Trinity College Cambridge  
TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society  
VCH Victoria County History  
 WCM Wadham College Muniments  
 WCO Worcester College Oxford  
History of Wigan Manor G. T. O. Bridgeman: The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan (Chetham Soc., 16 1889) 4 pts., 2.  
 WRO Wigan Record Office

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the principles and character of church decoration in early seventeenth century England. The first chapter considers the relevance of Reformation concepts of idolatry to contemporary ecclesiological issues - especially the place and function of images in churches. It argues that developing theological ideas and changing political circumstances influenced a spectrum of ecclesiological positions - from Arminian Christocentrism to Calvinist iconophobia. Chapter Two offers a practical overview of the internal decoration of English churches, chapels and cathedrals. This chapter also focuses on developing lay and ecclesiastical concerns regarding the allegedly 'sacrilegious' neglect of church buildings (following the Reformation) and assesses the contribution of James I and the Chapel Royal to ecclesiological debate. The final chapters are case studies of the college chapel restoration programmes at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1620s and 1630s, and the ecclesiastical career and patronage of Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester (1618-1646). These chapters serve to illustrate the range of ecclesiological patronage in early Stuart England. Chapter Three represents the first attempt to synthesise and collate primary evidence of an intense phase of chapel construction and refurbishment at both universities, and to link architectural, art historical, theological and biographical sources together in order to explain why and when this activity took place, how it was inspired, and what it meant to contemporaries. Chapter Four seeks to explain Bridgeman's interest in decorating churches and why he denounced iconoclasm. Such positions seem to contradict his toleration of puritans and failure to meet the ecclesiological requirements of the Caroline Church. However from the perspective of the thesis, Bridgeman's patronage is shown to exemplify a new way of looking at ecclesiological issues, demonstrating how churchmen were coming to rid themselves of that fear of idolatry which a generation earlier represented a sign of Protestant orthodoxy.



## INTRODUCTION

### I

This thesis is a multi-disciplinary study that explores the relationships between Protestant ecclesiology, theology and politics in England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. What kind of precedents did the iconoclastic destruction of religious imagery during the Reformation, and the theological ideas and fears of idolatry used to justify it, establish for the early Stuart Church? Let us put it another way. It is well known that the English Civil War prompted a wave of new iconoclasm, but what exactly was this iconoclasm directed against? Were Civil War iconoclasts reacting against images and ornaments overlooked by Reformation iconoclasts who did not believe them to be idolatrous? If this is so, then should we interpret the damage as the celebratory denouement of a long-term initiative to achieve 'further reformation' denied by Elizabeth I and her successors, a reflection, perhaps, of how iconophobic a substantial section of society had become after nearly four generations of Protestant teaching? On the other hand, maybe this iconoclasm was directed against ecclesiological artefacts set up since the Reformation. If this is so, then what evidence is there of this new ecclesiology, and what (if anything) can it tell us about the sense of piety and theological disposition of those who were responsible for its presence? It will be immediately apparent to anyone familiar with the recent historiography of the early Stuart Church that these questions relate to much larger issues. If there is no evidence that the leaders of the early Stuart Church consciously or significantly rejected the basic principles of church

decoration adopted by their Edwardian and Elizabethan predecessors, then the iconoclasm of the Civil War would appear to be the inevitable result of increasing disaffection with Church conservatism, and we would be justified in looking beyond the Church to social and political reasons such as the growth and radicalisation of Puritanism to explain why this iconoclasm happened *when* it did - in which case our path towards explaining this iconoclasm might as well converge with the historical high-road to 'Puritan revolution' and the Civil War.

Thanks largely to the work of revisionist scholars led by Conrad Russell we now know that there was no inevitable highroad to the Civil War, and thanks to Nicholas Tyacke, Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake we know that the rise of English Arminianism in the 1620s and 1630s compromised the Church's internal stability through undermining that Calvinist doctrinal consensus (amongst educated Protestant laymen and clergy) which hitherto had prevented many hardline Protestants from forsaking the Church over controversial rites, ceremonies and vestments. These scholars have clearly shown how the rise of English Arminianism facilitated widespread changes to the liturgical arrangement of churches, with Archbishop Laud's 'altar policy' forming the key aspect of Caroline ecclesiological innovation. Historians still debate the motives behind Laud's altar policy, yet no one has produced a shred of convincing evidence to contradict Tyacke's point that Laud's ideal was predicated upon an unquestioning faith in the soteriological power of the sacraments, a position saliently out of alignment with the predestinarian doctrines of the fathers of the English Reformation.<sup>(1)</sup> Yet the radical impact of English Arminian policy and the



iconoclasm that followed in its wake has distracted our attention away from the condition and decoration of churches under James I. Even though we know that Civil War iconoclasts acted with Parliamentary authority to seek out and destroy the visual manifestations of Arminian piety,<sup>(2)</sup> it is impossible to tell whether their activity went any further until we know more about Jacobean ecclesiology. To try and resolve this difficulty I have decided to devote Chapter One to establishing the extent to which Reformation concepts of idolatry influenced Protestant attitudes towards ecclesiological matters in the early seventeenth century. In the following chapters I then consider the relevance of my findings to the actual principles and character of Protestant church decoration during this period.

Academic interest in English churches during the early modern period has rarely extended beyond the architectural evidence.<sup>(3)</sup> The first serious analysis of the decoration and layout of churches to cover the early modern period, Addleshaw's and Etchells's The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship, was based on printed sources which were used to explain how the ecclesiastical authorities, from the reign of Edward VI until the Victorian age, coped with making churches with medieval Catholic foundations suitable for the rites and liturgies prescribed by the Edwardian and Elizabethan Books of Common Prayer.<sup>(4)</sup> Their work thus dealt with how the layout of churches accorded with their function. Whilst we learn a great deal about the liturgical utility of post-Reformation church fittings, such as pulpits, communion tables, and screens, the information we are given about the fittings themselves is almost



wholly descriptive, and we learn practically nothing of their artistic significance, let alone how they related to either the piety or the theological ideals of their patrons, whoever they may have been. But what about the iconoclastic destruction that made room for these 'Anglican' fittings? The authors' reluctance to do more than give passing reference to the Edwardian destruction of church screens is presumably out of deference to their expected Anglican readership, who, like 'most people' cannot be expected to approve, or even show an interest in 'one of the least creditable episodes in the history of our Church'.<sup>(5)</sup> Elizabethan iconoclasm fares somewhat better. 'Austerity' we are told, 'characterised the policy of the Elizabethan authorities on the adornment of churches. They were cleaned of much of their medieval decoration; and all shrines, pictures and images which had given rise to superstitious or idolatrous practices were ordered to be destroyed.'<sup>(6)</sup> So the Elizabethan authorities made a clean break from the ecclesiological standards of the medieval past. But how do we account for their 'austerity'? And what exactly did they mean by 'idolatry' and 'superstition'? Unfortunately these issues are given no consideration. So what are we to make of the fascinating evidence of a Jacobean church screen at Cartmel priory 'carved with instruments of the passion' which they go on to present?<sup>(7)</sup> Such investment clearly contrasts with the 'austerity' of Elizabethan church ornamentation, but why? Is this screen an example of Catholic survivalism? Or is it a sign that members of the Jacobean Church did not share that 'austerity' which governed the ecclesiological interests of their Elizabethan predecessors? The problem is further complicated by their declaration that this is 'a notable screen of the Laudian period'. This implies that it should be viewed

in context with the ecclesiological interests of William Laud (such as his altar policy), which they go on to discuss. Yet this screen was produced between 1618 and 1622, well before Laud became a figure of national influence in ecclesiological affairs. What can the screen at Cartmel priory tell us about Jacobean ecclesiology? Was it a unique local investment, an example of residual Catholicism perhaps? The trouble is, these questions cannot be easily answered because the little that is known of the religious art, architecture and ecclesiology of the Edwardian, Elizabethan and early Stuart Churches has rarely been examined or placed in context with the theological and historical developments of the age. The authors' unfortunate readiness to subsume examples of Jacobean ecclesiology under a Laudian umbrella surely highlights the importance of assessing ecclesiological evidence from its proper historical perspective. More recently J. K. Holtgen has made a similar error, discussing the way the 'Arminian leaders of the Jacobean Church moved cautiously towards a reappraisal of ceremonies, ornaments and religious symbols and images'. The problem is that the Arminians he refers to - Lancelot Andrewes and John Cosin - did not lead the Jacobean Church,<sup>(8)</sup> and their ecclesiological interests cannot be shown to exemplify a Jacobean position with regard to images or anything else until we are in a position both to determine the impact of Reformation iconoclasm on the consciences of Jacobean Protestants and have more information about how churches came to be decorated following the accession of James I.<sup>(9)</sup>

Thanks to the work of Margaret Aston we now know a good deal about the iconoclasm of the Reformation and the developing iconomachic mentality in



the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. 'Iconoclasm', she argues, 'affected the whole fabric of worship and the ways people believed. It bore upon the making of the whole Reformation settlement. It contributed to the continuously recurring violence of the Reformation years, a form of disturbance *that led straight into the troubles of the Interregnum.*'<sup>(10)</sup> Aston is especially strong on the theological motives of the sixteenth century iconoclasts, and her work has clearly shown how iconoclasm served to smash Protestant ideology into the nation's spiritual conscience. But what about the years between the Reformation and the Civil War, when the iconoclasts had put away their tools of destruction? Aston has done some good work on the developing iconoclastic mentality of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but she has little to say about opposition to iconoclasm besides providing a few references to Bishop Gardiner's determined stand 'for idolatry' in 1547, Bishop Cheyney's fascinating defence of crucifixes and saints in the 1560s, and a brief discussion about the efforts of those of a 'Laudian viewpoint' who were 'busy putting images back into churches in the 1620s and 1630s [in the belief that] it was possible to reach a new understanding with ecclesiastical art forms'.<sup>(11)</sup> Queen Elizabeth's refusal to remove the crucifix from the Chapel Royal clearly warrants, and has been given, more careful attention. Yet Elizabeth's evident disapproval of iconoclasm (which she is seen to share with Archbishop Parker and Bishop Cox) is shown to have been of acute concern to her reformist bishops, who were particularly alarmed by the precedent she was accused of setting in her chapel. Unable to influence the personal religious predilections of the Queen, these bishops more than made up for their impotence by ensuring that the parish



churches of the nation were purged of images, thereby setting an example to the newly re-converted nation that even the Laudians failed to compromise with their 'new interest in ecclesiastical art forms'. Thus Aston argues for the overall success of iconoclasm, and the teaching used to support it, on the hearts and minds of the faithful:

'...it was precisely the success of England's divorce from image worship which made the attempts to restore imagery [in the 1620s and 1630s] so offensive. Believers who had so long been taught to take the second commandment to heart had learnt with their refusal to worship the graven image a fine abhorrence of all "adorning" of churches.'<sup>(12)</sup>

The problem I find with Aston's argument is that it too readily assumes that by the seventeenth century iconoclasm and iconomachy had come to dominate Protestant attitudes towards ecclesiological affairs. Her point that images were returning to churches before the Civil War presents a range of problems about the impact of Reformation iconoclasm which need to be resolved, certainly before we accept her argument that the iconoclasm of the Reformation (almost teleologically) 'led straight into the troubles of the Interregnum'. How 'new' was this 'new understanding of ecclesiastical art forms' that she ascribes to the 'Laudian' 1620s and 1630s? What did it entail? Did it involve the re-evaluation of Catholic doctrine respecting the worship of images? Or had some English Protestants come to accept the Lutheran claim that images did not compromise Protestant worship so long as they were used as functional aids for the illiterate? Were the followers of Archbishop Laud the only ones to accept this 'new understanding'? The problem is, although we know about the Laudian interest in bringing images back to churches during the 1630s, little has been

made of the iconographic formulae of the images they patronised, let alone the theological justification of their interest.<sup>(13)</sup> Moreover, despite the recent appearance of important studies on the ecclesiastical policy of the Jacobean Church<sup>(14)</sup> we still know very little about Jacobean attitudes to ecclesiology and church fabric, and until we do it would be a mistake to infer from the iconoclasm of the Reformation and Civil War that early Stuart society was necessarily averse to the presence of images in churches. Aston's brief reference to the decoration of the chapel of Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, completed in 1612, is clear evidence that religious images, including pictures of Christ and the Apostles, could appear in Jacobean Protestant contexts, but we are given no information about this investment by James I's chief minister besides the conjecture that the godly William Perkins would most likely have taken the view that Salisbury 'was gambling unjustifiably with the souls of his friends and servants'.<sup>(15)</sup> This issue becomes even more perplexing when it is seen in the light of Aston's earlier claim that

'The eradication of idolatry amounted to the very rationale of the reformed Church of England and it could be stated as a truism in 1604 that "the great and godly work towards which all honest men are bound to yield their best means" was "namely, to suppress idolatry and Romish superstition."' <sup>(16)</sup>

If Cecil's contradiction of 'the very rationale of the reformed church of England', through his personal ecclesiological investment, comes as something as a surprise, then what are we to make of the fact that Aston's 'truism' is actually derived from a quotation by *Cecil* himself?



There is, of course, no way of determining the general opinion of the 'average' Jacobean Protestant towards church decoration, but it is still possible to assess the attitudes of the leaders of the Church and look for examples of their influence. What we must not do is let our retrospective knowledge of Civil War iconoclasm dominate our understanding of early Stuart church decoration or stand in the way of our efforts to understand this period on its own historical terms. The contrast between Cecil's hardline stance against idolatry in 1604 and his personal piety in 1612 lends itself to the possibility that the ideology of iconomachy and iconoclasm might actually have been declining in the years between the Reformation and the Civil War, and at the very least it should make us reconsider the relevance of concepts of idolatry to Protestant thought respecting the role of the visual arts in places of worship at this time.

Aston has clearly demonstrated that issues relating to iconoclasm were still on people's minds during this period, but the iconomachs she has shown most interest in for the seventeenth century cannot be assumed to typify Protestant thinking until the influence and arguments of Protestants with contrary opinions, particularly from amongst the ecclesiastical hierarchy, has been given due consideration. What did *they* make of the iconoclasm of the English Reformation? And how did their interpretation influence their views respecting ecclesiological affairs? To try and answer these questions I have referred to a wide range of Reformation, Jacobean and Caroline sources, including contemporary church histories, letters, diaries, poems, sermons, as well as records concerning the Star Chamber prosecution of iconoclasts for taking the law into



their own hands. This evidence is discussed in Chapter One, where I have tried to reach a new understanding of the relevance of Reformation iconoclasm to Jacobean and Caroline attitudes towards the religious arts. This chapter is a broad theoretical study, outlining the relationships between a spectrum of Protestant interests and contemporary ecclesiological affairs. My initial aim has been to identify the theories which shaped the most extreme Protestant attitudes regarding idolatry, iconoclasm and the religious arts. I shall argue that these extremes ranged from the English Arminian defence of Christocentric imagery (such as crucifixes) as devotional aids on the one side, to Calvinist iconophobia on the other. The basic theological concepts involved in this process of identification rely heavily on the distinctions between Arminianism and Calvinism that have already been drawn by Nicholas Tyacke.<sup>(17)</sup> However I have also chosen to focus on areas respecting church decoration where the interests of Calvinists and Arminians appear, in some respects, to have overlapped. In these instances I have had to look beyond the basic theological predilections of the interested parties to issues such as aesthetic appeal and historical circumstance in order to reach a satisfactory explanation. I believe that my findings can help explain the complex and often confusing relationship between the different strands of English Protestantism and the religious arts at this time.

In concentrating on a range of Protestant understandings of the meaning of idolatry and its relevance to the visual arts in places of worship I have become increasingly conscious of the possibility that from the late sixteenth century that fear of 'the peril of idolatry', which determined iconoclastic activity in Tudor

England, subsided as Protestantism struck firm root in a realm at peace. In support of this hypothesis I have relied on the arguments of Calvinist and Arminian divines who respectively maintained in letters and sermons that certain religious images could be re-admitted into religious environments because Protestant teaching had successfully eliminated the danger of their becoming subject to 'idolatrous abuse'. These findings have also encouraged me to take a step back and have a fresh look at the meaning of Reformation iconoclasm. Rather than interpreting iconoclasm simply as the destruction of religious art forms I have chosen to examine it in the context of what contemporaries evidently regarded as a process of de-Catholicisation and conversion, a process through which some of the visual manifestations of Roman Catholicism are redeemed by being made to serve ostensibly Protestant interests.

Building on these theoretical issues, my objective in Chapter Two has been to provide a practical overview of the decoration of churches, chapels and cathedrals from circa 1600 until 1630. My work only scans the surface of a potentially enormous area of study, which has just begun to attract significant historical interest, and this chapter cannot pretend to offer anything like a definitive analysis of the range and style of Jacobean church decoration. Such a task would require, as Diarmaid MacCulloch has pointed out, a massive amount of research.<sup>(18)</sup> This research would range from architectural examinations of local churches (which would need cross referencing with surviving churchwardens accounts and diocesan records as well as local wills and other evidence of benefactions), to work on the cathedrals based on fabric rolls,



treasurers accounts and episcopal records, including the personal effects of the ordinaries. Such local and diocesan studies would need to be conducted by specialists working in archaeology, architecture and art history, and their findings would need to be synthesised into a coherent picture by a Church historian familiar with all of these disciplines. Yet even this amount of work could not be expected to provide evidence of everything, or even a substantial part of what we have lost through the effects of three centuries, and we will never really know much more about what we have lost through the iconoclasm of the Civil War than what the iconoclasts have chosen to record.

However Andrew Foster has provided a useful synthesis of studies concerning churchwardens accounts to date, and has raised some important methodological issues concerning their usage. Foster's work serves to warn of the pitfalls facing the Church historian who hopes to use these sources as signs of national trends. For example, out of some 800 surviving accounts not only do those deriving from wealthy parishes out-number their poorer neighbours by a ratio of something approaching three to one, the number of accounts from livings controlled by ecclesiastical patronage is also significantly greater than for those in the gift of the Crown or Laity. Added to this are problems concerning the geographical location of surviving accounts - with an overall bias towards churches in the western regions. However Foster has attempted to overcome these imbalances through a survey of churches from the dioceses of Chichester, Durham, Bath and Wells, Bristol, York and Winchester, and his work has produced significant evidence of high-expenditure on church interiors during the

Jacobean period.<sup>(19)</sup> Moreover, recent work by Valerie Hitchman and Julia Merritt, based on research undertaken at diocesan and parish level, has also shown what can be done. Thanks to them MacCulloch's conjecture, that 'such investigation will reveal...a minor "building revolution" in churches that gathered momentum from the last years of the sixteenth century...[that]...significantly predated the Laudian campaigns of church restoration from the late 1620s', is beginning to ring true.

Using churchwardens accounts and evidence of wills and benefactions these scholars have shown how churches in Kent and the City of Westminster underwent significant repair in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Merritt has demonstrated how churches belonging to the parishes of St. Margaret's, and St. Clement Danes in Westminster were all beautified and exceptionally well maintained, with the parishes paying for new organs, chancel repairs and adornment with tapestries and hangings. In the case of St. Margaret's there is also highly unusual evidence from the late sixteenth century of the installation of new stained glass. Even the godly parish of St. Martin's in the Fields was subject to willing local investment, and suitably extended to cope with the rising population.<sup>(20)</sup> Yet these churches were in the most fashionable areas of the capital. Members of the Court and rich London merchants and gentry clearly competed with each other for socially-advantageous seating, leading to the erection of new pews and galleries, and their investment must be treated as an expression of status as much as a sign of their piety. But what about the rural areas?



Valerie Hitchman has put the surviving churchwardens accounts in Kent to excellent use, showing how the level of investment in church fabric during the reign of James I closely rivalled Caroline expenditure, despite the clearly more pronounced ecclesiological agenda of this later period.<sup>(21)</sup> How then do we account for their evidence of high expenditure on church fabric before the rise of William Laud, what does it tell us about Protestant piety at this time? As far as Kent is concerned, a major problem is the sources. Whilst churchwardens accounts reveal a great deal about utilitarian repairs, and can help account for the liturgical arrangement of churches by revealing major parish investments such as screens and organs, they reveal little or nothing of private benefactions such as stained glass, and they rarely indicate whether the parish's investments that are recorded were driven by local or episcopal interests. Merritt's work on St. Margaret's has clearly shown the importance of supplementing churchwardens accounts with church histories and evidence of parishioners' bequests, and her findings reveal a surprising degree of investment, reflecting the conservative, conforming piety of this community. Much more work like this needs to be done before we can effectively gauge the social impact of the changes sought by the Arminians during the 1630s.

On the whole the evidence discussed by these scholars reveals little information with regard to contemporary concern about iconoclasm and idolatry. Certainly it does not reveal evidence of a continuing programme of iconoclastic reformation, which may lead us to assume that the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformers were totally thorough in their iconoclasm, thereby corroborating

Aston's thesis that by the beginning of James I's reign the impact of Reformation teaching respecting the peril of idolatry had been largely successful. But should we accept this?

This question cannot be seriously answered until we know more about the decoration of cathedrals in Jacobean England. My own findings, based largely on reports by contemporary eyewitnesses, which I have supplemented, where possible, with evidence derived from cathedral fabric rolls and treasurers' accounts, show that soon after the accession of James I some of these buildings became refurbished with religious images for the first time since the Reformation. Thanks to Ian Payne and John Shephard we also know that from the 1590s Protestant divines expressed increasing interest in the liturgical utility of music. Thus for the first time since the Reformation records from the cathedrals and the colleges of the University of Cambridge reveal investment in scores, organs and choral foundations.<sup>(22)</sup> Some churches and chapels such as Cecil's chapel and the church of St. Giles in the Field's in London Bloomsbury reveal similar expenditure.<sup>(23)</sup> How do we account for these changes? In seeking an answer I have focused on two main issues. The first concerns the ecclesiological interests of King James I, and in my analysis I have paid particular attention to the way he chose to refurbish the Chapel Royal, and his public pronouncements in defence of images in churches. However I have also had to allow for the possibility that his public attitude towards the worship of Roman Catholics, especially his opinions respecting their 'idolatry', may have softened as he endeavoured to achieve a marriage alliance with Catholic Spain. The second



issue concerns a range of Protestant literature bemoaning the ‘sacrilegious’ neglect of church buildings, and in some cases the iconoclasm, that the Reformation was said to have engendered. This subject was addressed in letters, sermons and treatises, and my aim has been to show that the issues at stake were of concern to some Calvinists as well as Arminians, just as interest in church beautification and even the presence of images in churches could and on occasions did appeal to both. How did the king’s position regarding ecclesiology relate to the ideals of his clergy, especially court bishops such as Lancelot Andrewes and John Buckeridge? Were his interests, and the other ecclesiological innovations I refer to in this chapter, directly linked to the rise of English Arminianism? In seeking an answer I have focused on court and consecration sermons advocating worship ‘in the beauty of holiness’, a new ecclesiological ideal open to distinct Calvinist and Arminian interpretations.

During the reign of James I laymen and churchmen sponsored a range of ecclesiological projects that defied the iconoclastic orthodoxies of Elizabethan England and were unprecedented in an English Protestant context. The most spectacular example was undoubtedly the initiative to restore St. Paul's Cathedral. The St. Paul's Cathedral restoration project, ultimately championed by Archbishop Laud, was clearly an opportunity to provide a central platform for his vision of ‘the beauty of holiness’ both to the nation and visitors from the continent, and the architectural manifestations of his cause have attracted significant historical interest.<sup>(24)</sup> However, the reconstruction of the cathedral

was limited to repairs of the external stonework of the choir and the addition of a great portico before the west front of the building. The Civil War broke out before the architect, Inigo Jones, had the opportunity to reshape the interior of the cathedral. Moreover, because of Civil War iconoclasm, followed by the almost complete destruction of the building during the great fire of 1666, there is insufficient evidence regarding its early Stuart ecclesiology to allow St. Paul's to feature as a major example of 'the beauty of holiness' in this thesis. Therefore instead I have chosen to focus on the college chapels and the ecclesiastical patronage and career of Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester (1618-1646). These final chapters are case studies that provide practical evidence of the major ecclesiological concepts and themes outlined in Chapters One and Two.

New religious ideas clearly emanated from the universities, and the chapels seemed to be the obvious place to look for signs of ecclesiological experiment and change. Moreover, unlike churches and their wardens' accounts, the records concerning the chapels are not scattered across the length and breadth of the kingdom and they are in sufficient quantity and condition to permit systematic and detailed research. Through examining these chapels from the Marian restoration of Catholicism until the advent of the Short Parliament in 1640, with particular regard to their beautification during the reign of Charles I, I hope to shed new light on a unique phase in English ecclesiological history.

General information respecting the architectural aspects of the chapel restoration programmes has long been dispersed in the miscellaneous histories of



various different colleges, and scattered through both the Victoria County Histories for Oxford and Cambridge, and the findings of the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments. More detailed information respecting the scope of Tudor iconoclasm and the subsequent decoration of the Cambridge chapels could be also be derived from Willis' and Clarke's monumental architectural history of Cambridge, but again the references to the chapels are limited to subsections between the general coverage of the architectural methods and designs employed in the building and refurbishment of the colleges.<sup>(25)</sup> The relationship between the chapel programmes and religious change in the 1620s and 1630s was recognised by William Prynne, who readily equated them with the rise of English Arminianism under the auspices of Archbishop Laud.<sup>(26)</sup> More recently Nicholas Tyacke has made use of some of the ecclesiological evidence in his account of the influence of Arminianism at the Universities, but his information was highly selective and overlooked the important rivalry between Bishop Williams's project for a new chapel at Lincoln College, Oxford in 1629-31, and Archbishop Laud's involvement in the restoration campaigns beyond his native college of St. John's, Oxford.<sup>(27)</sup> The most detailed study of any one chapel is clearly the late John Hoffman's analysis of John Cosin's initiative at Peterhouse Cambridge - a detailed study of a unique ecclesiological venture that incorporates evidence ranging from architecture and stained glass to music. Yet whilst his study clearly distinguished the scope of Cosin's interests, it makes little attempt to establish the theological basis of his project, for example through discussion of whether the iconography of the chapel's statues and stained glass imagery tied in with Cosin's Arminianism.<sup>(28)</sup> My own work is heavily indebted to all of these studies, but I

felt I needed to go beyond them in order to obtain a wider picture of the chapel projects as a whole. Accordingly my research involved visiting the college archives and checking the surviving construction accounts and contracts, and where possible I have traced the evidence of building and furnishing back to the age of the later Tudors. The information I have gathered includes new evidence concerning both how the chapels were financed, and those who were ultimately responsible for driving the intense phase of chapel beautification during the 1630s.

As I conducted this research I was surprised to discover a significant number of cases where the efforts to re-edify the chapels actually involved the repair and replacement of certain images and ornaments destroyed by Tudor iconoclasts, as well as the removal of monuments erected in memory of staunch Protestants during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. What motivated such repairs? Should we interpret them as signs of a Catholic revival or evidence of a new dimension of Protestant piety?

Much of the work has involved trying to interpret the iconological formulas used in the design of new stained glass. For example I have attempted to explain how the patronage of the glass at the chapel of Magdalen College Oxford related to a new educational agenda that can be seen to highlight the clerical ambitions of the English Arminians and reflect their fears of Presbyterianism during the Scottish Covenanters' crisis of 1638. Although the chapel accounts and contractual agreements between fellows and artists that



survive in the colleges of Magdalen and Wadham in Oxford have been of significant use, where possible I have attempted to supplement these accounts by referring to eyewitness reports. Ironically these include the writings of iconoclasts in the pay of the Long Parliament, amongst whom include William Dowsing and the anonymous compilers (that possibly included Dowsing) of a report concerning ‘religious abuses in the University of Cambridge’.<sup>(29)</sup> Other vital information has been obtained from the diaries of Richard Symonds and Peter Mundy, visitors in the 1630s and 1640s, and the retrospective College Histories of Anthony Wood.<sup>(30)</sup>

As a whole, the chapel restoration projects are seen to exemplify a profound but highly controversial shift in Protestant opinion concerning ecclesiological affairs. I hope that the evidence I have discussed in this chapter will complement our understanding of the relationship between English Arminianism and ‘the beauty of holiness’ in the 1630s that Peter Lake has recently constructed from the literary evidence of the period, and, make us reconsider the alleged inevitability of the iconoclasm of the Civil War.<sup>(31)</sup> I believe that this case study of the college chapels demonstrates the extremity of ecclesiological development in the early seventeenth century. However, divines who wished to revitalise the setting of public worship and compensate for the ‘sacrilege’ of the Reformation did not necessarily seek to attain the English Arminian ideal of worship ‘in the beauty of holiness’, as the surviving evidence of Bishop Bridgeman of Chester’s ecclesiological investment bears witness.

I have chosen to end this thesis with a study of the career of Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester, for the surviving evidence respecting the variety of his patronage and investment in church decoration during the reign of the first two Stuarts provides singular confirmation of the major points of ecclesiological transition outlined in the previous chapters. One of this thesis's central arguments is that 'the beauty of holiness' was open to other Protestant interpretations than those advanced by the Arminians. This study of Bishop Bridgeman's ecclesiological interests and patronage, examined from the perspective of his relations with Catholics, Puritans and the Arminian leadership of the Caroline Church, represents a clear example of a Jacobean-Protestant - but distinctively non-Arminian - understanding of this concept.

Bridgeman was a Jacobean appointment responsible for investment in furnishings and decorations at Wigan All Saints and Chester Cathedral. He was also a hardened critic of Reformation 'sacrilege' of both kinds (iconoclasm and subsequent neglect of church fabric). Yet surprisingly Bridgeman failed to avoid running into trouble with the Arminians in the 1630s on account of the charge that churches in his diocese failed to keep up with the new ecclesiological standards.<sup>(32)</sup> Bridgeman has been of interest to historians of English Puritanism, especially R. C. Richardson and Brian Quintrell,<sup>(33)</sup> who have respectively done much useful work on his sympathy to Puritan non-conformity and his difficulties with the Crown. However no one has approached Bridgeman from the perspective of his interest in churches. As a result the complexity of Bridgeman's character and patronage, that the evident incompatibility between his apparent



sympathy for Puritan interests and his rejection of the iconoclastic orthodoxies of the Reformation appear to suggest, have gone unnoticed. My work on Bridgeman's ecclesiological interests is based largely on his surviving Cathedral Register and the Ledger he kept to record his investments at Wigan All Saints and his correspondence, now housed at Stafford Record Office, contains evidence of his relationship with Archbishops Neile and Laud which throws important light on both his investments and his relationship with the Stuart hierarchy. The Register contains invaluable evidence about the stained glass images Bridgeman purchased for the Cathedral, which were tellingly sought out and destroyed by iconoclasts at the outbreak of the Civil War, whilst both the Register and Ledger record the factors which motivated his patronage, and how his investments tied in with his relationship to his parishioners at All Saints Wigan and the congregation and Dean and Chapter of Chester. Moreover they provide a unique picture of a Jacobean bishop's attempts to enhance the power and prestige of his office and compensate for the 'sacrilegious' alienation and iconoclastic damage of Church property that the Tudor Reformation was believed to have engendered.

By approaching the history of the early Stuart Church from the perspective of ecclesiology I hope to shed new light on our understanding of iconoclasm, both with respect to how Reformation iconoclasm was understood by members of that Church, and why churches were subjected to iconoclastic damage during the English Civil War. In focusing on the efforts of members of the early Stuart Church to redress the sin of iconoclastic 'sacrilege' - through investment in ecclesiology - I also hope to approach Jacobean theology and

debates concerning the rise of English Arminianism during the late 1620s and 1630s from a fresh perspective. 'The beauty of holiness' needs to be looked at in the round - not just as an Arminian ideal for worship but as a precedent for a unique range of investments in church decoration which can only be properly understood from the perspective of their place in the history of art, religion and politics.



## CHAPTER ONE

### ICONOCLASM AND ANTI-ICONOCLASM: THEORIES OF IDOLATRY AND THEIR ECCLESIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND.

#### Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to discuss and attempt to explain the ideological concepts and theological ideals that shaped English Protestant attitudes towards iconoclasm, ecclesiology and the religious arts from the late sixteenth century until the Civil War.

Margaret Aston, the most prominent writer on the destruction of art during the Tudor Reformation, has argued that by 1600 ‘iconoclasm and iconomachy were an accepted part of English orthodoxy’.<sup>(1)</sup> Aston is primarily concerned with the iconoclastic activity of the Reformation and Civil War periods, and she has also done a good deal of work on the aims and beliefs of a selection of iconomachs who were active between these periods, such as William Perkins, John Dod, and Robert Cleaver.<sup>(2)</sup> Her findings clearly demonstrate that iconomachy was still a major ecclesiological standpoint in early Stuart England. However there is a danger of reading too much into her findings and assuming that for orthodox Protestants, image-free worship was the only ecclesiological ideal. Aston has demonstrated how Elizabeth’s leading clergy followed Cranmer in advocating iconoclasm,<sup>(3)</sup> but none of the iconomachs she refers to for the period after 1600 was either a bishop or a leading member of the ecclesiastical

establishment. Thus we are left guessing how the concepts of idolatry and superstition used to justify the iconoclasm of the Reformation fared in the developing, competitive spectrum of Protestant interests before the Civil War. Whilst she has noted the English Arminian 'reaction' of the 1620s and 1630s, when William Laud's vision of 'the beauty of holiness' so evidently compromised the iconoclastic ecclesiological ideals of the Tudor reformers, this evidence is presented as little more than a flash in the pan against the background of a developing crusade against idolatry, which is seen to culminate in the iconoclasm of the Civil War.<sup>(4)</sup> However there is a surprising amount of contemporary evidence, including sermons, public and private letters, poems and Church histories, to show that during the early seventeenth century the iconoclasm of the Reformation was often seen as little more than a temporary expedient undertaken on behalf of a Church in need of radical reformation from the worst 'abuses' of Roman Catholic 'idolatry'. Some of this evidence, such as the poetry of Bishop Corbett, is clearly partisan.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet Arminians like Corbett were not the only Protestants to be disturbed by what they knew of the iconoclasm of the Reformation and experienced through the poor visual quality of most church interiors.

John Phillips has more to say about Jacobean opposition to iconoclasm and iconomachy. However his claim that 'the prevailing view of the Jacobean bishops on religious images was that there were many external signs originating from the medieval Church that were clearly acceptable for the present' is hardly tenable, given the fact that the only individuals he only refers to in defence of



this argument are James I, Richard Hooker, and Hooker's English Arminian followers Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud and John Cosin.<sup>(6)</sup> Because the range of Protestant opinion respecting idolatry and iconoclasm during the early seventeenth century has received scant attention, the iconoclasm of the Civil War is interpreted simply as a re-run or continuation of the earlier Reformations, this time in the context of a Puritan reaction against the 'popery' of the English Arminian as opposed to the 'popery' of the medieval Church.<sup>(7)</sup> This picture will not do, for it ignores the ecclesiological developments of the early seventeenth century and the different cultural context in which the later destruction was implemented.

During the early seventeenth century Calvinists as well as Arminians began to re-evaluate the use of religious images in places of worship. Amongst the Arminians the re-evaluation of images went hand in hand with a general revision of the history of the Reformation and the doctrines it bequeathed - especially those which concerned salvation, ecclesiology and idolatry. Diarmaid MacCulloch has argued that the nineteenth century Anglican followers of William Laud deliberately 'marginalised' the iconoclastic episode of the history of the Reformation.<sup>(8)</sup> In this chapter I shall attempt to take his argument further by demonstrating that this process of marginalisation began before formal division of English Protestantism into Anglicans and Dissenters in the 1660s, using polemical evidence of how it was used to defend the innovative ecclesiological dimension of the rise of English Arminianism of the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>(9)</sup> This chapter aims to provide a broad account of the intellectual

dimension of these developments in order to set the stage for discussion of the practical consequences of early seventeenth century ecclesiological reform that follows in the succeeding chapters.

MacCulloch has also remarked that the iconoclastic destruction of religious art by English Protestants was 'one of the English Reformation's most central and distinctive features'.<sup>(10)</sup> If this is true, then the re-appearance of religious images and altars in English churches, chapels and cathedrals during the seventeenth century must surely count as one of the most central and distinctive features of the rise of English Arminianism.<sup>(11)</sup> Yet the Arminians were not the only English Protestants to endorse or patronise the use of images in religious contexts. Nevertheless, there were key differences respecting the function of images and the meaning of idolatry in English Arminian thinking that need to be explained. The Arminians claimed that their ideals were grounded in Protestant orthodoxy, and in this chapter I present evidence of their efforts to mis-represent major aspects of English Reformation history in order to support this position. It would be wrong simply to dismiss the Arminian position without assessing the basis of their claims - especially the historical circumstances that placed them in a position to question the extent of Reformation iconoclasm and reject the theological ideals which it expressed.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first two sections I discuss English Protestant attitudes towards the visual arts and how they were



influenced by conflicting interests respecting the meaning of idolatry and service to God. The second section is based on two case studies that illustrate the most extreme Protestant positions concerning idolatry and images during the 1620s and 1630s, which are taken respectively from both sides of the Calvinist/Arminian spectrum. In the third section I examine the English Arminian re-construction of the history of the Reformation and attempt to explain the theological basis of the Arminian position respecting art and idolatry, accounting for the way it deviated both from the iconoclastic ideals of Tudor reformers and the Arminians' godly contemporaries. As a whole, these three sections serve to illustrate how the early Stuart Church was beset with a dichotomy of ecclesiological interests; one based on the ideals of Reformation theories of idolatry, the other on the principles of English Arminian Christocentrism. Finally in the fourth section I attempt to demarcate the middle ground, using evidence of English Calvinists re-evaluating the relevance of the Biblical Second Commandment in order to free certain religious images from the stigma of idolatry that had been applied to them by iconoclasts in the course of the Reformation. I also consider evidence of Calvinist support for the ecclesiological changes of the 1620s and 1630s; evidence that should not be confused with support for the theological ideals of English Arminianism. This evidence is used to illustrate the ways in which individual attitudes towards the religious arts were shaped by the immediate historical contexts in which they were found and which gave them meaning. This latter point is further demonstrated with examples of individuals whose fluctuating ecclesiological

ideals mirrored changes in the political climate, the succession of new Supreme Governors and the outbreak of the Civil War respectively.

## I

Modern scholarship which has attempted to explain the religiously motivated destruction of art forms during the early modern period has been exclusively limited to discussion of the handiwork of Protestant, or proto-Protestant activists. Without doubt most religious art forms deliberately destroyed between the Reformation and Civil Wars in England were destroyed by Protestants. Protestants primarily sought to destroy images abused to superstition, especially devotional sculptures like the rood and pictures of any or all of the Trinity, the Virgin and the Saints. Such images, they claimed, had simply replaced the pagan idols of their ancient ancestors.<sup>(12)</sup> However, in 1553 the return to the old religion in England prompted a fresh wave of violence which was directed against the most visible signs of Protestant worship. Under Queen Mary attempts to restore parish churches to a pre-Reformation ideal involved the destruction of images supporting the royal supremacy, and decalogue boards, frequently illustrated with pictures of Moses, were burnt alongside communion tables because they were interpreted as heretical innovations.<sup>(13)</sup> Similarly, during the course of the 1569 rebellion of the Catholic Northern Earls Durham Cathedral was ransacked with zeal comparable to the iconoclasm exacted by English troops (sent to quell this rebellion) in Ripon Minster, by the English fury against Catholic churches in the Netherlands during the Dutch revolt, and by English forces within Cadiz Cathedral in 1596.<sup>(14)</sup> In Enborne, Berkshire, in



1601/2 Catholic vandals entered the church and destroyed the Prayer Book, church Register and Bible, and left a libel for their Protestant minister which also informed him

‘Though thou saiest idolatry and vain superstition,  
Yet we know it is holie church tradition.’<sup>(15)</sup>

Finally, during the English Civil War, Royalist troops were responsible for ransacking or destroying anything they believed was connected with what they believed to be Puritan ecclesiology.<sup>(16)</sup> These examples illustrate the importance Catholics and English Royalist Protestants attributed to the destruction of the visible manifestations of their opponents' piety and the relevance of iconoclasm, both Catholic and Protestant, as an integer of fundamental religious change.

The iconoclasm of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations was directed by the Royal Injunctions of 1547 and 1559 and enacted in the course of ecclesiastical visitations. This iconoclasm was purportedly directed against such ‘monuments of idolatry and superstition’ as reformers believed contradicted the Biblical Second Commandment prohibiting ‘graven images’ in religious contexts. The iconoclasm of these Reformations has recently attracted attention from historians who view it as a watershed in English cultural development.<sup>(17)</sup>

Patrick Collinson has interpreted English Reformation iconoclasm from a cultural perspective, rather than as an isolated phenomenon that simply

concerns the destruction of images in churches. Collinson argues that Edwardian Protestants may have been iconoclastic, but their iconoclasm was directed against specific 'monuments of idolatry and superstition' in religious settings rather than against all forms of religious art - let alone art itself.<sup>(18)</sup> Following the succession of Elizabeth I a new wave of iconoclasm ensued, reflecting revision of the meaning of idolatry and the realisation that it was, culturally, far more prevalent than early reformers had either realised or been willing to accept. In the later half of her reign mystery plays were banned, music in churches was often stifled<sup>(19)</sup> and images (not just in churches but in books) which had been countenanced under Edward and during the early years of Elizabeth were no longer tolerated. Collinson correctly attributes this iconophobic reformation to the fact that English reformers were at this time primarily motivated by the teachings of Jean Calvin.<sup>(20)</sup>

The declining toleration of religious imagery seems to have been commensurable with the increasing influence of iconophobic Calvinism. Take, for example, the Bishops' Bible, commissioned by Queen Elizabeth and clearly designed to compete with the increasingly popular Calvinist annotated Geneva Bible. I have examined the new editions of the Bishops' Bible for years 1568, 1575, 1577 and 1595. The revisions to the 1575 edition were limited, on the whole, to the removal of allegedly 'idolatrous' illustrations that appeared in the first edition. They therefore represented a significant concession to iconophobic consciences.<sup>(21)</sup> The ostensibly reformist swing of the 1575 edition therefore sheds important light on English ecclesiastical policy, not least since it was the



first small folio edition of the authorised Bible,<sup>(22)</sup> clearly aimed at a wide, lay audience.

Were the illustrations of the Bishop's Bible of 1568 a concession to potential Catholic converts, alarmed by the austerity of recent iconoclastic reforms in churches, and the bare words of the increasingly popular Geneva Bible? Or were they an indication that images in such a context were not yet perceived to be idolatrous? The inclusion of these images in this setting was probably an expression of the controversial point that images were laymen's books, since in this context they would have helped the illiterate to read about what they signified. Nevertheless by 1575 the authorities believed that it was now time to tighten the screw. Far fewer images appeared in this edition, although it did contain a surprising illustration of God the Father<sup>(23)</sup>, and New Testament illustrations of Christ, sitting in the clouds with St. John, the Mystery of the Seven Stars, and an angel with a key to the bottomless pit.<sup>(24)</sup> By 1577 there were even fewer illustrations (God was gone by this time), and by 1595 only the Tetragrammaton survived.

Calvin's theology of idolatry was by far the most extreme iconoclastic position, predicated as it was upon his predestinarian theology.<sup>(25)</sup> However, whilst predestinarian doctrines continued to be regarded as Protestant orthodoxy by the leaders of the Church until the 1620s<sup>(26)</sup> leading English Calvinists proved unwilling to share Calvin's iconophobia, and in the years between the Stuart succession and the Civil War iconophobia increasingly became regarded as an

exclusively Puritan characteristic. This is an important, but hitherto neglected issue which I will return to in the following sections and the next chapter.<sup>(27)</sup> First it is necessary to examine the Protestant understanding of the meaning of idolatry and its purported relevance to ecclesiological contexts.

Staunch Calvinists believed that idolatry was a pervasive, perennial threat, and for them the religious deviations of their idolatrous Roman Catholic contemporaries were precisely the same as their pagan ancestors. Thus Daniel Featley, chaplain to Archbishop Abbot explained:

‘As the priests of Baal used many strange gestures at their altars,..soe doe these [papists] at theirs, and some more ridiculous than those of the Baalists.’<sup>(28)</sup>

Margaret Aston has discussed the different attitudes amongst Protestants towards pagan art forms, concentrating specifically on the art of portraiture. She has observed that whilst some Protestants, such as the Edwardian Bishop John Hooper and William Prynne, a Caroline lawyer and critic of English Arminianism, equated ancient paganism with contemporary Catholicism and condemned the artistic manifestations of both with equal venom, others, like Archbishop Matthew Parker and Charles I, were prepared to countenance the juxtaposition of scriptural saint with pagan god. For example, in Parker's Bishop's Bible, St. Matthew rubbed shoulders with Neptune in one of the pictorial initials by Arnold Nicolai. Charles's bedroom contained religious paintings set alongside a picture illustrating a story from Ovid's metamorphoses that included



representations of the muses and the ancient gods. In the light of such evidence she has made a telling observation:

‘If civil respect and loyalty to the crown were enhanced by royal likenesses, and religious faith strengthened by religious pictures (saints for Catholics, reformers for the reformed), looking at one's own ancestors could promote the imitation of virtue, as well as family pride. When it came to such devotion, the line between religious and secular begins to look razor fine.’<sup>(29)</sup>

Aston's implicit point is that Protestant Reformers could themselves behave idolatrously, arguably because they had not given much thought to the mental significance of what they were doing with their secular images, let alone drawn parallels between their own behaviour and the ‘idolatrous’ use of images by the Catholics. Around 1580 John (?) Calfhill, a Roman Catholic claimed that

‘Protestants kneel before images in glass windows, and hold up their hands at Paul's cross; therefore they defile their bodies with sacrilege’.

His critic, William Fulke, replied that this was no more idolatry, ‘...than Martiall doth reverence to a dog, when he putteth of his cap, or make courtesy in any house where a dog is before him’.<sup>(30)</sup>

Fulke's failure to deny that Protestants knelt before glass windows, and his weak criticism of Calfhill's point that idolatry is in the eye of the beholder, demonstrates the partisan nature of accusations of ‘idolatry’ in early modern England and serves to warn of the importance of assessing the religious and historical circumstances that endowed this concept with meaning. How else can we explain the exploitation of ‘idolatrous’ and ‘profane’ media to serve Protestant ends? For example under Elizabeth, the once ‘popish’ Saint George was recruited

to defend true religion against the Papal Anti-Christ. Similarly, during the late 1620s, puppet shows (clearly incorporating media which would have been otherwise condemned by godly iconoclasts) were performed in Oxford to vindicate Calvinist predestinarian doctrines respecting the dangers of idolatry and even to exemplify 'what God is wont to do unto the Elect'. During the first Civil War, Roundheads danced to 'confound the Baalists singing in Cathedrals'. Even religious painting could be exploited for distinct theo-political effects. For example in 1639, the puritanical daughter of Lady Brilliana Harley, having found an image of God the father in her stables (!), set it on fire and then 'scattered the dust of it upon the water', thereby engaging in precisely the same ritualistic act of desecration as Roman Catholic authorities meted out to John Wycliffe's remains nearly fifty years after his death. <sup>(31)</sup>

Diarmaid MacCulloch has recently stressed that the main differences between the Edwardian reformers Thomas Cranmer and John Hooper (differences subsequently glossed in the Foxean tradition by the flames of their martyrdom), centred on whether remnants of the Catholic past could be re-directed to preserve order, decency and hierarchy, rather than whether or not the Church should retain an essentially Catholic character.<sup>(32)</sup> The problem for Hooper was that whatever utilitarian functions these remnants (that included ecclesiastical vestments, the ring in marriage or the use of the cross in baptism), might serve were undermined by the fact that they were 'human inventions' with no scriptural warrant for the outward worship of God. As such they seem to defy the second commandment and were therefore idolatrous.<sup>(33)</sup> Cranmer's position, however was appreciated



by future leaders of the Church. For example, in 1577 Archbishop Sandys of York insisted that Church ornaments and vestments that had once served a Catholic purpose should be converted into items to serve a role in Protestant ecclesiology rather than be appropriated for the benefit of private persons, clearly in the belief that this conversion redeemed these items from their idolatrous past.<sup>(34)</sup>

Accordingly, as Lollards, proto-Protestants and some early reformers argued that the 'idolatrous' manifestations of Roman Catholic worship were integers of the Church's essentially heathen characteristics, so reformists who were discontented by the Tudor Reformations claimed that the Protestant Church's non-scripturally warranted liturgy, ecclesiology and government exemplified its intrinsically popish basis.

Significantly, some apologists for the ecclesiology of the English Church were not seriously troubled by the possibility that their interests and ideals had idolatrous Catholic or pagan precedents, so long as the Deity was served and worshipped effectively, and the decency of the Church and churches maintained. For example, in 1574 John Whitgift, the future Archbishop of Canterbury commented, '...the spoils from the heathens taken from the devil are divided for the furniture and ornaments of the Church of God.'<sup>(35)</sup> However there is no evidence that he foresaw the rehabilitation of seriously controversial ecclesiological ornaments such as images, and later altars. Two generations later, Jasper Fisher, the controversialist vicar of Wilsden, was more explicit. Attacking

scripturalists, who would 'circumcise the masse of reall knowledge' (that is to say precisionist, godly divines for whom scriptural authority always outranked the human authority and dictates of the temporal Church), Fisher argued that

'...to spoil the Egyptians of their ornaments, and dresse up the Tabernacle: to shave and pare the captive woman, and then espouse her: to brandish the giant's sword against the giant himselfe, was always thought lawfull and laudable.'<sup>(36)</sup>

This argument could be used to defend the Church's right to exploit anything which could be adopted or converted for pious uses. Objects as well as people were equally subject to conversion, both from paganism to Christianity, and from Catholicism to Protestantism. Thus as Aristotle's learning had been fitted to suit Catholic theology by St. Thomas Aquinas,<sup>(37)</sup> so pagan art and learning was adopted and modified 'to adorne the doctrine of Christianity' in a Protestant context.<sup>(38)</sup> Even the 'idolatrous' mass might be redeemed and converted to God's service, 'as water of fountains dedicated to false gods may be used for baptism to the true God,...'<sup>(39)</sup> Thus instead of destroying the idolatrous medieval copes which had been restored to use by his fellow prebendaries at Durham Cathedral in the early 1620s Peter Smart converted them into hassocks, reducing them from the sublimity of ceremonial spectacle to the menial task of of vulgar comfort.<sup>(40)</sup> In the same vein Bishop John Bridgeman's Elizabethan predecessor at Wigan parsonage converted the rood loft, the primary focus of medieval Catholic piety, into stout forms for his parishioners to sit upon whilst attentively listening to his sermons.<sup>(41)</sup>



Daniel Featley conceded that ‘those things [like formal ceremonies] which serve holy purposes are not to be counted prophane’. However, he was quick to add that whilst ‘It is most commendable...to borrow of Egyptians...to offer them to God for the use of the Arke...we must take heed that we make not Idolls of these Jewels,..’<sup>(42)</sup> Featley recognised a distinction between idolatry and human patterns of cognition that represents a central position between the extreme dogmas used to defend worship where the senses of sight and sound were expected to play a full role, as in Roman Catholic and English Arminian practice, and where they were suppressed, as Calvin required. In 1619 Featley argued that ‘scripture is of itself abundantly sufficient for us, but we are not sufficient for it without the help of the arts.’<sup>(43)</sup> Human artifice - the art of reading and mental comprehension - were essential if Scripture was to be made sense of. Yet the art of reading was dependent upon the sense of sight - the sense most corrupted by original sin. In 1641 Edmund Gurnay, minister for Harpley in Norfolk, complained of the ‘unreasonable pronesse in the heart of man to sinne by images’, not least since

‘..such kind of pollution is apt to be committed through the meere aspect of the outward eye, and that without the privity or knowledge of the neerest stander by.’<sup>(44)</sup>

The human propensity to be drawn to such ‘pollution’ made religious practice a very risky business; even hearing the word of God and interpreting scriptural sources were physically experiential exercises, and the worldly paths along which truth had to travel, either from the preacher’s mouth or the printed page to the conscience of the subject, were susceptible to idolatrous conceits.

Thus Arthur Hildersham, a Puritan minister, privately told some of his parishioners

‘You must consider and confess to the Lord...that you are utterly unfit and unable to profit by the reading of the word because of your ignorance and hardness of hart the word of God being a mistery which none can understand and believe but they to whom it is given Matt.13.11 which you cannot choose but feel & confess if you shall but consider what a separation your sins have made betwixt God and you [*sic*] almost past feeling in heavenly and spiritual things Heb.3.13 And how the reading and learning of the holy word of God is accursed unto many and maketh them the worse. Esau.6.10.’<sup>(45)</sup>

The extremity of such positions was profoundly distasteful to English Arminians and other Protestants and I will deal with the theological dimension of their criticism in the next section. Some Protestants argued that the question of idolatry was wholly a matter of intention, and that it was salutary to exploit idolatrous activities in order to serve Christian ends. For example, T. R., an anonymous Caroline author, maintained that whilst the act of bowing before the altar of God or Baal was performed in exactly the same way, the context and intention of each act of homage made the one pious and commendable, and the other heinous and despicable.<sup>(46)</sup> Accordingly the artistic, intellectual or religious creativity or sense of piety of the heathen could be positively utilised by the careful Christian without compromising relations with the Deity. Serious precisionist divines and laymen argued that this was an impossible task. Man's ecclesiological traditions, ‘be they never soe godly, never soe holie’ were human inventions, and as such were stigmatised by ‘reprobate sense’ and therefore invariably bound to corrupt the pious intentions they were given to express.<sup>(47)</sup>



For these iconoclasts images or idols were the Devil's media for ensnaring people, by exploiting their susceptibility to visual enticements, into idolatry.

In 1606 Henry Peacham condemned artists who produced images of the Trinity and the Deity, as well as other 'arts of filthiness & laying open those parts which Nature would have kept secret'. Yet he acknowledged that it was still possible to 'commend art in them though detest their wicked makers and abominable ends'.<sup>(48)</sup> Ancient pagan art forms were sufficiently divorced from contemporary piety to be regarded as potentially harmless, even useful sources of entertainment and instruction. In his address to the Long Parliament, Sir Simond D'Ewes insisted that

'...the image of God the Father it was the onlie unlawfull picture of statue that could bee made being it is absolutelie prohibited; whearas the Images of all the heathen gods as they illustrate art and workmanshipp may bee reserved for a civill use.'

D'Ewes's point is surprising, since he continued to equate famous Roman Catholic images and monuments with the statues and idols of ancient Greece and Rome:

'The image of St. Peter that is placed on the great obeliske at Rome and ther dailie adored by them is the verie same ancient statue of Jupiter that stood in the Capitoll which was adored before the times of Christianitie;..soe for the famous Image of the Virgin at Loretto, it is [a] Greeke piece of Venus and Cupid...'<sup>(49)</sup>

For D'Ewes, religiously thematic images only posed a danger when they were used to represent aspects of Judeo-Christianity that, he believed, were proscribed by the second commandment. Accordingly the continuation of Roman idolatry and the use of images in Catholic, and increasingly English Protestant

ecclesiological settings, made such images a live issue that could not be approached from a purely antiquarian or aesthetic perspective.

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Government plans to repair Cheapside Cross in the city of London, that followed unauthorised acts of iconoclasm, provoked an anxious response from George Abbot, the Vice Chancellor of Oxford University and future Archbishop of Canterbury, and five of the college heads. Abbot argued that the cross would encourage superstitious devotion. However, the Queen, Bishop Bancroft and the Privy Council would not be moved. They defended the project because of the antiquity and the continuance of that monument, and they dismissed ‘...the weakness of any man that will take offence at the historicall and civill use of such an ancyent ensigne of Christianitie’.<sup>(50)</sup> For Abbot, the cross posed such a threat that its artistic or historical merits paled into insignificance in the face of the peril of idolatry.

For the Queen and her Council, the artistic and historical significance of the cross, and possibly its significance as a sign of English piety to travelling foreign Catholics, justified its repair. They also argued that English people were reformed and no longer susceptible to the dangers of idolatry that the presence of images was seen to pose. Iconomachs, like the Elizabethan George Abbot, feared the diabolical significance of religiously significant representations. He made a telling criticism, recommending that an obelisk should be set up in the place of the crucifix. Such thinking anticipated D'Ewes's comments to the Long Parliament and echoed the way medievals used pagan idols in artistic contexts



once the threat of Classical paganism had been seen to pass.<sup>(51)</sup> A nineteenth century theologian, Walter Farquhar Hook, was dumbfounded by Abbot's preference, expressing surprise that

‘...instead of the erection of the Cross, the symbol of Christian atonement, he would have advised the erection of a pyramid [*sic*], the symbol of Egyptian superstition.’<sup>(52)</sup>

To a nineteenth century theologian such as Hook, conscious of the missionary work in places like Egypt, even symbols of ancient Egyptian paganism continued to wield a diabolical power and needed to be suppressed.<sup>(53)</sup> Similarly for Abbot, the immediacy of the Catholic threat meant that its visual media, ancient and modern, required the strictest controls.

The Queen and Council's defence of Cheapside Cross in virtue of its historical significance anticipated the arguments used by John Savage, the Sheriff of York, when he prosecuted John Bruen and his accomplices for the destruction of several roadside and church crosses in Cheshire in 1614-15. Savage's deposition was read by Sir Francis Bacon, the Attorney General. These crosses, it was argued, were to be protected as symbols of ‘reverend antiquitie’.<sup>(54)</sup> For all of these plaintiffs, ‘reverend antiquite’ should not be violated by the godly interests of innovating precisionists or Puritans. For those who opposed the crosses, there can have been no difference between the antiquarian defence of the crosses and Catholic insistence that arguments based on scripture should defer to the superior interest of human tradition. It was ‘reverend antiquitie’ that kept the Catholic traditions alive against the innovating hands of reformist Protestants for whom scripture alone was the fundamental guide to both religious and secular

affairs. As we shall see in Chapter Three, ideals based on ‘reverend antiquitie’ were used not only to defend surviving manifestations of Catholic piety in religious and secular contexts; they were also used to justify repairing the damage to images inflicted by Reformation iconoclasts.<sup>(55)</sup>

Peter Lake has justly criticised Patrick Collinson's scenario of an increasingly iconophobic Elizabethan society by drawing attention to the continued production and demand for life-like effigies to decorate funeral monuments. Such patronage including significant investments by the godly.<sup>(56)</sup> Aston has observed that even godly preachers, like Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen college (d.1590), chose three dimensional images of themselves that ‘face posterity as from the pulpit, with the same firm frontal look which we can imagine them giving their congregations’.<sup>(57)</sup> On the whole Englishmen, unlike, for example, divines in Reformation Zurich, were not prepared to face up to the possibility that images of the dead might attract the kind of veneration Catholics accorded to the images of saints.<sup>(58)</sup> Nevertheless some godly English Protestants clearly chose not to commemorate their deaths by adorning their funeral monuments with effigies. One example is the early seventeenth century tomb designed for Fulke Greville, (d. 1628) the first Lord Brooke. This austere, ionic six-postered monument survives in the chapter house of Warwick St. Mary's. The plain pedimented canopy is supported with two tiers of black columns, whilst obelisks, clearly a preferred Protestant alternative to cherubims or other iconic forms, stand on its four corners.<sup>(59)</sup> Yet some tombs which revealed such clear Protestant influences were at least formally indebted



to their Catholic ancestry. The tomb of Sir Edward Stanley (d. 1632) in St. Mary's Salop centres on an effigy of the dead knight. This was originally surrounded by allegorical figures of the virtues and cornered by four obelisks. As M. Howard and N. Llewellyn rightly point out, the style of this tomb clearly echoes the styles of the tomb of his ancestor, Sir Richard Vernon, (d. 1451) with respect to the pose of the effigy, and the positioning of the allegories which complement the alternating rows of the proscribed images of saints and angels around the fifteenth century tomb.<sup>(60)</sup> Clearly these were the kind of contexts D'Ewes favoured when he said that the arts of the heathen might be reserved for a civil use, their ostensibly Christian context possibly doing more to de-sacralise Catholic piety than plain iconomachic forms.<sup>(61)</sup> Such evidence also suggests that late Elizabethan England was not so much an iconophobic society as a society determined to remove the visual manifestations of Roman Catholicism, not least when they were seen to pose the threat of luring the weak or the scarcely converted into idolatrous worship. If we interpret late Reformation iconoclasm from this perspective, as a policy of conversion rather than complete destruction, then the continued production of mimetic funeral monuments and even the return of religious images into places of worship a generation later, becomes easier to understand.

The examples I have discussed in this section represent a neglected aspect of English Reformation iconoclasm and ecclesiological transition. The iconoclasm of the Reformation was not always either wholly or intentionally destructive - rather it could amount to a process of conversion through which art

forms were de-Catholicised in order to serve the Protestant Church. Clearly there was disagreement over which art forms were acceptable (so long as they served needs that were commendable to Protestants) and which art forms were intrinsically idolatrous. The controversy over Cheapside Cross illustrates such Protestant divisions over the relevance of idolatry and represents perhaps the earliest evidence of the marginalisation of iconoclastic values in the interest of historical preservation. The disagreement between Abbot and the Crown was essentially between religious and secular/antiquarian interests. Such controversies should not make us overlook the possibility that disagreement over religious art forms (even between Protestants) could reflect more fundamental theological differences, as I intend to demonstrate in the following two sections.

## II

Iconophobic Protestants explicitly opposed the superstitious ontology which they insisted Catholics accorded to images, and denounced them as ‘dumb dogs’, but they were nevertheless acutely aware of the ‘power’ of religious images, believing them to be intrinsically malevolent forces of evil. The epistemological conceptions which shaped the Durham Cathedral prebendary Peter Smart's understanding of the images erected by his fellow prebendaries in the 1620s helps to clarify the mentality of iconophobia, and highlights the ideological divisions between iconoclasts and English Arminian advocates of the ‘beauty of holiness’. Smart's conflict with his fellow prebendaries has been studied in depth by other scholars, but the theological basis of his dissent, which



exemplifies iconoclastic thinking taken to its logical extreme, has never been fully discussed.<sup>(62)</sup>

Smart insisted that the images commissioned by his fellow prebendaries at Durham Cathedral to decorate their new font were 'abominable idols'.<sup>(63)</sup> Smart contended that one such 'idol' was idolatrously 'called the image of the Holy Ghost' by the prebendaries, whilst another, the image of the sun, was intended to be seen 'as a great deitie, most religiously ador'd by east-worshipping pagans'.<sup>(64)</sup>

Smart's response to the imagery in Durham Cathedral was expressed using a form of linguistic protocol according to which there is no room for distinction between signifier and referent. This is because images representing the sacred, especially Christocentric images and images representing the Deity or the Trinity were, according to reformist interpretations of the second commandment, counterfeit. These counterfeit reproductions of the act of Divine Creation were assumed to somehow de-sacralize the referent and undermine the glory of the Deity. Hence it was incumbent on the spectator to disassociate in his/her mind any meaningful connection which could be assumed to exist between the image and its referent: if an image looks like Christ, then therefore it must have some kind of relationship to him. Yet to assume that there is something of Christ in the image, that a 'dumb idol' could represent Christ (however tenuously) was flat idolatry. By accepting that the image was an 'idol'; that it was self-referential with no ontology beyond the raw constituents from which it was made, the

problem of mimesis and likeness could be avoided, and the image might then be discussed in a way that was not idolatrous. By refusing to regard these images as significant through denying them any relationship with their designated referents, Smart could treat these images as self-referential idols, rather than as media capable of transmitting sacred ideals. In this sense, the ontology Smart accords to these images is, ironically, on a clear par with the ontology Catholics accorded to the bread and wine in the Mass. Protestants attacked the ontology which Catholics accorded to the bread and wine in the mass. They insisted that the sacramental elements were 'significant' not 'operative' <sup>(65)</sup> and that it was an 'illusion', brought about by 'reprobate sense' that led Catholics 'to see clearly the invisible power of God in the visibility of his creation, like seeing flesh, or a little boy in the sacrament'.<sup>(66)</sup> Yet surely Smart deluded himself equally, when he transubstantiated the Durham images into abominable idols instead of accepting them as artistic representations?

Similarly when the 'weamen of Middlesex' petitioned the Long Parliament to complain about the re-introduction of stained-glass windows into churches across the country, they claimed that such images were 'diabolicall, and the father of Darkness was the inventor of them, being the chief patron of damnable pride'.<sup>(67)</sup> The idea that images were intrinsically 'diabolicall', the resident dwelling places of malevolent demons, echoes the beliefs of St. Augustine of Hippo. Augustine believed that the earth was full of such demons, waiting to inhabit dead images constructed for the purposes of human worship.<sup>(68)</sup> William Prynne applied this theory to plays - the almost theatrical performance



of Roman and English Liturgies was probably not far from his mind.<sup>(69)</sup> Prynne argued that plays were first performed to pacify 'Devill-gods', and that they performed a key role in the Devil's plan '...to draw man to Athiesme, Paganisme, Idolatry and all prophaneness...'<sup>(70)</sup> Similarly, Richard Culmer, the Civil War iconoclast, attributed supernatural properties to the works of art that he destroyed. Culmer was particularly disturbed by the realism of the images which he found in Canterbury Cathedral. Although we should take his description of climbing sixty feet to rattle down 'proud Becket's glassy bones' in a jocular, metaphorical sense, the language he applies to other, three dimensional, images subconsciously fails to conform the usual iconophobic argument that images are as dead as the constituents from which they are made,<sup>(71)</sup> since Culmer's description of these images is metonymic:

'Images lay on tombs, with eyes and hands lifted up, and right over them was pictured God the father, to which the images seemed to pray'.<sup>(72)</sup>

The threat of idolatry was so pervasive, that even dumb idols be image worshippers. By contrast, proponents of the 'beauty of holiness', like Smart's contemporary, Bishop Richard Corbett, could ridicule iconoclastic arguments by capitalising upon surviving remnants of pre-Reformation ecclesiology, like stained glass windows. Although stained glass images representing controversial, idolatrous or saliently popish themes, like the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, were destroyed during the sixteenth century Reformations, the survival of much other glass, often representing religious themes, made it tempting for Corbett to question the degree to which iconoclastic reforms were motivated by genuine iconophobia.

Corbett's poem, 'Upon Fairford Windows' (n.d., circa 1624-35) is a useful case in point, since it draws our attention to the way reformist teaching encouraged critical thinking about the meaning of visual art. Initially the poem is quite tongue-in-cheek. Addressing the local Puritans of Blackfriars and Fairford, Corbett questions and conjectures,

'Tell me you Anti-Saintes, why glasse  
 With you is longer lived than brasse?<sup>(73)</sup>  
 Is it because the Brethren's fires  
 Maintaine a Glasse-house at Blackfriars?  
 Or is't because such painted ware  
 Resembles something that you are,  
 That out of emblamatick wit  
 You spare yourselves in sparing it?'

Then, referring to the clearly controversial crucifixion scene depicted, the Bishop continues,

'Had death ever such life before?  
 The limber corps, be sull'd o'er  
 With meagre paleness does display  
 A middle state 'twixt flesh and clay'.<sup>(74)</sup>

Corbett obviously refers to the image's referent: the crucified Christ. Yet crucially, he refers to the life of the image too. Iconomachs argued that stained glass images were as dead as the materials which they were made from; dumb idols which 'darken the light of the Church, and obscure the brightnesse of the Gospell'.<sup>(75)</sup> For Corbett, on the other hand, the death of Christ is actually brought to life in the devotion of the spectator through the spectacle of this image. This 'middle state twixt flesh and clay', clearly a reference to the humanity of Christ (who, like Adam, was moulded from clay into the image of God) equally suggests that the image itself has an anthropomorphic quality. The image is not



simply a representation of Christ. It is, in one sense, a relic of what Corbett's contemporary, Richard Crashaw described as

‘the dead and martyred bones  
of dead devotion’.<sup>(76)</sup>

These two examples of Smart and Corbett illustrate the extremes between English Arminian and Calvinist attitudes towards the meaning of idolatry and the role of images in English ecclesiological contexts. Corbett was clearly arguing that images not only served a sacred function; rather they could be inherently holy. But in what sense were images theologically justifiable in English Protestant ecclesiological contexts?

### III

Theologically, a major point dividing English Arminians from the iconoclastic ideals of the Tudor Reformers and their Puritan contemporaries were two opposing views respecting both salvation and the ontological significance of Christ. J. H. Shephard has argued that the English Reformation involved the rejection of medieval forms of Christocentric piety. During the later middle ages Christian piety focused almost exclusively on Christ's passion and death, and the Church encouraged worshippers to believe that their salvation was attainable through meditative contemplation of his suffering in prayer, good works and the sacrificial offering involved in Eucharistic worship. Christ's sacrifice and passion, it was argued, provided human authority for offering a propitiatory sacrifice to the Deity. All this was brought to a halt by the Edwardian Reformation. Following Cranmer's lead, the reformers generally excluded

worshippers from any role in the process of their salvation. Thus until the arrival of Richard Hooker in the 1590s, English Protestant piety became focused, almost exclusively, on the corruption of man. Human corruption was interpreted in contra-distinction to the divine, other-worldly perfection of Christ, whose unrepeatable sacrifice rendered idolatrous any man's assumption that he could positively identify with Christ's humanity.<sup>(77)</sup> Shephard has done much useful work on the rejection of this reformist doctrine by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Protestant divines. Drawing attention to the belief of John Buckeridge, Lancelot Andrewes, John Cosin and William Laud that liturgical sacrifice could bring Christ's sacrifice 'into effect' - Shephard has shown how this led to a new understanding of the liturgical potential of church music.<sup>(78)</sup> But music was not the only aesthetically stimulating expression of piety the Arminians wanted to free from the constraints that bound the Church to iconophobic anti-sensualism, and in this section I want to look at the wider, ecclesiological implications of Arminian Christocentrism and the Calvinist theology of idolatry it was pitted against.

The theological dimension of English Arminian Christocentrism has been recently discussed by Peter Lake. Lake has drawn attention to the heavily Christocentric approach to the problem of Christian knowledge in the Court sermons of Lancelot Andrewes (with examples from as early as 1597) and his efforts to make his audience contemplate Christ's suffering in visual terms. For example Andrewes claimed that



‘For as from the brazen serpent no virtue issued to heal but unto them that readily beheld it, so neither doth there from Christ but upon those that with the eye of faith have their contemplation on this object; who thereby draw life from him, and without it may and do perish for all Christ and his passion’.(<sup>79</sup>)

However, historians of English Arminianism have barely begun to explore the ways in which the Arminian Christocentric position influenced ecclesiastical patronage in the 1620s and 1630s. Nicholas Tyacke has made a clear start by observing a clear connection between Lancelot Andrewes’ and William Laud’s emphasis on Christ’s divinity and the iconographical design selected to adorn the communion chalice for use in St. John’s College chapel, Oxford. The image of the agnus dei or Good Shepherd clearly reflects their sacramental position regarding the soteriological efficacy of receiving communion.<sup>(80)</sup> One might add that it also exemplifies their rejection of the iconoclastic ideals of the Reformation. The English Arminian position concerning religious images was profoundly shaped by the Christocentric dimension of their theology, and it can be shown to have influenced the most colourful (and, to critics, scandalous) aspects of their ecclesiastical patronage, including the stained glass imagery produced by Richard Greenbury and Bapptista Sutton, respectively for Magdalen College Oxford and Peterhouse Cambridge.<sup>(81)</sup>

Thus it can be suggested that from the perspective of ecclesiology, the differences between the Arminians and their opponents were respectively focused on belief in Christ’s humanity and divinity which limited Christ to an exclusively spiritual dimension. This division ran roughly parallel, in its Protestant context,

to the division between Lutheranism and English Arminianism on the one hand, and doctrinal Calvinism on the other. But what were the theological qualifications of the English Arminian defence of Christocentric images and how did they differ from the iconoclastic position?

In 1636 Laud's opponent, the Puritan John Bastwick, quoting Corinthians 16 argued,

*'Wherefore henceforth know wee no man after the flesh, yea though we have knowne Christ after the flesh yet now henceforth know we him noe more as much as he had sayd, wee must not think of Christ after a carnall manner who hath now left the world, and is to be thought of spiritually. All these fictions therefore of the real presence of Christ rather in one place then another as at crucifixes, crosses, pictures, altars, tables, are the dreames of idolatrous braynes suggested by the devill for the keeping of the minds of men vpon earthly things,..'*<sup>(82)</sup>

This view was repeated by a number of English Iconomachs, including Lord Saye and Sele's chaplain, Mr. Mayhoe, who 'mayntayned that it is utterly unfit to make or have the picture of Christ though we have known Christ after the flesh yet henceforth know we him know more'.<sup>(83)</sup> Their reliance on Paul's letters to the Corinthians echoes the position of earlier reformers. Judd of Basel, for example, believed that Paul was actually talking about Corinthian Christians who used images, leading him to draw an explicit parallel with contemporary Roman Catholic idolaters.<sup>(84)</sup>

Laud and his supporters denied the charges that Christocentric images in English churches necessarily solicited conceptions of the real presence amongst worshippers, but their opponents believed such conceptions were inevitable



owing to the corrupt state of the human cognitive framework and the inherent evil of graven images, whether two dimensional or three. According to iconomachs like Bastwick, 'to think of Christ after a carnal manner', in other words to contemplate Christ in visual terms as a human being, was plain idolatry. And this idolatry was inevitable for how could any one fail to recognise Christ in the image, and by recognising a relationship between Christ and an image accord a religious significance to an object?

Bastwick's position on images was not only in keeping with the ideals of influential continental reformers, it was as orthodox as the Elizabethan Homily Against the Peril of Idolatry (1563) which stated that even two dimensional representations of historical narrative themes could lead people to commit idolatry:

'Now, and ye will consider the beginning, men are not so ready to worship a picture on a wall or in a window, as an embossed and gilt image, set with pearl and stone. And a process of a story painted with the gestures and actions of many persons, and commonly the sum of the story written withal, hath another use in it than one dumb idol or image standing by itself. But from learning by painted stories it came by little and little to idolatry. Which when godly men, as well emperors and learned bishops as others, perceived, they commanded that such pictures, images, or idols should thereof be used no more.'<sup>(85)</sup>

The Arminian position was saliently opposed to this understanding. Images and other ecclesiastical items like altars or liturgical practices were not to blame for idolatry - human beings were. Arminians argued that since human beings were not pre-disposed to idolatry by 'reprobate sense' as Calvinists argued - and the above quotations make clear<sup>(86)</sup> - they could recognise the dangers

images, religious rites and ceremonies and other ecclesiastical matters posed and redress them without perpetuating the decline from idolatry to sacrilege that Reformation iconoclastic policy had engendered. This point is important because it illustrates the relationship between anti-Calvinism and anti-iconoclasm. Thus in 1629 Simon Episcopus, the Dutch Arminian Remonstrant argued (in a sentence which could easily be seen as a direct riposte to the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry) that

‘We deny not, but that it may and doth usually sometimes fall out that in tract of time those like forms obtain greater veneration and honour than is meet, and at length...do easily degenerate into idols...Yet because all this is *wont to fall out by accident* we must not from thence make judgement of them: seeing that it is not the fault of the forms themselves, but of those, who...do abuse them.’<sup>(87)</sup>

Archbishop Laud totally disagreed with the belief that there was a necessary connection between images and idolatry, as the Peril of Idolatry implied, for at his trial in 1644 he argued:

‘If that the Eyes of a man, the Mortall eyes of a man can see, looke, whatsoever they can see may bee sculp't, and for pictures themselves they are indifferent, and till there bee some kinde of adoration putt upon them. And for that you shall see the Harmony of the Reformed Churches’.<sup>(88)</sup>

Laud was probably referring to the Churches of Sweden, Denmark and Germany where Lutherans adorned their churches with crucifixes and pictures in the belief that these items were not intrinsically idolatrous and could innocently both enhance the aesthetic context of worship and function as teaching aids for the illiterate. In the previous decade, during the trial of the iconoclast, Henry Sherfield, in 1633, Laud stressed that the humanity of Christ was a fitting subject



for depiction, claiming that even Calvin permitted the use of images for historical reasons.<sup>(89)</sup> Calvin certainly admitted that ‘I am not gripped by the superstition of thinking absolutely no images permissible’ but he quickly added ‘only those things are to be sculptured or painted that the eyes are capable of seeing’, by which he meant historical images.<sup>(90)</sup> Yet he whole-heartedly denounced the use of images in churches, especially images of Christ or the Saints, and interpreted the introduction of any images into churches as a sign of spiritual degeneracy.<sup>(91)</sup> This understanding had informed the mainstream of English Protestant thought in Elizabethan England. Even Archbishop Whitgift, in taking exception to Thomas Cartwright’s opposition to the use of the sign of the cross in worship, was at pains to stress the absence of images of the cross in English churches in order to distinguish them from the ‘idolatry’ of the churches of Rome.<sup>(92)</sup>

Belief in the humanity of Christ was central to the English Arminian position. Soteriologically it allowed for the belief that Christ was still in a position to continually petition the Deity on behalf of humanity, and thus it constituted a direct challenge to the logic of predestinarian theology. Moreover, their belief in the necessity of worship in the beauty of holiness was predicated upon implicit faith in the belief that God responded positively to aesthetically motivated patterns of piety.

For example, during the Sherfield trial, Archbishop Richard Neile maintained that the image of the crucified Christ, when gazed upon by an individual ‘with no intention to adore it, or give any divine worship thereunto’

would nevertheless serve to 'make him grieve and moan for his sins'. But this meditation on Christ's passion would also 'serve to increase my confidence in him', Neile argued, and facilitate the realisation,

'...that he will not deny me my prayers in anything that is good for me, and that he will not deny me any prayers in anything which I ask agreeable to his will'.<sup>(93)</sup>

Such thinking was anathema to those who believed that the human aesthetic disposition was a curse rather than a blessing.<sup>(94)</sup> For example, the Catholic Italian art theorist, Lomazzo, shared Neile's belief that sinners are struck with a feeling of guilt at the sight of images of Christ or the Virgin. His Elizabethan English translator, Richard Haydocke, censored the whole passage because, he claimed, 'it crosseth the doctrine of the reformed churches and his greatest warrant is his bare assertion'.<sup>(95)</sup> This evidence demonstrates the extent to which the Arminians were theologically at odds with Tudor reformers and their Puritan contemporaries over ecclesiological affairs. Yet the Arminians argued that their ecclesiological interests were in keeping with Reformation orthodoxy. Neile was more reserved when he was cross-examined by the House of Lords in 1629. Denying allegations that he was an Arminian, Neile went on to insist that the Catholic adoration of images 'I hold to be meane Idolatorie'.<sup>(96)</sup> This evidence demonstrates the contemporary importance of being politically correct on ecclesiological issues. Neile could hardly defend the use of Christocentric images for meditative purposes before a Parliament baying for Arminian blood, as he could during a case before High Commission in the year of Laud's promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury.



By the 1630s the Arminians were engaged in a covert initiative to cover up the radical, iconoclastic chapter of the history of the Reformation in order to create the impression that their ecclesiological ideals accorded with the interests of the founders of English Protestantism.<sup>(97)</sup>

In 1631 John Weever, an antiquarian sponsored by Bishop Laud, criticised the performance of officially commissioned iconoclasts acting during the Tudor Reformations. Weever complained that 'in their too forward zeal', these iconoclasts destroyed stained glass windows, and other images and pictures depicting 'saints, our blessed saviour, kings and nobles, instead of just the prohibited Roodes, graven images, Shrines with their reliques, to which ignorant people came flocking in adoration'.<sup>(98)</sup> Weever maintained that he was acting in the spirit of the Elizabethan reforms. Had not the Queen protected funeral monuments and stained glass images by proclaiming that such imagery could only be destroyed with the consent of the ordinary, regardless of subject matter?<sup>(99)</sup> Weever appears to have had a case. Margaret Aston has noted how Elizabeth was prompted by the extent of the iconoclastic violence conducted during the first years of her reign to personally revise the homily against idolatry (supported by the thirty fifth of the Thirty Nine Articles) and secure a watered down version for the 1563 edition. Aston has shown how Elizabeth's edition constituted 'a marked toning down' of the original homily, demonstrating a salient shift from outright condemnation of religious images *per se* to images worshipped.<sup>(100)</sup> Weever was clearly clinging to every vestige of ecclesiological refuge left open by the failure of the Queen to countenance (in spite of significant opposition from within her

Council, Parliament and Church) further reformation. If such images were endorsed by a reformist Queen whose reign had received divine approval (by the providential sinking of the Armada), then how could they be graven idols?

Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1560 was clearly aimed at limiting excessive iconoclasm.<sup>(101)</sup> Her policy was designed to protect funeral monuments and images in churches that had survived the Edwardian reforms and were clearly not designed to play a role in Roman Catholic worship. The iconoclasm performed after the Elizabethan Settlement was conducted under the zealous guidance of former Marian exiles who regarded their activity as merely a prelude to further reformation. Aston has drawn attention to the discrepancy between the Royal Injunctions and Proclamations of 1559 and the visitation articles of her leading bishops who wanted to complete the radical iconoclastic mission of 1548.<sup>(102)</sup> This tension between a drive for wholesale iconoclasm according to late Edwardian standards and Crown concern to prevent an iconoclastic free for all was addressed by a Royal Proclamation read on the 19th September 1560. This Proclamation was primarily aimed at halting wanton iconoclasm directed against funeral monuments, but it also included the proviso that no one was permitted to 'break down or deface any image in glass windows without consent of the ordinary.'<sup>(103)</sup> Aston has observed that this policy marked a significant departure from the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547 and the twenty third Injunction of 1559 which entrusted such iconoclastic activity to the care of the parochial clergy.<sup>(104)</sup> Yet I have been unable to uncover any evidence of unauthorised Elizabethan iconoclasm leading to prosecution. Indeed surviving evidence suggests that



parochial clergy and University college masters who *failed* to carry out the iconoclasm required by their ordinaries' were the ones most subject to reprimand.

Although parochial clergy and godly citizens soon lost the opportunity for independent iconoclastic reform, religious images, including those in stained glass, were proscribed by the Elizabethan Injunctions and even the Lutheran Archdeacon Edmund Guest presented an incumbent who failed to smash prohibited glass.<sup>(105)</sup> Nevertheless clerical concern about sacrilege and iconoclasm is evident from at least the 1570s. Bishop John Jewel expressed deep concern that legitimate iconoclastic interests had led the way to the looting of funeral monuments whilst in the late 1580s (when Professor Collinson's period of 'iconophobia' was at its height), Archbishop Whitgift argued that all iconoclastic activity must promote 'the true honour of God' rather than generate private lucre, even when the iconoclasm was directed against things 'once used in idolatry'.<sup>(106)</sup> Yet there is little ecclesiastical evidence to demonstrate a significant rejection of iconoclastic values before the reign of James I. Weever may have seen eye to eye with Elizabeth on the image question, but he would have hardly found credit with those whom the Queen had selected to enforce her ecclesiastical injunctions and the iconoclasm which followed in their wake. From this perspective it appears that Weever's views reflect the arguments of contemporary English Arminians (and their Anglican counterparts in succeeding centuries) who denied or conveniently ignored the radical reformist spirit in which the Protestantisation of England was effected under the Tudors.

Weever's position, when compared to that of a contemporary with similar ideals, such as Peter Heylyn, the King's spokesman for ecclesiastical policy, throws light on the potential confusion advocates of the beauty of holiness faced when they tried to reconcile their ecclesiological ideals with the spirit of the English Reformation. Weever was prepared to acknowledge that officially sponsored iconoclasts, chosen by the Crown to implement the destructive reforms, followed what by his generation counted as 'too forward zeal'. In other words, Elizabeth's ecclesiastical commissioners were Puritans.<sup>(107)</sup> During the 1636-7 controversy between Peter Heylyn and John Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, Heylyn refuted Williams's claim that Reformation iconoclasm was conducted violently and ritualistically, and with the support of many willing to participate in unauthorised and indiscriminate acts of destruction. Whilst Heylyn acknowledged the hostile actions of Bishops Hooper and Ridley against altars (the argument logically extended to all manifestations of Catholic piety), the destruction was not effected 'de facto by the common people, but...by order, and in faire proceeding'.<sup>(108)</sup>

Heylyn was writing five years after Weever and three years after William Laud's succession to the archbishopric of Canterbury. This was now a time in which it was necessary to defend the Church's policies against the charges that their enforcement and doctrinal motivation was innovatory, and possibly part of an attempt to bring the Church of England back into the Roman fold. By denying that Laud's policies radically differed from the ideals of the founding fathers of English Protestantism, Heylyn's contention that the iconoclasm of the



Reformation was performed 'by order and faire proceedinge' was a far cry from Weever's argument that it was performed with 'too forward zeal'. Similarly, as we have seen, during the Sherfield trial of 1633 Laud blatantly quoted Calvin's views on images out of context to make this leading exponent of iconoclastic theory appear to approve the Arminian defence of Christocentric images in churches.

Proof that Heylyn's argument was inspired by political motives, rather than by genuine offence at Williams's alleged distortion of Reformation history, is unwittingly provided by Heylyn himself. Writing during the Civil War, a time when neither Williams, the altar controversy, nor fears of a popish plot were any longer major topics of conversation, Heylyn, forgetting his earlier arguments, acknowledged that during the Tudor reforms,

'...many unadvised zealots amongst the Protestants...employed themselves as busily in the demolishing of altars and defacing of images, as if they had been licensed and commanded to it by some legal warrant'.<sup>(109)</sup>

Moreover, as Conrad Russell has observed, Heylyn implicitly acknowledged his Church's distance from Elizabethan ecclesiological values when he echoed Foxe's comments on the dark days of popery by claiming that under Leicester's Chancellorship, Oxford had so much altered that 'there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England.'<sup>(110)</sup> This kind of satirical inversion (like irony during the Enlightenment) was a popular medium for subtly attacking both Puritanism, and its orthodox Edwardian or Elizabethan origins.<sup>(111)</sup>

Another example of this inversion was produced in 1638 by an anonymous Laudian author who evidently felt no need to present his views as the expression of orthodox Protestant opinion. In De Templis, T. R. claimed that stained glass windows were better than plain ones since the former

‘...adorne the church with a glorious light, and moderate that bright light, which is a hindrance to devotion’.<sup>(112)</sup>

This comment is a neat reversal of a point made in a printed letter, sent to Queen Elizabeth by her bishops (soon after it became clear that she was not as iconophobic as they had hoped), in which her ecclesiological predilections were implicitly criticised. There it was claimed that the ‘outward splendour’ of such imagery ‘...would be apt to draw the minds of worshippers, if not direct to idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of thoughts’.<sup>(113)</sup>

T. R. was far less shamefaced about criticising the Protestantism of the Church of England than his Laudian contemporaries, and only his dedicatory praise for Sir Paul Pindar's and Sir John Wolstenholme's contributions to the St. Paul's restoration project, his denial of transubstantiation,<sup>(114)</sup> and the fact that his work passed the Laudian censors, leaves us with any indication that he regarded himself as a bona fide member of the Church of England, let alone a bona fide Protestant. Moreover, T. R. drew upon the Elizabethan Homily against the Peril of Idolatry (1563) to attack the despoliation of the English Church that the Reformation had engendered.



In his discussion of contemporary English churches, T.R. derided the replacement of rood lofts with heraldic arms, fabulous beasts, ‘...painted lions, unicorns &c...’, arguing that such secular intrusions ‘vilely deface them’. He suggested, with his tongue in his cheek, that ‘Perhaps the Homily that speaks against the outrageous decking of churches meanes this’.<sup>(115)</sup> Of course the Homilist did not mean this; rather he meant the idolatry of Roman Catholic ecclesiology. The Homily itself was directed at a newly Protestantised nation, a nation moreover which would be inspired by such teaching to replace the manifestations of Catholic piety with a new generation of what T. R. dismissed as ‘outrageous decking’, arguably to feed the visually anorexic victims of iconoclastic reforms.<sup>(116)</sup> Similarly, as early as 1621 John Cosin implicitly attacked reformist interpretations of the second commandment by equating those who failed to adhere to the formal ceremonial requirements of the Church of England, like bowing at the name of Jesus, with idolatrous worshippers of graven images.<sup>(117)</sup>

These criticisms do more than just reflect contemporary dissatisfaction with the legacy of the Tudor Reformations; together they illuminate an Arminian sponsored re-invention of the past, fought for from behind a wall of irony and pseudo-orthodoxy.

For English Arminians, the Reformation had degenerated from the ideals envisaged by Reformers in 1549 because of the influence of what they regarded as extreme Protestantism.<sup>(118)</sup> Thus in 1636 Bishop Matthew Wren of Norwich,

in letters addressed to the clergy in his charge before his visitation began, exclaimed

‘We can never sufficiently adorne the exceeding great blessings of Almighty God, by whom it came to pass that the holesome discipline of the Church of England and the publick formes of divine service within the same being first drawn from the very ancient examples of the holy fathers in the primitive Church were by these holy prelates within the reign of Edward VI were imploied for the reforming of the Christian religion among us, happily purged from all popish corruptions: And so commended unto us, not by their practise only, but even by their blood also (in the martyrdom of Mary) were sett down as Rules unto us in the Synodical Constitution and rubrick of the Church. Neverthelesse, since then, by the subtilty of the enemy that earnestly seeketh the subversion of all order and religion, it hath been brought about that this excellent discipline being little and little (as it were) benumbed and the observation of all those holy rites growing into disuse, certain new and forain customes have at every man's own pleasure bin brought into our churches...And so dispersed *under a pretense of zeale and godlinesse* have very much corrupted religion and so bewitched the minds of many who are carried away with a violent fitt of prophanation, that we are now newly fallen into an hatred of the true worship and into a contempt of all things divine and holy’.<sup>(119)</sup>

What Wren fails to add is that the responsibility for the Protestant desacralisation of religion fell largely on the shoulders of reforming Edwardian and Elizabethan bishops, and that the policies he was about to impose through what an admirer described as ‘this reformation among us’ were bound to be interpreted as popish innovations.

Iconoclasts, like Peter Smart, had the letter of the law behind them when they censured the ecclesiological artifacts that Weever regarded as legitimate - stained glass, effigies, images and pictures. Elizabeth's Proclamation was intended to prevent unlawful destruction, especially of heraldic symbols in



stained glass and funeral monuments, rather than to save images that had recently been lawfully prohibited.<sup>(120)</sup>

Other supporters of the orderliness and decency of the Laudian reforms could defend the ecclesiological manifestations of this sacramental position (especially altar policy) and yet deny that these changes could facilitate any soteriological benefits. For example, Humphrey Sydenham, Minister of Axbrittle in Somerset, maintained that because man was predestinated either to salvation or reprobation, Christ's sacrifice could not again be repeated. And yet he strongly supported Laudian altar policy, not least since to him it exemplified the changing fortunes of the clerical estate, whose interests he championed.<sup>(121)</sup> Protestants who believed that there should be an aesthetic dimension to worship insisted that their iconomachs deliberately misinterpreted their intentions. They argued that allegations of idolatry, like popery, and later Arminianism, were merely screens behind which the established Episcopal Church as an institution could be attacked. For example, in 1629 the Cheshire gentleman Nathan Walworth described in detail Bishop John Bridgeman's consecration of Ringley chapel. In spite of Bridgeman's verbal attack against despoilers of the Church, and his potentially controversial delivery of '...a long prayer full of pithie saisonable petitions like that of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple', there was nothing to be observed in Bridgeman's ceremony that was not 'Godly, Lawful and expedient [and] without any superstition'. Walworth then added, 'some Caulamneters have spoken against this way, but I think it is because they love not Bishops'.<sup>(122)</sup> At about the same time, Humphrey Sydenham claimed that the



ecclesiological and ceremonial characteristics of Laudian reforms were ‘harmlesse matters of indifferency’. He could not believe that people were really prepared to risk their liberty through denouncing such things, and concluded that their criticisms and iconoclasm were really veiled attacks against Episcopacy, since at the end of the day, ‘the Ecclesiasticke Hierarchy they would destroy is the great eyesore’.<sup>(123)</sup> Sydenham’s position is particularly interesting, for as we have seen, he was a staunch Calvinist.

Sydenham was a conformist divine whose satisfaction with the ecclesiological changes of the 1630s encouraged him to disassociate them from any anti-Protestant connections. Similarly Samuel Hoard claimed that,

‘It is an envious outcry which is made of us, that Popery is coming in, and God's true religion is going out, because some seeming alterations are made in our ceremonies, and some new ones are, by the examples of Superiors, commended for our use; or rather [as if almost an afterthought] ancient customes, which have been continued in our mother churches, revived in others...For what are ceremonies to doctrine? What is the Church's liberty in these things to Popery? May not the apparell alter, and the body remain the same? May not some ceremonies, which are the clothing of the spouse, admit some changes, and the doctrine remain inviolate? Must Antichrist needs peep in, because our Bishops use that liberty which they ever had’.<sup>(124)</sup>

Recently modern historians like J.Sears McGee and Kevin Sharpe have attempted to vindicate Hoard’s arguments. McGee maintains that for Elizabethan Puritans, ‘differences between conformists and non-conformists were more over matters of liturgy, ministry, and discipline than doctrine’, whilst for Sharpe, the innovations of the 1620s and 1630s had nothing to do with Arminian doctrine.<sup>(125)</sup> Their argument, as the contemporary godly would have insisted, is really a non sequitur. Puritans rejected State imposed liturgies and



ecclesiology because they believed these matters were not in accordance with scriptural dictates. As relics of popery they also compromised Protestant doctrine respecting the dangers of idolatry, for Protestant, predestinarian fears of idolatry were predicated on the concept of an omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent deity whose honour was compromised by aesthetically motivated attempts to please or propitiate him, especially through external acts of worship. In the light of the evidence presented in this section, it would be wrong to assume that Hoard was really unconscious of the doctrinal significance Puritans and reformist Protestants attributed to these innovations, and it seems probable, especially in the light of Peter Lake's researches, that Hoard was selling the new ecclesiology from a 'minimum' position: stressing adiaphora and downplaying what Laudians in reality believed were genuine religious expressions of piety.<sup>(126)</sup> Given the English Arminian efforts to disguise the truth of the iconoclastic orthodoxies of the Tudor Reformations, the credulity with which writers like Sydenham and Hoard regarded the iconomachic opposition to the ecclesiological expression of the beauty of holiness should not lead us to underestimate the genuine ideological opposition to these policies in their own right, or misjudge the liturgical and soteriological import accorded to them by their defenders. Equally we should not doubt the sincerity of Sydenham's and Hoard's position. The success of English Arminianism during the 1630s clearly did much to encourage such conformist divines to re-evaluate Reformation orthodoxies and reject them in the interests of harmony in the Church.



Such attitudes indicate that English Arminian ecclesiological investments appealed to a wider spectrum of opinion than has hitherto been recognised. In the following section I will present further examples of non-Arminian interest in ecclesiological departure from the iconoclastic norms established by the Reformation. However, this interest should not be confused with either theological sympathy, or implicit support for the entire ecclesiological package that the Arminians were advocating, for reasons which I shall attempt to explain.

#### IV

In early Stuart England iconoclasm had come to be regarded by some as little more than Puritanism gone mad. This attitude informs ‘the tale of a precise Puritan, who came all in hast from Lincolne to London, purposely to see the Faire’, which was told by an anonymous satirist in 1641. Pictures representing the virgin and saints were readily on sale, and had not been cause for any religious controversy. However the Puritan,

‘...elevating the snowballs of his eyes,..presently espyes the picture of Christ and his twelve apostles, with the Virgin Mary, and many other saints departed; at which sight the very thought and conceit of superstition let such a sharpe edge to the pure metal of his inflam'd zeale, that very manfully like a man of valour, and son of Mars, he steps to a stall well stor'd with two penny halbert, and wooden backswords, where having arm'd himself cap a pea (as he thought) he begins a violent passion, to exclaim against the idolatry of the times, that it was growne so abominable, protesting that the whore of Babylon was crept into Christ Church, and that good motions of the Spirit had brought him to towne, to make a sacrifice of those Idle Idolls,.. his just anger and holy indignation begot no small laughter to the multitude, which thronged about him, that put him into such a chase, in so much that at the last, like Rosicleare, the knight of the sunne, or Don Quixot, most furiously takes an assault, and battery upon the poore innocent pictures, till the shopkeepers apprehending him had him before a constable, who forthwith comitted my little hot fury to the stocks.’<sup>(127)</sup>



This quotation strongly suggests that by the early 1640s iconoclasm was commonly regarded as a Puritan extreme. If this is the case, then what were the circumstances that led to the marginalisation of iconoclastic ideals? In the next chapter I will argue that from the late 1610s the Calvinist King James I adopted a publicly anti-iconoclastic position in order to give Spain a favourable impression of his Church. In pursuit of a marriage alliance with this great Catholic power, James prompted divines and laymen to re-evaluate the contemporary relevance of The Homily against the Peril of Idolatry and to patronise ecclesiological art forms, a policy which would have horrified Elizabethan reformers as much as it shocked contemporary Puritan critics.<sup>(128)</sup> The second reason, which I shall discuss here, is to do with the fact that by the early seventeenth century Protestantism had struck firm root and most Church leaders had come to believe that ‘the peril of idolatry’, that the presence of images once threatened in Catholic and emerging Protestant contexts, was now little more than an anachronism.

From the end of the sixteenth century an increasing number of influential people -including Archbishops Bancroft and Laud - supported the argument that since the Reformation had seen the successful extirpation of idolatrous image-worship, select images could play a discreet role in religious environments without cause for alarm.<sup>(129)</sup> Archbishop Abbot also came to share this understanding, even though he was, as we have seen, once an iconomach.<sup>(130)</sup>

The argument was most clearly advanced by the Arminians although, as we shall see, they did not have a monopoly over this particular point of view.

Writing some time during the 1590s, John Overall, the future Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, tried to allay the qualms of a Mr Wotton by insisting that those who opposed the use of images in religious contexts per se were ‘newe writers’.<sup>(131)</sup> The Elizabethan Book of Homilies (revised in 1563), he told him, allowed images for ‘ornament onely’ in religious contexts. He added that

‘...the author of the homily and the approvers of it were not likely to have been of this mind that all images & all other formes made for any use of Religion should be forbidden...their judgement & practis is well known we to have been to the contrarie, not only for the maintenance of our ceremonies, but also for retaining of images painted in our churches for ornament and historicall instruction, except the images of the Trinitie, Roods, Crucifixes, & other saintes shrines, which were notoriously abused to superstition.’

Overall believed that in a Church reformed people would be sufficiently aware of the danger of idolatry for images not to pose a threat:

‘Whatsoever the abuse of them in former times,..yet with us all such abuses & superstitions be removed, the doctrine of the right use of them freely taught, & the same assisted with the authoritie of the lawfull Magistrate,..& so [there is] no such danger of cherishing or deducing Idolatorie & superstition by the use thereof, as is vainely imagined.’

Yet Overall implicitly admitted the extent of Elizabethan iconophobia with respect to religious imagery by adding the proviso that

‘...even if the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry had wholly proscribed the use of images in places of worship, yet the judgement & practise of all the Ancient Fathers & learned writers for 1500 yeares after Christ being against this exposition, it ought of reason to be of more weight than the opinion of the homilie’.<sup>(132)</sup>



Overall's arguments that 'new writers' were to blame for iconophobia should not be dismissed out of hand for his views can be partially confirmed by contrasting the evidence of the activities of some of the first generation of Edwardian iconoclasts (acting lawfully) with evidence of the Jacobean iconoclasm. Soon after the succession of Edward VI the Pensioner of Gray's Inn ordered the destruction of the Becket window in the Inn's chapel and its replacement with stained glass imagery representing Christ's sermon on the mount. Meanwhile Archbishop Cranmer ordered the recutting of his prerogative seal and the seals used by the archdiocese and its prerogative court replacing images of Becket's martyrdom with images of the crucifixion and the scourging of Christ respectively.<sup>(133)</sup> Such activity stands in contrast to the iconoclastic activities practised by the followers of those Overall dismissed as 'newe writers'. Such iconophobes would have included the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral who, in 1602, disfigured the face of Moses on the Cathedral's decalogue board.<sup>(134)</sup> Such commandment tables had been set up and illustrated during the Edwardian Reformation; indeed they represented a key feature of Edwardian ecclesiological ideals, but to godly iconophobic Elizabethans, such images were as idolatrous as any 'popish' image of a Saint.

Overall and the Arminians would probably have included George Abbot's censure of Cheapside Cross in their catalogue of new, iconophobic writing. Yet Abbot's iconomachy was contingent on his belief that the repair of Cheapside Cross would excite 'superstitious devotion' amongst London Catholics. Abbot recalled an incident at University College when he destroyed

a stained glass window because some students were allegedly worshipping it.<sup>(135)</sup> By 1615 this behaviour was taken to be a clear indication of his Puritan inclinations, suggesting that staunch iconomachy no longer held the status of unquestionable orthodoxy. As Archbishop, Abbot had summoned John Howson to appear before the king on the charge of 'factitious preaching'. Howson turned the tables on Abbot by referring to Abbot's book censuring the Cross. Abbot denied his authorship, and then claimed that 'none but fooles' would criticise such a cross.<sup>(136)</sup> However, four years later Abbot can be found patronising the glazier Baptista Sutton. Sutton glazed the chapel at Abbot's hospital at Guilford with stained glass images. The subject matter was confined to relatively uncontroversial narrative scenes, taken from the Old Testament, yet it is important to recall that the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry had warned that it was exactly this kind of imagery that posed the initial danger.<sup>(137)</sup> Had Abbot come around to accepting the argument that iconoclasm, and the theology of idolatry used to support it, was no longer relevant? The evidence strongly suggests that this was so. Moreover, Abbot was not the only Calvinist to have exorcised a particular paranoia of idolatry from his conscience.

In 1621 Bishop Montaigne of London, formerly of Lincoln, led an investigation into a series of unauthorized iconoclastic activities that had taken place in St. Bolotoph's church in Boston, Lincolnshire. The matter culminated in a Star Chamber trial that resulted in the exoneration of the leading suspect, John Cotton, minister of St. Bolotoph's.<sup>(138)</sup>



In a sermon delivered 'Ad Clerum' in St. Botolph's on 24 April Robert Sanderson, Minister of nearby Boothby Pagnall and vehement anti-puritan,<sup>(139)</sup> launched a bitter verbal attack against the iconoclasts for taking the law into their own hands.<sup>(140)</sup> Anticipating James I's directions limiting preaching on the theme of predestination to doctors of divinity, Sanderson exclaimed that 'Those men are ill advised, however zealous for the truth, that stir in controverted points, and leave them worse than they find them.' Yet before his audience could catch a breath he went straight into a defence of Calvinist predestinarian doctrine of precisely the form attacked by Archbishop Laud in his admonition of William Prynne just over a decade later:<sup>(141)</sup>

'Sundry of the Doctors of our Church teach truly and agreeably to scripture...'

Sanderson exclaimed,

'...the effectual concurrence of God's will and power with subordinate agents in every, and therefore even in sinful actions, God's free election of those whom He proposeth to save of His own grace, without any motives in or from themselves; the immutability of God's love and grace towards the saints elect, and their certain perseverance therein unto salvation; the justification of the sinners by the imputed righteousness of Christ, apprehended and applied into them by a lively faith, without the works of the law. These are sound and true, and if rightly understood, comfortable and right profitable doctrines.'<sup>(142)</sup>

Sanderson went further to assure his audience of his godly position by listing recreations on the Sabbath plus clerical monopolies, pluralities and non-residency as things 'we indefinitely condemn as evil.'<sup>(143)</sup> He also attacked Catholics who argue 'we made God the author of sin' and denounced their 'unum, necessarium' - the retention of the Pope (whom he accused of being 'Antichrist') on his throne by good means or evil.<sup>(144)</sup> Sanderson based his



sermon on Romans 3.8 in which Paul deplored the principle 'the end justifies the means' ('Let them do evil that good may come? whose damnation is just.')

Sanderson used this theme to draw an explicit parallel with popish principle and unauthorised iconoclastic practice:

'You may read it in the disfigured windows and walls of this church. Pictures and statues and images, and, for their sakes, the windows and walls wherin they stood, have heretofore and of late pulled down, and broken in pieces and defaced, without the command, or so much as the leave, of those who have power to reform things amiss in that kind.'<sup>(145)</sup>

Sanderson attacked the iconoclasts 'froward and misgoverned zeal, intending [*sic*] therin God's glory in the further suppression of idolatry, by taking away these, as they supposed, likely occasions of it.' Like Overall, Sanderson claimed that the 'superstition' which the iconoclasts wished to prevent had already been abolished and argued that he had yet to hear a convincing reason why images and statues should not be used 'for adorning God's house, and for civil and historical uses, not only lawfully and decently, but even profitably'.<sup>(146)</sup> For Sanderson, unauthorised iconoclastic activity represented the thin end of the anarchistic wedge. If superstition was not only to be abolished but all potential causes of it removed, he argued, then 'not pictures only, and crosses, and images, but most of our hospitals, and schools, and colleges, and churches must be down, and so the hatred of idolatry should but usher in licentious sacrilege, contrary to that passage of our Apostles... Thou that abhorrest idols, commitest thou sacrilege.' Moreover, if others took the iconoclastic hammer into their own hands without support from the authorities then 'vast anarchy', leading to the subversion of Church and State, would ensue.<sup>(147)</sup> This argument had clear Catholic origins.



Bishop Gardiner, for example, warned that iconoclasm was ‘an enterprise to subvert religion’ and an ‘attack on the [hierarchical] state of the world’.<sup>(148)</sup>

Similarly Peter Heylyn claimed that Laud's policy was to prevent all forms of unauthorized iconoclasm, lest ‘If suffered to go on defacing windowes, they would be spirited in short time to pull down churches’.<sup>(149)</sup>

Sanderson's argument that superstition has already been eradicated and that surviving remnants of pre-Reformation ecclesiology were now of primarily historical, didactic use was undoubtedly sincere. His concern to keep in with the godly through sharing explicit sympathy for Sabbatarianism, contempt for clerical ‘abuses’ such as pluralities but above all, his avowed Calvinist predestinarianism would not have won him many English Arminian friends, yet his equation of iconoclasm with sacrilege (note his criticism of images ‘*heretofore* and of late pulled down’) and his defence of images in churches strongly suggests (given the context of his sermon) that iconoclastic orthodoxies respecting the peril of idolatry were no longer accepted by the ecclesiastical establishment, whose views Sanderson was expected to represent. Sanderson was concerned that his audience did not mis-report him and claim that he ‘preached facticiously’ since his primary aim, he declared, was simply ‘the peace of the Church.’<sup>(150)</sup> It is clear that Sanderson knew that his sermon would be controversial, and significant that he wanted, nonetheless, to be identified with godly interests with respect to doctrine and the Sabbath - issues which English Arminians a generation later would unhesitatingly equate with puritanism.<sup>(151)</sup> Unfortunately there is no evidence of whether Sanderson changed his views on

the dangers of images as a result of experiencing the 1630s and the widely publicised denunciations of the 'return to popery' that the English Arminian drive to implement 'the beauty of holiness' with images and altars was seen to signify.<sup>(152)</sup>

Sanderson's position clearly reflected the views of the Supreme Governor, whose influence in ecclesiastical affairs was considerable.<sup>(153)</sup> The re-appearance of images in churches was clearly a hallmark of James's ecclesiastical policy. In a similar way iconoclastic consciences were moulded by the outbreak of the Civil War and religious revolution.

In 1634 Sir William Brereton, though a patron of Puritan ministers,<sup>(154)</sup> took time to admire the font which the prebendaries of Durham procured for the Cathedral. He observed that the images adorning it were 'curiously carved' and 'described the history of Christ's baptism'. By accepting that these images were descriptive and historical Brereton was clearly not naturally inclined to regard such images as idolatrous.<sup>(155)</sup> As we have seen Peter Smart, by contrast, claimed the same images were 'abominable idols' that 'polluted and disfigur'd' the font.<sup>(156)</sup> However when the Civil War broke out Brereton became actively involved in iconoclastic activity, both supervising the destruction of the 'scandalous windowes' at Chester Cathedral, and attacking various churches along the Welsh Marches.<sup>(157)</sup> These 'scandalous windowes' were examples of Bishop Bridgeman of Chester's recent ecclesiastical patronage, evidence of non-Arminian interest in religious art that came to be mistaken for the 'new



popery' of English Arminianism during the confused slide into the Civil War.<sup>(158)</sup> Yet during the war Brereton proved equally keen to destroy ancient monuments which he now equated with 'ignorance and superstition'. This included the spire of Lichfield Cathedral which he assumed was representative of the papal crown.<sup>(159)</sup> Brereton's iconoclastic temperament was clearly shaped by the religious changes of the Civil-War and his role as a godly commander - just as his aesthetic, antiquarian interests reflected the stability of the early 1630s.

This evidence reflects the fluctuating vogue of iconoclasm and anti-iconoclasm. Brereton was an archetypal godly magistrate during the 1620s and 1630s who nonetheless paid the forced loan and ship money promptly without expressing any grievance.<sup>(160)</sup> His antiquarian interests of the 1620s reflected wider, contemporary interest in the relics of the middle ages, a curiosity that had clearly replaced such religious interest in manifestations of Catholic piety that many believed had come to pass.<sup>(161)</sup> There is no indication that Brereton was prepared to equate the monuments that attracted his interest in the 1620s with 'ignorance and superstition' as he would in his providential role as godly Civil War commander.

Indeed it was possible to be a private, or at least semi-clandestine iconophile, and a public iconoclast. For instance, John Williams, as Dean of Westminster and later as Bishop of Lincoln, devoted an enormous amount of time and money beautifying Westminster Abbey with statues.<sup>(162)</sup> He also adorned his private chapel at Buckden and his new chapel at Lincoln College Oxford with

images and an altar. Williams was a Calvinist, but he nevertheless managed to reconcile his theological ideals with his ecclesiological taste.<sup>(163)</sup> His ecclesiological patronage took place between 1621 and 1636. However, when these ideals became publicly linked to a 'popish plot', and Williams himself become a victim (rightly or wrongly) of the malice of Laud, he turned iconoclast.

In 1637, Williams publicly and ceremoniously marched into Jasper Fisher's church in Yelden, Bedfordshire and destroyed the stone altar Fisher had erected. Fisher wrote complaining to his friend John Pocklington (Williams's former chaplain) whence the story reached Archbishop Laud's Metropolitanical Report to the King.<sup>(164)</sup> This action may well have inspired Pocklington to extol the forms of piety he found in William's private chapel at Buckden as a means of embarrassing the Bishop in the following year's new edition of his book Altare Caesarem.<sup>(165)</sup>

These examples all serve to demonstrate how contemporary attitudes to ecclesiological affairs were not necessarily dogmatic; rather they could be shaped by political and historical contexts which might prove as changeable as the personalities living through them. In the case of Bishop Joseph Hall we have further evidence of the ways in which the changing religious and political circumstances of the early seventeenth century influenced thinking about ecclesiological affairs.

Hall was a Calvinist who, like the other Calvinists I have referred to, believed that the Church of England was sufficiently purged of idolatry to not



warrant subjection to further iconoclastic reform. Thus he was horrified by what he termed the 'furious sacrilege' that beset his cathedral of Norwich under the direction of the local Sheriff and Aldermen as the iconoclasm of the Civil War reached its zenith.<sup>(166)</sup> This evidence might suggest that Hall believed that religious images such as the stained glass images representing medieval bishops that he attempted to prevent the iconoclasts from destroying had a valid place in English places of worship. This may be so, but there is no other evidence that he approved of images, let alone advocated their use in religious contexts. In fact there were circumstances in which he supported iconoclasm and argued that ecclesiastical affairs were of negligible importance compared to evangelical issues, especially preaching.

During the early 1620s, Hall toured parts of the Spanish Netherlands, then engulfed by inter-confessionalist hostility. In a public letter, written to Sir Thomas Chandler, Hall commented upon the sight of many Roman Catholic churches burnt by Dutch rebels:

Furie hath done that there, *which couetounsesse would doe with vs; would doe but shall not*: The truth within shall not save the walls without. And, to speake truly (whatever the vulgar exclaim) Idolatorie pulled down those wals; not rage. If there had beene noe Hollander to raze them, they should haue fallen alone, rather than hide soe much impietie under their guiltie roofe. These are not soe much spectacles of cruelty as justice; Cruelty of Man, Justice of God.'<sup>(167)</sup>

The first sentence of the above quotation is significant: there is no rage in England to compare with the iconoclastic fury vented by the Dutch rebels against the Roman Catholic churches. Hall was clearly maintaining that any

contemporary English motives for iconoclasm were based on jealousy for Church goods and property, motives which at this time were not in themselves sufficient to warrant a course of further iconoclastic reformation. Thus Hall could condone anti-papal iconoclasm, but not iconoclasm that was directed against the ecclesiology of the Church of England.

During the consecration sermon which Hall prepared in 1622/3 for the Earl of Exeter's 'Happily-Restored and Re-edified Chappell', Hall referred to the beauty of the first Christian chapel to be consecrated (by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem), Hall invited his audience to

'Imagine the Altar never so gay, the Imagery neuer so curious, the Vestments neuer so rich, the Pillars, Wals, Windowes, Pauement, neuer so exquisite; yet I boldly say, this present glory of this House in this comley whitenesse, and well-contrived cactation [*sic*], is greater than the former what care I? Nay, what doth God care for the work of the Lapidary, or Painter, or Mason? One zealous prayer, one orthodox sermon is a more glorious furniture than all the precious rarities of Mechanique excellencies.'<sup>68</sup>)

Admittedly there is a twenty year lapse, between the time Hall made these comments (and those about the iconoclastic activities of the Dutch rebels) and the onset of the English Civil War, when Hall's opinions might have well changed. Yet there is an underlying consistency beneath each of Hall's points about ecclesiology and iconoclasm. The implicit argument within Hall's Hard Measure is that English ecclesiology is not tarnished by idolatry and therefore does not warrant subjection to iconoclastic damage. Like Whitgift before him, Hall recognised the material value of the kinds of artefact would-be iconoclasts might select for removal and destruction. Hall opposed such materialist iconoclasts, but



reserved his opinions about English iconoclasts who operated with genuine spiritual conviction, condoning only the Dutch rebels who opposed the 'idolatry' of Rome. At heart, Hall harboured an iconomachic temperament and would have clearly preferred to see the ecclesiology of the English Church adhere to the principles governing the adornment of Exeter's chapel than launch out into colourful depths of ventures such as Peterhouse chapel; not least since such ventures proved sufficient to turn the iconoclastic spotlight onto less harmful ecclesiological manifestations such as his own chapel and cathedral in Norwich.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to delineate the range of Protestant positions respecting theology and religious art of the early seventeenth century. The Reformation clearly bequeathed a paradoxical legacy. Iconoclasm, traditionally thought of as a destructive process was, as we have seen, potentially creative - a process of ecclesiological conversion. The evidence I have discussed in this chapter demonstrates that in early Stuart England conforming Protestants had come to regard iconoclasm and fear of the danger of religious images as a thing of the past. It seems clear that they accepted the Cranmerian line that things once used to serve the purposes of idolatry and superstition could be re-directed to serve Protestant interests now applied to images. So much so, that Calvinists such as Humphrey Sydenham could welcome the ecclesiological innovations introduced by English Arminians in the 1620s and 1630s (which as we have seen were carefully defended through a re-invention of the history of the Reformation designed to undermine its iconoclastic legacy). However these changes were not

immediate. The living memory of idolatry in England needed to be either eradicated or compromised before members of the ecclesiastical establishment were prepared to show any willingness to contemplate the return of religious images, as the experience and patronage of George Abbot demonstrates.

The controversy over the justification of the use of religious images in churches was a complex affair, revolving around historical, political and theological contexts and interests as well as more basic aesthetic concerns. Images clearly had a role to play in English Arminian piety, and the value Arminians such as Laud and Neile accorded to them clearly sets them apart from their Calvinist contemporaries, whose views respectively ranged from iconophobic opposition to reformed tolerance. In the forthcoming chapters I want to show how these varied interests actually influenced the patronage of the religious arts and the refurbishment of churches in early Stuart England, from the advent of the Stuarts until the onset of the Civil War.



## CHAPTER TWO

### ANTI-ICONOCLASM: THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL DIMENSION

#### Introduction

In October 1629 Charles I issued a proclamation that was intended both to address the purportedly negligent condition of the nation's churches and hinder 'the decayes of Churches and Chappels for the tyme to come'.<sup>(1)</sup> It is well known that this proclamation was enforced through the combined energies of Archbishops Richard Neile and William Laud during the 1630s. Under the auspices of a recognised need for utilitarian church repairs, these churchmen brought into effect a radical series of ecclesiological changes - communion tables were moved altar-wise, fonts re-placed by the south entrances and the fabrics re-edified; in other words this proclamation was the first step in introducing 'the beauty of holiness' to the nation's worship.<sup>(2)</sup> But was the problem of church desecration and neglect really as bad as the proclamation made out?

Christopher Hill clearly demonstrated how Laud and his followers worked hard to resolve the economic problems of the Church in their battle against the Feoffees for Church impropriations, wresting Church patronage from the hands of this puritan network during the 1630s.<sup>(3)</sup> But should we accept the Laudian argument that the lay controllers of Church patronage and advowsons failed to properly maintain the chancels of the churches for which they were responsible, both vitiating the significance of the worship performed there and disparaging the

status of their ministers? And what about the churches under more immediate ecclesiastical control? During the 1630s the Arminians endeavoured to secure greater ecclesiastical control over the Church, and as populations grew or altered their locations, lay offers to build and sustain new churches and chapels were subjected to the intense scrutiny of English Arminian diocesans before they were allowed to proceed.<sup>(4)</sup> Yet a recent investigation into the maintenance of churches in Elizabethan Huntingdonshire has produced evidence indicating that consistent efforts were made to ensure that these buildings were physically well maintained, well before the Arminian rise to power. It seems tempting to sympathise with Andrew Woodger's argument that efforts to repair and rebuild church towers in the Elizabethan period have been overlooked largely by the fact that such work was indistinguishable from the original product, and share his view that wealthy parishioners would hardly have been likely to invest in lavish funeral monuments only to house them in churches which were falling to pieces.<sup>(5)</sup> George Bernard has criticised Woodger's claims that the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries were a period of significant church building and repair work, not least for his 'extravagant' contention that this era 'saw even greater alterations' than later Victorian initiatives. Nevertheless Bernard concedes that this period 'may yet prove to be a period of significant church building'.<sup>(6)</sup> Bernard's concession is reasonable. Responses in Lincolnshire in 1603 to Archbishop Whitgift's inquiries about the condition of churches, and the interest shown by lay controllers of the advowsons (responsible for the upkeep of the chancels), indicate that most churches were fairly well looked after, but most which were not were those subject to lay impropriations.<sup>(7)</sup>



Julia Merritt has uncovered considerable evidence of high financial investment in the repair and beautification of churches in Westminster parishes, beginning in the 1580s and continuing throughout the reign of James I, whilst Valerie Hitchman has used churchwardens accounts from Kent to demonstrate that throughout the early seventeenth century parish churches were subject to regular maintenance and kept in exceptionally good condition, with no noticeable rise in expenditure after 1625.<sup>(8)</sup> Hitchman's evidence of regular expenditure on parish churches demonstrates that they were not subject to the degree of neglect that English Arminians and later historians argued was the case.<sup>(9)</sup> Surprising, Hitchman has discovered that this repair work was not the consequence of episcopal interest or direction, which she notes was minimal before Laud's rise to power (and, unlike other counties, little more noticeable during the period of his ascendancy). Thus whilst we have become aware of an important Jacobean phase of church re-edification and rebuilding, we have little idea of what inspired it. George Yule has recently argued that

‘Owing to the propaganda of the Laudian revolution which has come down to us further advanced by the Oxford movement, the Jacobean Church and its buildings have had a very negative reputation. But in fact the Jacobean episcopal records show that attention was given to repairing and enhancing buildings.’<sup>(10)</sup>

Unfortunately the ‘episcopal evidence’ he refers to is in fact the Elizabethan evidence concerning the reply from the Bishop of Lincoln to Archbishop Whitgift's letter enquiring into the condition of churches in his diocese in 1602-3, to which I have just referred.<sup>(11)</sup> Yet Yule has presented other evidence demonstrating significant expenditure on communion seating,

commandment boards, texts and royal arms, as well as pulpits, desks and nave pews during the reign of James I. Are we then justified in assuming that Jacobean investment in church fabric, though greater than the Arminians would credit, was nevertheless limited to such furnishings as were strictly in keeping with the iconoclastic orthodoxies of the Elizabethan Church? Or did the accession of James I encourage Protestants with an interest in church decoration to adopt a new ecclesiological agenda? In the first section of this chapter I shall attempt to answer these questions by looking at evidence of the Chapel Royal and cathedrals, with a focus on the decorative aspects of refurbishment rather than rebuilding and liturgical arrangement.

From 1606, and for the first time since the English Reformation, staunch Protestants began to complain that churches and cathedrals were getting adorned with stained glass windows and other religious images and decorations, a practice that is usually associated with English Arminianism and ‘the beauty of holiness’ in the 1630s. For example William Bradshaw, sometime lecturer at Chatham, criticised English churchmen for failing to maintain accepted Protestant values respecting the presence of images in churches. Whilst Nicholas Tyacke has noted this Puritan opposition to these innovations, no one has yet attempted to establish the basis of these complaints.<sup>(12)</sup>

In the first section of this chapter I shall examine the ecclesiological interests of King James I and the precedents he set through his choice of decoration for the Chapel Royal. Did the king follow Queen Elizabeth I and



ignore the interests of his bishops in the way he chose to adorn his chapel? My argument is that following his succession to the English Throne James developed clear views regarding ecclesiology, and in decorating his chapel with images he sent out a clear message that as king of England he would not be intimidated by fear of the ‘peril of idolatry’ that had hitherto dictated the ecclesiological interests of the leaders of the English Church. In this section I shall also examine evidence of a Puritan reaction against Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich, who was criticised in the Parliament of 1624 for the erection of religious images in a church in his diocese. Whilst these allegations against Harsnet are well known, they have never been set in context with the ecclesiological interests of King James, who defended the bishop by reference to the precedent of his royal chapel. In section two I consider further evidence of the re-appearance of images in Jacobean cathedrals and the church of St. Giles in the Fields, Bloomsbury. What was the religious significance of these apparent acts of piety? Was there a link between these investments and the rise of English Arminianism? My findings have led me to two aspects of English Protestantism, with roots in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, that have hitherto attracted little academic interest - the quest for atonement for the ‘sacrilegious’ alienation of church property and iconoclasm of the Reformation, and the ecclesiological application of the Biblical prescription to worship ‘in the beauty of holiness’.<sup>(13)</sup>

In the third and fourth sections of this chapter I shall argue that ‘sacrilege’ and ‘the beauty of holiness’ were open to distinct interpretations that cannot be easily reconciled to a simple antithesis between Calvinism and Arminianism. My

main point is that interest in addressing the sin of sacrilege developed as a result of the Stuart succession, for, as Pauline Croft has shown with her work on the changing religious interests of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Protestants could now take liberty to denounce the policies of the Tudor monarchs to an extent which they would not have dared whilst Elizabeth I was still alive.<sup>(14)</sup>

With regard to 'the beauty of holiness', my aim is to show how this ideal developed in sermons of both Calvinist and Arminian divines, two of which were preached in the Jacobean Court. Nevertheless in the hands of the Arminians (inspired by the writings of Richard Hooker) this ideal took on a new ecclesiological significance, underlined by their understanding that the human senses were no longer stigmatised by the curse of idolatry. Accordingly this conception of the beauty of holiness facilitated the rehabilitation of aesthetically stimulating art forms in places of worship, setting the stage for the elaborate ecclesiological experiments of the 1630s.

## I

In 1606 Andrew Melville, Provost of New College, Aberdeen, arrived in England to assist King James I with his plans to restore episcopacy into Scotland. Having joined the English Court in worship in the Chapel Royal, Melville later professed that he was shocked by the chapel's layout and service. There he found an altar, on top of which were placed two service books and a pair of candles, left in preparation for the king's communion service. Organ music filled the chapel as the King and Queen approached the altar 'with great ceremony' to receive the



sacraments, but the sound was not so distracting as to prevent the Provost from over-hearing the Prince de Vaudemont's attendant express his opinion that 'there is nothing wanting here but the adoration of the Host'. Before Melville had a chance to leave the country he was arrested for a poem that he had written and carelessly left in his quarters. Translated it reads,

'Doth she [ie the Church of England] with chapel put in Romish Dress  
The purple Whore religiously express?(<sup>15</sup>)

Why should such a high ranking representative of one of Europe's more 'perfectly reformed' churches respond to the worship and layout of the Jacobean Chapel Royal in this manner? Arguably because even the sound of music and any elaborate ceremonial practice not grounded on scriptural precedence was as idolatrous and offensive to a staunch Calvinist conscience as anything the Church of Rome had to offer. Equally there may have been a political reason for this clearly polemical outburst. Melville was frustrated by the king's initiative to introduce episcopacy into his country, and therefore he painted the ecclesiology of the Chapel Royal in popish colours as a warning of the depths of spiritual depravity to which a realm subject to the influence of an ecclesiastical hierarchy might sink. But had the king really forsaken his Calvinist upbringing under George Buchanan and embraced popery? Clearly there can have been no greater political disparity within the British Isles than the one that existed between the beliefs of James I and the leaders of the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk. And yet despite James's opposition to the political 'Aberrations' of the Scottish presbyterian system (which he endured before he successfully restored

episcopacy), he was praised at his funeral by an English Calvinist divine because ‘...he honoured those preachers to his dying day for the truth of their Doctrine in all other points.’<sup>(16)</sup> But how far did the ecclesiological layout of the Chapel Royal reflect the king’s personal sense of piety? And to what extent did James I regard the Chapel Royal as an ecclesiological ideal to be emulated in the dioceses and parishes, as a precedent for national worship?

The Chapel Royal had long been recognised as an ecclesiological statement of the monarch’s sense of piety. According to Charles Baldwin, an immediate consequence of Henry VIII’s schism with Rome was that the Chapel Royal became ‘the king’s vehicle for showing how he meant the Church and liturgy to develop.’<sup>(17)</sup> Just as the Chapel Royal bore the ecclesiological hallmarks of ‘Henrician Catholicism’, so it became the focal point for the Protestant liturgical reforms of the Edwardian Protectorate. In September 1548 Protector Somerset wrote to the University of Cambridge ordering them to adhere to ‘one uniform order, rite and ceremony in the mass, matins and even-song and all other divine service to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the king’s majesty’s chapel, and none other...’<sup>(18)</sup> It was also at the Chapel Royal where Cranmer’s revisions of the Prayer Book in 1552 were first put into liturgical effect; yet no evidence survives to indicate whether Cranmer’s new emphasis on the memorial, as opposed to the sacramental, significance of the sacraments was reflected in the conversion of the Chapel altar to a table.<sup>(19)</sup> During the reign of Elizabeth I the Queen’s decision to retain a silver cross upon the altar of the Chapel Royal made this edifice stand out from amidst the iconoclastic holocaust



as a unique expression of English ecclesiology, yet as Margaret Aston has shown, her bishops ensured that this unwanted precedent failed to influence the decoration of churches at parish level.<sup>(20)</sup> However during the reign of the first two Stuarts the Chapel Royal once again received recognition as a model of ecclesiological legitimacy. According to Addleshaw and Etchells, during the 1630s

‘The Laudian divines dreamt of a beautiful worship spreading from the Chapel Royal, where the best in Anglicanism had been preserved in the upheavals of the Reformation, by way of Cathedrals to every parish church in the kingdom.’<sup>(21)</sup>

The idea that ‘the best of Anglicanism’ had been preserved in the Chapel Royal over the course of the Reformation is clearly an anachronism and suggests that the chapel’s ecclesiological layout was structured according to a medieval ideal that had remained unchanged until this time. Thanks to Aston and Baldwin we now know that this is not true. Given that Elizabeth’s bishops limited their criticism of Elizabeth’s chapel to the presence of the silver cross, it seems most likely that some iconoclasm had taken place following the death of Catholic Queen Mary, who had done much to reform the chapel in the wake of Edwardian desacralisation.<sup>(22)</sup> If the Laudians were promoting the Chapel Royal as a legitimate ecclesiological precedent then it would be fair to ask whether they were following a precedent that had significantly altered between the death of Elizabeth and the death of James I?

Between 1590 and 1625 James appears to have aligned himself to two distinct positions regarding ecclesiological affairs, and his thoughts may be

shown to have been shaped by the immediate political circumstances that made them an issue. In 1590 James spoke up for the principles of the Scottish Kirk by attacking the English liturgy, claiming that it too closely approximated the Roman Mass.<sup>(23)</sup> Yet if this was not a political gesture to the Scottish Kirk and the king sincerely believed this, then why did he not seek a radical reform of the Prayer Book on his succession to the English throne? In view of Melville's criticism of the Jacobean Chapel Royal it seems that either the king's English divines had settled his qualms on this matter, or he realised the diplomatic utility of the chapel as an advertisement of English worship to potentially favourable Catholic powers. Either way, as king of England James adopted a religious posture regarding controversial ecclesiological issues that was a far cry from his Scottish policy, let alone the rigid Calvinist fear of idolatry that dictated Melville's antipathy towards the Chapel Royal. In 1616 the king was still happy to attack Rome for elevating the host 'and above all for worshipping images', yet by this time he believed such 'idolatry' was an exclusively Catholic error.<sup>(24)</sup> Thus he argued

'I am no Iconomachus; I quarrell not with the making of images, wither for public decoration or for mens private uses: But they should not bee worshipped, be prayed to, or any holinesse attributed to them.'<sup>(25)</sup>

With regard to the legitimate images, was James referring to images in houses or images in churches? And what kind of images was he prepared to tolerate? In 1616-17 leading Scottish Churchmen were alarmed by the restoration programme the king was considering for the Chapel Royal in Holyroodhouse. James's intention was to decorate the chapel with images representing the Apostles and Faith, Hope and Charity, which were to be painted by Inigo Jones.



He was particularly annoyed by iconomachic criticism of his designs, which was conveyed to him from leading Scottish clergy through Archbishop Spottiswoode.

Accordingly James denounced

'..the error in your judgement of that graven work, which is not of an idolatrous kind, like to Images and painted Pictures adored and worshipped by Papists, but merely intended for ornament and decoration of the Place where we should sit.'<sup>(26)</sup>

This point offended the Scottish Dean of the Chapel, William Cowper, who expressed abhorrence at James's willingness to allow 'his English Doctors' to 'instruct us in these and other points.' However, the King diplomatically bowed to Cowper's requests by cancelling the image order, ostensibly on the basis that the Master of the Works could not guarantee the project's completion in time for his visit.<sup>(27)</sup>

This evidence suggests that James was not prepared to risk unduly upsetting the iconomachic sensibilities of his Scottish clergy whose interests, respecting his denunciation of the English Liturgy, he once appeared to share. However it is evident that he was adopting a different position for his English Church, and one that was in accordance with the interests of his English bishops (who had evidently shrugged off that paranoia of idolatry responsible for shaping the ecclesiological ideals of their Elizabethan predecessors). The bishops' advice was clearly repeated when James arranged to re-deck the Chapel Royal at Whitehall four years later. Writing to an acquaintance at the English college in Rome, one Dr. Bishop claimed that James had asked his bishops if the Roman 'adoration' of images was idolatrous. When they answered 'no', the king decided

to have images painted and adorned for use in the Royal Chapel.<sup>(28)</sup> It seems more likely that any positive answer that James would have received from his bishops concerning this issue would have been limited just to the presence and didactic or aesthetic utility of images in religious contexts, since the bishops would hardly have endorsed the veneration of any religious object. Maybe Bishop's impression was based on a rumour circulated as part of James' strategy to make English ecclesiology sound more appealing to Spain, but worshipped or not, painted images in the Chapel Royal were now a reality.

In fact, the Chapel Royal at Windsor had been adorned with religious imagery from as early as 1613. That year, a hanging was produced to adorn this chapel 'conteyning a part of the storie of the Actes of the Apostles' which would have probably hung behind the altar.<sup>(29)</sup> The modifications to the Chapel Royal at Whitehall are revealed by a rare German engraving, depicting the ratification of the proposed marriage treaty between England and Spain at the chapel on 20 July 1623. This engraving portrays two elevated altars - one in an ante-chapel and the other at chapel's east end. Both altars are raised by one step. Two candle sticks are placed on top of each altar whilst a triptych, portraying the crucifixion in the middle section, is set behind each one.<sup>(30)</sup>

James' denunciation of the 'idolatrous' use of images in Roman Catholic worship in 1616 is his last recorded public criticism of the practice, for his efforts to gain peace in Europe through securing a marriage alliance with the Spanish Infanta evidently softened his personal opposition to Catholic religious practice.



During the 1620s he felt publicly bound to take the wind out of the sails of more prominent divines' attacks against Roman patterns of worship. A good example of this was his insistence that Francis White remove the word 'Idolatry' from his reply to Fisher the Jesuit in 1623.<sup>(31)</sup> In the same year James sent his son Charles to Spain to finalise the marriage proposals with the Infanta. The letters which he sent to his son and the Duke of Buckingham at this time shed light on the potential elasticity of his position respecting Rome and his ecclesiastical policy more generally.

In March, James shipped Matthew Wren and Leonard Mawe over to Spain to serve as the Prince's chaplains because they were, he believed, 'fittest for the purpose'.<sup>(32)</sup> Both men would gain significant preferments under Charles I and figure prominently in the implementation of 'Popish' and Arminian innovations in their respective Jurisdictions.<sup>(33)</sup> In 1622, as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Mawe helped Buckingham's Chaplain, William Lucy, by shielding him from the wrath of the Heads following a speech Lucy made 'totally for Arminianisme'.<sup>(34)</sup>

Wren had served as Lancelot Andrewes's chaplain (who was then Dean of the Chapel Royal) and he was familiar with Andrewes's liturgical experiments.<sup>(35)</sup> Wren clearly had no Catholic leanings since in 1616 he was involved in drawing the King's attention to John Pocklington's allegedly popish activities as Pocklington was convented at Cambridge University for arguing 'how acceptable the Romish religion was in former ages' and for having 'approved the

lawfulness and requisitenesse of going to Masse'.<sup>(36)</sup> Pocklington was then chaplain to Samuel Harsnet, who became subject, as Bishop of Norwich, to charges of introducing such 'popish novelties' as high altars and images in churches.<sup>(37)</sup>

James believed that Wren and Mawe could show the Spanish how the performance and liturgical setting of English worship might

'...prove decent and agreeable to the purity of the Primitive Church and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully be done'.

However, they failed to impress the Spanish who assumed that the pair were 'two ministers of Calvin's sect' and refused to allow any Protestant services in the Prince's quarters in Madrid.<sup>(38)</sup>

In his letter to the Pope, James expressed willingness to go with the Catholics 'usque ad aras' (even unto altars). Had Wren and Mawe been allowed to administer to the Prince, then this wish would have found salient fulfilment in the layout of his temporary chapel in Madrid. Significantly, the surviving description of this chapel's decorations and layout for the administration of the sacraments tally with what we know about the design and ecclesiological purpose of the chapel of the leading English Arminian, Lancelot Andrewes. These ministers were expected to administer from the altar wafer bread and wine diluted with water to kneeling communicants. <sup>(39)</sup> Clearly James had moved some way from being a critic of the Elizabethan liturgy to becoming a diplomatic advocate



of 'the beauty of holiness', and his policies illustrate both the intimate connection and flexibility between religion, ecclesiology and state politics over this period. But did his policies and interests respecting ecclesiological issues reap any dividends beyond the Chapel Royal?

Late in 1623, some three hundred Norwich citizens petitioned the mayor, Thomas Craske, to complain about the ecclesiastical policy of their diocesan, Bishop Samuel Harsnet. From there the issue was taken up by their M.P., Sir Edward Coke, who raised the matter during the Parliament of 1624.<sup>(40)</sup> This petition was received on 6th May and a parliamentary committee was set up to investigate the matter on the 14th. As a result a report was prepared and passed on to the Lords the following week.<sup>(41)</sup> The Parliamentary report was divided into six points that included allegations that he had supervised the erection of images including 'one of the Holy Ghost [which] fluttered over the font' (of St. Peter's church) and had pulled down a marble tomb to provide room for statues.<sup>(42)</sup>

Coke's interest in the case is the fundamental reason why this case got as far as it did, and he successfully demonstrated Parliament's entitlement to try Churchmen for religious offences.<sup>(43)</sup> But it is important to bear in mind the fact that Coke was an orthodox Protestant pursuing what he believed to be an orthodox Protestant cause. He was born and bred in Norwich and maintained a close interest in its ecclesiastical establishment. Thus in 1597, in his capacity as Attorney General, he quashed a lay initiative to appropriate the bishopric's

demesne and ensured that the lands were returned to the bishop and legally protected.<sup>(44)</sup> Yet the debate that Harsnet's case stimulated in both Houses of Parliament encouraged the expression of a wide range of opinions respecting the role of the laity in the governance of the Church. Whilst some M.P.s deemed it necessary for the House to 'question every canon', others maintained that they had no right to reform these matters since they were limited to the governance of ecclesiastical bodies. However it was generally agreed that Harsnet's alleged offences should be treated as a genuine grievance and the matter was referred to the Lords. They in turn (with the notable exception of Lord Say and Sele) decided that the religious offences should be judged by the High Commission, which meant that the matter was effectively dropped.<sup>(45)</sup>

Harsnet's insistence that the issue should extend to a full hearing (purportedly so that he could clear his name) is no doubt testimony to his confidence of the King's support, if not his implicit belief that he could root out Puritan foibles in the evidence against him.<sup>(46)</sup> By contrast the confidence of the plaintiffs (including Thomas Stokes, the failed candidate for the archdeaconry of Norwich) was reflected in the time and money a number of them were willing to spend in London helping Coke with the case. Their hopes were dashed by the King's final word over the matter. Not only did James defend some of the offences which Harsnet in his speech to the Lords had actually denied committing, he also went on to condemn 'the wrong done' to Harsnet on their account.<sup>(47)</sup>



James criticised the petitioners' misgivings according to the same principles that he used to denounce the Scottish ministers' qualms respecting their perceived connection between images and idolatry. According to the petitioners

'..since preachinge was put downe, images were set up, namely in St Peters Church, crucifixes set up, a faire monument defaced and a high altar made'.<sup>(48)</sup>

The link between the appearance of images and reduced preaching was evidently interpreted as an ideological assault against the Reformation orthodoxy that the propagation of true doctrine was the primary duty of the English ministry. The 'faire monument' the petitioners claimed had been defaced would hardly have been a manifestation of Catholic piety and it is tempting to think that Harsnet was anticipating William Laud's efforts in the late 1630s to deface monuments of anti-Catholic propaganda, such as those commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada, or portraying the Pope as Antichrist that Laud ordered destroyed in Kent during his primacy.<sup>(49)</sup> Equally the 'faire monument' may have represented a godly layman, who, like other Elizabethans and Jacobeans, chose to be buried in the east end of churches because he had no idea that his burial space would eventually become re-sacralised and allotted to the presence of a new 'high altar'.<sup>(50)</sup>

James refused to equate Harsnet's involvement with images with the suppression of preaching. In a speech read before the House on 12 June he argued that these images were the legitimate 'ornaments of the Church'. He

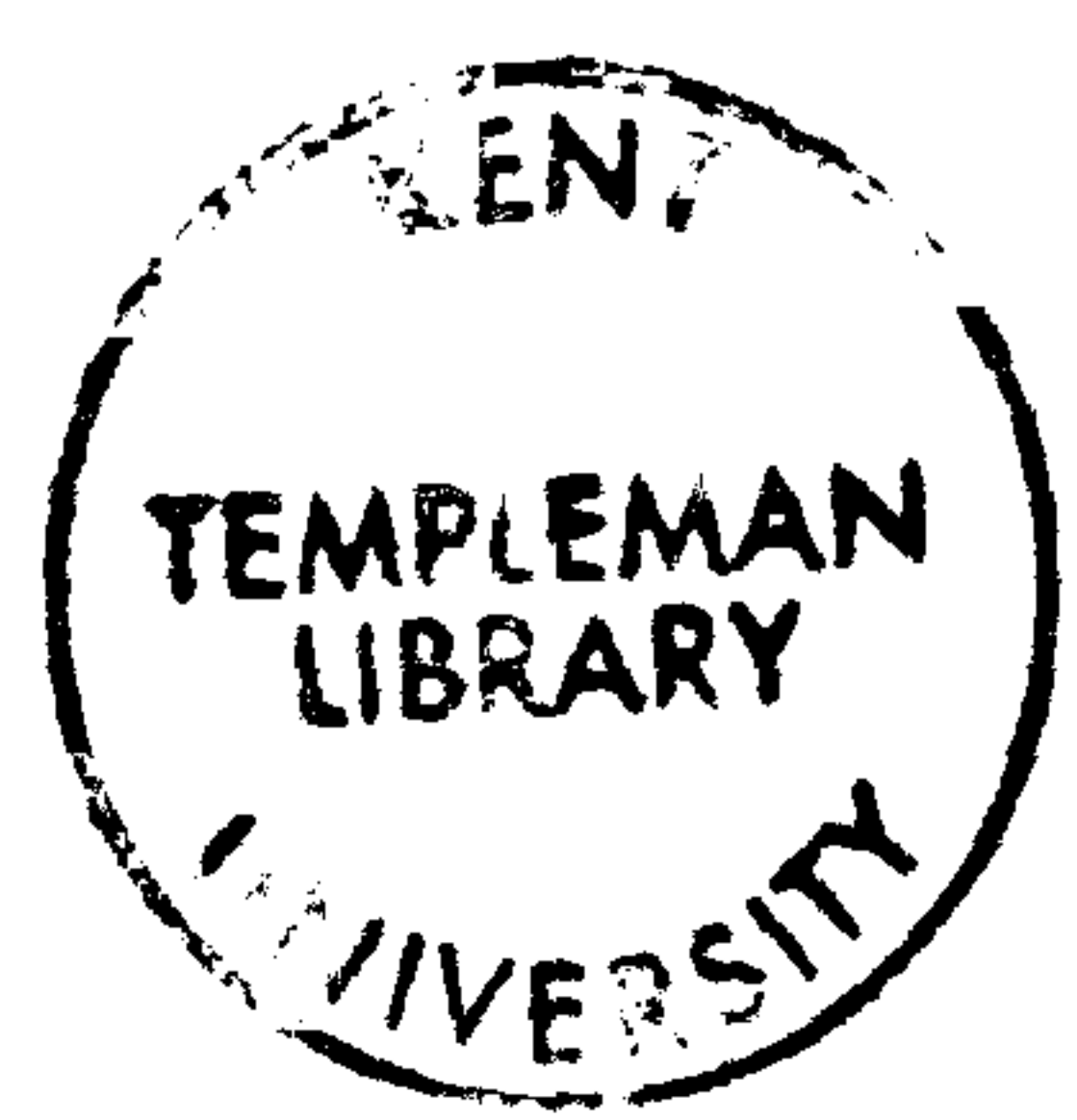
concluded his speech by again attempting to distinguish both his and Harsnet's ecclesiological interests from orthodox English Protestant decalogue prohibitions and their context in English law:

I am warning you that you who call the ornaments of the Church Idolatrye being nothing but the figures of the Apostles and such like as I have in myne owne chapel: I praise my Lord of Norwich for his ordering his churches and commend it in spite of all the Puritanes *and commende you my Lord Bishops to doe the like in your severall dioceses*'.<sup>(51)</sup>

The petitioners were not satisfied with this outcome, and sought further parliamentary assistance in 1628, when Edmund Gurnay, the Rector of Harpley and extreme iconomach, tried but failed to stimulate any interest in the case.<sup>(52)</sup> Clearly the king's ecclesiological policy was innovational and upsetting to English Protestants brought up to fear the peril of idolatry that images in churches were seen to pose. His point that images were now 'the legitimate ornaments of the church', and his recommendation that his bishops treat the adornment of the Chapel Royal as a precedent for church decoration, represented a clear rejection of Reformation orthodoxy. Yet his claim that English churches were already adorned with images needs to be verified, and we also need to establish the religious significance of such ecclesiological change.

## II

In addition to the precedent set by the Chapel Royal, attitudes towards religious images in England appear to have been changing as a result of James's





international role as Rex Pacificus. This policy included the presence of English ambassadors based near the Puritan 'seat of Antichrist' - Rome. Ambassadors like Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and Sir Dudley Carleton were responsible for importing a number of paintings and sculpture into England, much of which was religiously thematic and used in places of worship such as Sir Robert Cecil's chapel at Hatfield, and later the palaces of Charles I.<sup>(53)</sup>

On his return to England from his Embassy in Turin in 1618, Wotton attended a sermon preached by Daniel Featley, chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, which was preached in Sir Thomas Edmondes's embassy in Paris. Wotton found himself the implicit subject of Featley's iconoclastically motivated reproaches. Entitled Old and New Idolatry Compared, Featley used his theme to attack contemporary 'Statists', 'who in the height of their policy overreach their Religion, and keep it so in awe, that it shall not quatch any of their projects for the raising of their fortunes'; Featley went on to equate them with the Baalites, who in seeking to appease God and Baal worshipped them both.<sup>(54)</sup> Featley was particularly concerned about changing opinion respecting images, which he believed, this 'Statist' policy had facilitated. He drew the congregation's attention to the statutory authority of the thirty-fifth article of religion respecting the Homilies - 'godly and wholesome doctrine and necessary for the times'. Featley argued that they were not 'sermons of private men transported with zeal', and were meant to be perpetually adhered to since they carried 'the authority of the whole Church of England'.<sup>(55)</sup> Clearly attitudes towards ecclesiological affairs were changing, arguably in tune with the political climate, but what is the practical

evidence of this change? If images were returning to places of worship, then where were they? And in what forms, besides paintings and sculpture, were they to be found?

Perhaps the most innocuous forms of religious imagery to be found in English churches were stained glass windows, though, as I mentioned in Chapter One, the Elizabethan religious Injunctions ordered their destruction.<sup>(56)</sup> However William Harrison, writing in the 1580s, claimed that stained glass windows were often

‘...excepted,...for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should growe by the alteration of the same into white glasse throughout the realme, [*sic*] are not abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie that white glasse may be provided and set up in their roomes.’<sup>(57)</sup>

In the accounts of Jesus college, Cambridge reference is given, for 1582, to the presence,

‘In the east window of the Chapel [*sic*] the Pictures of Christ and the pictures of Ignatius’.<sup>(58)</sup>

The reference to this glass, which was presumably repaired rather than replaced by white glass, may be attributable to the policy of the Master of Jesus, John Bell, who gained notoriety for his toleration of Popery during the 1580s.<sup>(59)</sup> My study of the repairs performed at York Minster, and the cathedrals at Lincoln, Durham, Chester, and Christ Church Oxford, as well as most of the University College chapels, reveals that in general dilapidated glass was replaced with white glass from the Elizabethan Reformation until the late 1620s and 1630s. This does



not, of course, detract from the possibility that churches and cathedrals were either adorned with stained glass provided through benefactions which have passed unrecorded, or repaired with surplus stained glass that might have escaped the attentions of ecclesiastical visitors during the Elizabethan Reformation. Nevertheless it is most unusual to find, in 1581-2, the parishioners of St. Margaret's, Westminster financing both the re-leading of eleven feet of 'glass of Imagery' and '12 peeces of Imagery glass', presumably new. Julia Merritt suggests that this survival and replacement of medieval glass demonstrates the parish's 'religious conservatism'.<sup>(60)</sup> This example, like the case of the chapel of Jesus College, is probably more a reflection of residual Catholicism than signs of changing Protestant values regarding ecclesiological issues, such as we find during the early seventeenth century.

The scale of the glazing in York Minster had always meant that glass would be needed to replace that which was damaged or broken through natural causes. Very little stained glass appears to have been destroyed by the official Tudor iconoclastic commissions (a fact exemplified by the twelve surviving pre-Reformation representations of the Trinity in the Great East Window), but until 1610-11, the fabric rolls show no evidence that stained glass was used to replace glass that was damaged through such natural causes as accidents and the weather. The rolls reveal that when glass was replaced it was purchased locally, but there is no surviving evidence that stained glass was used. Since no painter-stainers were at work in this area at the time, there is little reason for supposing that replacement glass was not aniconic, whilst the regular expenditure of local glass

shows that the Dean and Chapter did not have a stockpile of stained glass at their disposal to replace that which was damaged or destroyed. Therefore the payment, in 1610-11, of over ten pounds worth of 'old church glasse', from the London tradesman, Mr. Dalibie, strongly suggests that the Dean and Chapter were seeking glass which was more ecclesiologically compatible with the Minster's surviving glazing than would have been tolerated during the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>(61)</sup> What did this new interest in stained glass signify? Was it for mere decoration, or did it have a more spiritual significance? Unfortunately the patrons left no indication that might permit us to make any firm conclusions about these particular investments, but other evidence survives suggesting the probable reason for its presence.

In 1662 the Church historian, Thomas Fuller, made a clear distinction between godly iconoclasts, who took the second commandment, 'thou shalt not make any graven image' to its literal extreme, and other Protestants who held that images could be used to edify parishioners:

Now some, being only for the innocent white, are equal enemies to the painting of windows as faces, conceiving the one as great a pander to superstition as the other to wantonness, yet others, of as much zeal and more knowledge, allow the historical uses of them in churches.'<sup>(62)</sup>

As we have seen, this was the position of King James, who had no fear (or expectation) that such imagery would allow idolatry to creep back into the nation's worship. Yet we should not discount the possibility that this glass was installed as an act of piety, although there is no surviving evidence to show that it was. However during the 1630s English Arminian divines exploited the new,



Jacobean tolerance of such images in places of worship for distinct ecclesiological effect.<sup>(63)</sup> In 1635, for example, Gabriel Clarke, Archdeacon of Durham, visited Stanhope Chapel and instructed that

‘...the coloured glasse in the church windows [*sic*] to be removed into the *East window* and new glazed where it is taken away [ie: the side windows] with white glass.’<sup>(64)</sup>

Clearly Clarke intended to re-sacralise what was probably a surviving remnant of medieval piety through placing it directly behind the chapel’s newly railed altar. But were stained glass windows the only controversial images to begin to make a re-appearance in churches and cathedrals in Jacobean England?

In Bristol Cathedral, John Clarke received payment between 1622 and 1623 for a commission which must surely be interpreted as an ecclesiological reaction to the iconoclasm of the Reformation. His work involved 'preparing stone and carving the four evangelists [which] have been sett up before the quire doore', and 'making the arch over the quire door, new stone stayers up to the organ and preparing the arches for the twelve stone prophates before the quire doore.' The niches had been plastered over in 1561 to prevent them being used again to house 'idolatrous' sculpted images, and the new images were whitewashed during the Civil War, remaining covered until 1804. They remained visible until 1860.<sup>(65)</sup>

Following the arrival of Richard Neile as Dean of Westminster in 1605 Westminster’s ‘conservatism’ took on an Arminian slant.<sup>(66)</sup> Between 1606 and

1610 Neile invested in the collegiate church and Westminster Abbey. In the church Neile moved the altar to the east end (although there seems to be no surviving evidence to prove the position in which it was situated), whilst the repairs to the abbey were extensive. Royal tombs such as Anne of Cleves's and Henry VII's were amongst the first things Neile endeavoured to renovate. Old statues of kings and queens were repaired and furnished with crimson robes, whilst £58 (more than £5000 today) was spent on a large blue (or purple) and gold cloth for the communion table.<sup>(67)</sup> Neile was clearly recognised as a leading advocate of 'the beauty of holiness' as his ecclesiological investments bear witness. In 1625 Richard Hegg, a lay admirer of Neile (by then Bishop of Durham), was in no doubt that Neile was attempting (successfully) to put back the ecclesiological clock to a time of Catholic piety. Whilst he lamented 'those dear abbeys, who are buried in their ashes, and their very ruines the seate of a sepulcher', he praised Neile, the

'...new incumbent under whom the church of Durham seemes to renew her age, and take a new lease of Eternitie, who for the internall beautie of her high altars - cathedrall musicke, and sacred Lavar, and many other ornaments may challenge her sister churches for prioritie.'<sup>(68)</sup>

Given Hegg's interest in miracles and monastic ideals,<sup>(69)</sup> it seems clear that he was a Catholic drawn to the English Church by Neile's investment in 'the beauty of holiness'.

In about 1605 Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, criticised William Helyar, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, for his efforts to adorn Exeter Cathedral with



purportedly idolatrous pictures and images. This was a time when the Dean and Chapter were beginning to re-invest in another aesthetic aid to devotion which had also fallen foul of the reformist strictures against idolatry: music. As early as 1536 the lower House of Convocation listed organ music amongst the 84 'Faults and Abuses of Religion', and thanks to Ian Payne we now know of the dismantlement of organs during the Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations. Yet Payne argues that by the 1590s a developing awareness of the utility of music in ritual accompanied a contemporaneous 'weakening' of Puritan and Catholic threats.<sup>(70)</sup> The innovative purchase of twelve anthem books and prick-song that followed the arrival of the organist Edward Gibbons at Exeter belongs in this context. A year later, the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge was adorned with a new set of organs. These organs were gilt and embellished with bright paint, thus making them appeal to the potentially idolatrous eye, as much as to the incontinentally distractible ear.<sup>(71)</sup>

The parish church of St Giles in the Fields, in Bloomsbury, London is a good, early example of lay concern for an aesthetic dimension in worship. Although most of the renovations were carried out between 1623 and 1629 - largely owing to the munificence of Lady Alice Dudley <sup>(72)</sup> - the most unusual imagery had been planned (if not installed) as early as 1617.

Most of this church's controversial ornaments and fittings were paid for voluntarily by parishioners of varying degrees of wealth and social respectability. For the first time since the Reformation large stained glass windows were

introduced to the church at the behest or bequest of affluent individuals. These windows portrayed the Old Testament themes of Abraham sacrificing Isaac, Moses receiving the commandments, David and Solomon. They were paid for by Sir John Fenner, Abraham Speckhart, Hamo Claxton and Lord Francis Mountnorris. Other images, like the obligatory set of Royal arms which were placed over the entrance to the chancel, were the products of joint investments made by alliances of fish-mongers, innkeepers and other, poorer people.<sup>(73)</sup> Edmund Howe and the editors working on the 1631 edition of John Stow's Annales took note of new imagery which was even more controversial. This included a portrayal of Jehovah in the sky with figures beneath (dated 1617). Over the south west door they observed a window 'bearing in it the figure of our saviour' above this image the letters I.H.S. were incircled in a garland, and to its side was inscribed: 'I am the doore, by me if any man enter in ye shall be saved'. The editors claimed that they were unable to complete their list of benefactors to the St. Giles beautification project because 'many of them [were] desiring to be concealed, and [*sic*] by knowledge of what they have done, obliging those that know them, not to divulge or reveal them'.<sup>(74)</sup> Were they concerned that their investments might provoke an iconoclastic backlash?

During the late 1620s and 1630s this church was successively ministered by the political controversialist Roger Mainwaring, and Laud's 'mystical' chaplain William Heywood. No doubt they influenced further ecclesiological investment such as the benefactions of Lady Alice Dudley<sup>(75)</sup> that followed the church's consecration by Bishop Laud in 1630.<sup>(76)</sup> These Arminian connections possibly



prompted the petition that reached the Short Parliament in 1640 complaining of the presence of crucifixes, images of saints, and organs 'maintained at the needless expense of the Parish'.<sup>(77)</sup> Given the fact that Jacobean parishioners were responsible for the presence of some of these images, to accept its premise - that their descendants and fellow parishioners opposed the ecclesiological ideals of their social predecessors - suggests that the reception of reformed ecclesiological ideals could be subject to a high degree of fluctuation, not least in a London suburb open to the most fashionable influences. However it seems far more probable that the Jacobean and early Caroline investments were confused with the Arminian innovations of the 1630s by Puritan visitors drawn to the parish in the wake of rumours of its notoriety (following Laud's consecration ceremony, and its successive Arminian ministeries) and the petition was drawn up by them, rather than by the fellow parishioners of those responsible for these investments.

How do we account for this evidence of ecclesiological change in Jacobean England? Was James I, an anti-iconoclastic king, the main influence, or do we need to look further, perhaps to the changing priorities of the episcopal hierarchy? Moreover, what do these investments signify? Should we take James at his word and accept that the return of images into churches was for no other reason than 'ornament', or were English Protestants (and maybe some Catholics) beginning to re-discover a sense of the sacred, or at least the need for an aesthetic dimension to the setting of their worship hitherto denied them for fear of 'the peril of idolatry'?

## III

One motive for clerics and laymen to re-evaluate the importance of the setting and conditions of the nation's churches came in 1602-3 from Archbishop Whitgift and the Queen. In a letter circulated to all the bishops, Whitgift claimed

'...that diuers churches and chancells within this realme are greatlie decayed and some of them either falne downe or liketo...and likewise that many other churches are very indecentlie kept within to the disgrace of Religion, and great offence to many well disposed, and occasion to such as are enemies of our profession to thincke we are prophanely mindyed and without deuotion.'<sup>(78)</sup>

Unfortunately I have been unable to uncover any surviving evidence to indicate what or who prompted Whitgift to call for a episcopally-led initiative to repair church buildings. Clearly Whitgift was sensitive to Catholic, or even Lutheran criticism of the de-sacralised condition English churches that the Reformation had engendered. Those who were 'well disposed' to the Church of England may possibly have been church papists, who like Richard Hegg might be encouraged to more fully support the establishment if churches were kept in a better condition. By all accounts Whitgift was anticipating Laud's belief that the nation's churches, if beautified and well cared for, would help convert stubborn papists deaf to the sound of preaching evangelists.<sup>(79)</sup>



Whitgift's concern about the quality of church buildings anticipated canons 85 and 86 of the Jacobean ecclesiastical canons of 1604. These canons were designed to ensure that churchwardens kept their churches in sufficient repair. Deans and chapters and archdeacons were to survey the churches within their jurisdictions every three years, and ensure that instances of failure to carry out repair work were reported to the High Commission.<sup>(80)</sup> Kenneth Fincham has presented evidence from diocesan records showing that this Jacobean interest in what became 'Caroline priority' was expressed by the episcopal administrations in Chichester, Gloucester, Peterborough and Durham.<sup>(81)</sup> From 1606 official efforts to enhance the condition of churches were aided in the Northern Province by means of Faculty Licences, drawn up by Archbishop Tobias Matthew. Matthew's licences were given to selected workmen to present to archdeacons and lesser clergy as authorization to implement a programme 'to beautifie & adorne all churches and chapells...with writings of scripture [and] the kings armes'. These licences were also guarantees of a craftsman's ability and authorization to perform organ music, repair clocks and chimes, or simply do the plumbing and lead repairs.<sup>(82)</sup> Yet this concern for church fabric was primarily utilitarian, reflecting a Whitgiftian ideal of order and decency rather than nascent evidence of interest in basing the nation's worship in 'the beauty of holiness.' Yet as we have seen, there were significant contemporary efforts to redecorate churches according to ecclesiological ideals that would become inextricably associated with this concept. But is there evidence to support William Hunt's conjecture that 'the Beauty of holiness' was a Jacobean invention?<sup>(83)</sup> I intend to answer that question in the following section. First it is necessary to focus on an ideological

incentive for church repair, if not beautification, that unlike 'the beauty of holiness' and Arminianism has so far evaded association with any one particular religious affinity - the issue of sacrilege.

After the death of Elizabeth I, her father, Henry VIII, and the reforms he initiated, became a legitimate target for criticism. Even anti-papal polemicists like Richard James might complain that the way Henry VIII organised the dissolution of the monasteries was misguided. James claimed that the proceeds should have been used to invigorate the newly reforming Church, arguing that

'...if as he robbed the thief [he] had restored to the truemen the goods & lands which they had stolen, I mean as well the impropriations to the clergie as the lands unto the Nobles and Gentry, his work had [*sic*] binne heroique & just & religious.'<sup>(84)</sup>

In 1625 Bishop John Williams of Lincoln praised James I for the significant improvements to the maintenance of the Church, through drawing an implicit contrast between the king's ecclesiastical policy and the reforms conducted under the auspices of his predecessors. James improved the Church's maintenance, Williams argued,

'...by remitting all sede vacantes and disabling Churchmen to make leases to the Crowne, against the Courtiers and Statists of those worser times.'<sup>(85)</sup>

The subject of sacrilege was becoming an increasingly topical subject, especially following the publication of Sir Henry Spelman's and John Selden's<sup>(86)</sup> conflicting works on the subject of tithes, in 1613 and 1618 respectively. In 1613 Spelman warned



'It is not the work of bounty and benevolence to restore a church, but of duty and necessity soe to doe. It is a work of duty to give unto God what is God's,.. And it is a work of necessity towards the obtaining remission of these sinnes.'<sup>(87)</sup>

Early in 1627, William Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, warned Viscount Scudamore about the dangers posed by the impropriations gathered by his ancestors. Scudamore was told that he committed 'the synne of sacrilege in retayuninge them [for] your owne use'. Despite the parliamentary authority permitting his ancestor's actions, Laud told Scudamore,

'If anye thinke an act of Parliament is absolution for synne against the morall lawe of God,..it will be a poore plea at another barr.'<sup>(88)</sup>

Yet Laud was sensitive to Scudamore's qualms about making too public a show of piety by surrendering his inheritance to the Church. 'I praye feare not me exposinge your conscientiousness to anye man', wrote Laud, suggesting that such pro-clerical behaviour was still socially unorthodox. Yet by May 1641 there were enough laymen in Parliament to reverse plans to appropriate the lands of the 'new abbies', the Deans and Chapters, ostensibly on account of the danger of committing sacrilege. Edward Nicholas (admittedly a tenant of Dean and Chapter property who looked set to lose by the possible appropriations) objected to proposals to convert the lands of the Deans and Chapters into a permanent addition to the King's landed endowment. He argued

'..that the market would be spoilt by the sense of many prospective purchasers that it was sacrilegious to buy lands given to sacred uses'.<sup>(89)</sup>

If the end of the Tudor dynasty encouraged criticism of the alienation of Church property and wealth, then what about that other dimension Reformation 'sacrilege' - iconoclasm? The distinction between the two kinds of sacrilege was spelt out in 1637 by the Calvinist Vicar of Ashbrittle in Somerset, Humphrey Sydenham. According to Sydenham, one form involved the lay appropriation of Church property, and 'fleeces the revenewes...of a church', whilst the other,

'...fleeces...the ribbes and entrails of a church; defaces pictures and rifles monuments, tortures an innocent piece of glasse for the limme of a saint in it; raises out a crucifixe and sets out a scutchion and so makes a house of prayer a fit den of theeves.'<sup>(90)</sup>

Critics of sacrilege often quoted the following Pauline stricture against reformists (whose ultimate goal, it was assumed, was to throw out the holy baby with the idolatrous bathwater):

'thou that uphorest idols' dost thou commit sacrilege?'

(Romans 2.22)

For anti-iconoclasts, the logic of Paul's reasoning reminded them how painfully sharp the ecclesiological knife edge between God's honour and dishonour could be. The difficulty of this position was acknowledged in 1619 by a member of James I's Scottish entourage, Sir James Sempil. Commenting upon the consequences of the lay appropriation of Church property, Sempil asked himself: 'what strange change is in this opposition heere of Idolatorie to Sacrilege?'<sup>(91)</sup>



How could legitimate adherence to the second commandment's proscription of images or idols from places of worship be squared with the belief that places or things consecrated to God (no matter how potentially idolatrous), because they were consecrated, were inviolate? As Laud put it to his persecutors, 'If there be no place holy in the Church how can there be sacrilege?'<sup>(92)</sup> Belief that the iconoclasm of the Reformation was sacrilege amounted to a powerful incentive to redress the damage by investing in ecclesiological projects designed to facilitate worship 'in the beauty of holiness'. This of course involved denying, or at least downplaying, the intrinsic connection between the Reformation, Protestantism and the iconoclastic purge against 'superstitious' manifestations of piety - from images to altars - that had so fundamentally altered the interiors of most churches and cathedrals across the land. Clearly the Church of England needed to revise its ecclesiological priorities, for, as Fulke Roberts, a Norwich prebendary, argued

'To adorne churches is not superstitious, but to deprive them of their ornaments, to hinder their endowments and to repine therat are all no better than sacrilegious.'<sup>(93)</sup>

Such arguments persuaded some Protestants to redraw the once iconoclastically-centred lines between idolatry, superstition, piety and devotion. In 1638 William Hardwick warned his London congregation 'ye that are fearful of superstition, let me desire you to be fearfull of prophaneness'. He added that those who mistook superstition for devotion were the very same people 'apt to embrace fury for zeal': in other words, behind every iconoclastic conscience lay a schismatic Puritan waiting to get out.<sup>(94)</sup>

It is significant that 'sacrilege' was not an exclusively Arminian or Calvinist concern. As we shall see in Chapter Four, non-Arminians like Bishop Bridgeman of Chester were at one with Sydenham in conflating church despoliation in the form of iconoclasm and tithes appropriation under the heading of 'sacrilege'.<sup>(95)</sup> However Romans 2.22 was open to other interpretations. The iconomach John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College Oxford, saw no incongruity between his opposition to 'sacrilegious' lay impropriations on the one hand, and on the other his disdain for images and other forms of aesthetically stimulating church decoration.<sup>(96)</sup> By contrast (although this example is probably the exception that proves the rule) John Selden attacked the clergy's right to tithes, and yet questioned the need for iconoclasm and wrote approvingly of altars, ceremonies and tolerated the use of images for the decoration of churches.<sup>(97)</sup> Prideaux may have disapproved of images in churches and Catholic 'idolatry', but that did not mean that he held the beautification of churches by other means in disregard. In 1624 he used his consecration sermon for the new chapel at Exeter College, Oxford as a platform to complain to attendant scholars (that would have inevitably included future patrons of church livings) how

`The Turks may shame us in this behalfe, who neglect their private mansions, to beautifie their prophane moskoes.'<sup>(98)</sup>

Prideaux did not, however, directly blame the de-sacralising processes of Reformation iconoclasm for this predicament. The situation in his mind was



wholly attributable to those who had reaped the financial benefits from the Tudor Crown's sale of Church property. Thus he asked

‘How commeth it...to passe, that in this building-age of ours, so few think on churches? Which find no harsher enemies, then those who are, or have been rased by their ruines?’<sup>(99)</sup>

Yet others could argue that it was the same level of greed that had facilitated both kinds of sacrilege. Thus the Protestant traveller, Lieutenant Hammond, admired the surviving ‘Statues, and Effigies of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the 12 Apostles, and Ancient Fathers, artificially caru’d and richly guilt’ that he found in Ely Cathedral in 1634, but he readily equated the acts of selective iconoclasm to which they had been made subject, ‘disarm’d, dislegg’d and beheaded’, with the interests of those ‘...who preffer’d their owne Lucre before the Churches’ adornment.’<sup>(100)</sup>

The succession of James I clearly encouraged churchmen and laymen to respond to the sacrilege of the Reformation, but to what extent did their criticism actually reflect the reality of church neglect? In 1601, the material poverty of the English Church was highlighted by Dr. Francis James<sup>(101)</sup> in a report that he delivered to the House of Commons. ‘In England’, he complained, ‘there are above eight thousand eight hundred and odd churches, of which six hundred of which do but afford a competent living for a minister’.<sup>(102)</sup> The reason why churches and their ministers lacked the subsistence levels enjoyed before the Reformation may be attributed to three main factors. First is the loss of Church wealth, especially the appropriation of significant tithes by the laity.<sup>(103)</sup> Second is demographic change. Population expansion in many regions outstripped

church construction and extension, leading to what contemporaries described as a spiritual crisis in some areas.<sup>(104)</sup> Finally Protestant doctrine encouraged its sympathizers to question the spiritual viability of personal ecclesiological investment - indeed some regarded it as idolatrous <sup>(105)</sup> - whilst at the same time it alienated conservatives who had no reason to invest in the setting of what they termed 'heretical' worship.

However, it is necessary to distinguish between the genuine decay many churches suffered and Laudian propaganda that played up this issue as a means to compromise the radical iconoclastic inheritance of the English Reformation. Until further detailed evidence of parish investment in church maintenance supplements the work of Hickman and Merritt, one can imagine that even new Elizabethan churches, like the utilitarian construction at Woodham Water in Essex, built for the Earl of Essex and consecrated in 1564 (under Bishop Edmund Grindal's authority) by Thomas Cole, the unordained Archdeacon of Essex, might as easily fail to find approbation from the Laudian regime as buildings subject to more serious kinds of neglect.<sup>(106)</sup>

Although Calvinists and Arminians may have seen eye to eye on the need to address the iconoclastic damage of the Reformation, it would be wrong to assume that they necessarily agreed on the ecclesiological policy required. But what were the ecclesiological interests of Protestants for whom the consequences



of Reformation 'sacrilege' had gone too far, and how did they relate to the theological issues of the day?

#### IV

Those who believed that iconoclasm was sacrilege evidently believed that churches permitted a form of contact between the spiritual and material world that was not limited simply to the mental comprehension of the word of God. To this extent their belief in the sacred confounded what modern historians regard as one of the most rational aspects of both English and Continental Protestant thinking. For example Carlos Eire has maintained that,

'...by emphasising the separation of spiritual and material, and attacking idolatry and superstition, [Calvin] lessened the importance of the miraculous and allowed for the material world to be understood on its own terms.'<sup>(107)</sup>

Similarly Keith Thomas has maintained that this emphasis on the separation of spiritual and material represented a key aspect of early English Protestantism, fundamentally distinguishing it from the 'magical' belief system of the Catholic Church:

'Many men were now unwilling to believe that physical objects could change their nature by a ritual of exorcism and consecration. The Edwardian Reformation saw much iconoclasm and fouling of holy objects... When the Civil War broke out Parliamentary troops resumed the work of iconoclasm,... Distasteful though all this violence and invective was intended to be, it exemplified a thoroughly changed attitude to the apparatus of the medieval Church. The decline of old Catholic beliefs was not the result of persecution; it reflected a change in the popular conception of religion.'<sup>(108)</sup>

The first Protestant assault against the philosophical basis of this bastion of reformist idealism can be found in the writings of Richard Hooker. In his

Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity of 1593, Hooker suggested that the crusade against idolatry had gone too far by calling upon Protestants to disassociate the intrinsic value and 'holiness' of churches from the idolatrous purposes that they once served, evidently in the belief that if 'further reformation' continued, then the iconoclasts would, once all the images had been destroyed, turn their attentions to the buildings in which they were housed. Thus in anticipation of the arguments of those 'rapt with a pang of a furious zeal' who had nothing to offer churches besides 'devout blasphemies', Hooker contended

'...our temples (their former abuse by order of law removed) are not only free from peril, but withal so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them can choose but think it exceeding great pity they should be any otherwise employed...notwithstanding the commandment of Israel to destroy the Canaanites, idolaters may be converted and live: so the temples which served idolatry as instruments may be sanctified again and continue.'<sup>(109)</sup>

Thus whilst Hooker implicitly accepts that Catholic worship constituted idolatry, this cannot be allowed to compromise the inherent sanctity of the places in which they worshipped. Indeed if churches which once served idolatry could be resanctified and used again, then what about images?

According to John Phillips, Hooker, though not mentioning the issue, nevertheless 'set the stage for their acceptance and re-entry into churches'.<sup>(110)</sup> However no one has drawn attention to the fact that the frontispiece to the original 1593 edition of the Ecclesiastical Polity contains a fascinating depiction of Christ stepping out of his tomb. This, arguably, represented a much bolder statement on the subject of iconoclasm and idolatry than any words Hooker may



have contributed to the matter. Moreover, Hooker's position regarding the spiritual efficacy of the worshipper's surroundings, and his insistence that the human aesthetic disposition has a positive role to play with respect to forming a relationship with the Deity, is a far cry from orthodox Elizabethan Calvinism and clearly anticipates the English Arminian belief in the soteriological efficacy of worship 'in the beauty of holiness':

'...the very majesty and holiness of the place, where God is worshipped, hath in regard of us great virtue, force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion and in that respect no doubt bettereth even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we everywhere exhort all men to worship God, even so for performance of his service by the people of God assembled, we think any place not so fit as that of David, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness".'<sup>(111)</sup>

Thus Hooker advocated worship 'in the beauty of holiness' as an ecclesiological ideal. This view was inherited and developed by John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, who maintained that the whole structure of a church, from its furnishings and ornamentation to the liturgies performed inside, served to make the human sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving as acceptable to the Deity as possible.<sup>(112)</sup> According to Buckeridge, a leading member of the English Arminian divines who congregated in Bishop Neile's episcopal residence at Durham House, the physiological senses and the spiritual understanding had to operate together during worship so that 'the golden mean' between sacrilege and profanity could be kept in sight and the second commandment be properly adhered to

'...lest all Religion having lost all external majesty might appear naked and soon decay at the heart'.<sup>(113)</sup>

Evidently 'the beauty of holiness' was a late Elizabethan conception, but was the aim to achieve worship 'in the beauty of holiness' limited to the esoteric interests of Richard Hooker and those English Arminians for whom the iconoclasm of the Reformation had allowed religion to 'decay at the heart'? Or could it appeal to a broader body of Protestant opinion?

Those who defended the beautification of churches, chapels and cathedrals according to the psalmist dictate, 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness: let the whole earth stand in awe of him' (Psl. 96. 9), were following the translation by Giles Lawrence, Archdeacon of Wiltshire and Oxford Regius Professor of Greek, of the text for the 1575 edition of the Bishop's Bible.<sup>(114)</sup>

The translators of the Geneva Bible rendered Psalms 96.9,

'Worship the Lord in the Glorious Sanctuary: tremble before him  
all the Earth.'

The 1568 edition of the Bishop's Bible on the other hand reads,

'O worship the Lord in the Majesty of Holiness: be you in dread  
of his face all (that be in) the earth.'

The difference between the translations of the two Bishops' Bibles, as opposed to the differences between the Bishops' Bibles and the Geneva edition, seem only rhetorical. All translations concern the relationship between mankind and the Deity. In the Geneva edition, people are instructed to perform their devotion in a tangible, designated area, the temple. Their need to 'tremble' also suggests that the solidified gulf between Man and God (resulting from the fall) needs to be recognised through the context of worship. For the Bishops' Bibles, on the other hand, the form of, rather than the space for, devotion is emphasised.



The relationship between 'beauty' and 'aw' in the 1575 edition signifies a sensual dimension of 'holinesse'. Instead of being dumbstruck through fear, the worshipper is effectively invited to approach the Deity with a sense of wonder. The emotional distinctions between 'beauty' and 'aw', as opposed to 'majestie' and 'dread', suggest that Lawrence held significantly different views about mankind's relationship with the Deity than previous translators.

In the 1568 edition, the worshipper's relationship with the Deity reflects the social hierarchical standards of the age. '...the Majestie of holynesse' is experienced through the spiritual expression of a sense of deference which both mirrors and idealises prevailing concepts of authority. Cognizance of mankind's relationship with the Deity hinged on the major link in the Great Chain of Being between mankind and God - the Crown Prince. This relationship was emphasised by Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester in 1629, when he informed the Deity that 'these temples are the courts of thine' and heaven, 'that great Whitehall'.<sup>(115)</sup> God may be the ideal for temporal majesty, but spiritual majesty was only comprehensible according to terms established by prevailing social norms. However, with the 1575 edition, the sensual necessity of worship is emphasised to the exclusion of all reference to social hierarchical ideals. Mankind's relationship with the Deity is clearly more congenial since the link between Man and God hinges on beauty and awe, rather than majesty and dread. But if worship is to be a thing of beauty, then what role were human aesthetic sensibilities expected to play? Was Lawrence subtly voicing changing views from within the ecclesiastical establishment respecting both the role of aesthetics in worship, and

the degree to which prevailing hierarchical standards should dictate religious precedents? Regrettably no further relevant information regarding Lawrence survives. However in 1617, and again in 1621 the ecclesiological and theological possibilities of Lawrence's translation of Psalms 96. 9 were addressed in three sermons, two of which were read before the Court.

The 1621 Court sermon was preached to the King by John Archbold, Vicar of Bromsgrove (and the Chapel of Kings Norton in Worcester) and future Dean of Bristol. Archbold approached 'the beauty of holiness' from a frank, predestinarian Calvinist perspective that I will deal with shortly.<sup>(116)</sup> The other two sermons were preached by English divines, both of whom were clearly dissatisfied with the outward face of the post-Reformation English Church - the Bishop of Ely, Lancelot Andrewes, and a Royal Chaplain, Sampson Price. Price addressed the issue during the sermon that he preached during a consecration ceremony conducted by John Overall, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, at the Free School chapel in Shrewsbury. Andrewes revived the theme two months later, during a Court sermon preached on the fifth of November.<sup>(117)</sup>

Andrewes's sermon was preached before James I on the day commemorating the failure of the Popish Powder Treason, and so its political import should not be ignored, in spite of its primarily ecclesiological subject matter. The sermon ostensibly deals with the human service that Andrewes believed should be accorded to the Deity. 'God has to be served by holiness and righteousness', Andrewes argued, 'and holinesse stands first'. Staunch



Protestants had long argued that the 'idolatrous' ecclesiology of the Church of Rome derogated the honour due to the Deity, and yet, by parity of reason, and equally as an acerbic commentary on puritan ecclesiological values, Andrewes insisted that to 'maintain the dignity of *his person*',<sup>(118)</sup> God's service necessitated 'severing things sacred from common, and holy from common duties'. As I argued in Chapter One, such emphasis on Christ's humanity was clearly opposed to the Calvinist emphasis on Christ's post-resurrection spirituality, for if the end of Christian worship was 'to maintain the dignity' of Christ's 'person', then it followed that worship would need to be performed in a context in which the corporeality of Christ was emphasised, through the medium of the altar, or even with Christocentric images.<sup>(119)</sup> Focusing more sharply upon 'service in holiness', Andrewes attended to its public dimension, 'Our service in synagoga, the outside of it.' The outward face of religion, he continued, 'is no secret, all men see what it is, that full homely it is, nay how rude it is'.<sup>(120)</sup> The problem was exemplified by the de-sacralisation of the Eucharistic sacraments, 'the holy symbols, the precious memorials of our greatest delivery of all',<sup>(121)</sup> which, 'in many places [are] denied any reverence at all'. The Deity receives no true service because there are only, 'bidden guests, hail fellows, homely and familiar, as one neighbour with another.'

The prominence of the celebration of the Eucharist in Andrewes's thoughts regarding ecclesiology was matched by his disdain for the prevailing importance attributed to sermons. Accepting the sermon's role in divine service,

he nevertheless criticised the way it, 'in the error of this age-carries away all'.

Andrewes's bone of contention is fleshed out around Psalms 96.9:

'When we come before the presence of the Lord, the presence of the Lord of the whole Earth, the psalm doubles it, to make us think on it the better, then, saith he, 'worship him in decore sancto, in a holy kind of decency', or, as we read it, 'in the beauty of holiness', our holiness should have a kind of decency with it.'

Andrewes's concept of 'the beauty of holiness', then, centres on the significance which he attributes to sacramental worship. The setting of worship, and the reverence displayed therein, is, for Andrewes, crucial for cementing worshippers' relations with the Deity. As Nicholas Lossky has observed, for Andrewes, the Eucharist is 'the summit of the sacraments'; 'All, in the end, converge on the Eucharist, which is the highest form of union with God here below, since it is physical and spiritual communion with Christ the God-man'. Andrewes did not believe in transubstantiation. It is Christ's spiritual presence which '...this remembrance of the Church,..actualises and makes simultaneous'.<sup>(122)</sup> Thus Andrewes's ecclesiological position was aesthetically and theologically inspired. Significantly, this sermon was preached soon after Andrewes's return from Scotland to England with King James. Whilst he was there, Andrewes was most probably one of the King's English Doctors' who offended the Dean of the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, and other Scottish divines, by supporting James's desire to decorate the chapel with statues of the apostles.<sup>(123)</sup> Yet Andrewes's decision to preach in favour of 'the beauty of holiness' on the fifth of November shows that he believed that his ecclesiological



ideals were sufficiently divorced from the 'idolatry' of Rome to have a significant place in the English Church.

Andrewes's conception of 'the beauty of holiness' as an ecclesiological ideal had been anticipated two months earlier by Sampson Price. The context of Price's sermon was a consecration ceremony performed by another advocate of 'the beauty of holiness', John Overall, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.<sup>(124)</sup> The consecrated chapel was part of the Free School of Shrewsbury, which had been established by Edward VI. Although the rights of the school had been formally affirmed by Elizabeth I, Price drew the attention of the Shrewsbury congregation to the fact that the chapel '...yet never was consecrated until now'.<sup>(125)</sup> Price was clearly giving a platform to the contention (later championed by Laud) that failure to recognise formally the sanctity of church buildings had led to their sacrilegious neglect and decay in the years following the Henrician Reformation.<sup>(126)</sup> Price also raised a number of other issues which would become increasingly controversial over the next quarter century; Sabbatarianism, confession, ceremonies, and the spiritual significance of Church buildings. The Sabbath had Christian precedent, he argued, because it was instituted by the Apostles in remembrance of the Resurrection. Accordingly, its status was 'jure divino' in 'substance', which Price contrasted with 'some ceremonies' attendant to it which were instituted by mere 'jure humano' authority.<sup>(127)</sup> It is worth noting that this kind of 'Sabbatarian' argument was interpreted by certain advocates of the 1618 and 1633 editions of the Book of Sports as tantamount to puritanism.<sup>(128)</sup> Seen alongside these 'Sabbatarian' ideals, Price's references to

Geneva and vociferous anti-popery would most probably have encouraged a later generation of divines to accuse him of being a Puritan.

Price was keen to present the consecration service in a bona fide Protestant context, and so he drew the congregation's attention to the errors inherent in Roman Catholic ceremonies, especially the belief that a church's consecration was dependent upon the Pope's blessing.<sup>(129)</sup> Other 'ridiculous' ceremonies, like the lighting of twelve candles before twelve images, lights on in the church during the daytime, and the bishop's 'three times knocking at the [church] doore,.. sprinkling water,..making characters in ashes upon the pavement...' and so on, were also criticised.<sup>(130)</sup> Significantly, Laud was accused of introducing this latter practice during the consecration of St. Katherine Cree church in London and elsewhere during the 1630s.<sup>(131)</sup> Price moved on to praise the Church in Geneva as 'that miraculous sanctuarie for many distressed Protestants', and added that papists would not go near 'our dedicated houses'.<sup>(132)</sup> Price was, it seems, happy with this outcome, implying that the Protestant consecration of a church was sufficient to exorcise it from idolatrous spirits. Price held firm ideas about the role of churches in the relationship between mankind and the Deity. '..the place wee stand on is holy ground' he informed the congregation, telling them that the omnipresence of the Deity did not, necessarily, make one place as good as another, and insisting 'you must not on this pretence avoid churches'.<sup>(133)</sup>



Lossky has shown that for Andrewes, the Eucharist represented 'the highest form of union with God here below, since it is physical and spiritual union with Christ the God-man.'<sup>(134)</sup> In a polemical tract printed in 1610, Andrewes views are more explicit. Addressing the papists on the question of the significance of Eucharistic worship, Andrewes exclaimed

'At vos, tollite de missa Transubstantionem vestram; nee dice nobiscum lis erit de sacrificio'

(take away your transubstantiation, and we shall have no difference about the sacrifice). Andrewes' position respecting the sacraments was quoted on at least two occasions by his Laudian readers.<sup>(135)</sup> Although Price was not seeking to reduce the differences dividing the Churches of England and Rome, he nevertheless defended his conception of 'the beauty of holiness', and the need for churches, by introducing the patristic concept of 'hypostaticall union' between God and Man, consolidated through divine service. Like Andrewes, Price had clearly become absorbed in Patristic theology, and recognised the authority of the early fathers, as opposed to Rome's or more recent reformist precedents with regard to this sacramental issue.<sup>(136)</sup> Moreover, both believed that the great chain of being linking Man and God was not broken by a solidifian gulf. Thus in Price's 'beauty of holiness', the link between heaven and Earth, and the differing strata along the great chain of being, are represented in holistic terms by the way human bodies, 'spiritual temples', become types for church buildings themselves. The human body and spirit are thus seen to constitute an ideal for church buildings, indicating that consecration accords churches an anthropomorphic

ontology, spiritually facilitating human communion with the divinity of Christ.<sup>(137)</sup>

Price was also troubled by the issue of sacrilege. 'Simonicall patrons' who sell presentations to churches are portrayed as 'heyres to Judas'.<sup>(138)</sup> Anticipating Laud's crusade against the Feoffees for impropriations, Price emphasised the dangers facing the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth risked becoming 'irreligious and profane' unless the 'ill gotten' 'spiritual theft' of Church property, and tithe profiteering, was redressed.<sup>(139)</sup> Yet Price's interest in the beauty of holiness and concern about the alienation of Church property did not lead him to address the issue of Reformation iconoclasm, and whilst he might have sympathised with Andrewes's sacramental outlook, he was no Arminian. Alexandra Walsham has observed how Price was deeply critical of what he perceived to be a 'Machiavellian policie' that sought to 'reconcile the Protestant and Papist and have both live together'.<sup>(140)</sup> By contrast, the ecclesiological reforms of the early Stuart period, propagated in the endeavour to achieve 'the beauty of holiness' in English reformed worship, were designed to attract wavering Catholics to conformity with the Church of England. As Anthony Milton has shown, many Laudians believed that Catholics were worthier appreciators of the English Church's history than godly Protestants.<sup>(141)</sup> Hence they believed that the Catholics could be encouraged to conformity, especially acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, if the quality of English worship, with respect to its aesthetic 'consolations', compared favourably with Rome's offerings.<sup>(142)</sup> It may even be argued that the Arminian olive branch to Catholics



matched the Jacobean olive branch to Puritans in this respect. Thus when Archbishop Laud was charged in 1643 with having, '...traitorously endeavoured to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established within this realm' in order to 'set up popish superstition and idolatry', in the form of 'divers popish and superstitious ceremonies', altars and images, he replied,

'...in all that I laboured for in this particular was that the external worship of God in his Church might be kept up in decency and in some beauty of holiness. And this because, first I feared that with contempt of the outward worship of God, the inward fell away a pace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself. And secondly, because I could speak with no conscious persons almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England, was that the external worship of God was so lost in the Church (as they conceived it).'(143)

In 1637, Price's belief that 'the beauty of holiness' epitomised the spiritual and secular values of contemporary hierarchy, was echoed by William Heywood, one of the King's most forthright, controversialist chaplains. Preaching the importance of 'Discipline and Fatherly Government in the Church', Heywood insisted '...so God must be served in holiness, so hee must be served in the beauty of holiness too, and unity is the beauty of the Church.'(144) Though Price was no Arminian, his interest in consecration and views regarding sacrilege and holiness were nevertheless inspired by patristic theological ideals that compromised absolute predestinarianism and the Calvinist theology of idolatry. It seems probable that had Price's sermon been preached twenty years later, then its content would have commensurably changed to allow for a more Laudian interpretation of 'the beauty of holiness.' To appreciate the latitude of Price's position it is

worthwhile considering another Jacobean sermon covering the subject of Psalms 96.9, but read from a theological position more in keeping with the Calvinist orthodoxy under James I.

Between 1620 and 1621, John Archbold, James I's chaplain, preached before the Court another sermon entitled 'the beauty of holiness'.<sup>(145)</sup> Archbold claimed that 'the beauty of holiness' is a 'divine qualitie, [by which] we approach the neerest, and highest participation of the divine nature'.<sup>(146)</sup> Consciousness of one's sense of the 'beauty of holiness', therefore, was consciousness of one's assurance of election. Archbold contrasted this kind of 'holiness' with the sensuality of carnal spirits, 'immundi spiritus', who 'stirre up mankind to all fleshly, and libidinous pollutions'.<sup>(147)</sup> Holiness is infused in men by the will of the Deity, 'the original fountaine of all holinesse', it cannot be freely sought.<sup>(148)</sup> 'The grace of the elect', he continued, 'is not from themselves or from the nature of any created holinesse, which is itself apt to defect...but from that stabilitie, and confirmation which they have from without in Christ.'<sup>(149)</sup> However, Archbold did not contemplate the other side of the predestinarian coin, possibly because he believed 'that in our very nature, as men...we were made for the holinesse, to desire, to affect, to seek the face of God;..<sup>(150)</sup> Indeed Archbold seemed quite assured of his own election, and (surprisingly) even took it for granted that his audience, the Court, had already been saved, for he informed them how 'God...by actuall infusing grace into vs, hath advanced vs above all other men'.<sup>(151)</sup> Archbold appears to have been aware of Andrewes's sermon, or at least recognised the distinction Andrewes drew between 'righteousness and holiness'.



Andrewes's contention that 'holiness stands first' seems to be compatible with Archbold's conception of 'extremes of excellence: Natural and Moral'. Archbold's 'holinesse' constitutes an ideal type of morality, since it embraces 'all moral perfection'. However, this form of perfection is distinguished from another form of 'natural perfection' or 'extreme of excellence' - beauty. The Deity's 'natural perfections' may be contemplated in terms of,

'..an infinite light, an infinite life, an infinite power, an infinite wisdom, an infinite riches, an infinite blisse, an infinite glory and Maiestie.'<sup>(152)</sup>

Yet in spite of these divine characteristics of 'natural perfection', natural, as opposed to moral perfections are qualities in which 'the wicked excell'. This distinction between natural, that is to say tangible or worldly perfections which are within the contemplative grasp of man, as opposed to 'all moral perfection, of grace, of holinesse', contrasts strongly with Andrewes's views respecting holiness and righteousness. 'Holiness', for Andrewes, is a form of service offered, rather than a state of metaphysical infusion. And as a duty, it transcends 'righteousness' when it is served by beauty, honour, and 'venerable grave behaviour' during public worship, rather than by private contemplation of personal assurance.

Beauty and holiness are thus two complementary ideals. Holiness represents a spiritual bond between man and God, a bond which is not broken by the fall of man, and which is comprehensible through aesthetic sensibility. For all these preaching divines God is still as much a part of this world as the next. This assumption is exemplified by beauty, an ideal predicated upon social,

theological and political concepts of unity and reverence, and intrinsic to the human aesthetic disposition. Unity in the Church is contingent on forming proper relations with the Deity. The only way that they can be secured is through recognising the way holiness is infused into mankind. For clerics like Archbold, this involved seeking assurance of salvation. For others, especially Andrewes, it had to be attained through service, and the ecclesiological media for instilling the necessary sense of awe.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the principles and character of church decoration in Jacobean England were no longer limited by the rigid iconoclastic doctrines of the Reformation era. Certainly some Elizabethan Protestants, such as Archbishop Whitgift and Richard Hooker, believed that the de-sacralising years of Reformation had led to sacrilegious profanations, yet there is precious little evidence to indicate that their ideas were held in wide esteem (particularly in Protestant circles) before the Stuart succession. The influence of the new King, and the precedents he established, both through the example of the Chapel Royal and in his Parliamentary Speech of 1624 are unquestionable.

It is surely significant that prior to Harsnet's problems with Parliament and the City of Norwich between 1623 and 1628 the return of images to English churches and Cathedrals failed to provoke a significant iconoclastically motivated backlash. To be sure, in and after 1605-6 Andrew Melville, William Bradshaw,



Daniel Featley and Thomas Sutcliffe voiced their respective grievances, but prior to the 1620s people had little reason to expect a return to popish idolatry, and these critics were more alarmed by either the individual foibles of the iconophiles they targeted, or specific instances of ecclesiological change, than any latent fears regarding the re-emergence of 'popish idolatry'. Yet all this changed in the 1620s, when fears of a dynastic union with Catholic Spain (in the heat of the Thirty Years war) encouraged English Puritans to visualise an impending apocalyptic scenario in which the Church of England was seen to surrender to the spiritually adulterous machinations of 'the whore of Babylon'.

By tracing examples of the return of images into English churches and cathedrals back to the beginning of the reign of James I, and through examining developing concerns regarding Reformation 'sacrilege' by looking at a range of conformist Protestant interests, I hope I have dispelled the myth that the quest to achieve worship in 'the beauty of holiness' was the prerogative of innovating English Arminians during the 1630s. 'The beauty of holiness' was open to a number of readings, which in themselves can be shown to reflect three fundamental understandings of the English Reformed religion. Archbold's unequivocal views respecting predestination, coupled with his negative comments about the human aesthetic disposition, are typical of the iconoclastic mentality which Andrewes implicitly takes to task with his emphasis on the ecclesiological relevance of man's relationship with the Deity. Price's sermon lies between the extremity of these two positions. It is the voice of conformist Jacobean Protestantism - dissatisfaction with the 'sacrilegious' losses the church had faced,

both financially and ecclesiologically, as a result of the Reformation, yet still unequivocally Protestant, not least with respect to the emphasis on what future English Arminians would dismiss as the Puritans' 'idol-Sabbath'. Price looked forward to a vision of 'the beauty of holiness' that represented a substantial ecclesiological improvement to English worship, centring on securing a sacramental 'hypostaticall' union between mankind and the Deity.

These sermons, together with the practical evidence of church and cathedral decoration that I have considered in this chapter, serve to illustrate how 'the beauty of holiness' developed into an ecclesiological ideal that leant itself to a spectrum of variations in the early Stuart Church. For royal chaplains like Andrewes and Price, the sacramental dimension of the 'beauty of holiness' proved paramount, whilst for Archbold, ecclesiological issues take a back seat behind more introspective, spiritual concerns. Price's interest in Patristic theology was shared by English Arminians, and as we shall see in the following chapter it was saliently reflected in the iconographical formulas employed in the glazing of the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, as well as through the liturgical activities performed in Andrewes's private chapel and in the chapel of Peterhouse, Cambridge.<sup>(153)</sup> Yet Price's Sabbatarian, anti-Catholic views (although it must be noted that Price avoided the delicate subject of images) offer a non-Arminian reading of 'the beauty of holiness' that fits in with the moderate quest for ecclesiological change adopted by Bishop John Bridgeman, in Wigan and Chester, whose career is examined in Chapter Four.



## CHAPTER THREE

### **'THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS': THE COLLEGE CHAPELS OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE IN THE 1620s AND 1630s.**

#### Introduction

In 1636 Charles I visited the University of Oxford. The best surviving description of the occasion is a lengthy letter, written to Lord Conway by George Garrard, a court cleric from amongst the king's entourage. Garrard was most impressed by the newly refurbished college chapels:

'The Churches or Chappells of all the colledges are much beautified, extraordinary cost bestowed on them; scarce any Cathedrall churches, not Windsor or Canterbury, nay not Paules Quire exceeds them.'<sup>(1)</sup>

Had Garrard gone on to visit the University of Cambridge, then he would have found that many of the college chapels (with the notable exceptions of the Puritan strongholds Emmanuel, Christ's and Sidney Sussex), were also either 'much beautified', or in the process of refurbishment. What prompted these investments during the 1630s? Were these chapels refurbished according to a set ecclesiological criterion - such as the Chapel Royal - or were they more a reflection of the personal interests of their patrons and sponsors?

Most of the chapel refurbishment projects coincided with the rising fortunes of William Laud, who by 1630 was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Bishop of London and effectively Archbishop of Canterbury in waiting. Laud's interest in church beautification (reflected in his successful campaign of

1619 to refurbish the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford) is well known.<sup>(2)</sup> But is there any evidence that can prove he regarded the chapel refurbishment programmes as a unified project - a preliminary step, perhaps, towards bringing the external worship of the Church of England into a state of ecclesiological uniformity and 'the beauty of holiness'? The problem is, no singular evidence survives to prove conclusively that the chapel refurbishment programmes *as a whole* were inspired by Laud or anyone else. But were the heads, fellows and visitors to the respective colleges investing in their chapels to attain religious standards of a degree known to be acceptable to the higher powers?

Significantly nearly all of the college heads, fellows, visitors and former scholars responsible for the chapel refurbishment programmes of the 1630s had served as royal chaplains in ordinary to Charles I. These included Richard Corbett, Brian Duppa, Walter Curle (who was also Charles I's almoner), Accepted Frewen, Leonard Mawe, Francis Dee, William Beale, Matthew Wren, John Cosin, and Richard Sterne. Nicholas Cranfield has recently argued that Laud, in his capacity as Dean of the Chapel Royal, was responsible for drawing the King's attention to the abilities (and no doubt the ecclesiological interests) of these men, whose royal service represented a fundamental step along 'the purple road' to higher ecclesiastical preferment.<sup>(3)</sup> This evidence suggests that these men were inspired by the ecclesiological precedent of the Chapel Royal. But whilst the Chapel Royal *may* have been a central point of reference, was it an ideal which these divines sought to imitate? And what do we make of the chapel of Lincoln College, Oxford, begun by Laud's enemy Bishop John Williams in 1629 - two



years before the refurbishment programmes for the other chapels had begun in earnest? Did inter-collegiate rivalry, as much as a Laudian quest to stage the nation's worship 'in the beauty of holiness', contribute to the intensity of these refurbishment programmes? These questions can only be answered after the surviving evidence relative to the refurbishment of each chapel, and the interests of their patrons, have been examined in detail.

Different kinds of evidence survive for each of the chapels I have examined in this chapter. For example, the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge was pulled down during the nineteenth century. However an exceptionally large amount of material survives in the College Rental Accounts showing both how it was refurbished and who were responsible for the work. By contrast, the chapel of Lincoln College Oxford is the best surviving example of all the beautified chapels of the period, and most of its major fittings and decorations are still intact. But no building accounts or other relevant manuscripts, besides the record of its consecration and the installation of an elaborate cedar screen, remain in existence. Accordingly I have adopted a multidisciplinary approach so as to make the most of the surviving evidence for each chapel. Because of the idiosyncratic nature of the evidence regarding each chapel, my study of the chapels as a whole may appear to be unsystematic and disjointed. Thus with regard to the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford, it might seem that I have devoted a disproportionate amount of space to the iconography of its stained glass and how it was produced. The same may be said for my

lengthy discussion of the career of Bishop Williams with regard to the chapel of Lincoln College, and my focus on John Cosin's liturgical interests in connection with the beautification of the chapel of Peterhouse. From the perspective of the thesis, however, my aim is to illustrate the range of and reasons for Protestant patronage and interest in the religious arts and church decoration in the early seventeenth century, and with regard to the university chapels such a project can only be undertaken by adopting strategies that are invariably limited by the different kinds of primary sources concerning each chapel and their patrons.

Can the chapel refurbishment programmes be interpreted as a response to the purge against idolatry engendered by the Reformation? I have attempted to answer this question by tracing, where possible, the evidence of chapel expenditure back to the mid-sixteenth century. Thus in section three I have focused on Warden Pincke's efforts in the 1630s to restore stained glass images in New College Chapel that had been selectively damaged by Reformation iconoclasts, and in section seven I have examined evidence that William Beale tried to restore the chapel of St. John's Cambridge to a pre-Reformation ideal by deliberately repairing the damage inflicted during the Elizabethan Reformation. The distinctions between the staunch iconophobic ideals of the Reformation and 'the beauty of holiness' are illustrated further in section six, where I have briefly contrasted the chapels of Emmanuel College and Peterhouse, Cambridge, which were built in 1584 and 1634 respectively. However, the destruction of ecclesiological artefacts was by no means the prerogative of godly iconoclasts, and in section two I have attempted to account for the policy of Brian Duppa,



Dean of Christ Church, who allegedly removed Anglo Saxon monuments and early Tudor stained glass to make way for new images and fittings of a style more in keeping with contemporary notions of 'the beauty of holiness'.

Given the need to refer to the earlier history of the chapels (in order to determine how innovative the refurbishment projects of the 1630s really were) it might be argued that this study would be best suited to a chronologically ordered account. However, in general the Marian, Elizabethan and Jacobean evidence is exceptionally thin, and where it does survive it usually refers to utilitarian repairs that are of little ecclesiological interest. By contrast there is a surprisingly large amount of documentary evidence concerning the chapel refurbishment programmes of the 1630s, and on this evidence this chapter is largely based. Therefore I have adopted an analytical and comparative approach based on case studies that centre on the 1620s and 1630s - beginning with the chapels of Oxford and ending with the chapels of Cambridge.

In Chapter Two I argued that there was an important, but neglected Jacobean dimension to 'the beauty of holiness'. Is there any evidence of this at the university chapels? In the first section of this chapter I shall briefly refer to the only example - the new chapel of Wadham College, Oxford, which was completed in 1623. This chapel features in a discussion of the chapel of Lincoln College, which was built between 1629 and 1631 and shares stylistic similarities. To what extent can the chapel of Lincoln be said to reflect the religious interests of its prolific patron (who at heart was a quintessentially Jacobean churchman)?

Whilst there is a lack of surviving documentary evidence regarding the chapel of Lincoln College, the deficit may be partially balanced by the wealth of primary material concerning Bishop Williams, who, despite his high profile in both the early Stuart Church and contemporary high politics, still awaits a modern biography.

Whilst historians have long recognised the connection between the chapel refurbishment programmes of the 1630s and the influence of English Arminianism, the way the college chapels designs actually reflected the religious and political interests of those responsible for their creation or re-construction has never been the subject of a detailed study.<sup>(4)</sup> In view of my argument in the previous chapters, that attitudes towards ecclesiological issues in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were complex and do not immediately lend themselves to a strict Calvinist/Arminian dichotomy, I have tried to avoid the temptation of squeezing the evidence regarding the patronage and beautification of the chapels into a prescribed interpretative framework. This safeguard is all the more important in view the fact that the chapels were beautified according to ecclesiological principles that were determined by a range of factors, including their pre-existing architectural condition and the state of their surviving furnishings. I hope this study of the university chapels throws new light on important but neglected chapters in the history of the early Stuart Church and the religious arts. If it succeeds in providing an indication of the range of ecclesiological conceptions of 'the beauty of holiness' that were beginning to flourish on the eve of the Civil War, then it will have served its purpose.



## I

To understand the chapel of Lincoln College Oxford, we must examine the career of its patron and visitor to the college, Bishop John Williams. Surprisingly little has been published on Williams's religious career since his chaplain, John Hackett, published his biography in the latter half of the seventeenth century.<sup>(5)</sup> To Samuel Rawlinson Gardiner, writing for The Dictionary of National Biography in the nineteenth century, Williams displayed the unique ability of a moderate, standing aloof from the defining rigours of contemporary faction.<sup>(6)</sup> He was certainly a complex character, a character that cannot be easily reconciled to either a Calvinist or Arminian stereotype. Whilst the contemporary Church historian Thomas Fuller acknowledged that Williams 'hated popery with a perfect hatred' <sup>(7)</sup> there is no evidence that doctrinal values in themselves determined either his friends, political allegiance or associates. For example he enjoyed good relations with William Laud before the future Archbishop's rise to power (at a time when familiarity with the man was enough to be suspected of crypto-popery) and made no effort to restrain the allegations that John Weberly, the Socinian fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was his follower.<sup>(8)</sup> He also employed the English Arminian, John Pocklington, as his chaplain before recommending Pocklington's services to Laud in November 1631.<sup>(9)</sup> Williams praised the scholastic merits of the English Arminians Lancelot Andrewes and John Overall,<sup>(10)</sup> strongly supported James I's Book of Sports in 1618, and courted suspicion of being 'popishly affected' for supporting the king's restrictions against predestinarian preaching in 1622.<sup>(11)</sup> He also took the vows of the Collet sisters, the 'Arminian nuns' of Little Gidding, and practised the rites

of absolution in his ministry to the dying Sir Robert Cotton - procedures that rest uncomfortably beside his professed faith in predestination.<sup>(12)</sup>

Williams's ecclesiastical career began in earnest ambiguity in St. John's College Cambridge in 1598, where his support for Richard Neile's purge of the residual elements of the late Master, William Whittaker's Puritan faction stood in marked contrast to his attendance of William Perkins' sermons at St. Mary's.<sup>(13)</sup> Forty years later he was equally hard to pin down. In November 1640 Williams was released from the Tower of London, and for a short time, his antagonist Peter Heylyn informs us, he became 'the idoll of both houses', not least because of his 'secret conferences' with the Puritan dissidents Prynne and Bagshaw.<sup>(14)</sup> However, this popularity soon evaporated as Williams proved a keen defender of the bishops' parliamentary rights. Heylyn recorded Williams's pro-episcopal concerns, and claimed that the Bishop compromised the respect he had earned from Parliament for his Sabbatarian stance against the Book of Sports (which Williams had, in 1618, initially promoted) by 'Saying that the discipline of Geneva...were fit for none but Beggars and Tradesmen...'<sup>(15)</sup> Was he a Machiavellian opportunist, fearful of the danger of showing too close an affinity to a potentially losing side? It seems more likely that he shared a common theological ground with these Puritans he supported, but this did not detract from his overall support for what he recognised as the wider interests of the Church and its hierarchy. Thus Williams was a man who did not like to square doctrine with discipline. But what about ecclesiology?



Williams's liturgical knowledge was recognised by King James I. Having unilaterally published a Spanish translation of the English Book of Common Prayer, 'to show that we have a liturgy at all', Williams was put in charge of the Christmas Communion celebrations for the French marriage ambassadorial party in 1624, in order to demonstrate that the English reverence towards the sacraments 'need give no offence to Catholics'.<sup>(16)</sup> The sincerity of Williams's position regarding the sacraments, at least with regard to the Eucharist, may be deduced from the adornment of his private episcopal chapel at Buckden. Williams's chaplain, Anthony Cade, dedicated a published sermon to the bishop in 1636, in which he praised the work Williams had completed at Buckden during the previous five years. This sermon is highly significant since it represents the most complete description of a chapel which is now completely purged of the bishop's investments.

Williams was clearly familiar with the ecclesiological precedents established by the late King James since he glazed Buckden chapel windows with 'costly pictures of prophets, apostles and holy fathers'. These were exactly the kind of images James believed could be used in a Protestant context without fear of idolatry, suggesting Williams might have been one of the king's 'English Doctors' who offended the Scottish divines in 1617 by advising the King that such images had a legitimate place in the setting of Protestant worship.<sup>(17)</sup> Cade also seems to have been of the same mind, for he maintained that 'the Church may be purged of things two ways: one by abolishing them: the other by taking away the abuse onely.'<sup>(18)</sup> Evidently there was no opportunity for idolatry in Williams's

company at Buckden, for his hospitality included the provision of 'wise, learned and religious discourse', which no doubt covered such topical subjects as idolatry and the role of images in the context of reformed Protestant worship.<sup>(19)</sup>

Williams's chapel at Buckden was a feast for the senses. Besides the glazing, the chapel was

'...Most beautifully furnished with new seats, windows, altar bibles, and other sacred books covered, clasped and embossed with silver, and gilt [*sic*] with gold; with bason, candlesticks and other vessels all of bright shining silver; and with stately organs curiously coloured, gilded, and enamelled: no cost spared to set forth the dignity of that house dedicated to God's worship: and the whole service of God performed therein with all possible reverence...'<sup>(20)</sup>

Clearly Williams had no personal fear of 'the peril of idolatry', but did he believe that his ecclesiological tastes were suitable for public consumption? Little evidence survives concerning local attitudes towards Williams's time as Bishop of Lincoln. Most significant contributions towards the cathedral's fabric during the time of Williams's episcopate appear to have been made by the Dean and Chapter with funds allocated from the fabric revenues, but the surviving records demonstrate no episcopal interest. However, in March 1636, in response to the complaints of his Chancellor, John Farmery, and Laud's ally, Sir John Lambe, Williams wrote to Secretary Coke in defence of his care for the cathedral and its revenue. Williams explained that the fact that he had been forced into Lincolnshire exile made him acutely conscious of his cathedral's needs. Besides increasing the annual revenue by £300 per annum, Williams claimed to have increased the prebendaries' salaries, bestowed ornaments and plate worth more



than £700, spent between £500 and £6000 on repairs to the church and library fabric and provided for eight to ten university scholars.<sup>(21)</sup> Analysis of the fabric accounts at Lincoln tends to corroborate Williams's claims, and may indicate his interests stretched back further than his report suggests. In 1626 the organs were repaired whilst in 1629 money was allocated 'for mending the wooden gate before the communion table' and 'for colored glasse of divers colors', presumably to repair glass that had survived Reformation iconoclasm - or possibly to replace it.<sup>(22)</sup> Yet such evidence reveals that money for repairs was taken from the fabric funds - responsibility for which would have fallen on the Dean and Chapter - and any of Williams's personal investments would not have shown up in such a record. Williams also seems to have engaged in some restoration work in the episcopal palace at Lincoln, as Cade acknowledged.<sup>(23)</sup> Although a contemporary eyewitness, Gervase Holles, observed that some of the stained glass in the great hall representing kings such as William Rufus ('noe great friende to the clergy') had been 'much mangled and defaced', the chapel itself, as the parliamentary survey of 1647 revealed, was in good repair. Newly erected arms of Bishop Williams, as well as 'very faire painted glasse windowes' and 'the roof of sound timber and covered over with lead' clearly indicate that Williams was responsible for this work.<sup>(24)</sup>

The finance for the construction and beautification of Lincoln College chapel, Oxford, which was completed and consecrated in September 1631, was provided in full by Williams.<sup>(25)</sup> Williams's architectural patronage and interests clearly reflected his theological learning and his ecclesiological ideals. In the

funeral sermon that he delivered for James I, Williams maintained that the ideal of kingship which Solomon had established was the one to which the late King most closely approximated:

'the greatest patron we ever read of to Church and Churchmen,  
and yet no greater than King James.'<sup>(26)</sup>

Williams's creation of Lincoln College chapel can also be attributed to the precedent he believed Solomon established through the creation of his temple, and may be interpreted as both the expression of a debt of gratitude towards the late king, and possibly as a reflection of the ecclesiological commensurability between Solomon's temple and the Chapel Royal, which had been re-furbished in the 1620s.<sup>(27)</sup> Solomon's temple was an important ecclesiological precedent for Protestant divines like Williams, as well as for English Arminians such as Lancelot Andrewes,<sup>(28)</sup> since like scripture it was the product of divine inspiration. Williams's interest in the model of Solomon's temple, provided in the Psalms, Canticles and the book of Ezechiel, was shaped through his knowledge of the latest developments in Italian architectural theory - Palladio, Sebastian Serlio, and Giova Battista Villalpando comprising his chief sources of influence.<sup>(29)</sup> The views of the Italian architects crystallized into a theological pattern in Villalpando's Ezechielem Explanationes.<sup>(30)</sup>

Villalpando maintained that Solomon's temple represented the principal template for Christian architectural aesthetics because it expressed the fundamental harmonies of the universe which God had revealed to Solomon. It was therefore interpreted as the true origin of all classical orders of



architecture.<sup>(31)</sup> The clearest indication that Williams was adopting this precedent was the fact that the screen, pulpit and wainscotting were all made of cedar wood. Although two modern writers, Aylmer Vallance and Nicholas Pevsner, independently attribute the production of this screen to the Restoration period, the bills for its construction, which Vivian Green uncovered, coupled with the fact that in the middle bay of the screen contains a cartouche adorned with the arms of Williams's see of Lincoln, and college and Deanery of Westminster, almost certainly means that the screen is Williams's own.<sup>(32)</sup> Indeed it was seen by George Gerrard in 1636, who observed how it

'.gives such an odiferous smell, that the Holy water in the Romish Churches doth not exceed it, Lett them use what art they can to perfume it'.<sup>(33)</sup>

Williams's chapel centres around the reconciliation of opposites; Solomon's temple and the Christian chapel exemplify the harmonious balance perceived to co-exist between the prophesies of the Old Testament and their realisation in the New. Palladio wrote that, 'architecture consists in well proportioned relationships', since 'it is these harmonic correspondences that contain majesty and decorum'.<sup>(34)</sup> The 'harmonic correspondence'<sup>(35)</sup> between the Old Testament and the New, like the reigns of Solomon and James, is reflected in the imagery and architectural schemes that combine to make this chapel the fusion of gothic architecture and classical design, and the mediaeval past and the post-Reformation present. Thus in the east window the top lights portray simple classical architectural formulas, and yet the tracery in which they are set is

perpendicular. It might be conjectured that the architectural forms which are displayed here, above the black and white marble floor space, were designed to be interpreted as the mirror images of the essentially perpendicular shape of the body of the church which they immediately face.

More significantly, Williams confronted head on the decalogue teaching respecting the danger of images. On the north and south walls of the chapel run a sequence of stained glass windows displaying iconic forms representing twelve Old Testament Prophets who confront twelve New Testament Saints, painted by the Dutch artist, Bernard Van-Linge, in 1630. Their contextual arrangement indicates how they are meant to be conceived - as didactic (and historical) representations.<sup>(36)</sup> The same strategy was employed by the Oxford glazier, Robert Rudland, for the north and south windows of the chapel in Wadham College Oxford in 1614. Rudland was replaced by Bernard Van-Linge in 1622, who produced the scenes depicting the life of Christ in Wadham chapel's east window. In Lincoln chapel's east window the life of Christ is also portrayed, but in a much more sophisticated context, though the quality of the craftsmanship - especially the glazing techniques - are inferior to the side windows. These images represent the creation of Adam as typical of the birth of Christ, the passage of the Red Sea as typical of the baptism in Jordan, the Passover as typical of the Lord's supper, Moses lifting up the serpent in Israel as typical of the Crucifixion, and Jonah's freedom from the whale as typical of the Resurrection. Finally, a crucifix was supposed to have existed on top of Williams's 'Holy Table'.<sup>(37)</sup> The use of the type/antitype series of imagery,<sup>(38)</sup> whilst re-affirming traditional beliefs with



respect to precedence and authority, perhaps diffuses the more controversial matter of the presence of such imagery in a religious setting. However, the artist employed to create these windows, who may well have belonged to the studio of Bernard and Abraham Van-Linge, produced images that are entirely out of keeping with the strictures of the Calvinist theology of idolatry.<sup>(39)</sup>

The presence of a dove fluttering over the sun in the Crucifixion window was an image not taken lightly by Elizabethan iconomachs, but its presence in Williams's chapel is surely indicative of the way English Calvinists were beginning to revise the image question. Writing in the 1590s William Perkins stuck an uncompromisingly Calvinist chord by attacking this 'idolatrous' means of representing the Holy Ghost.<sup>(40)</sup> This position is significant for Perkins was otherwise prepared to accept 'historicall' images. Similarly John Yates, a proponent of Calvinist orthodoxy, ranked Richard Montague's attack against the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry (1563) amongst the catalogue of Arminian errors contained in Appello Ceasarem (1625). Yet despite his argument that attempts to represent the Deity 'in the mortality of an old man' was a practice 'more sottish than Idolatorie', Yates conceded that some 'more wisely have...painted the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove'.<sup>(41)</sup> That an anti-Arminian Calvinist could tolerate such imagery (where Perkins, in the 1590s, could not) is surely indicative of the relaxation of Protestant attitudes towards 'the peril of idolatry' during the early seventeenth century.

Despite its presence in the east window, it should be noted that the image of the crucifixion is not the central point of the congregation's focus since it is encased in the fourth of six frames running from the left. Moreover, the crucifixion itself is produced to the same scale as the other images portraying the life of Christ and their Old Testament antitypes. The fact that the crucifixion is not accorded an exalted position strongly suggests that this glass was intended to strictly serve as an historical ornament. But what is to be made of the fact that the face of the crucified Christ face is blotted out? Was it a deliberate concession to iconomachs who might take offence at seeing this integer of Christ's humanity portrayed in a 'carnal manner'?<sup>(42)</sup> Or was it the result of an act of selective iconoclasm, performed during the Civil War? Considering the fact that the image of Christ sitting at the last supper in the window immediately to its left has been given a face remarkably similar to the face of Charles I<sup>(43)</sup> - or indeed Bishop Williams - it seems quite possible that the crucified Christ may have been similarly (and thus sacrilegiously) portrayed. With regard to the last supper, if this glass was installed later than 1633 it would be tempting to think that Williams was thinking of Laud's words to the iconoclast Henry Sherfield, when it was commissioned.<sup>(44)</sup> This is what Laud said:

'I do not think it is lawful to make the picture of God the Father; but 'tis lawful to make the picture of Christ, and Christ is called the express image of His Father. I do not mean that the picture of Christ as God the Son may be made, for the Deity cannot be portrayed or pictured, though the humanity may.'<sup>(45)</sup>

If 'the humanity' of Christ could be legitimately depicted, what form should this 'humanity' take? The belief that Charles I was, to quote his admirer,



the Shrewsbury minister Peter Studley, 'the lively Image of Divine Majesty for temporal regiment'<sup>(46)</sup> no doubt made him the perfect model. These windows, judging by the number of cracks and disjointed connections, appear to have been moved on the eve of the Civil War. It seems hard to believe that the representations of Christ ascending in the clouds, and other attempts to portray the metaphysical, like the beam of light descending from the clouds with the newly created Adam at the bottom of it, would have escaped the censures of the parliamentary visitors in 1648.<sup>(47)</sup> However it must be noted that the type/antitype sequence of these images demands from the viewer an interpretive and therefore an intellectual response. These images are set up and designed to be thought about, and their contextualization understood, which in a sense precludes any true iconic significance which these images, if considered independently, could be deemed to possess. Unfortunately no evidence survives to account for the role Williams expected them to play in his new chapel. Indeed his precise role in the chapel's construction remains something of a mystery. With the exception of the bills for the screen no other contracts or orders for the chapel seem to have survived. It may be the case that Williams deliberately kept the receipts to himself.

Williams's fall from grace soon after Charles's succession may be a reason for his public reticence over the extent of his patronage, and indeed his absence from the consecration ceremony, which he sat out at Buckden.<sup>(48)</sup> Williams was careful to ensure that knowledge of his benefactions (a potential key to his wealth) were not fully accessible. For example, his investment in the new Library

of St. John's College Cambridge was well known, and emblazoned with the bishop's coat of arms. Yet Valentine Carey, the College Master remarked how Williams 'would not be counted the builder or founder of it, but a contributor towards it'.<sup>(49)</sup>

The design of Lincoln College chapel clearly incorporated elements of gothic residualism. But was its perpendicular structure intended to glorify the English Church's mediaeval past? Or was it still a part of its architectural tradition? The combination of classical elements (tellingly confused by later historians of architecture with neo-classical ideals of a later period) with gothic features surely reflects a sense of historical compatibility between the modern English Church, and its mediaeval antecedent. And yet the chapel's context in post-Reformation England is amply demonstrated by the delicate handling of its furnishing and adornment with images. This factor might lead us to conclude, given Williams's familiarity with the writings of the most recent (and influential) Italian architects, that this chapel was commissioned to a design that was more concerned with style than tradition.

Williams's investment in the chapel of Lincoln College clearly demonstrates how 'the beauty of holiness' was no Arminian prerogative. But was his conception of 'the beauty of holiness' wholly indistinguishable from other efforts to attain this theo-aesthetic ideal?



## II

The project to beautify Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford began a year after Lincoln chapel had been completed. Regrettably, like the chapel of Lincoln College, there are no relevant financial accounts or contracts for the period during which it was beautified. This problem is compounded by the iconoclasm to which the cathedral was subjected during the Civil War. However three important primary accounts survive. These are the diary of Peter Mundy, an international traveller who visited the Cathedral in 1639, Anthony Wood's History of the Colleges and Halls (which he began around 1673 but which was based on contemporary accounts - including the author's personal observations), and an anonymous poem, written around 1635 and entitled 'A Defence of the Historicall use of the painted windows in Christ Church against a Banburie Brother'.<sup>(50)</sup>

In 1624 Christ Church Cathedral was decorated with a new screen, made by the carpenter Thomas Richardson, under the guidance and instruction of Dean Richard Corbett. However alterations to the cathedral's fabric and interior design did not begin in earnest until 1632, following Brian Duppa's appointment to the Deanery. As was usual with most of the new chapels (possibly following the precedent of the Chapel Royal) the floor was paved with black and white marble, and the old stalls replaced. However Duppa's refurbishment programme was far from limited to the basic re-edification of the cathedral, for the Dean effectively set about replacing a substantial amount of mediaeval artwork, especially stained glass, with far more recent artefacts. Thus in 1638 glass which had been set up by Cardinal Wolsey, and the canons of St. Friedswide, was removed to make

room for new glass produced by Abraham Van-Linge.<sup>(51)</sup> The glass removed included the arms of some early benefactors. Furthermore, ancient monumental floor slabs (purportedly Anglo-Saxon) were hoisted away to make room for the new floor. According to Anthony Wood, this procedure, not surprisingly, was considered by some to have been an 'act of impiety'.<sup>(52)</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon period was a subject of great interest to contemporary antiquarians and clerics like Laud and Archbishop Ussher of Armagh. Both wanted to answer the Catholic question 'where was your Church before Luther?' by being able to defend the English Church according to orthodox traditions pre-dating the 'Papal usurpation' (rather than through reference to such spurious heretical precedents as the Albigensians, Lollards and Hussites). Indeed Laud took a personal interest in Anglo-Saxon monuments, ordering that monuments in Exeter Cathedral dating from the time of Edward the Confessor which had been 'defaced' by Tudor iconoclasts be 'beautified', and providing funds to William Somner, the Canterbury antiquarian, and his London contemporary, John Weever, to assist their research into 'venerable antiquity' - with particular regard to the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>(53)</sup>

Wood maintained that Duppa, clearly ignorant of the ecclesiological vogue of the material he was removing, got rid of it because he believed it to be 'old superstitious stuff'.<sup>(54)</sup> From a twentieth century perspective Wood's comments seem surprising, for he goes on to recount how in 1648 parliamentary soldiers, participating in iconoclastic violence in the cathedral, directed their



attentions to the new great East window on the account of its 'Antichristian, diabolical and popish' significance. This reaction, Wood believed, might have been avoided had the original glass been left intact.<sup>(55)</sup> It shows how iconoclastic attitudes were determined by more than just a black and white reading of the Decalogue. Duppa's iconoclasm was against the 'superstition' of antiquity. The godly iconoclasm against Duppa's own style of reformist ecclesiology was against 'diabolical' innovation. Perhaps Duppa was sensitive to accusations of his impious actions, for in 1638, when he was Bishop of Chichester, his tenth visitation article asked 'have any ancient monuments in your church beene defaced, the brasse pull'd off, the stones taken away, or the inscriptions rased,..what Historicall representations in windowes have been defaced or broken?'<sup>(56)</sup>

The new stained glass at Christ Church was already a matter of controversy before the Civil War, for a poet, possibly Richard West, felt that he needed to defend the images of saints, apostles, angels and Christocentric themes this window contained against 'a Banburie brother'.<sup>(57)</sup> The author clearly believed that opposition to the existence of such imagery was a puritan extreme, and that these windows had a legitimate place in English Reformed worship, since he argued

'Had you one spark of reason you would find,  
 Yourselves like idolls too had eyes, yet Blinde,  
 `tis only some base niggard Heresie,  
 To think religion loves Deformitie,  
 Glorie did never yet make God the lesse,  
 Neither can beautie defile Holinesse.'<sup>(58)</sup>

The subsequent destruction of this glass may be attributable to the presence of angels and other symbolic effronteries like the image of

'...the dove descending to inspire, the Apostles Heads with cloven tounques of fire'.<sup>(59)</sup>

Moreover these 'faire windowes', as Peter Mundy described them, were executed in 'lively coloured painted glasse'.<sup>(60)</sup> Margaret Aston has convincingly argued that the iconoclastic fear of idolatry was closely related to the realism of images, whilst the use of bright colours to attain such effect could arouse sensual stimulation and lead worshippers into 'spiritual adultery'.<sup>(61)</sup> The mimetic or 'lively' likenesses reproduced in much of the Christ Church imagery were offensive to the godly since they were seen to blasphemously imitate the creative work of the Deity. Thus in a highly significant passage, Mundy described the difference between the Christ Church glass, the ill-fated glass at Magdalen, and the early sixteenth century glass in the chapel at King's College Cambridge (which still survives). King's glass, he observed,

'hath very high and ritche windowes of scripture stories in coloured glasse, don in King Henry the 8th's tyme, *not soe artificiall, nett as true as Now adaies are made of that kind, as those at Christ's Church and Magdalen college in Oxfford,..*'<sup>(62)</sup>

Dean Duppa's vision of 'the beauty of holiness' was one of ecclesiological renewal, but were all advocates of this ideal as willing to ride rough shod over such images and monuments of the medieval Church as had escaped the attention of Tudor iconoclasts?



## III

The surviving chapel accounts of New College Oxford record its refurbishment and beautification in exceptionally fine detail, and they are of particular importance for very little ecclesiological evidence from the period survives. Robert Pincke had been Warden of New College since 1617, but the accounts reveal that the only money spent on the chapel before 1628 went towards basic utilitarian repairs. These included regular repairs to the organ, that continued through out Pincke's wardenry.<sup>(63)</sup> Before 1628 the average amount of money spent on the chapel was between 12 to 13 a year (a figure that reflects the chapel expenditure at St John's and Jesus college chapels in Cambridge, where figures can be also calculated with a high degree of accuracy). After 1628, however, expenditure on New college Chapel rocketed - reaching a peak £309 7s 6d in the year 1637-8, and £278 the year after. The most costly aspect of the beautification was the lining of the chapel floor space with brabant marble, a programme that took four years to complete. The chapel was also wainscotted during this time, and parts of this wainscotting, as well as a number of seats, were painted and gilt. Images figured prominently in the restored chapel, as evidence of the purchase of silk trimmings and large pieces of broad canvas, costing nearly 60 - 'to hang before the pictures' - testify.<sup>(64)</sup> The whole of the interior was transformed by the new screen, which was commissioned between 1635 and 1636, and the new seats and kneeling desks commissioned in 1638.<sup>(65)</sup> Old desks were also converted to make them fit 'to kneele upon' whilst old benches were 'wrought soe deepe as to suite in colour with the new...to serve again'.<sup>(66)</sup>

In keeping with Laudian 'altar policy' a new 'raile before the communion table' was commissioned from the same craftsman, William Harris, in 1633-4.<sup>(67)</sup> The attempt to emulate the Chapel Royal can be discerned both from this reference, and the purchase of 'Choir services and Anthems' in 1637 - and eight 'lesser Anthem bookes' the following year.<sup>(68)</sup> Pincke's intense loyalty to the King, and his desire to inculcate support for the monarchy is also apparent in the New College expense accounts. These accounts contain the only records that I have so far found that refer to money being spent on 'a printed prayre for the Queene'(1631-2),<sup>(69)</sup> regular celebrations on the king's accession day, and, in 1638-9 'severall prayers for his Majesties expedition to the North'.<sup>(70)</sup>

Although the glass at New College that has earned the most critical acclaim is the work undertaken by William Price, for his adaptation of mediaeval Flemish glass during the eighteenth century, earlier renovation work has, until recently, tended to be ignored.<sup>(71)</sup> Yet during the 1630s 'a Dutch pencill man', probably one of the Van-Linges, was employed to produce glass to repair, rather than replace the glass in this college. Though all the college chapels were subject to iconoclastic reforms following the Elizabethan succession, the effects varied from chapel to chapel. As far as stained glass was concerned, its fate was usually determined by the inclinations of the visitor. A great deal of glass was destroyed within the first six years of Elizabeth's reign,<sup>(72)</sup> and yet despite the continuation of random acts of violence throughout the 1570s,<sup>(73)</sup> ecclesiological reformation was not always heading in one direction, for in the chapel accounts is a highly unusual reference in the to the 'the mendinge a pane of storie work' in 1572. The



historian of stained glass, Charles Woodforde, assumed that this was proof that the imagery itself was repaired, and that the college was flouting Bishop Horne's visitation instructions of 1567 that maintained that more destruction was necessary.<sup>(74)</sup> However when we look at the kind of work Van-Linge was asked to carry out, it seems that the earlier repair work was performed as a utilitarian response to recent iconoclastic damage. As in many churches, this glass was probably defaced by Elizabethan iconoclasts, and the animate qualities of the represented images removed in order to neutralize their power and render them harmless. Such 'selective iconoclasm', that bore, to future Laudians, the thin end of the wedge between idolatry and sacrilege, could be more cheaply and easily rectified than complete destruction. However in 1628, Van-Linge was employed to produce made eighteen new faces to replace the images of kings and saints in the surviving glass 'some which were wanting, others [which] were broken or defaced.'<sup>(75)</sup> Clearly Pincke's commission to Van-Linge was a blatant attempt to undo the damage inflicted on the chapel by Reformation iconoclasts. Other image-work in this chapel included the new screen. This screen was painted by the French artist, Francis Doone, who also painted figures of the Apostles and Saints on the backs of the medieval stalls, seven of which are said to survive.<sup>(76)</sup>

Significantly, none of the innovations from the period 1628-41, with the exception of the repaired glass and the medieval screen survive. Even the wainscoting and the marble floor was appropriated during the Civil-War, along

with other valuables. Indeed of all the college chapels in Oxford that have survived from the Laudian period, New College has probably fared the worst.

Pincke's activity can in one sense be seen as an answer to the prayers of old Dr. Caius of Cambridge, who chose to hide images and other ornaments and ecclesiological utensils away from Reformers, in the hope that the succession of a new monarch would bring with it a change in religion.<sup>(77)</sup> The ecclesiology of the past was also restored in Pembroke College Cambridge, where the chapel walls were unplastered and the whitewashing removed in 1628 to reveal the old wall paintings.<sup>(78)</sup> Similarly 'old painted glasse' was discovered in the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, and given pride of place 'in the great window' in c.1634-5.<sup>(79)</sup> Clearly these examples of ecclesiological investment reflect profound dissatisfaction with the iconoclastic orthodoxies of the Reformation. But as some divines were beginning to re-evaluate the ecclesiology of the medieval English Church, others, as we shall see in the following section, had their minds on other precedents, including the Church's historical links with the early fathers of the Greek Church.

#### IV

The beautification of the chapel of Magdalen College, under the keen eye of the President, Accepted Frewen, was arguably the most radical attempt to realise 'the beauty of holiness' in the setting of Protestant worship in any Oxford college chapel. James I is said to have recommended a chapel restoration



programme to Frewen's predecessor, William Langton, but work did not begin until 1629.<sup>(80)</sup>

Most of Frewen's work on the chapel can be attributed to the influence of the visitor to the college, Bishop Walter Curle of Winchester. Writing to Frewen in 1636 Curle commended the work Frewen had begun on the chapel

'whereby it may in some degree of decency represent the Majesty of Him, whose house it is'.

However Curle insisted that this 'beauty and decency of the place' must necessarily harmonize with

'an uniform reverence in all parts of Divine worship and service, according to the canonical Injunctions of the Church, and the commendable and imitable practise *of his Majesties Chapel* that so God may be worshipped not only in holiness, but in the beauty of holiness'.<sup>(81)</sup>

Yet during his stay at the college later in the year, Curle persuaded Frewen that more work was required, for amongst his papers concerning chapel affairs, Frewen recorded how

'The repaire and beautifying of the body of the church was undertaken at the insistence of oure visitour when he lodged here in the college'.<sup>(82)</sup>

Curle's interest in 'the beauty of holiness' may have been linked to his connection with the Cecils, since his father was a client to both Lord Burghley and his son Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Curle was clearly familiar with Salisbury's chapel at Hatfield, which by 1612 was beautified with stained glass

images (one of the first such projects in a post-Reformation context), since in 1637 he employed one of Cecil's glaziers, Richard Butler, to assist with his programme to beautify Winchester Cathedral.<sup>(83)</sup> Curle was also one of the prime instigators of the more radical dimension of 'the beauty of holiness' since he contributed £40 to Matthew Wren's project to construct Peterhouse chapel, and then £100 to help John Cosin beautify it according to more controversial ecclesiological principles.<sup>(84)</sup>

But how was 'the beauty of holiness' expressed in the design of Magdalen's chapel? As usual the floor was paved with black and white marble, but more controversially an altar was raised in 1630, and a brass lectern, paid for by Frewen personally, was brought into use. Since these investments took place before Curle became Visitor it is tempting to think that Frewen was thinking of William Laud when he made them for in 1631 he was made Dean of Gloucester, barely a year after Laud's election to the Chancellorship.<sup>(85)</sup> Frewen would have doubtless wanted to impress the new Chancellor - not least since Laud erected an altar when he was Dean of Gloucester in 1617 <sup>(86)</sup> -, and what better way than by erecting the first altar in an Oxford University college chapel since the days of Mary Tudor? Behind the Magdalen altar was placed a huge picture portraying the last judgement, which appears in a picture of the chapel's interior that was produced shortly before the 1648 visitation. By 1664, this picture had found its way into All Souls, where John Evelyn saw it and remarked that it was

'the largest piece of fresco painting (or rather an imitation of it, for it is oil on turpentine) in England, not ill designed by the hand of



one Fuller; yet I fear it will not hold long. It seems too full of  
nakeds for a chapel.'<sup>(87)</sup>

Although the more radical statues and stained glass (that Mundy described) were hidden when the war broke out, they were sought out and destroyed by parliamentary soldiers. However the surviving glass is still of use in helping us to understand the political and theological motivations of the President and Fellows of the college.<sup>(88)</sup>

In 1632 Frewen approached the London art-dealer, Thomas Langton, in order to secure a commission for the painted glass which was to decorate the chapel. Langton had already played another minor role in the propagation of 'the beauty of holiness' having found, in 1621, another client for Bernard Van-Linge, when it was discovered that the glass that he had produced for St. Paul's Cathedral was no longer required.<sup>(89)</sup> Langton's ability to find artists capable of producing work to Protestant order can be gleaned from the contract he brokered between Bernard Van-Linge and the Warden of Wadham College, Oxford in July 1621. Van-Linge was entrusted to portray

'the Histro of the Nativitie & passion of our blessed saviour...or  
any Canonikall history as shal be thought most meet for the  
place.'<sup>(90)</sup>

Evidently by the 1630s Van-Linge's success had brought him independence enough to no longer require the services of Langton, and so Langton had to seek out Dutch and Flemish glass direct. Frewen's limited budget

seemed to cause problems from the start, since Langton wrote to him from London complaining that the Dutch merchant with whom he was dealing was insisting that his glazier receive six shillings per foot of glass, which 'seemed a verie hard bargain for the church'.<sup>(91)</sup> Accordingly, Langton promised to 'send to Antwerp, for a workman which shall wipe this proud Hollander.' Frewen, however, let the matter drop for another four and a half years, and only revived his interest following Curle's visit to the college in 1636.<sup>(92)</sup>

In 1637 Langton approached the Catholic artist, Richard Greenbury, whose ability to produce 'black and white work' at the cost of '4s and 6d for every foot of glasse' made him the most competitive man for the job.<sup>(93)</sup> This fact was not lost on Frewen, who now only had £400 to play with. Half the finance would come from 'the treasurie' and the other half from the sale of trees from Sherborne Priory.<sup>(94)</sup> Thus Greenbury agreed

'that the West window be all History worke, & that the rest of the smaller windowes be history or single figures as it shall seeme most gracefull for the chappell and [*sic*] what the stories shall be agreed on & approved by the college.'

Concluding the contract, Greenbury promised to

'...binde myselfe as farre as this worke may be valued at by judicious men,..'

The great west window was complete and paid for in July 1639, whilst the individual figures were complete in June the following year.<sup>(95)</sup>



The strictures which Greenbury was expected to adhere to clearly indicate his employers' principal objective - to produce a chapel for training a future ministry in Reformed English worship. They also reflect their wishes not to make this chapel subject to public controversy. Greenbury was expected to produce historical images - images to be interpreted and not worshipped (or be seen to solicit worship). The second part of the agreement, that stressed that the work 'may be valued at by judicious men' appears to reflect Frewen's just concerns about the quality of Greenbury's craftsmanship. However, Frewen may well have been suggesting that this imagery could not be expected to appeal to all: it could not appeal to Catholics, who might worship it (or worship through it) or to more zealous Protestants to whom it might cause offence. Perhaps the 'judicious men' that he had in mind were like the 'learned and discrete men' whom Laud allowed to purchase copies of his illustrated Bible. Such things had to be limited to a select clientele, Laud argued, since if they were available to all 'they might be abused, and become evil'. If used by 'learned and discrete men' on the other hand, these people 'might turn them to good'.<sup>(96)</sup> Such discretion was possibly shared by John Cosin and (or) the Fellows of Peterhouse Cambridge, whose purchase of 'bordes of the window above the altar' might have been used to hide the new stained glass (representing the Crucifixion) from the unwelcome glare of passers-by.<sup>(97)</sup>

Significantly a number of the windows produced by Greenbury survived the Civil War. The largest piece, the great west window, was seen by Richard Symmonds, a visitor to the college in 1643. This window, Symmonds recorded,

'Contains a lively description of the day of judgement with the resurrection of the dead, in middle partition Angels sounding their trumpets to Judgement, and Christ sitting as Judge, in the partition at his right hand the emblem of the saints in Glory; in the outer at his left hand Angels with flaming swords...and the Devill dragging the damned to eternal fire.'<sup>(98)</sup>

Unfortunately this window was subjected to a divine act of iconoclasm and badly damaged by a gale in 1703. However it was renewed in 1794 which explains its lighter shading.<sup>(99)</sup> Both this glass and the images of individual figures that now occupy the ante-chapel are described in the contract as being in black and white. However Greenbury actually achieved a sepia-toned effect. The reason why these windows came to be produced like this evidently had nothing to do with any concern on the part of the President and Fellows with the 'peril of idolatry' (that coloured glass might be seen to pose). Rather they were produced to achieve this effect because of Greenbury's inexpensive innovations in production technique. These windows, like the hangings (now lost or destroyed) that he made for the chapel altar, were much cheaper to produce on account of the new methods in mass production that he had recently pioneered. Greenbury was a former member of the Painter Stainers Company, based in London. In 1581 this company had obtained its Royal Charter, and its ordinances were confirmed the following year.<sup>(100)</sup> Its tenth rule had prohibited the production of work

'wrought with stencil pattern or otherwise as painted and printed sleight upon cloth, silk, leather or other things'.<sup>(101)</sup>

In 1626, however, the employment of these practices by 'strangers', ie. continental immigrants, forced the company to petition the Lord Chamberlain to



ensure that their standards could be legally maintained.<sup>(102)</sup> Eight years later, Greenbury himself was engaged in a similar controversy with the company,<sup>(103)</sup> and accordingly gained his freedom from its jurisdiction, for two years later, his name appeared in the Patents's register to show that he had monopolised the right to practise

'painting with oil colours upon woollen cloth-kerseys, and stuffs for hangings; also silk for windows.'<sup>(104)</sup>

Thus the windows at Magdalen were produced through forming stencilled images on silk, which were then transferred to the glass, a practice that would have necessarily precluded any attempts to employ the kind of sophisticated colouration techniques that the Painter Stainer's company wished to maintain as the norm. But what about the images of the individual figures? Originally positioned running along the north and south walls of the chapel, they were removed into the ante-chapel during the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>(105)</sup> To understand the significance of these images, which portray the staunch upholders of Christian orthodoxy during the early years of the Church, it is necessary to gauge the sense of historicism that guided the ways in which contemporaries conceived themselves in their own immediate historical contexts.

To attempt an examination of the ways in which churchmen and laymen set out their day-to-day lives around Biblical precedents would be a tremendous task, and one that I do not want to begin here. However, the way English Arminians interpreted their defence of Protestant orthodoxy in terms of Patristic

examples, and equated their own experiences with the misfortunes of the early Church, clearly matched the way their Calvinist opponents figured themselves in the perennial survival of the visible Church. Peter Lake has provided ample evidence to demonstrate how staunch Protestants constructed a sophisticated form of self-justification that centred around 'Popery'; an 'ideal form of deviance' against which they could measure and affirm their own temporal spirituality.<sup>(106)</sup> In 1624 the Calvinist Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, printed an earlier work of his entitled A Treatise of the Perpetuall Visibilitie and Succession of the True Church in all Ages.<sup>(107)</sup> In this work Abbot defended the history of the Protestant tradition in internationalist terms, according to which the Earthly Church Militant confirmed its *raison d'etre* through its stance against popish hypocrisy and idolatry. According to a recent commentator,

'...for radicals, divinely inspired faith and knowledge was transmitted through their past, providing a universally normative truth whose criteria could be used to evaluate contemporary circumstances.'<sup>(108)</sup>

Yet both English Arminians and conformist Calvinists recognised such 'universally normative truth' that linked their immediate historical circumstances and experiences to episodes in the historical past of the Bible and the early Church. Indeed by contemporary standards this criteria was the only basis on which apparent novelties and innovations could be justified and defended. Thus John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, suggested that 'ideal forms of deviance', like Popery and Arminianism, were necessary challenges for God's few,

'that the elect might be imploy'd and tried, Reprobates left unexcusable, God's strength appear in our weaknesse, and his



Mercy and Justice in such variety of objects. Otherwise how should the Church be Militant ?' (109)

By contrast those happier with the Laudian regime, like Humphrey Sydenham, a Somerset minister and fellow of Wadham College, described puritanism in terms of a historically persistent threat that was constantly reappearing to trouble the integrity of the apostolically-derived true Episcopal Church. 'All new ruptures in the Church', he argued,

'are but the grey haire of an ancient schisme new kemb'd and endow'd, or the bones of some primitive heresie reviv'd: the like proportion of dispositions and occurrences now, as of old.' (110)

Continuously subject to the same old threats and criticisms of its essential purity, the True Church continued to ride, weather, and even benefit from these storms, for such forms of deviance, once measured and understood in perspective, effectively enabled its members to demarcate its boundaries within the temporal sphere. Thus Lancelot Andrewes dismissed modern Puritans as 'the Gnostics of our age'.<sup>(111)</sup> Similarly the Covenanters' rebellion occasioned William Laud to picture his critics 'Prynne, Bastwick, and our Scottish masters' as 'furious Aerial heretics'.<sup>(112)</sup> Finally when Laud himself was executed Peter Heylyn styled him 'Cyprianus Anglicus', since like St. Cyprian Laud had stood firm against the Novatian heretics of his day. It is therefore significant that the President and Fellows of Magdalen should choose to represent, in image form, the most forthright defenders of the early Church for the decoration of Magdalen College chapel, not least since the production of these images (between 1639 and 1640)

coincided exactly with Charles's troubles with the rebellion of the Calvinist Covenanters in his northern realm.

Although Greenbury's windows portray figures from a later period, like Saints Anselm and Wenceslas (d.924),<sup>(113)</sup> such figures were commemorated for their respective defence of ecclesiastical authority. Anselm had stood up to King Rufus whilst the latter had fought against the Pagan reaction in Bohemia. Another later figure, 'Gregorius Cappadox' (ie. Gregory Decapolites) was the persecuted victim of Byzantine iconoclasts. The rest had played a leading role in the Church's evangelical mission during the dark ages. A number of them were bishops who stood up against the Arian heretics - Cyril of Jerusalem, who was driven out of the city by the Arians, Basil of Ancyra, who stayed on to uphold orthodox doctrine in spite of the persecutions, and Gregory Nyssenius, who courted trouble with the Arians in Armenia.

The most important theme, however, is episcopacy, and its status as a divinely instituted office sanctioned through apostolic succession. Aristarchus, traditionally recognised as St. Paul's companion and fellow martyr, was the first Bishop of Salonica. Polycarpus and Ignatius provide the chief link between the Apostles and the establishment of Sees in Asia Minor, and Saints Cleophas, Barnabas, Timothy and Titus provide further evidence of a living link between the Apostles, and the Churches of Ephesus and Crete. Iraneus, famous for writing against the Gnostics of his age, also belongs in this context. The continuity of the



Episcopal church is illustrated further by the inclusion of St. Bridget, who founded a Nunnery in Ireland c. 450-525, and St Burchardus, an English Monk or Priest who joined St. Boniface's mission to Germany, c. 732.

One surprising inclusion points to the main source the artist and divines had drawn upon. The presence of St. Crispus, who was executed by his father - the first Christian Emperor Constantine - is surely attributable to the eulogy that Eusebius gave to him in his history, which he completed before Crispus's disgrace.<sup>(114)</sup> Eusebius may equally have provided the precedent for the chapel's railed altar. In his Ecclesiastical History Eusebius described the 'holie of holies' in the church of the Apostles, built by Constantine. This area contained the altar, around which was placed - 'that the multitude might not tread thereon,.. a fence of wooden lattice work delicately wrought with the craftsman's utmost skill' <sup>(115)</sup> This is the major reason why altars were railed off from the rest of churches in Caroline England. As we see in section six, there is evidence that the Master of Peterhouse, John Cosin, ensured that no one below the rank of Doctor of Divinity was permitted to enter Peterhouse chapel's equivalent of the 'holy of holies', and there is little reason for not supposing that a similar policy applied to other chapels and churches designed to create the sensation of 'the beauty of holiness' as well.

Once on his own, Greenbury did not adhere to the strict instructions of the President and fellows of Magdalen. The image of 'St. Saloma' (St. Mary Salome), mother of Saints James the Great and John the Evangelist, is presented

cradling a huge crucifix. Though she was reputed to have been the only woman to have administered to Christ during his life time, other images that attempted to portray her usually have her holding ointment, cruse or a pair of cruets. The image of the crucifix is no doubt meant to show that she witnessed the Crucifixion. However, the image of Christ's body, almost naked, is effectively a life study in human form, very unlike the iconic two-dimensional appearance of St. Saloma herself. It is possible to interpret this as an anti-iconomachic expression. The placement of a life-like representation of an image within a pictorial context in which the principal focal point is the iconic representation of a real woman (an image which is also of inferior artistic quality) may have been an artistic ploy that was intended to make iconomachs think about the relationship between art and reality. However, perhaps this solicitation would have been counter productive from a Catholic perspective since the viewer would have to be compelled to consider the implications inherent in the way this work of art is *designed* to be interpreted. Such a barrier between the viewer and the image would accordingly vitiate any divine characteristics the artwork *qua* image of Christ might be deemed by the worshipper to possess. But surely this is what a Catholic would want, since according to the latria/dulia principle, Christ is worshipped through the medium of the image; the image itself is not the object of worship. But of course it was an iconomachic belief that the more realistic the image, the greater the risk that it would seduce a worshipper into worshipping *it* rather than its referent.<sup>(116)</sup>



Some Saints were evidently chosen for the chapel windows on account of their doctrinal beliefs, as well as their historical significance: Saints Cornelius the Martyr and Cyprian his follower wrote against the Novatian doctrine which denied the Church any right to forgive Christians who had lapsed. Proof that this was the message these images were intended to convey can be taken from the presence of an image of St. Hippolytus. Like Novatius himself, Hippolytus was an 'anti-Pope' who had set himself up for consecration under false pretences. However, he reconciled himself back to the True Church before his martyrdom, and was subsequently canonised. Novatius was clearly a model to which Puritans were perceived to conform, since their decision to separate from the Emperor Constantine's Church was strictly over ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>(117)</sup>

Thus Greenbury's windows were designed to impress upon worshipping scholars, and the future ministry, the importance of *jure divino* episcopacy, and the Church's continual survival against the odds of heresy, faction and schism.<sup>(118)</sup> The proliferation of militantly presbyterian tracts then entering into the country clearly necessitated a response to dissuade Englishmen from sympathising with the Covenanters' grievances. Laud, for example, equated the threat posed by the Covenanters to the Arian heresy of the past, and told a Calvinist sympathiser to his cause that episcopacy was something more than just an apostolically inspired institution: 'episcopacy' he argued

Is not to be asserted to apostolic institution as to bar it from looking higher and from fetching it materially *and originally in the ground and intention of it in Christ himself...*<sup>(119)</sup>

This is the reason why Laud defended the thesis that only bishops could ordain ministers for his doctorate in 1608.<sup>(120)</sup> As Kenneth Fincham has noted, this principle represented an attack against the belief that the English Church was at the heart of the continental community of reformed churches since it 'un-churched most foreign Protestants'.<sup>(121)</sup> In the same way, the iconographic formula employed in the design and arrangement of these windows represented an attack against Presbyterianism and would clearly have found favour with the Chancellor.

Like the other college chapels, Magdalen was decorated with pictures and statues, with a crucifix placed upon the altar. The crucifix's presence can be confirmed by the testimony of an eyewitness, whilst the presence of the statues are confirmed by the chapel accounts. Unfortunately no evidence survives to show what the statues represented.<sup>(122)</sup> What the accounts do reveal is the fact that the President was taking full advantage of the developments in the art world that was centred on the capital. The eight statues were produced by the Christmas bothers, more famous for their lavish funeral monuments,<sup>(123)</sup> whilst the main gateway, now demolished, was designed by Inigo Jones.

More controversial work involved the removal of all the funeral monuments (including the late William Langton's) from the main body of the chapel into the ante-chapel, to make allowance for new seats and stalls. More provocatively a picture of the Virgin Mary replaced the space belonging to Lawrence Humphrey's monument.<sup>(124)</sup>



Such practice was not unique to Magdalen. In New College, tomb stones were moved 'to the lower part of the Chappell' to make room for the new marble floor space in the choir and chancel. This would have included the tomb of the anti-papal polemicist Richard James, who was buried at the upper end of the chapel as recently as 1629.<sup>(125)</sup> Similarly in 1622 Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester annoyed local dignitaries by denying them privileged seating space in his newly elevated chancel in Wigan church, and replaced the personal seats placed over townsmen's 'pretended burial places' with uniformed rows, whilst in 1624, one of the complaints levelled against Bishop Samuel Harsnet was based on his removal of monuments from the east end of St. Peter's in Norwich.<sup>(126)</sup>

The notion that reformist ideals had facilitated the infringement of sacred space by the opportunistic, vain and self-interested laity reverberated like a very large bee in Laud's mitre. In 1637, Laud's Vicar General, Nathaniel Brent, ordered the removal of an Elizabethan (or Jacobean) monument from the church in Edmonton to allow for a new communion table and its rails.<sup>(127)</sup> This kind of action was clearly a direct response to the ecclesiology of the Reformation: in April 1637 Laud wrote personally to Archdeacon Kingsley of Canterbury demanding that monuments in parochial churches in Canterbury celebrating the defeat of the Spanish Armada be removed,

'...for it is in no way fit that any monument whatsoever should be set up at the east end of the chancel, standing equal at least, if not above the communion table, and fit for nothing but to cast it [ie the communion table] out of its proper place.'

Similarly monuments in St. George's, Canterbury commemorating the frustration of the 'Gunpowder treason' with the motto 'in perpetam Papistrarem infamiam etc' were ordered to be kept well away from the chancel. For this monument to remain in the church at all, Laud insisted that 'all that concerns the fleet in '88 be put out'.<sup>(128)</sup>

It is significant that some of these monuments had been erected as recently as the late 1620s. The phrase 'in perpetuam papistrarem infamium' became popularised following the publication of an engraving by Samuel Ward in 1621. Ward's engraving, dedicated 'To God, In Memorye of his double deliverance from the invincible Navie and the unmatched Powder Treason', portrayed the Pope, his Cardinals and the Devil sitting in a canopy, conspiring to blow up the Parliament on November 5. The link between this activity and the fleet of '88 is highlighted by the portrayal of the destruction of the Armada in the background. The message, 'in perpetuam papistrarem infamium...' is inscribed above the canopy in which the Pope sits. M. Duffy has suggested that this print 'proved to be the most influential print of the seventeenth century'.<sup>(129)</sup> It is ironic that Laud's iconoclasm was effected more rigorously than the activities of genuinely iconophobic iconoclasts, and no more evidence survives respecting this, or other such monuments. During his trial Laud was constantly reminded of the significance his contemporaries continued to attribute to the delivery from the Armada, for the House of Lords was adorned with a massive tapestry depicting the destruction of the fleet.<sup>(130)</sup>



## V

The beautification of the Oxford chapels in so short and concentrated a period was undoubtedly a sure sign of religious change. But what did it all mean? A fascinating consecration sermon by Richard Corbett, the poetic Bishop of Oxford, can be read as an apology for 'the beauty of holiness' since it provides an excellent guide to the pious motives of those responsible for these investments.

Corbett's sermon was preached during the consecration ceremony of Lincoln College chapel in September 1631. Bishop Williams's absence from this service, considering his position as Visitor to the college and principal benefactor, was most unusual since consecration ceremonies taking place during this period were characterised by the benefactor's ritualised renunciation of his 'right, title and interest' in the property he was devoting to God. However no compelling evidence survives to explain his absence, although it is clear he had fallen out with Laud and the Court at this time.<sup>(131)</sup>

Corbett's sermon took the form of a rigorous denunciation of the criticisms launched against the latest ecclesiastical reforms, which had been recently aired from the pulpits of Oxford St. Mary's and around the country.<sup>(132)</sup> The following paragraph is worth quoting in full, so that the implications of Corbett's irony can be appreciated. Moving towards the pulpit, he pronounced:

'This place above the rest hath most need of consecration... If this be not sanctified to the Preacher, *and the Preacher to this*, all the whole chapel is the worse for it; if this be not sanctified and made holy to the Preacher, the purest things here shall be made unclean. This cedar wood shall not keep the savour it hath, but shall smell of superstition. The Altar shall be



called no more an Altar but a dresser.<sup>(133)</sup> The reverence [that] is done there shall be apish cringing, and all the seemly glazing be thought nothing but a little brittle superfluity. Notwithstanding all the munificence and bounty layd up, notwithstanding the perfection and beauty of the work, yet if the pulpit be not right, all this shall be made counterfeit. All this beauty, all the worship shall go for abomination, if the sorcerers will have it so (for such preaching is but witchcraft). It is like preaching, I confes, as the sorcerers were like Moses. They did tricks before Pharaoh, and they took the standers by, but the power of God was not in them, and they did but things like miracles. So here they call up spirits, and this circle they conjur, but the right spirit comes not up, or very seldom here of late, so that as our Saviour say'd of the heart of Man, 'out of the heart comes evil counsels, theft, murder and covetousness and adultery' the same may be said of the Pulpit, out of this heart, this forg, this workhous, fals rumours, mumerings, faction, sedition, instead of peace, love, meeknes,.. If this place be not holy, ther's no place so prophane'.<sup>(134)</sup>

Corbett thus cunningly equates the principal form of consecration with which the universities were immediately concerned - the consecration of minds through the steps leading up to the ordination of the future preaching generation, with the consecration (and beautification) of the chapel. His emphasis on the consecration of the pulpit is expressed in a way that ironically conjures the image of exorcising demons, and the attempt to harness supernatural forces to effect a sacred space. And yet his message is fundamentally empirical.<sup>(135)</sup>

Through exploiting the language used by reformers to explain and denounce the activities of 'the old religion', Corbett satirically set himself up on a reformist pedestal. Corbett used this clearly recognisable medium as a basis from which to reverse prevailing contemporary fears of popish superstition (which the beautified chapels were seen to signify) in order to attack the 'witchcraft' expressed by the opponents of the Laudian Oxford regime. Of course he did not believe that the ritual act of consecrating the Pulpit would in effect



stifle the tongues of those who entered it to preach. That duty belonged to the University Heads and Fellows. By adhering to more formal ecclesiastical standards, like performing acts of consecration, and by inculcating a sense of the sacred into the future clergy through setting their practice of worship in a space designed to inculcate a sense of 'the beauty of holiness', the demons of rumour, faction, schism and profanity would vanish. According to Corbett, the 'superstition' and 'abomination' of the developing ecclesiological projects taking place in the Universities, and in churches, chapels and cathedrals at this time, exists only in the minds of schismatics who choose to interpret their world in terms of a phenomenological structure in which malevolence is seen to exist in ecclesiological forms. The 'beauty of holiness', by contrast, is presented as an ecclesiological hedge, fencing off religion from the threat of such 'imagination's'.

The beautification of the Oxford chapels was a sure sign that the iconoclastic orthodoxies of the Reformation were no longer acceptable to the higher powers. But how far could 'the beauty of holiness' go? In the following section I shall focus on the chapel of Peterhouse, Cambridge, a creation that from an ecclesiological perspective fits Peter Lake's definition of English Arminianism taken to its 'maximum' extreme.<sup>(136)</sup> To illustrate the extent to which this chapel deviated from the ideals of Elizabethan Protestantism I have chosen to briefly refer to the chapel of Emmanuel College Cambridge, a chapel which in comparison illustrates the diversity of ecclesiological styles within the formal structure of the Church of England.

## VI

The chapels of Emmanuel College and Peterhouse in Cambridge were created from scratch in 1584-9 and 1628-39 respectively. Both chapels still stand, and a full range of accounts illustrating how they were decorated can be found in the respective college archives, and both chapels were at the centre of allegations of religious impropriety at the university, prompting interference from outside. This interference led to two legal reports, one compiled by Chief Justice Hale in 1603, and the other, entitled 'Innovations in religion and abuses in government in the University of Cambridge', which was the work of a team of Parliamentary Commissioners working in 1641. These records provide important information concerning how these chapels were furnished and their liturgical significance.<sup>(137)</sup>

Emmanuel's chapel was built by Sir Walter Mildmay. Facing towards the north rather than the east, it defined the college's status as the puritan stronghold of Cambridge.<sup>(138)</sup> The utilitarian features of this chapel, and its distance from the ecclesiological norm, can be construed from the threadbare entries to the chapel's inventory alone. The greatest purchases were made in 1589 for books and for a communion table supplied 'with two formes'.<sup>(139)</sup> In 1603 Chief Justice Hale produced a report entitled 'Publicke disorders as touching Church causes in Emmanuel College Cambridge.' Hale reported that scholars sat on these forms around the communion table to receive the sacraments 'and do pull the loaf one from the other after the minister hath begun, and so the cup...like good fellowes'.<sup>(140)</sup> Such evidence suggests that the fellows of Emmanuel believed



communion to be little more than a commemorative ceremony, whilst its bare interior and orientation illustrate Mildmay's refusal to contemplate anything that might reveal (however tenuously) an ecclesiological debt to the Church of Rome.

If Mildmay looked towards Geneva for ecclesiological inspiration, then the founders of the chapel of Peterhouse, Matthew Wren and John Cosin, looked to Rome. Their investment has already attracted historical attention, but generally from historians interested in University politics. Only John Hoffman has looked at the range of Cosin's ecclesiological investments, and this section is heavily indebted to the fruits of his research.<sup>(141)</sup> However no one has examined the Peterhouse chapel project with regard to its educational function, or from the wider perspective of ecclesiological change in the early seventeenth century - not least with regard to the relationship between Arminianism and the beauty of holiness. To be sure Nicholas Tyacke has provided a useful comparison between the Christocentric iconography of the chapels of Peterhouse and St. John's, Cambridge but his argument that they 'illustrate the link between Arminianism and the beauty of holiness' is only substantiated by reference to the fact that the patrons of this beautification were Arminians.<sup>(142)</sup> But is there any evidence to show that Peterhouse was beautified according to ecclesiological criteria that were in any sense distinctly Arminian?

The Register at Peterhouse records the contributions given for the construction that took place during the last six years of Matthew Wren's mastership, c.1628-1634, and for the more elaborate beautification programme

that ensued on John Cosin's succession, c.1634-1639. Architecturally the chapel's construction was essentially perpendicular, but a number of classical components were also employed, like Corinthian columns and pilasters (although many of these features, like the shells beneath the niches, or the pediment above the gable to the east appear to be of a later date). Nevertheless without more detailed evidence it is hard to determine whether Cosin's own subsequent revisions may have subverted any sense of homogenous architectural balance that Wren wished to convey.<sup>(143)</sup>

Cosin built a porch, but he was mostly concerned with the chapel's interior design.<sup>(144)</sup> Whilst Wren spent £1000 constructing the chapel building, Cosin's additions, stained glass windows, statues, liturgical apparatus, ornaments and other furnishings boosted the chapel's value to £2484, of which £2365 had been secured through the private subscription programme.<sup>(145)</sup> Unfortunately no contracts survive to show what Cosin expected from the artists employed to work in the chapel. However, this deficit can be balanced with the information that we do have concerning both the appearance of the chapel, its use and users, and the interests of Cosin himself.

The construction of the chapel was an achievement that depended almost wholly on the willingness of its former members to contribute. In 1628, the Senior Proctor, Thomas Love, was commissioned to travel to London and then around the country to root out potential benefactors and persuade them to pay.<sup>(146)</sup> Maybe those who did remembered how they used to traipse to the adjacent



Church, Little St. Mary's, 'for want of a convenient oratory in the college'.<sup>(147)</sup> However it is possible that some who knew Wren and Cosin believed that the chapel would figure as a major feature in the education of future churchmen, who would take their freshly instilled aesthetic sensibilities and sense of reverence out to the parishes. For Cosin at least, education could play a primary role in helping future ministers forsake the Calvinist ideals of their predecessors. For example his belief that the doctrine of predestination represented 'the devil's own divinity' helps explain why he insisted that the third part of St. Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologia form the basis of second year studies at Peterhouse.<sup>(148)</sup> But what kind of lessons were to be learnt in the chapel?

Cosin's lessons in the liturgy were opened to public scrutiny seven years before he became involved with the chapel, following the appearance of his Devotions in 1627. With its division of prayers into hours, this work was compiled at the express wish of Charles I for the use of Protestants working in the Queen's chapel 'whose principles were supposed to be in some danger'. Accordingly the structure of Cosin's work allowed these people to participate in the formalities of Roman worship without the need to assent to the doctrinal basis of its enactment.<sup>(149)</sup> It has more recently been argued that this publication served as 'a Church of England alternative' to the flood of Catholic Primers that had been streaming in from the Continent since Elizabeth's reign.<sup>(150)</sup> Yet if Cosin sought to provide Protestant worshippers with an approach to the Catholic service that was non-committal, his approach to their worship in Protestant contexts suggests the complete opposite, for his aim was to fully exploit the liturgical opportunities

of the Book of Common Prayer. Thus as part of his plan to revive the practice of singing the whole communion service Cosin experimented with a range of musical sources, including Henrician Choir books and imported Latin psalters, which he adapted to correspond with the liturgical intentions laid down in the Prayerbook.<sup>(151)</sup> Cosin shared his medieval predecessors' belief that the Liturgical Calendar was a principal guide to worship. Thus he ensured that there was a wide range of altar cloths, hangings and other decorations that could be used to transform the setting of the chapel to conform with different formal observances throughout the year. In July 1650, a number of liturgical items were discovered in the college library. This material included range of altar cloths embroidered with the letters IHS CHRIS DNS or ADOREMUS DOMINUM. Indeed the range of such utensils corroborates the Parliamentary Visitor's report of how 'at soleme tymes the furniture is changed & the dresse altered', and confirms that Cosin's ecclesiological investments were co-ordinated to set a liturgical criteria.<sup>(152)</sup>

During the Communion the visitors reported how the fellows set 'a pot of incense... upon the steps of the Altar, and as the smoke ascends the organs and voices are raised'. In view of this, the genuflective positions adopted by the scholars on their approaches to and from the altar, and the use of the Latin service it seems clear that Cosin believed Communion to be much more than a commemorative ceremony.<sup>(153)</sup> The sanctity of the chancel was emphasised by Cosin's insistence that no one beneath the rank of D. D. was allowed to enter, whilst during divine service attending scholars, regardless of social degree, were



ordered to wear round caps - possibly stimulating friction between the rigid class tiers then present.<sup>(154)</sup> The architectural setting and expenditure devoted to the chancel 'upon which none that officiates may tread', before a 'great turkey carpet' had been placed over its polished marble surface unquestionably distinguished this space as the 'holy of holies'. Moreover a tabernacle was used to store the consecrated bread - which escaped Dowsing's notice - (<sup>155</sup>). Finally gold basins, velvet covered service books, and images including the crucifixion scene in the east window contributed towards enhancing the Communion's mystical effect. In view of this information, how close was Cosin to Popery and the celebration of the Mass? To answer this question it is necessary to focus on the theological basis of Cosin's ecclesiology.

Thanks to John Shephard we now know a great deal about Cosin's position with regard to the sacraments, and how his views regarding their soteriological benefits distinguish him (along with Lancelot Andrewes and John Buckeridge) from the founding fathers of the English Reformation. Whilst Cosin shared the Reformist belief that the celebration of the Eucharist enabled Christians to offer the only viable sacrifice acceptable to the Deity - the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving - he also believed that this sacrifice could propitiate the sins of the communicant, a view at odds with the Calvinist belief in predestination to salvation and the solidifian doctrine of justification by faith alone. Although Cosin did not believe that the Communion bread and wine transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, he nevertheless held that the consecrated sacraments served an effective role by helping to relieve the penitent

sinner. Accordingly the continuity of Christ's sacrifice to all men was effectively repeated and formalised through sacramental worship, 'to God, by Christ in Heaven'.<sup>(156)</sup> This Arminian understanding of the Eucharist was eloquently explained by T.R., an anonymous Arminian writing in 1638:

'Of all parts of the chancell, that where the communion table stands has ever been accounted most sacred; in adorning that, no cost ought to be thought too much. There we behold the mystery of our redemption lively expressed. Nor can we make publique profession of our Christian faith, hope and love, anyway so wel, as being studious in adorning the sacred Altars, did we verily believe Christ Jesus to be truly present with us, so oft the blessed sacrament is celebrated (as the ancient Greek Church believed as he most certainly is, though the manner of his being there we know not).'<sup>(157)</sup>

This evidence clearly fits in with Cosin's regulations regarding the altar but is there any evidence to connect this sacramentalism to the way this chapel was decorated?

The presence of Christocentric images in Peterhouse chapel was arguably the most controversial feature of Cosin's beautification programme, not least since such images were first to go (some were hidden in 1641 others destroyed between 1643 and as they were found, until 1650). From the crosses (or crucifixes) on every seat to the crucifix on the altar and the crucifixion scene in the great east window the emphasis on Christ's humanity was paramount. Iconographic images were to be found in all the primary focal points of the chapel, whilst 'on both sides of the chapel divers pictures of the history of Christ' were placed.<sup>(158)</sup> Perhaps significantly, no imagery depicting Old Testament themes was used. Even the tiny windows (painted by Bernard Van-Linge) that occupy the lights above the east window are limited to representations of the



Apostles.<sup>(159)</sup> These images were successfully hidden during the Civil War, whilst more permanent fixtures, like the eight large wooden angels, were left to the iconoclasts.<sup>(160)</sup>

The surviving glass includes the great east window portraying Battista Sutton's rendition of Rubens's Le Coup de Lance. This window was the gift of Luke Skippon, which he presented to the college in 1634. (Skippon had been created Proctor soon after Cosin's arrival). Sutton's glass was based on a Rubens altar-piece from the Recollect Church in Antwerp.<sup>(161)</sup> The theme which was chosen was based on John 19.34. The depiction of the crucified Christ is given a greater sacramental edge by the presence of Longinus withdrawing his lance from Christ's side, releasing the flow of blood and water. The flow of the blood and water is the principal focal point of this image since Christ is portrayed in an angular position so that his pierced side is straight in front of the worshipper, as if the blood and wine were really flowing down to the altar beneath.<sup>(162)</sup>

Cosin's beautification of Peterhouse Chapel was undoubtedly a visual manifestation of his English Arminianism. The prominence of the Christocentric imagery decorating the chapel was clearly designed to contribute to the mystical effect of divine worship, and provide the most powerful indication of the soteriological efficacy of the surviving sacraments administered there. Cosin's refusal to let the Romanist basis of his liturgical sources undermine their utility within English Reformed worship naturally encouraged those who saw services performed under his guidance in his newly embellished chapel to think that he

was a Papist. He was highly self-conscious of that stigma, and countered it by publicly insisting that those who disagreed with his ecclesiological interests were necessarily Puritans. Thus he had a highly inflammatory message to would-be critics engraved above the chancel:

HIC LOCUS EST DOMINI DEI, NIL A HINC EST PURITANI CABRI

The 'Cabri' were most likely to have been the Cabiri, deities worshipped by the Pelegasi as attendants to the great gods.<sup>(163)</sup> Was Cosin equating the reverence shown towards late godly Elizabethans, through the commemorative funeral monuments that adorned the east ends of other churches and chapels, with the idolatrous ancestor worship of the Pelegasi? Such an inversion of prevailing concepts of idolatry seems highly probable in view of Cosin's confrontational attitude. Indeed when the Puritan William Dowsing visited the chapel in the course of his Parliament-sponsored iconoclastic mission in 1643, he found this inscription so offensive that he roped in an independent witness to confirm its presence before it was destroyed.<sup>(164)</sup>

But what kind of example did Cosin set for the scholars in his charge - and Cambridge University more generally? The Parliamentary visitors were highly concerned about the chapel's popularity, not least amongst a number of Emmanuel students whose gadding to services in the chapel was highlighted by the discovery of crucifixes in their private chambers.<sup>(165)</sup> Emmanuel's deficit may well have been made up by scholars emigrating from St. John's, who, according



to Simond D'Ewes, 'left the place to avoid the abomination' on account of William Beale's enforcement of 'a general adoration towards the altar and sacraments' during the services there.<sup>(166)</sup> The emphasis in Peterhouse on what critics called 'Altar Worship' extended to private devotions that took place after the official college services and reports of 'divers private oratories & Altars in the college with crucifixes & several other Popish pictures' suggest that such behaviour was probably countenanced by the Peterhouse fellows. Indeed one fellow, John Tolly, was alleged to have set up a crucifix in his room, beneath which a 'glory cloth' was placed alongside 'other superstitious trimmings'.<sup>(167)</sup>

However it is surely significant that the parliamentary investigators only recorded two instances concerning the 'abuse' of images in the whole of the university (possibly because the mere presence of images in the chapel was perceived to be an 'abuse' in itself). In St. John's College, an unnamed 'Senior Fellow' was accused of having uttered the words 'with Angels and Archangels' in tune with the liturgy, 'being turned himself to the pictures of the Angels.' At Peterhouse, Richard Crashaw was alleged to have been seen turning towards a picture of the Virgin before uttering 'Hanc Adoramus, Adoramus Hanc' (we adore her, we worship her).<sup>(168)</sup>

The case of Peterhouse chapel illustrates the relationship between Arminianism and 'the beauty of holiness' from the full ecclesiological and liturgical perspective - images, altars, incense, music and ceremonies. But how

far were the other beautified chapels of the Cambridge University colleges in keeping with such criteria?

## VII

The history of the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge, must count amongst the most unusual examples of ecclesiological transition in early modern England, for between 1547 and 1643 it went through five distinct reformations - iconoclasm, restoration, iconoclasm, restoration, iconoclasm again. Whilst other college chapels were re-edified during the 1630s, the work involved cannot compare with the beautification and refurbishment of St. John's for this project represented a deliberate attempt to restore the chapel to a pre-Reformation ideal. Although a subscription campaign to repair and beautify the chapel began as late as September 1637 many utilitarian improvements had been carried out much earlier.<sup>(169)</sup> General repairs were undertaken in 1628, when seats were repaired and general structural work was carried out, but the beautification programme proper did not begin until William Beale's mandatory election as Master in February 1633.<sup>(170)</sup>

Because St. John's was placed under the mastership of two iconoclasts during Elizabeth's reign the damage was extensive. As we saw in section two, the chapel of New College Oxford was limited to bouts of iconoclasm during the visitations by Bishop Horne during the 1570s. For St John's, the Pilkington brothers made it a regular event.



Successive Masters from 1549 until 1564, the Pilkingtons return from exile following the Marian reaction signalled immediate reform. In 1559 James Pilkington turned his attentions to the college chapel. Pilkington's work was itself a reaction to the work of his predecessor, Master Bullock, under whom large sums of money had been spent re-sacralising the chapel and making it suitable for Catholic worship following the Edwardian desecrations. Mr Wallon had been paid 'in Spanishe money..to make a pixe for the high Altar' whilst a new rood-cross was erected, and gold plated by a local goldsmith. Shortly before Mary's death, new altar-cloths, gold embroidered, were purchased, along with mass books and other liturgical apparatus.<sup>(171)</sup> The speed of the changes to the chapel under Pilkington are reflected in the rental accounts beneath the heading Expensae ecclesiae. The first half of the page records the Marian investments; incense, albs, altar cloth repairs and so on, whilst the second half continues with the expenses of Pilkington's reaction in the same, indifferent handwriting:

'xii papers contenige the Lord's prayer,  
..pullinge downe the high Alter and carryinge it  
away...for alteringe the crucifixe...'<sup>(172)</sup>

The stained glass windows were also replaced, having survived the Edwardian Reformation intact. James soon translated his iconoclastic zeal to the See of Durham, where the extent of his activities can be calculated by reading the sentimental record of its former glory, discovered by John Cosin and more recently edited by the Surtees Society as The Rites of Durham.<sup>(173)</sup>

It is quite possible that Cosin used information derived from The Rites of Durham to help Beale restore St. John's chapel, since their co-operation in each other's projects reached the ears of the parliamentary investigators, and was clearly a talking point.<sup>(174)</sup> In 1634, some of the glass which Pilkington had removed (or had even been hidden after Elizabeth's succession but before Pilkington's arrival) was discovered, and installed in 'the great window'.<sup>(175)</sup> A couple of years later, a further payment was made for, '12 heades *for the old statues* in the seats' which had probably been decapitated.<sup>(176)</sup>

Certain architectural repairs were conducted using styles that clearly emulated the techniques of the middle ages. For example the mason George Thompson, was asked to repair, rather than re-design the gothic windows frames in order to fit the old stained glass that had been recently discovered.<sup>(177)</sup> Further proof that Beale sought to attain 'the beauty of holiness' both through restoration and ecclesiological innovation, is to be found in the evidence concerning the fate of the chapels of Hugh Ashton, and the Henrician martyr Bishop John Fisher. Between 1561 and 1564 Leonard Pilkington converted these two chapels into scholars chambers. Beale had these two chapels restored and altars were placed towards the end of each one, whilst red and green hangings lined with white lace were hung around them.<sup>(178)</sup> There is even the chance that Beale restored the Pre-Reformation frescoes that adorned the chapel walls, since the records reveal that the walls of the chapel were whitened shortly after the Earl of Manchester ejected Beale from the college.<sup>(179)</sup>



Beale's principal aim was to improve the quality, and therefore the significance, of worship performed in his college. In 1636 work began to restore the organ loft. Presumably this involved the destruction of the private apartment Pilkington had created where the old organ was once housed.<sup>(180)</sup> The following year, Arthur Dallam was employed to repair and tune the organ, allowing for the effective performance of the liturgy from this time.<sup>(181)</sup> Although music could form a generally acceptable role in Protestant worship at this time, its role in the worship performed in St. John's chapel was, the parliamentary investigators believed, a clear sign of the college's rejection of the reformed tradition:

'All stand towards the east at the doxologie, but when the Hymnes and Creed are repeated singing of psalmes in the usuall and accustomed way of the church is thrust out of the church and in the roome thereof Anthems are brought in'.<sup>(182)</sup>

Given this clear imitation of the services performed in the Chapel Royal, it is hard not to believe that his ecclesiological developments had the full backing of Laud and the King. Beale's work on the chapel followed immediately after his elevation to the college mastership in 1634, and he helped Laud behind the scenes in his attempts to gain visitational powers to the university, which was achieved in 1637.<sup>(183)</sup>

In 1634 the two sons of the earl of Salisbury, Charles, Lord Cranborne and his brother Robert, contributed silver flagons for use during communion. Two years later, an old fellow, Edward Allott, left over £50 in his will specifically for the chapel's adornment, whilst his wife Mary donated a Bible and Prayer book

bound in red crimson. Another Allott, Dr Robert, directed the painting and wainscotting of the chapel, and after Edward's death he organised the arrangement of pictures (costing £56) around the chapel. Dr Francis Dee, Bishop of Peterborough, was another leading contributor. Dee gave plate in 1634, and donated four religious pictures of varying sizes 'all for use of the chapel'. He also left 'an altar cloth', a 'communion cloth', and 'an old cope not yet finished being of velvet wrought with gold'.<sup>(184)</sup> The rest of the developments were probably funded by the college treasury, since the payments for statuary, pulpit cushions and other ecclesiastical items were procured through 'the offering [of] money layed out by the college by the Master's appointment'.<sup>(185)</sup>

Like Peterhouse, the images used in St. John's were strictly Christocentric. A series of paintings depicting 'the storey of Christ from his assumption to his abstention, painted in great draughts & placed in gilt frames' were hung around the chapel. Furthermore, 'at [the] back of [the] Altar in a high erected frame...[was]...a large crucifix betweene the two theeves on the head of which are these four letters IHRN'.<sup>(186)</sup> Above this altar hung '..a great gilt sunne with light beames and a dove in the midst'.

However, not all the Cambridge chapels were beautified under the auspices, or even with the necessary approval of the college master. In the case of Caius College it was Cosin's contribution towards a new altar, and 'the overbearing sway of the Fellows on the Master' - Thomas Bachcroft <sup>(187)</sup> - that led



to the chapel's extension (by twenty-eight feet to the east) and adornment. However, in spite of these developments, which were completed by 1637, the new space was not used before the Civil War,

'...because this part of the chapell was newly taken in from our piece of ground and was not consecrated, soe the table stood beneath the steps'.<sup>(188)</sup>

Similarly, the decision to beautify Trinity was not undertaken by the master, but by one 'Mr Willis', who 'surveyed the whole work and directed how things should be'.<sup>(189)</sup> This was almost certainly Nathaniel Willis, the only Willis recorded by Venn as being present at Trinity at this time. His chaplaincy to James Stuart, Duke of Lennox, would explain how Mr Willis personally procured nearly £1000 for the purpose. Lennox himself had a forthright interest in the beauty of holiness. His private chapel in London was raided by Sir Robert Harley's parliamentary commission in 1644, and a picture 'of God the Father with Christ at his bosom' was seized and destroyed.<sup>(190)</sup> The materials Willis used to decorate Trinity College chapel were included marble, frieze work, altar cloths and hangings. These items were produced in London and collected by Willis personally.<sup>(191)</sup> Some of the cloth was a gift to the college, but Willis took this along with him to get it, 'speered, fringed and lined as they now are'. It seems that Willis knew about Greenbury's London workshop, since he acquired a number of 'blew kersey hangings' upon which were printed stories portraying the life of Christ. <sup>(192)</sup> These hangings were used to decorate the chapel's east end.

Turning to Queen's and Jesus Colleges at Cambridge we find two chapels where the Laudian connection is easier to affirm. The Master of Queen's, Edward Martin, was Laud's former chaplain, and most likely held responsibility for

'about 100 superstitious pictures, besides cherubims and ingravings'

that William Dowsing discovered in the chapel, along with its elevated chancel and statues of the twelve apostles in the Hall. Their presence was not recorded by the Parliamentary investigators<sup>(193)</sup> who were concerned by the formal observances performed in the chapel, and the singing of anthems, but the fact that a play was performed inside constituted their major grievance in this instance.<sup>(194)</sup>

Jesus College was under the Mastership of Richard Sterne, another ex-chaplain to William Laud. Sterne proceeded to beautify the chapel soon after his appointment in 1634. Arthur Dallam was the first major craftsman to produce work for the chapel, constructing a new organ in 1634 with the letters IHS carved on the back. In 1636, a new altar with rails was purchased, along with hangings, frieze work and new plate.<sup>(195)</sup> Like New College Oxford the stained glass at Jesus had always been well looked after. Since the records indicate that there was no purchase of new stained glass during the early seventeenth century, the glass images of Saints and Fathers that Dowsing recorded destroying must have been the ones the accounts show were repaired in c.1601-2, 1615, 1616, 1618-9 and 1621-23 respectively.<sup>(196)</sup> Perhaps the images,



'In the East window...of Christ & the picture of St. Peter [and] on the north side...the picture of Ignatius',

that Dr Worthington found in the college notebooks in the entry for 1580-81, were amongst the windows Dowsing smashed.<sup>(197)</sup>

The ecclesiological policy for the chapel of Jesus College that was initiated by William Beale, and developed by Sterne from 1633, contradicted the steady de-sacralizing forces that had been at work in the chapel from 1559 until their arrival. In spite of the utilitarian maintenance of the windows, the Masters of Jesus College had invested in little else. Minimal funds had been spent on the chapel's upkeep or adornment, and the odd reference to an iconoclastic event like the 'pluckinge downe a Saint Clemente' in 1568 seemed the only highlight in an otherwise dull sequence of events.<sup>(198)</sup> Sterne was singled out by the Parliament for cross-examination following the beginning of hostilities with the crown, but the list of grievances, containing the surprising complaint about the presence of 'gilded cherubims' in the chapel, were based upon complaints made by the fellows, who were annoyed by the way he had appropriated college funds for the chapel, as their chambers were falling to pieces.<sup>(199)</sup>

### Conclusion

If the universities were the training grounds for the future ecclesiastical establishment, then the chapels were their ecclesiological laboratories, where

altars and images might be erected and liturgical experiments conducted in a controlled academic environment. The principles and character of the refurbishment programmes in the 1630s were influenced by an upwardly mobile ecclesiastical establishment, and the ideals they were intended to promote both revealed its profound dissatisfaction with the ecclesiological precedents of the Reformation and pointed to its hopes for the future, hopes which were ultimately (and unpredictably) frustrated by the iconoclasm of the Civil War.<sup>(200)</sup>

The beautification of the college chapels formed a key component in the ecclesiastical establishment's drive to improve the quality and setting of English worship. The chapels were beautified according to ecclesiological and liturgical ideals as a means to encourage the future clergy to develop a sense of order, sanctity and beauty both with respect to their future office and towards religious buildings. Thus as part of his recantation speech in May 1632, the Richard Spincke, a student of St. John's Cambridge and critic of the chapel programmes, was forced to admit that,

`upon better advise and information [I] professe it to have been the ancient and laudable practise of the Church, grounded upon the light of reason and law of nature, to adorne their temples and cloathe their Priests in the time of their ministration with such comely ornaments as might be both a remembrance to themselves and a signification to others of the glorie of their function, and that inward beautie, which they aboue others ought to possess in their soules.'<sup>(201)</sup>

Were these ideals developed in the college chapels for transmission to the Country on a scale comparable to the Protestant evangelical mission that set out



from the Universities in the years after 1558? Or was 'the beauty of holiness' an elite concept limited to the esoteric interests of a relatively small body of churchmen who had no intention of imposing their ecclesiological interests on the nation? It is time to weigh up the evidence.

With the exception of Wadham, all the college chapel refurbishment and restoration projects that I have considered in this chapter (so far) were undertaken between 1628 and 1640. Undoubtedly this decade witnessed the most intense ecclesiological reforms since the Elizabethan Reformation. What made this period so different?

The appointment of William Laud to the Chancellorship of Oxford University in 1630 clearly had an immediate impact, as Bishop Williams's competitive investment at Lincoln, Warden Robert Pincke's unprecedented expenditure at New College Oxford and Dean Duppa's work at Christ Church bear witness. Pincke was Vice Chancellor in 1634. Moreover he was a keen supporter of Laud, keeping him informed of any controversial sermons or rumours of which he was aware.<sup>(202)</sup> The timing of the New College Chapel restoration campaign and Laud's appointment as Chancellor of Oxford, if not the chapel restoration campaigns as a whole and Laud's political ascendancy, are clearly too coincidental to suggest that the chapel programmes were unilaterally inspired. In fact Laud established the basic precedent for chapel beautification in 1619 during his Presidency of St. John's College. Having personally donated £100, Laud encouraged the fellows and commoners to contribute a further £70

before procuring, 'without any counsel, helpe or assistance of any of the fellowes', a total of £1436. In addition to extensive utilitarian repairs, Laud ensured that a new organ was provided, whilst the east window was glazed with stained glass portraying 'the storye of St. John Baptist in color'. The audit also reveals that the 'communion table' in the chapel was adorned with 'a cloth of crimson and purple velvett'.<sup>(203)</sup> Other Oxford Chapels including those at Corpus Christi and Oriel were also beautified during Laud's Chancellorship, and detailed study of these projects would probably tell a similar story.

Meanwhile Laud's Arminian colleagues Archbishop Neile and Bishop Curle used their authority as visitors to Queen's and Magdalen respectively to ensure the chapels were well furbished and decorated, and scholars deported themselves with a degree of reverence that emulated behaviour expected from worshippers in the Chapel Royal.<sup>(204)</sup> But what about the Cambridge chapels?

The most suggestive evidence of Laud's interest in the chapel programmes of Cambridge is the recorded payment of the substantial sum of £54 paid in 1632 by a 'Mr. Dell' to help the Master, Matthew Wren with the chapel construction.<sup>(205)</sup> Was this Dell William Dell, Laud's Secretary? Though this payment was recorded in the Chapel Accounts, Dell's name did not figure in the official list of benefactors. That such a large investment should fail to become acknowledged in this way suggests the benefactor did not want to be publicly identified with this project. In view of Laud's reluctance to be readily associated with the more controversial aspects of his policy - for example, Charles I's order



to publish Laud's censure of William Prynne in 1637 was much against his will<sup>(206)</sup> - it does not seem unlikely that he was behind the payment. Certainly during his trial Laud distanced himself from Cosin's ecclesiological activities and insisted that he answer for his behaviour himself.<sup>(207)</sup> However, Cosin had helped Laud with his inquiry into college discipline in 1636. Cosin's feigned aversion to Laud's subsequent plans to conduct a Metropolitan visitation to the university illustrates Laud's preference to work behind the scenes in controversial Cambridge affairs, and in view of this it would be wrong to put the Dell investment past him.<sup>(208)</sup>

Next to Laud Curle played a leading role in encouraging the chapel programmes at both universities, as his significant contributions to both Wren's and Cosin's Peterhouse chapel programmes testify. Curle beautified Winchester Cathedral according to the principles he advocated for the university chapel restoration programmes. His insistence that the Chapel Royal should become the basic precedent for chapel beautification and liturgical activity is not surprising given that he was Charles I's almoner, and that he frequently officiated at St. George's Chapel Windsor and the Chapel Royal at Whitehall.<sup>(209)</sup> In view of the exceptionally high contributions Curle advanced to the Peterhouse chapel programmes, (totalling some 150) might we assume that 'the beauty of holiness' was one of the king's favourite charities? It seems highly probable that Curle was recognised as bearing the status as the King's representative in ecclesiological affairs in his capacity as patron and visitor to the colleges in his charge. This

would at least account for Accepted Frewen's immediate reaction to Curle's prompt for further chapel beautification.

Curle's insistence that the Chapel Royal should be the precedent for the adornment of the chapels anticipated the point Charles I made in his introduction to the canons of 1640. The king asserted that the rites and ceremonies performed in the Chapel Royal had continued since the days of Edward VI. Because Elizabeth I and James I had also endorsed and used them they could not possibly 'savour of popery' as those 'authors and tormenters', who 'aim at our royal person' under 'pretence of religious zeal' maintained.<sup>(210)</sup> If Charles was promoting the Chapel Royal as a national precedent in 1640, can we assume that his reasons for doing so were connected with the success of the chapel refurbishment programmes of the previous decade?

Julian Davies has recently argued that King Charles I was the leading innovator behind 'Caroline' Church policies, especially during the 1630s.<sup>(211)</sup> The evidence regarding the role of Bishop Curle in the chapel programmes suggests Charles may have had a role in the chapel programmes too, but since he was not a regular visitor to the university his approval of the programmes must have been based on information received, and with regard to Oxford at least, that information would most probably have come from Laud. In view of the work by 'courtier divines' like Curle, Mawe, Sterne and Cosin, individuals with whom Laud shared clear ecclesiological interests there is, I think, a strong possibility



that the chapel refurbishment programmes represented a court-driven initiative undertaken by English divines whom contemporaries recognised as Arminians. This does not exclude the possibility that the Chapel Royal was the model that provided the justification for the way these chapels were beautified, not least with regard to images.

But what about Bishop Williams and the chapel of Lincoln College? Was his conception of 'the beauty of holiness' wholly indistinguishable from other efforts to attain this theo-aesthetic ideal? In 1636 Williams's chaplain, Anthony Cade, publicly commended Williams's investments at Lincoln College, and at his episcopal residence at Buckden, as clear precedents for Laud's dedication to the St. Paul's Cathedral restoration project. 'More lately', he observed,

`...our most excellent worthy minded Archbishop's Grace, who prosecuting his own and some Bishops' preperations hath now now notably begun...with the repairing of that most ancient monument in Christendome St. Paul's in London.'<sup>(212)</sup>

In view of the similarity between Williams's investment and the other chapels, and in view of Cade's point, it would seem that Williams was competing with Laud on his own ground, and if he could not beat the rising star at his own game, then he could at least upstage him. It seems to have worked, for in his letter to Lord Conway, George Garrard revealed that the chapel of Lincoln College was the most impressive, and he accorded it his 'particuler commendacion'.<sup>(213)</sup>

In converting the college chapels into places where scholars worshipped in 'the beauty of holiness' without fear of godly criticism, English Arminians probably believed they were establishing an important religious precedent for the political nation of the future. By creating a future demand for worship in 'the beauty of holiness', the legacy of the Reformation - sacrilege, iconoclasm and neglect of church property - could become a thing of the past.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### **ECCLESIOLOGY AND POLITICS IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND: BISHOP JOHN BRIDGEMAN AND THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS, c. 1618-1640.**

#### Introduction

This chapter is a case study of the career of Bishop John Bridgeman, who held the bishopric of Chester from 1619 until 1646. My aim is to try and account for his personal interest and investment in church renovation, beautification and seating projects, and the social and political contexts that determined their significance to his Catholic, Puritan and Arminian contemporaries.

For modern historians, Bridgeman was an archetypical Jacobean Churchman - prepared to tolerate a certain level of Puritan non-conformity but determined to stamp out Catholic recusancy. Thus W .B. Shaw claimed that Bridgeman was disposed to 'reverse the severe policy' of his Calvinist predecessor, Bishop Thomas Morton, by adopting a more tolerant attitude towards Protestant non-conformity in the diocese.<sup>(1)</sup> Although James I criticised Bridgeman for his alleged lenience towards nonconformists,<sup>(2)</sup> there is no evidence that either he or Archbishop Tobias Matthew of York took decisive measures to coerce Bridgeman into taking a tougher stance with godly ministers over such issues as ceremonies and vestments. However, Bridgeman's policies are said to have changed during the 1630s. After running into trouble with the Privy Council on a spurious charge (ironically produced by a non-conformist

minister that he had deprived) that he had embezzled fines collected from the commutation of penances, Bridgeman, under the watchful eye of Archbishop Richard Neile, dutifully promoted the ecclesiastical initiatives of the Caroline Church and allegedly raised Catholic hopes through his enforcement of the controversial 'altar policy'.<sup>(3)</sup> But if Bridgeman's ecclesiastical policies underwent a significant transformation as a result of the change in church leadership, is there any evidence that his general views regarding ecclesiology and churches were commensurably affected?

In the forthcoming sections I will consider evidence that Bridgeman actually held long-term interests in church beautification that pre-dated the Arminian rise to power. Using little known evidence concerning the bishop's patronage and direction of ecclesiological affairs (with particular reference to his living at Wigan All Saints and Chester Cathedral), I will show that Bridgeman's investment in church fabric represented a direct response to the iconoclastic ideals of his reforming predecessors. I shall also consider his relations with the laity of Wigan and Chester in context with his determined initiatives to recover and consolidate the social and political status of his clerical offices - both as Lord and Parson of Wigan Church and Manor, and as Bishop of Chester. I shall argue that Bridgeman's policy was shaped according to a rigid conception of ecclesiastical rights, opposition to which, in either religious or secular circumstances, he interpreted as sacrilege.



Because Bridgeman tolerated a certain level of Puritan non-conformity and courted trouble with the Caroline establishment it is tempting to assume that he was a Calvinist - or at least a non-Arminian, but unfortunately there are no sources from which to conclusively define his doctrinal position. However there is little known evidence, by way of consecration sermons, additions to the litany and speeches in the records of the consistory court of Chester, to show that from a public perspective Bridgeman held fairly consistent religious ideals. In addition there are important records of his ecclesiological benefactions to be found in the ledgers he compiled to bequeath to his successors at Wigan All Saints church and Chester Cathedral. Throughout this chapter I indicate how these records reveal the way Bridgeman's ecclesiological interests and ecclesiastical policies reflected his deep concern about 'sacrilege', especially that which took the form of the despoliation of church fabric and the alienation of church property. He attributed this problem to what he termed 'that shifting tyme', when the Protestant Reformation of the Church of England facilitated the lay usurpation of Church property and political power.<sup>(4)</sup>

To account for Bridgeman's ecclesiological position I have decided to outline his theoretical views regarding iconoclasm and sacrilege in the first section of this chapter. Then in sections two to four I shall consider the practical evidence of his patronage of church fabric from the perspective of his ecclesiastical career - from prebendary at Peterborough Cathedral in 1605, to jointly Parson of Wigan All Saints church and Bishop of Chester during the 1620s and 1630s. I hope to show how Bridgeman's investments in church fabric

illustrate his relationships with people from across the religious spectrum - from church papists in Lancashire, to the godly corporation of the city of Chester. How far was Bridgeman's patronage of church fabric in accordance with the ecclesiastical policies of the Caroline Church and Arminian notions of 'the beauty of holiness'? In seeking an answer I will focus on Archbishop Richard Neile's visitation to Chester diocese of 1633, and Bridgeman's reactions to its findings. In section five I shall continue to examine Bridgeman's relationship with Neile from the perspective of their respective interests in the seating policy for the churches within Bridgeman's jurisdiction, with particular reference to the Cathedral. This study will hopefully shed new light on Bridgeman's ecclesiastical relationship with Archbishop Neile (and to a lesser degree, Laud), and illustrate how Bridgeman's policies were balanced between maintaining good relations with the local mayoralty and gentry, and adhering to the dictates of his ecclesiastical superiors. Finally I shall examine Bridgeman's response to the troubles with the local godly that ensued following the delivery of the Puritan subversive William Prynne to prison in Carnarvon Castle. As a whole, this chapter seeks to account for the ecclesiological interests of a marginal Jacobean churchman who was dissatisfied with the iconoclastic ideals of the Reformation, and to show how his interests were shaped by the changing political environments and social contexts in which he worked.

## I

Bridgeman was renowned in his time for being 'an excellent Pulpit man', with a recognised gift for preaching, as well as appreciating sermons.<sup>(5)</sup>



Although only one of Bridgeman's sermons appears to have survived, it nevertheless provides important clues about the Bishop's attitude towards ecclesiological affairs. This is a sermon that was preached during the consecration of Much Hoole chapel in Lancashire, 1629, and repeated during the consecration of Ringley chapel in 1634.<sup>(6)</sup> Addressing the Deity, Bridgeman pronounced,

‘Thee thyselfe hast told us by thine Apostle that if any man violate a Temple of God, him will God destroy’.<sup>(7)</sup>

The implication that churches, once consecrated, were inviolate, could easily be interpreted in an idolatrous light by the godly.<sup>(8)</sup> Bridgeman also believed that certain places in churches, like the altar and the font, were especially sacrosanct. Thus in 1622 he told ‘Old Haughton of Kirtles’ (who wished to be buried beneath the font in Wigan All Saints on the basis that he would not be the first),

‘...iff at any tyme they had buryed under the font (which is not likely) they deserved to be punished for sacrilege in violating the place’.<sup>(9)</sup>

Such views went against the mainstream of Calvinist thought. For example, the contemporary English *doyen* of Calvinist theology, John Prideaux, in a sermon preached during the consecration of the new chapel in Exeter College Oxford in 1624, argued that respect was due to a church or chapel,

‘...not for the inherent sanctity of the place, but through the objective Holinesse adherent to it, by Christ's promises, sacred meetings, united devotion, joynt participating of the word and sacraments, [and] lively incitements through others examples’.<sup>(10)</sup>

Bridgeman's implicit denunciation of the iconoclastic activities of the English Reformation and his express wish not witness its continuation in his own time, formed the basis of his message to the congregation. Thus he turned to the sacrilegious link between the lay appropriation of Church property, and the desecralisation and neglect of church interiors.

'O Lord make good thine own word in this house'

he pleaded,

'let their table be made a snare to themselves withall and let the things which should have been for there wealthe, be unto them an occasion of falling'.

His curse was aimed directly at those who might

'... either impetuously demolish the fabric of it, or sacrilegiously Demolish what is or shall hereafter be given to it, or maliciously abolish, or wilfully prophane thy worship in it.'

Bridgeman's performance of the consecration of Ringley chapel in Lancashire was witnessed by Nathan Walworth in December 1634. Walworth had made a deal with his neighbour, Peter Seddon, that depended on Walworth paying for the chapel's construction, and Seddon paying for the chapel's and its minister's maintenance.<sup>(11)</sup> Initially the project had some teething problems since Bridgeman was not prepared to consecrate the chapel until its maintenance had been settled. Apparently Seddon was reluctant to keep his part of the bargain, and Walworth vowed that he would rather

'...pull it downe, and sell the timber, and the stones, and the money shall be given to the poore, and soe it be God's still..[if Bridgeman]..absolutely say he will not consecrate it'.<sup>(12)</sup>



Apparently Walworth's threat to demolish the chapel before it had been used encouraged Bridgeman to take a slacker line than he had threatened to, and was even 'glad to consecrate the chapel with 10li Dowrie', rather than with cash and guarantees up front.<sup>(13)</sup> This evidence reflects Bridgeman's willingness to compromise and suggests what in his mind represented the most pressing priority - the completion, consecration and use of the chapel. Unlike the Arminians he evidently felt that potentially controversial issues like the selection and welfare of the minister could always be settled on a future occasion.<sup>(14)</sup>

Walworth's description of Bridgeman's consecration ceremony and sermon confirm that the Bishop was aiming his vituperation against potential iconoclasts, for the intended victims of his 'cursses and execracions' were 'those that should deface those Buildings or demolish those giftes given to that pious use...'<sup>(15)</sup> In view of this it is perhaps worth recalling that this chapel had actually been completed and licensed for use in 1627/8, and that the Puritan minister, John Angier, had preached there just prior to his suspension by Bridgeman in 1629.<sup>(16)</sup> Indeed Bridgeman's consecration act caused some frowns amongst the local godly. Although Walworth personally found the ceremony itself 'Godly and Lawful without anie superstition', he noted how 'some caulminaters have spoken against this way, but I think it is because they love not Bishops.'<sup>(17)</sup>

Bridgeman also used religious images to promote his anti-iconoclast invective. As part of his reconstruction programme for the church of Wigan All Saints, (circa. 1618-23) Bridgeman commissioned a Mortlake tapestry dorsal,

measuring eighteen and a half by five and three quarter feet, to stretch across the east end of his new chancel. Based on a Raphael cartoon, it portrayed the story of the death of Ananias. Ananias was an infamous despoiler of the early Church (Acts 5. 1-6). It is quite possible that Bridgeman was familiar with Lancelot Andrewes' court sermon, preached in 1593 and published in 1629, that equated Ananias' activities with the activities of his perceived modern counterparts - the impropiators and profiteering despoilers of Church property and goods.<sup>(18)</sup> Ananias was also regarded as an ancient prototype for latter day Puritans. In 1634 Andrewes' namesake, George, Dean of Limerick, was summoned before Bridgeman's friend Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland. Andrews had chaired a committee that debated efforts to introduce the English thirty nine articles into Ireland. This committee's decision to impose an obligation on all clergy to accept the Calvinist articles of 1615 on pain of excommunication prompted Wentworth to tell Andrews that 'certainly not a dean of Limerick but an Ananias sate in the chair of that Committe...[and]....all the Fraternities and Conventicles of Amsterdam.'<sup>(19)</sup> But what grounds did Bridgeman have for supposing that history might repeat itself, and the Church fall foul of another iconoclastic blitzkrieg?

The only recorded iconoclastic act to have taken place in a religious building in Chester diocese after the Reformation probably occurred in the late sixteenth century. This was performed by the Puritan celebrity, John Bruen of Stapleford (d. 1625) in his family chapel in Tarvin. According to William Hinde, Bruen's biographer, Bruen had singlehandedly destroyed 'many superstitious



images, and idolatrous pictures in the painted windowes'.<sup>(20)</sup> Although Hinde fails to record when this iconoclasm took place, it does not seem improbable that it followed the last act of legitimate iconoclasm to have been undertaken in the city of Chester before the 1640s. Daniel King recorded how this was performed by the Mayor of Chester, Nicholas Massey, in 1583: Massey, 'being a godly and zealous man, obtained a royal commission to destroy the town crosses in Chester, which so offended the Papists that they ascribed it the cause of his death'.<sup>(21)</sup> If Bridgeman was not referring to a recent act of iconoclasm, then we can assume that he was thinking of Reformation iconoclasm? The contexts of Bridgeman's consecration ceremonies provide a clue to the reasons for his concerns.

Ringley chapel may not have been commissioned by Puritans, but it is clear from Seddon's correspondence that they formed part of the congregation, with or without a Puritan minister. Bridgeman also used this sermon when he consecrated Much Hoole chapel, which had been built at the cost of Thomas Stone. Stone was a London merchant and belonged to the Haberdasher's company, a clique renowned for its Puritan membership.<sup>(22)</sup> Evidently Bridgeman was trying to persuade the godly to share his respect for Church property by arguing that places of worship could be endowed with holiness. Pragmatically, Bridgeman chose to vindicate his position according to erastian precedents, but by bringing the Deity down to a monarchical level, rather than through offering a panegyric seeking to elevate the King to the status of god. By keeping the Deity and the Monarchy on a level pegging, Bridgeman could equate the level of

behaviour which one might be expected to adhere to in a church, with one which had to be adhered to in the Court:

‘These houses are the Courts of thine, Audiences where thou dost sitt to hear our prayers and supplications unto thee, they are that Royal exchange where you and we do meete and as it were commerce and trade together for thou dost bring thy yeares [ears?] when we bringe our devotions together. Heaven is thy glorious temple, thy Whitehall... yet the Earth is also thine and all that is therein’.

Similar preaching devices were used by Arminian divines such as Thomas Laurence and Richard Stewart in the 1630s, who drew comparisons between the altar in church and the chair of state in the royal presence chamber, in order to generate honour for the former.<sup>(23)</sup> However Bridgeman was thinking about the entire church building - not just particularly sacred areas - but in the context of this consecration sermon (not least with regard to what follows) this statement throws some interesting light upon his theological position. Bridgeman seems to have implied that the Adam's fall had not undermined the relationship between Man and the Deity to the degree that Calvin and his adherents had believed.<sup>(24)</sup> Whilst he avoided the patently miraculous, Bridgeman evidently believed that public worship and veneration for the sacred could do much to heal the gap between Man and God, and Heaven and Earth. Although Bridgeman did not have anything to say about whether Man was in fact capable of propitiating the Deity, it is clear that he regarded worship in churches as something more than a one way offering of praise and thanksgiving.<sup>(25)</sup> Thus he maintained that some form of divine correspondence took place during divine service. The Choir, he observed,

‘cry peccani here on Earth, they answe Alleluia above in Heaven.’



However, as if to show that his concerns that the dangers of Puritan sacrilege on the one hand, and Romanist idolatry on the other, were on almost level terms, he appealed, in his additions to the Litany for deliverance,

‘from a people irreligious and voyde of devotion or idolatrous and given to superstition or sacrilegious in the meanes which thou *here* shall offer them for their owne salvation.’<sup>(26)</sup>

This evidence demonstrates that Bridgeman believed that churches were sacrosanct. Bridgeman says no more about the ‘meanes...for...salvation’ that are to be found in places of worship, but he was most probably thinking of the sacraments (if not the clergy that dispensed them). Bridgeman is arguing that his congregation’s ‘means...for...salvation’ are dependent on both worship and its context, and the purpose of both is to attain a religious balance between idolatry and superstition on the one hand and sacrilege on the other. The sacrilege he refers to in this section, since it deals with worship, is liturgical sacrilege - for example refusal to kneel to receive communion. As we have seen Bridgeman believed that the despoliation of churches - iconoclasm - was ecclesiological sacrilege. Yet if Bridgeman was critical of potential iconoclasts, then he was equally critical of his reforming predecessors. For example in his Cathedral ledger he argued that the poor state of the fabric of Chester Cathedral (as he found it following his appointment as Bishop) was to be blamed on, ‘...the sacrilegious and ravenous disposition of those who have formerly been members of this church’.<sup>(27)</sup> Therefore his public prayer for deliverance, ‘from all impiety and profanation of holie places’, with which he concluded his consecration ceremonies, can be read as both a response to the ‘impiety and profanation’ of the

Reformation, and a reflection of his fear that if the godly are not inculcated with scripturally warranted notions of holiness and sacrilege then churches will continue to be in danger of iconoclastic assaults. But alongside consecration ceremonies, what practical measures did Bridgeman take to both address the iconoclasm of the Reformation and to prevent its repetition?

## II

In 1605 Bridgeman was appointed to a stall in Peterborough Cathedral. If he took up residence at this time, then he would have experienced Bishop Thomas Dove's vigorous drive against Puritan non-conformity then pervading the diocese.<sup>(28)</sup> Dove himself appears to have actively opposed the Puritans during the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, and evidently objected to the most extreme forms of Calvinist predestinarianism by stressing the necessity of baptism.<sup>(29)</sup> We have no reason to suppose Bridgeman disagreed with Dove's policy, for Dove both made him his chaplain, and brought his abilities to the eyes and ears of King James.<sup>(30)</sup> Due to Dove's commendation Bridgeman regularly preached before the king between 1610 and 1613, where he earned his reputation for being 'an excellent Pulpit man'.<sup>(31)</sup>

In September 1613, Bridgeman wrote to the crypto-Catholic Earl of Northampton,<sup>(32)</sup> praising him for 'those great benefits which your Lordship hath heaped on me'. Through Northampton's influence over the Bishop Cotton of Exeter, Bridgeman secured a prebend at Exeter Cathedral, and the promise of a residentiary position should one become vacant.<sup>(33)</sup> Bridgeman closed the letter



by promising Northampton that he would become ‘your perpetuall beadsman’. Such relics of Catholic deference, though commonplace at the early Stuart Court, nevertheless illuminate a politique usage of religiously-styled patterns of etiquette that seem unusual coming from an uncompromisingly Protestant Jacobean divine like Bridgeman. Linda Levy Peck suggests that Northampton regarded himself, in his role as arbiter of court patronage, as something of a ‘priest’. England was, after all, a ‘Divine Right Monarchy’. The King was the ‘free dispenser of grace’, a ‘God on Earth’, granting favour to the public through the intercession of courtiers floating around his quasi-celestial orbit.<sup>(34)</sup>

Bridgeman's acceptability to a crypto-Catholic of Northampton's credentials reflects the patron-client relationship between former or crypto-Catholic peers and other high ranking churchmen, for example between Bishop Samuel Harsnet and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.<sup>(35)</sup> It also helps to explain Bridgeman's acceptability to members of the Catholic gentry, like the Gerrards of Wigan, which I shall discuss in section three.

Whilst Bridgeman waited for the Exeter stall to become vacant he resided at Peterborough, where he eagerly defended the cathedral's rights. For example in 1613 he wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in an attempt to recover the advowson of Allerton church for Peterborough Cathedral. The advowson, he complained, was appropriated by ‘sacrilegious ravens’, having been sold by a corrupt (but unnamed) Peterborough prebendary.<sup>(36)</sup> He often used this metaphor to describe those who profited from church property - both the clergy who sold

out to the forces of Reformation, and laymen who exploited the lifeless hulks they purveyed. In 1613 Bridgeman, attended by the archdeacon, choir joined Bishop Dove as he consecrated the cathedral's new font. Bridgeman had commissioned this font at his own expense, suggesting that he held similar views to Dove regarding baptism. This commission probably reflected his personal disdain for the basins presently in use, since the baptism of his new son, christened Dove Bridgeman, immediately followed the consecration ceremony.<sup>(37)</sup>

Four years later Bridgeman accompanied the royal party to Scotland and acquainted himself with William Laud.<sup>(38)</sup> Laud provided Bridgeman with help in restoring the rents and manorial rights of Wigan Church and Manor through his proximity to the capital and court,<sup>(39)</sup> and it is probable that the intimate knowledge the future Archbishop acquired of this rich benefice encouraged him to press harder on Bridgeman during the early 1630s than he might have done when it came to collecting funds for the St. Paul's Cathedral restoration programme.<sup>(40)</sup> On 3 May 1618, Bridgeman was offered the Deanery of Windsor (possibly indicating Bridgeman's abilities and interest in performing the elaborate ritualistic activities the position would have required). It would either have been there, or in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, or in the newly refurbished Scottish Chapel Royal at Holyrood House, where Bridgeman experienced the limits that English ecclesiology, respecting imagery and ornament, might reach. However, Bridgeman had to forgo this preferment when the Archbishop of Spalato, Marco de Dominis, reminded the forgetful James I that he had already promised the deanery to him.<sup>(41)</sup> Yet Bridgeman still held Wigan Church and Manor, one of



the richest benefices in the country, which the King had granted to him in 1616.<sup>(42)</sup> Two years later, in compensation for the loss of the deanery, Bridgeman was appointed Bishop of Chester. Kenneth Fincham suggests that Bridgeman's appointment the See of Chester reflected government requirements to employ divines with expert knowledge respecting the problems of popery and apostasy in the North, experience which Bridgeman clearly gained during his years at Wigan.<sup>(43)</sup> Bridgeman retained Wigan Church in commendam with the bishopric, in spite of his once apparent distaste for pluralism.<sup>(44)</sup> However Bridgeman was far from negligent of this benefice, and before the translation of Richard Neile to the archbishopric of York in 1632 it was more a case of the Parson of Wigan holding the bishopric of Chester in commendam, for reasons which I shall endeavour to explain.

### III

Bridgeman's programme to beautify Wigan church was accompanied by a concurrent initiative to restore the clerical rights over the Lordship of Wigan Manor. This initiative, I shall argue, was designed to impress upon parishioners the social distinction of his office and the importance of the ecclesiastical establishment that he represented.

Bridgeman's beautification programme for Wigan All Saints church began almost as soon as he had succeeded Edward Fleetwood to the parsonage in 1616.<sup>(45)</sup> One of the first things he did was install stained glass and produce a private chapel for his personal devotions.<sup>(46)</sup> He then went on to restore the old

chancel, built an additional new one, and re-flagged and generally restored the church. This programme lasted from 1620-2. From 1623, he began to (sporadically) direct his ecclesiological attentions to the cathedral in Chester.<sup>(47)</sup>

I shall discuss Bridgeman's patronage in Chester in section four. It is first necessary to understand the social and political circumstances into which his ecclesiological investments in Wigan were introduced.

Bridgeman's critical opinion of the way in which the English Reformation had undermined the rights and political interest of the Church led to bitter disputes with the parishioners of Wigan All Saints and Chester St. Oswald's over seating rights and orders of precedence in town as well as church. This policy of confrontation began soon after he moved to Lancashire, when he attempted to recover the jurisdictional powers over the Wigan laity that he discovered were incumbent in his position as parson and Lord of Wigan Church and Manor.<sup>(48)</sup>

In 1618 he offended the Mayor of Wigan, Hugh Ford, by sitting in Ford's seat in the town hall during a court hearing. Although he was Lord of the Manor, Bridgeman submitted to the Mayor's request that he should move since he was sitting there in the lower-ranking capacity of Justice of the Peace. Yet Bridgeman soon reasserted the Parson's superior social position as Lord of the Manor, a position entitling him to the profits of fairs, markets and courts. Bridgeman presented this policy as a selfless task, recording in his ledger that,



‘ I was unwilling to go to law, yet more unwilling to hurt my conscience with sacrilege against my predecessors by letting go those rights which my predecessors enjoyed.’

Bridgeman's clericalist policy probably came as a shock to the Wigan laity since his predecessors had shown deference to the mayoralty over these rights since Nicholas Massey's incumbency in the 1580s. Yet in spite of much local protest and resentment at what was seen as a reactionary encroachment, a Privy Council meeting quickly re-established Bridgeman's rights as Lord of the Manor in the town.<sup>(49)</sup>

The friction between Bridgeman and the Wigan townsmen over manorial rights was exacerbated by the bishop's refusal to take into consideration his parishioners' claims to burial ground inside All Saints church. This seems to have led to complications for his refurbishment programme. In the process of refurbishing the church (which Bridgeman personally described as ‘soe good a work’) he was interrupted by ‘some evil disposed persons’ who prevented his acquisition of flagstones from a local company.<sup>(50)</sup> This may well have been the work of a number of parishioners who felt frustrated that the new flagstones were to be used to cover what they insisted were their family tombs, but Bridgeman argued were their ‘pretended’ burial places inside the church. These men were probably jealous of the favour Bridgeman accorded to Richard Molineux, ‘a moderate and discreet gentleman’, who was permitted to have the stones already resting above his family's remains partially restored once the re-flagging programme was complete. But Bridgeman was not prepared to allow Molineux

replace all the stones, 'lest other gentlemen should crave the like favour', and he ensured the task was performed at night 'that none might know it' - no doubt through fear of further interruptions.<sup>(51)</sup>

Bridgeman was constantly spelling out to the Wigan parishioners that the allocation of seating and space within the church was his prerogative, regardless of their social status. Bridgeman believed that his right as parson to grant or deny parishioners' requests for burial places was sacrosanct, and he refused to,

'suffer all to be buried in the church lest men claym it here after of right'.<sup>(52)</sup>

By 1620 Bridgeman had completed re-flagging the church. From that time he prevented other parishioners from demarcating their own or their families' burial places with different coloured stones, ostensibly on the basis that most of those who wished to do so,

'..have not at any tyme repayred the roofe or windowes or place wherein their seate stands'.<sup>(53)</sup>

Bridgeman was clearly asserting his ecclesiastical rights in these instances and it is evident that he was frustrated by the parishioners' failure to provide sufficiently for the maintenance of the church. But there was probably also a religious dimension to Bridgeman's burial policy. In pre-Reformation England, parishioners regarded the location of their burial place as spiritually efficacious. As Robert Dinn has recently concluded from his research in Bury St. Edmunds,



‘In the Middle Ages the body was seen as a symbol for the soul, and the location of the grave was, therefore, intimately related to the fate of the soul. Burial patterns in late medieval Bury suggest that townspeople believed that, despite church teachings to the contrary, the close family remained intact after bodily death through the family burial plot...’<sup>(54)</sup>

Those who were in a position to afford burial within the church itself, especially behind the altar or where they and their families were ‘wont to sit’, believed they had placed themselves in an ideal position for when the time came for resurrection, having remained in a state of continuous worship with their ancestors and progeny.<sup>(55)</sup> Was Bridgeman combining a clerical muscle-flexing exercise with a reformist drive to purify his church of such unjustifiable uses? As far as recusants were concerned this was certainly the case, for he refused,

‘old Culcheth...to be buried where the Culcheths were formerly buried...because he was no churchman in his lifetime.’<sup>(56)</sup>

Thus the principal victims of Bridgeman’s new policy were those who were not prepared to accord the church an equitable degree of respect, either through attending worship or helping with the church’s maintenance.

In order to obtain the parishioners’ conformity over seating and burial, Bridgeman’s solution was to convince them of the novelty of their behaviour, and the traditionalism of his own policy. Bridgeman chose to marshall ‘divers old men’, who were summoned to offer testimony for the way the church was furnished, seats were laid out, and even who paid for the mass in Marian

times.<sup>(57)</sup> This procedure suggests that Bridgeman was dealing with individuals with leanings towards ‘the old religion’ who would respect such precedents.<sup>(58)</sup>

Bridgeman recorded that his aim for the investments in the church was ‘onely for the Beauty and decency of the place’, but were there any other reasons for his expenditure? The evidence concerning Bridgeman’s reaction to the parishioners’ arguments over seating rights following his renovation of the chancel provides some clues.

When Bridgeman began to repair All Saints church, he began with the old chancel ‘wherein I was wont to sit, and all my predecessors’. Although a local gentleman, Thomas Gerrard of Ince, held a seat there, having in Bridgeman's opinion,

‘...usurped that place for 14 or 16 years pretending that his ancestors had a kneeling place there and that some of them had been buried there..’

Bridgeman drew upon evidence of the church's past to vindicate the removal of the seats of Gerrard and other parishioners:

‘... because the old chancell was ever heretofore the place where the Altar and Roodloft stood in old tyme (which many yet living doe remember...) and hath been Anciently seated about with a goodly fayr Quire: seats wherein my predecessors and their chaplynes onely did sitt (as diverse alive doe testifye)...of which said seats had been of late years been taken away and rude formes or seates [been] sett in their roomes, I caused some to be cast out’.<sup>(59)</sup>

Bridgeman was here criticising the seating programme which had been undertaken by his predecessor, Parson Edward Fleetwood. Fleetwood's



introduction of plain uniform forms for the parishioners to sit on had prompted a reaction from 'divers townsmen & others' who 'set up different fashioned seats' 'every one of them...a different fashion'.<sup>(60)</sup> Bridgeman accordingly went on to 'cast out' from his church those seats 'which were not uniforme' with the rest of the building and cleared the seating space in the chancel for the exclusive use of himself, his wife and his servants. Significantly this policy anticipated the unpopular efforts of the 1630s in which Archbishops Laud and Neile worked to ensure that pews were uniform and that lay seating in the east ends of churches was removed.<sup>(61)</sup> However this programme for uniform seating was not an exclusively Arminian concern, and there were ecclesiological grounds on which Bridgeman and the Arminians could easily disagree - such as the position of the communion table. Bridgeman, his wife and servants sat around the communion table, which had been set in the middle of the chancel rather than in the body of the church.<sup>(62)</sup> The presence of women sitting in the chancel might also have been construed as a Protestant reformation, since in other churches they were not permitted to sit further east than the nave except when they entered the chancel to receive communion.<sup>(63)</sup> Bridgeman unwittingly acknowledged as much when he brought Gerrard before the High Commission in November 1620. There he attested that before Nicholas Massey allowed Gerrard's ancestors to sit in the chancel no one else had any right to sit there 'but the Parson and his Chaplyns'.<sup>(64)</sup>

Old parishioners informed Bridgeman that Parson Fleetwood had taken the timber from the old rood loft and converted it into his new 'playn

formes...which they called Robin-Hood timber'.<sup>(65)</sup> This Robin Hood analogy exemplifies the sociological significance of converting the rich relics of the days of Popery into seats designed to facilitate the attentive hearing of sermons by poor parishioners. Bridgeman himself was no Robin-Hood figure, not least since there was not much left for himself to rob. Rather in his mind the principles for which the Robin Hoods of the religious world had stood had gone too far. Accordingly, once he had reclaimed and restored the old chancel he went on to build a new one. Beginning in July, 1620, this project was completed by September 1622.

Initially, Bridgeman recorded that

‘I raysed up the old chancell one step higher then the church flore, and the new chancell, 5 steps higher, and the high Altar 2 steps higher. All which 'ere this was level with the body of the church’.

Bridgeman does not record the location of the communion table within the chancel, or whether it was removed to the nave in time of divine service, but it is probable he, his family and servants moved their seats into the new chancel, continuing the practice of previous years. His reference to the table as a ‘high altar’ may reflect his familiarity with the ecclesiological terminology of the Chapel Royal. However there is no reason to think that this elevated ‘high altar’ was railed and set in an ‘altar wise’ position for it aroused no controversy, notoriety or evident discussion amongst the local community. As we shall see in the following section, when he was forceably encouraged to adopt the ‘altar policy’ of the leaders of the Church during the 1630s the godly in his diocese were outraged, but there is no indication to suggest that either Bridgeman or they regarded the ‘high altar’ in Wigan All Saints as any kind of precedent for his subsequent coalescence with Arminian policy.



Bridgeman also 'provyded for the East window some painted glass'.<sup>(66)</sup> Although failed to record the nature of this 'painted glass', it seems likely that it would have contained some kind of religious imagery since he decorated the east window of Eccleston church in 1621, and the cathedral in 1637 with stained glass images.<sup>(67)</sup> Bridgeman's elevation of the chancel and introduction of stained-glass windows may arguably have been designed to appeal to the senses of the large number of recusant Catholics residing in the Wigan area, and as such may be interpreted as compensation for his stringent policy over burial and seating.<sup>(68)</sup> But it seems more likely that these investments were designed to impress upon the Wigan townsmen Bridgeman's resolve to enhance his local clerical importance, and to compensate for the 'sacrilegious' neglect to which the church and lordship of Wigan Manor had been subjected by his reformist predecessors.

Bridgeman's refurbishment of Wigan church was clearly an ecclesiological response to Elizabethan and early Jacobean reforms, when chancels were levelled and communion tables replaced the Catholic altars. None of this evidence is proof that Bridgeman was inclined to popery, but it suggests that he looked favourably towards conformable church-papists, perhaps corroborating the papal agent Panzani's opinion, expressed in 1636, that Bridgeman was of a 'moderate' disposition to the church of Rome.<sup>(69)</sup> Considered in conjunction with his views respecting profanity and sacrilege (as opposed to superstition and idolatry) this evidence might suggest that Bridgeman was inclined towards English Arminianism. But was he?

#### IV

To understand Bridgeman's clericalism and religious outlook, we need to examine the way he personally interpreted his diocesan responsibilities. In the register he compiled to re-evaluate and harness Chester diocese's economic potential, he explained the reasons that inspired him to re-design the episcopal seal following his translation to the See.

' His devise of his seal was: the picture of the King (whose Chaplain he was) delivering him a mitre with the word (FIDELI) Matt.25. 21 over it, a cloud with a crown with the word (Preservanti) Revl.2. 10. Alluding to that (in the former) of the Master to his Servant Matt.25. 1...& by the other to that of our Saviour.'<sup>(70)</sup>

Bridgeman's equation of his duties to the Crown with his duties to Christ exemplifies his erastian sense of hierarchy and duty. These ideals probably reflect his willingness to adhere to the substantially different ecclesiastical policies endorsed by James I and Charles I.<sup>(71)</sup> More specifically, the design of the seal points to Bridgeman's concepts about the financial responsibilities of his office. Like the good servant portrayed in Matthew 25.21, Bridgeman wanted to convert his master James's coin, the bishopric, into a viable investment for the good of the state and, a fortiori, to the glory of God.

In spite of the Bishop's efforts to improve the viability of the cathedral, Christopher Haigh has argued that Bridgeman was fighting a losing battle and at his death the income and viability of the bishopric was significantly less than it



had been in the time of Bishop Bird, during the potentially more threatening Edwardian Reformation.<sup>(72)</sup> But before we leave Bridgeman with the parabled bad servant, 'wailing and gnashing [his] teeth' it is worthwhile focusing on the benefits he sought to provide for his See and his successors.

In 1619 Bridgeman conducted a visitation of Chester Cathedral, having issued a number of inquiries reflecting the disdain he felt for the neglect shown by his predecessors.<sup>(73)</sup> Bridgeman insisted that residential canons wore 'comlie apparell', took care of their 'scholastical habits' and maintained the ornaments of the church, especially copes. He also insisted that the fabric revenues be allocated properly (but regrettably the requisite faculty books and patents which would show in more detail exactly how this money would have been organized and spent have not survived). When he conducted another visitation in 1623, things were still not to his liking. His orders including the demand that the Choir must be in full attendance during Divine Service.<sup>(74)</sup> Unfortunately the Treasurer's books reveal little about the consequences of this visitation though it is notable that during his meeting with the Dean and Chapter, the organ was moved from the cathedral to the chapter house, and that frankincense was lit to perfume the place. From 1626 the cathedral itself began to be perfumed during choir service, and candles specifically for the communion table were purchased.<sup>(75)</sup>

In 1627, a statue of Hugh Lupus, a keen defender of ecclesiastical interests, was erected in Chester Cathedral. Hugh Lupus was Earl of Chester in

the late eleventh century and converted the church of St. Werburg into an abbey in 1092 (it was raised to the rank of cathedral by Henry VIII in 1540).<sup>(76)</sup> Payment for the statue was, as the Treasurer's book reveals, met by the Dean and Chapter. However, it does not seem improbable that this image was raised at Bridgeman's request, or at least in celebration of the successful implementation of his recent policies.

In 1093 Hugh Lupus, at the instigation of St. Anselm, evicted the lay canons from St. Werburgh's and replaced them with an abbot and a convent of Benedictine monks from Bec in Normandy. Hugh Lupus also did much to improve the Church's status, by recovering the usurped lands of Stanei and Burwardelsi, and securing the tithes from many other Manors for the same.<sup>(77)</sup> Hugh Lupus's expulsion of the secular canons may well have been interpreted as a precedent for Bridgeman's expulsion of lay leasees of the buildings within the cathedral precincts, and thus account for the timing of the erection of this 'image'. In 1626, these buildings were limited to the exclusive use of the cathedral choir.<sup>(78)</sup> Moreover, Bridgeman had explicitly compiled this register in order to discover which tithes were due to the cathedral Dean and Chapter, with the primary intention of regaining them from 'sacrilegious' lay usurpers.

Although this imagery would have proved irksome to the godly iconoclasts appointed in March 1642 to remove or destroy the 'scandalous' images in the cathedral soon after hostilities between Crown and Parliament had broken out, this image was actually repainted in the same year (the month is not



recorded) suggesting that its contemporary iconographical significance was either not realised by the cathedral's assailants or considered insufficient to warrant its destruction.<sup>(79)</sup>

Significantly Bridgeman's investment in the beautification of the cathedral failed to meet the standards of worship 'in the beauty of holiness' required by Archbishop Neile. In 1633 Archbishop Neile's metropolitical visitation began and parts of Chester diocese, including St. Oswald's (which occupied the south transept of Chester Cathedral), were visited by commissioners John Cosin, William Easdall and Henry Wickham.<sup>(80)</sup> In spite of the recent restorations and ecclesiological improvements the commissioners complained that the seats and forms in St. Oswald's were not uniform, and they expressed dismay at the 'indecent and unseemly' condition of the communion table, which they claimed was 'not befitting soe holy a use' (indicating that they were following English Arminian ecclesiological dictates). Evidently seats, which should have been 'set up close to the wall' were placed behind it. The commissioners insisted that a rail 'with Pilliasters' must be made to fence in the table to the east end of the chancel, and demanded that the churchwardens re-evaluate the church's finances, in order to make provision for 'such ornaments and necessaries as are enjoined'.<sup>(81)</sup>

Before the visitation Bridgeman's policy towards the St. Oswald's centred on a commission that he had issued to the parish's vestry in September 1624.<sup>(82)</sup> This document simply stated that the church's seats were not uniform, and that

this had lead to disagreement amongst the parishioners. It also pointed out that the pulpit was not positioned in a place where parishioners could easily hear the minister.<sup>(83)</sup> The seating problem was the immediate fault of the vestry, since in 1615 it had dictated that

‘... every parishioner shall repaire their owne forme and that noe reparations [are] to bee hereafter made by the churchwardens uppon the charge of the parish for anie forme or pew graunted to anie’.<sup>(84)</sup>

Whilst this policy would have led to some noticeable disparity between the style and condition of the seats, the allocation of seating space, and their general layout was subject to the constant scrutiny of the leading members of the parish. These individuals had formed a commission to review the seating situation in the year of Bridgeman's appointment as Bishop.<sup>(85)</sup> The vestry's policy of leasing seating space to parishioners was a prime source of revenue, and reflected what must have been a national trend.<sup>(86)</sup> The vestry had recently spent an unusually large amount of money on the church's fabric - not only had it been reflagged and weatherproofed, the font had also been repaired. There is no reason to suppose that the parishioners had proved non-conformable either, as the regular purchase of communion wine and kneeling mats, plus repairs to the vicar's surplice indicate.

In October 1626, two years after Bridgeman had issued his commission to the St. Oswald's vestry, he returned to the cathedral to discover that the pulpit, his seat and those of his servants had been moved to provide the mayor and aldermen of Chester with the most socially prestigious seating space. In



retaliation, Bridgeman ordered that the church's sermons must be read in the quire of the cathedral. He then 'caused the stales [stalls] to be fayrly painted & some of them guilt', before moving them into the body of the cathedral. Further, he supplied 'a fayr new pulpit'.<sup>(87)</sup> He then insisted that no sermons should be read in the town whilst the cathedral sermon was being read.

From the testimony of two of the St. Oswald's churchwardens (who were cited to appear before the consistory court in 1630/31 for failing to secure payments for the church's fabric) Bridgeman's orders of 1626 were quickly acted upon. The new position of the pulpit allowed most of the congregation to hear the sermon, whilst the prebends and Bridgeman himself,

'preach'd their sermons there uppon Sundays and festivall days, for the space of a yeare and a halfe and a far greater congregation resorted thereunto'.<sup>(88)</sup>

The churchwardens had followed Bridgeman's orders to the letter by 'whitinge the church and chancel' and 'writing upon the church walls &..[providing]..new leede to beawtifie the church and for workmanship and style.' In addition to this, 'the Kinges armes, princes armes, citties armes and the armes of the twelve tribes' were painted on the church walls, whilst the 'armes of the dean and chapter' were painted 'in the newe windowe'.<sup>(89)</sup> Other investments in St. Oswald's fabric were also undertaken at this time, and it appears that they too were designed to entice parishioners to attend service there rather than follow the Mayor to Chester Holy Trinity.<sup>(90)</sup> These investments principally comprised new 'wainscott seats and other formes for the people to sitt there'.<sup>(91)</sup>

This evidence demonstrates that Neile's commissioners were critical of Bridgeman's ecclesiological ideals and not the material condition of St. Oswald's and the cathedral, which (largely because of Bridgeman's efforts) were well maintained. The central bone of contention was clearly the fact that the communion table was not treated with the degree of sanctity which Neile's commissioners required. The church wardens accounts for St. Oswald's reveal that there were 'seats about the communion table'<sup>(92)</sup> - a surviving feature of Elizabethan and Jacobean ecclesiology that was clearly not in keeping with the heightened spiritual significance the leaders of the Church now attributed to this area.

Archbishop Neile interpreted his commissioners' findings as symptomatic of a much wider problem. In his metropolitical report to the King in 1633, he deplored the lax conformity in Bridgeman's diocese, and the poor quality of worship in the cathedral, especially the infrequent use of the litany and the use of prayers 'never appoynted or authorized to be added to the Publick service'. This problem may be attributed to Bridgeman's regular absence from the cathedral, but it also shows that for English Arminians the 'beauty of holiness' was intrinsically both an ecclesiological and a ritualistic ideal. Neile blamed Bridgeman for failing to be 'very vigilant & resolute to have things kept in order' but he conceded that such problems might beset any diocese, regardless of whether 'the Bishop in his own person [were] never soe well disposed and affected to government'.



Neile's main complaint was that Bridgeman was following a policy ostensibly designed to curtail Popery

'least that by carrying a severer hand upon the Puritans then they had power to carry upon the Papists, the Popish party might take heart and opinion of Favor'.<sup>(93)</sup>

However Bridgeman responded quickly to Neile's criticisms, and Andrew Foster has shown that as a result, some 309 churches in Bridgeman's diocese were ordered to undertake repairs. Bridgeman was pleased with this outcome and praised Neile for this 'excellent work'.<sup>(94)</sup>

Yet from the evidence concerning St. Oswald's, it seems that the commissioners were more critical of the ecclesiological layout of the church than its physical condition, and they attempted to exploit the irregularities they discovered, especially with respect to the setting of the communion table, in order to extort fees from the alleged guilty parties. Bridgeman joined forces with Bishop Potter of Carlisle, and the extortion issue was pursued through the Court of High Commission two years later. Why this problem failed to become a case for the High Commission until about December 1634 is not clear. Archbishop Neile was offended by the idea, and the already poor relations between the three seem to have deteriorated even further from this time. Replying to Bridgeman early in January, 1635, Neile exclaimed haughtily,

'Whereas your Lordship complayneth of my officers in their prosecuting my Metropolitall Visitation, I pray your Lordship to distinguish right of things... If your Lordship will charge all or any of them to have oppressed the county by exhorting from the people any greater or more fees then are injustifiable, I will be beholden to your Lordship to informe me thereof, and if I doe not my indeavor to doe the country right and make them

satisfaction take your Liberty to complayne or seeke redresse where you think glad. I cannot but wonder at that which your Lordship writes, that my officers have received many more hundred pounds in my one visitation then you and all your officers have done in sixteene yeres visitations.’<sup>(95)</sup>

Unfortunately for Bridgeman and Potter, their agents in the Court of High Commission failed to come up with the goods. Writing to Bridgeman in September 1635, Potter, though ‘confident of good successe in the suite’, expressed certain reservations about how it was being stage managed,

‘... My registrar has past the pikes of the high commission without any great harme, but I finde he is fearfull to fall among them. The main article against him was that he had persuaded, provoked and instigated me to oppose the Jurisdiction of Yorke...’<sup>(96)</sup>

It seems probable that Neile was concerned to extract as much profit as possible from this visitation, although Potter's complaints about the honesty of Neile's Secretary, William Easdall, should not be overlooked.<sup>(97)</sup> Throughout Easdall's correspondence with Bridgeman, Bridgeman's debts to the See of York are referred to, perhaps indicating that Neile suffered a loss of income following his translation from Durham (via Winchester) to York.<sup>(98)</sup>

Although Bridgeman was clearly upset by the visitation, he needed to improve his reputation at Court - which had been tarnished by the commutations scandal<sup>(99)</sup> - especially if he was to get a better bishopric. Thus from 1635 his ecclesiastical policy began to reflect the interests of the leaders of the Caroline Church. A good example of Bridgeman's deference to Neile's orders is to be found in the records of his consistory court. In 1634 he summoned the



churchwardens of St. Michael's, Chester for failing to adhere to the new altar-policy, and ordered them to

'... remove the communion table longwaies to the East wall of the chancell wall & to incompasse the same both with a decent and a comlie Rayle'.<sup>(100)</sup>

He also instructed them to arrange the seats into a 'chancel-wise' position and fix 'a partition betwixt the body of the church & chancel', thereby laying emphasis on the sanctity of the eastern area of this church.<sup>(101)</sup>

From 1634 new copes were ordered to be purchased and worn by the cathedral prebends during divine service, under the supervision of Bridgeman's new Vicar General, Edmund Mainwaring.<sup>(102)</sup> Mainwaring was a staunch advocate of the Laudian drive against non-conformity. For example he played a key role in the prosecution of Peter Smart, a critic of English Arminian ecclesiology, in the High Commission in 1632, and was initially selected to preside over the ceremonial burning of portraits of William Prynne in 1637 - before Neile thought better of it and persuaded Bridgeman to do the job himself.<sup>(103)</sup> It was under Mainwaring's supervision that the programme to beautify the cathedral's interior intensified to meet the standards required by Archbishop Neile. Evidently the most controversial aspect of this policy was the erection of an altar, which according to William Prynne was an old mensa which had been buried during the reign of Edward VI, or at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>(104)</sup>

In a letter written in June 1635 (and published in 1641) John Ley, the cathedral subdean and Vicar of Great Budworth, claimed that he has first heard about the erection of this 'new structure of stone' from a local Papist. Was it an old mensa? Ley claimed that he later told the papist 'that it was a funerall monument of Saint Werburgh's', but this was evidently a damage limitation exercise for the Papist 'suspected there in at least a propension to popery', whilst other local Papists had begun to 'exalt their hopes of the re-edification of their babel among us'.<sup>(105)</sup> If Ley's letter to Bridgeman is to be believed, then Bridgeman's responsibility for the new 'altar policy' prompted a heated debate over the bishop's religious disposition, with one papist allegedly claiming

'The bishop is wise, and hath good intelligence how things are like to goe, and he prudently applyeth himself to the times, and acteth his part accordingly.'<sup>(106)</sup>

Ley equated the erection of the altars with the danger of images.<sup>(107)</sup> Yet Bridgeman had not erected any images in the cathedral at this time. Since Ley gave no mention to the presence of any specific images, let alone with regard to the cathedral, it is possible that he interpreted the erection of the altar as a premonition of their arrival. If so, then his hindsight was accurate for Bridgeman would commission new stained glass for the east window, which was erected in 1637.<sup>(108)</sup>

The images for which Bridgeman claimed responsibility are recorded, alongside his other investments, in his Cathedral Ledger. In 1637 he introduced glass for the east window of the cathedral 'with the story of the Annunciation, Nativity, circumsiscion, Presentation &c. of our Saviour'. In addition he 'raised



the steps' for the 'altar', 'gilded the organs...and ordered a new sett of pipes'<sup>(109)</sup> It is possible that Bridgeman was fully aware of the ecclesiological precedents being established at the university college chapels at this time as his donation towards, and possible familiarity with the most elaborate chapel at Peterhouse, Cambridge suggests.<sup>(110)</sup> With respect to the glass, these windows portrayed biblical narrative scenes and could have been interpreted as 'laymen's books'. As such they would have received qualified authorization from certain Calvinists such as Robert Sanderson and Humphrey Sydenham.<sup>(111)</sup> However the fact that these images were Christocentric, and set in the east end window of the cathedral above the new altar, strongly suggests that these were the 'scandalous windows' sought out and destroyed by iconoclasts at the outbreak of the Civil War.<sup>(112)</sup>

It is significant that these images were introduced to the cathedral four years after Neile's visitation, when Bridgeman was under no apparent pressure from the higher powers for further work in the cathedral. Clearly the bishop felt that such images had a legitimate place in religious environments, suggesting that he, like other Protestants, had rid himself of that fear of 'the peril of idolatry' that so vexed his Elizabethan predecessors. However the altar was a different matter, and arguably the best reason for Bridgeman's responsibility for its erection in Chester Cathedral was his interest in recovering his reputation following both the commutations scandal, and Neile's derogatory visitation report to the King. As Ley put it,

'...you may perhaps conceive it to be of some use to you, to cleare you from all imputation of Puritanisme, which some (as you say, and those that know you may sweare) very undeservedly put up against you: and for

that purpose perhaps you raised it up to support your episcopall reputation against that reproach.'

Ley's point speaks volumes about the ecclesiastical priorities of the Caroline, as opposed to the Jacobean establishment, for he went on to add that when Bishop Morton was the victim of a similar 'imputation of Puritanisme' he responded, in 1618, 'with a book, not by an altar, or any alteration which might incline towards conformity from the opposite side'.<sup>(113)</sup> What should be made of Ley's allegations? It seems most likely that had Bridgeman been at liberty he would have responded according to the religious character of the social environments in his charge - Catholic Wigan, godly Chester - with ecclesiological policies best suited to each. The commutations for pennances scandal and Neile's visitation ensured that with regard to Chester this did not happen. Neile's requirements for the cathedral and St. Oswald's constrained Bridgeman to introduce ecclesiological innovations that were bound to exacerbate the problems between the cathedral and the city over seating and precedence, adding a religious dimension to social tensions that Bridgeman was, as we shall see in the following section, beginning to overcome.

## V

Perhaps the most consistent feature of Bridgeman's career was his interest in dictating the seating arrangements of the churches within his jurisdiction. As the evidence from his Wigan ledger has shown, he regarded this as an inalienable ecclesiastical right. Bridgeman was reluctant to let any layman take unilateral action and move any seat or pew in any church before he had personally



examined their reasons and assessed the potential social ramifications of their action. In 1619 George Spurstow erected forms in St. Katherine's, Lancashire for the exclusive use of his relatives, thereby preventing other parishioners from gaining access to their own seats in the choir. Since a number of these parishioners had recently contributed to this church's re-edification, Bridgeman ordered Spurstow to remove the new forms.<sup>(114)</sup> Another case involved the erection of pews 'in place of an ancient partition' by Edward Assheton of Oldham in 1622.<sup>(115)</sup> It seems that Assheton had exploited the remnants of a pre-Reformation rood-screen in order to establish family seating between the chancel and the nave. The following year, Bridgeman intervened to prevent Edward Pulgell of Rochdale from seating himself and his family in the chancel of their parish church. Ostensively, Bridgeman's orders were based on the premise that Pulgell had acted wrongly by not first seeking his diocesan's permission.<sup>(116)</sup> It would be tempting to conclude that Bridgeman really did not want the chancel to be profaned by the presence of the Pulgells, but five years later he allowed John Butterworth to keep the private pews that he had erected in the same chancel provided that he made them uniform.<sup>(117)</sup> However, Bridgeman's controversy with the Mayor and Aldermen over the seating privileges in Chester cathedral led to controversy on a different scale. The controversy is worth explaining because it illustrates the complex relationship between Bridgeman and the leaders of the Church, and how this relationship changed as a result of the Scottish crisis of 1638.

In the course of an ongoing correspondence with Archbishop Neile Bridgeman claimed, in March 1638, that he was worried that the Archbishop was paying too much attention to a petition drawn up by the cathedral subdean, Thomas Mallory. Mallory's petition was effectively a protest against Bridgeman's revised seating policy in the cathedral quire and the concessions to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City (who shared the seating in the quire with the Dean and Chapter) that this policy involved.

Neile's tendency to side with Mallory prompted Bridgeman, 'in defense of my credit' to 'say a little of what I have done for this church'. The following passage is highly significant since it compliments the record of the beautification of the cathedral which was entered into the cathedral register as a precedent for his successors.<sup>(118)</sup>

'For beside 500li at least, which I have disposed upon the fabrick thereof, & the church Men's Houses I have Improveth the revenues of it in present an 100li yearly. And 400li more in a neere possibility, for which I might have had 1000li since about 12 yeare since, but refused it, and devoted it to succession.<sup>(119)</sup> The like I did in pensions and procurations that were utterly lost before my time, and I have the rectory of Bradley nears Stafford, to my successors 8 score pounds yearly, and (as my Lord of Canterbury himself knowes) I am in faire possibility to recover it, though it hath been kept from us almost 100 yeares. I could say much more...'<sup>(120)</sup>

This letter suggests that Bridgeman believed that Mallory was seriously damaging his reputation and undoing all the hard work he had put into the cathedral following the commutations scandal and Neile's visitation. But what



was the basis of Mallory's complaint? Mallory was defending his side of a feud between the cathedral Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City. After Bridgeman had successfully rehabilitated the Mayor and Aldermen to prestigious seats in the choir (ending a mayoralty boycott of the cathedral which had lasted a decade) Mallory persuaded the sub-sextons to eject them from their seats on the basis that 'it doth de jure appertayne [to the Dean and Chapter] to dispose the stall in the Quires'.<sup>(121)</sup> Not surprisingly the Mayor interpreted Mallory's behaviour as an affront to his dignity, and it led to a new boycott.

Doubtless charmed by Mallory's gift of 'a small peece of Chees-shyre comodities',<sup>(122)</sup> Neile wrote to Bridgeman, citing a case of high secular deference to individuals purportedly of Mallory's status. Recalling his time at Westminster School, Neile claimed that

'I saw my old master (the old Treasure Burley), come to that church to service and sermon, and he would not sitt either in the Deanes seate, or subdeanes seate, but sate in the third stall next to the Deane... and sure the honour of those places, that belonging to the Deane and Subdeane should not be invaded by any, neither doe I thinke it is permitted by any cathedrall church in the Kingdome'.

'I think it very unfitt', Neile continued, 'that either the Deane or Subdeane should be dispossessed of their stalls upon any pretense'.<sup>(123)</sup> Neile's stance in favour of Mallory and against Bridgeman and the townsmen suggests that he was not as sensitive as Bridgeman to the political turmoil that was steadily developing in Chester in the wake of the Scottish Covenanters' rebellion.

Ironically Bridgeman's agreement with the Mayor and Aldermen that had led to Mallory's action represented a clear change in seating policy, a change that had been initially advocated by Neile himself. In January 1635 Neile had written to Bridgeman expressing concern about his proposal 'to remooove any from the place where they and their ancestors have time out of minde occasioned to sitt'. Neile argued that the bishop's efforts, 'touching the reducing of the seates in the parish churches and chappels to an uniformity' would prompt an unwelcome lay reaction since they would 'beget more brabbles, suits in law...then either you or I would be contented to be troubled with'.<sup>(124)</sup> Of course Neile was referring to the parishes rather than cathedrals, but Bridgeman was disturbed by the evident hypocrisy of Neile's position, and in a letter to the Archbishop of 1638 Bridgeman complained that the 'ten yeares' of 'patience and labour' which he had devoted to rehabilitating the mayor 'by your Advise' had been effectively wasted by Mallory's action (suggesting that Neile had instructed Bridgeman to apply the same conciliatory policy to the cathedral as he had recommended he adopt at parish level). Bridgeman then implicitly rejected the validity of Neile's anecdote about Burghley. He insisted that the Chapel Royal (as opposed to Westminster Abbey), 'should be our President'. Bridgeman argued that since the subdean was both the 'lowest dignity' and deferential to the secular nobility in the Chapel Royal, so Mallory, who was of a comparable dignity in the cathedral, should defer to the Mayor and his aldermen.<sup>(125)</sup>

Significantly, Archbishop Laud proved more sympathetic to Bridgeman's position. Before the Scottish crisis Laud agreed with Bridgeman's original



argument that laymen should not be allowed to sit in the chancels of churches as of right. In 1636 for example, the vicar of Rochdale sent a petition to Laud in an attempt to have a parishioner removed from his traditional seating space in the church's chancel. Laud in turn wrote to Bridgeman. 'I pray', wrote Laud,

'...your Lordship examine the truthe of it, and if you finde that for the well ordering and decency of the chancell he [ie the parishioner] hath been content to part with his former seat, soe long used as is herein expressed, I pray see him elsewhere conveniently placed in the church as is desired. For it will be very fitt to shew favor to orderly men.'<sup>(126)</sup>

In 1623, and again in 1628, Bridgeman directed two parishioners to move their seats out of the chancel of Rochdale church.<sup>(127)</sup> Thus it seems unusual that the Vicar needed to appeal to Laud, that is unless we accept that Bridgeman was following Neile's advice outlined in his letter of 1635, and adopting a more conciliatory policy towards the Rochdale gentry than he would have personally wished.<sup>(128)</sup>

By 1638, with the advent of 'the Bishops' Wars,' the times had clearly changed, and Laud was so disturbed by Bridgeman's report of Mallory's behaviour that he instructed Bridgeman, to ensure that the Mayor of Chester was permitted to 'sitt where he was anciently wont to sitt'.<sup>(129)</sup> Although Laud's policy towards the interests of Bridgeman and the Mayor and Aldermen (as opposed to his policy towards the Vicar and gentry of Rochdale) may be attributable to the fact that he was dealing with a situation involving a cathedral church, had it not been for the Scottish crisis Laud would most probably have sided with Neile and Mallory over the issues regarding the allocation of seating. Thus with along with his recommendations, Laud sent letters, signed by the King,

that the Bishop was ordered to use to ensure that the Mayor and Aldermen received no further offence should Mallory and the Chapter try and continue their recalcitrant policy. Laud also expressed hope that Mallory was not trying,

‘ to distemper the Government there, nor to cast a bone between the Church and the Citty, whereby to discontent you..’

He added,

‘I must confesse, there is something that makes the man froward. And that he should do it at this tyme; & by such meane instruments, as sub-sextons;<sup>(130)</sup> And this after a discrete Mayor had brought the citty to the cathedral agen after a long discontinuance he from it. And especially without so much as acquainting your Lordship with the Action, seemes to me full of indiscretion’.<sup>(131)</sup>

Although Laud insisted that Bridgeman must only use the King's letters as a last resort (suggesting concern for Neile, who would not have liked to see royal authority being used in such ecclesiastical affairs behind his back) he felt confident that ‘but one word from the Higher Powers will reduce them to obedience.’<sup>(132)</sup>

Bridgeman’s conciliatory approach towards the mayoralty can also be seen as part of a damage-limitation exercise following the harsh treatment he meted out to Chester citizens responsible for entertaining the Puritan lawyer William Prynne, whose carriage passed through Chester on its way to the place of Prynne's incarceration just prior to the Mallory episode.<sup>(133)</sup> Thus in December 1638 Bridgeman replied to Laud explaining the wider context of his seating policy:

‘Mine aym (God knows my hart) is only to cast water on that fire which is already kindled; or at leastwise, that none may gett a



stick from this place to increase the flame; our citizens being already too sensible of that punishment which they justly and lately received for Prynne's Entertainment.'<sup>(134)</sup>

It is notable that this letter testifies that Bridgeman's cathedral seating-policy was contingent upon the political difficulties arising from the trial of William Prynne, and the riot that followed Charles I's attempt to introduce a version of the English liturgy to Scottish worship earlier that year. Otherwise there is no reason why he should have disagreed with Mallory, who was effectively adopting a policy towards the Mayor and Alderman which Bridgeman himself had used during the 1620s (that led to the original mayoralty boycott). By keeping the Mayor and Aldermen on his side, Bridgeman could prevent local interest in the arrival of Prynne from inflaming social tensions that had arisen following news of the Scottish crisis.

Bridgeman's relationship with the local mayoralty and his spiritual superiors was clearly a complex affair, thrown into sharp relief by the 'froward' activities of subdean Mallory over the issue of cathedral seating. Bridgeman wanted pursue a conciliatory policy, especially after the beginnings of the Scottish troubles, even if it meant he had to compromise his ideals regarding the social status of the clergy in the cathedral. His decision to bring Laud into the fray suggests that the ageing Archbishop Neile had not got a proper grasp of the political complexity of the situation. However the gravity of this situation for the Church in Chester can only properly be understood in the light of Bridgeman's relationship with the local godly. Did it undergo a significant transformation during the 1630s?

## VI

For the diocese of Chester the problem of Catholic recusancy was exceptionally acute, even by northern standards.<sup>(135)</sup> Accordingly Bridgeman chose to reside in Lancashire where the problem was at its worst.<sup>(136)</sup> Fearful that the 1629 royal orders directing bishops to reside in their episcopal residences would undermine his work, Bridgeman wrote to his influential friend Thomas Wentworth (future Earl of Strafford) in 1630 to explain how his presence in Lancashire had helped

‘stop those currents of popery and schism which had I not lived here ere...would have unavoidably overflowed this country’.<sup>(137)</sup>

A far as the Elizabethan and Jacobean governments were concerned, Puritans were vital in the fight against recusancy in Lancashire. When Archbishop Piers attempted to enforce conformity to the surplice and ceremonies amongst the Protestant preachers in Lancashire in 1589 (no doubt under Archbishop Whitgift’s direction), he was dissuaded by Lord Burghley and the higher powers. Similarly Burghley’s son, Robert Cecil, prevented Bishop Vaughan from depriving twelve ministers for not wearing the surplice following his visitation of 1601, and apparently James I accepted a petition from the Justices of the Peace not to deprive a further twenty one who refused to subscribe to the new canons of 1604.<sup>(138)</sup> Bridgeman was willing to tolerate Protestant non-conformity as a necessary evil in the fight against Popery (particularly in the remoter regions of the diocese where it flourished with the aid of the Catholic gentry), but as Crown policy towards Catholics began to change as James I attempted to secure a marriage alliance with Catholic Spain during the early



1620s, Bridgeman ran into trouble with the King for continuing to show favour to the non-conformists.<sup>(139)</sup> Yet Bridgeman's relationship with Puritan ministers and gentry should not lead us to suppose that he sympathised with all their grievances, or shared the same doctrinal outlook. Undoubtedly he was concerned to uphold the Protestant tradition and strive for the conversion of Catholics, and to this end he was a firm exponent of the need for an educated godly preaching ministry. Thus he strongly supported the combination lectures held in his diocese, and personally shared the Warrington exercise with John Ley.<sup>(140)</sup> Nevertheless this evidence does not detract from his firm belief in episcopal power and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Moreover his ecclesiological interests and anti-iconoclasm demonstrate that he did not share Puritan hopes for 'further reformation'.

Bridgeman's tolerant policy towards non-conformist ministers such as John Angier of Denton continued until Laud became the key force in ecclesiastical affairs. In 1629 Angier was suspended, and Bridgeman was constrained to tell him

'I have a good will to indulge you, but cannot, for my Lord's grace of Canterbury hath rebuked me for permitting two non-conformists, the one within a mile on the one hand (that was Mr Horrocks at Dean Church) another on the other hand, yourself; and I am likely to come into disfavour on this behalf.'<sup>(141)</sup>

Further evidence of Bridgeman's lenience towards Puritans is to be found in the letter of John Ley. Ley claimed that 'by way of your great moderation towards them' the local godly 'have held it their duty to present their hearty devotions to Almighty God for your long and comfortable continuance among

us', although he added that the erection of an altar in the cathedral 'will be a rock of offence' and compromise his good work.<sup>(142)</sup> Thus Bridgeman was 'of good will to indulge' godly ministers as powerful weapons in the war against Catholic recusancy provided the ecclesiastical conditions were conducive to such a policy. Bridgeman's cordial relationship with Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York (1606-28) once an iconoclast with staunch Calvinist credentials, allowed this to happen.<sup>(143)</sup> Under Archbishop Neile, appointed in 1632, it was a different story.

Puritan sympathiser or not, by 1641 Bridgeman was informed by one Charles Herle that the allegations regarding his embezzlement of money taken for the commutation of penances had not been forgotten by local Puritans. This evidence was compounded by rumours that he was 'given to gaming' and dancing, was a 'dispenser of Popish Books and a favouer of schismaticall ministers [!] &c.' Herle even claimed the commutation fines Bridgeman had been accused of embezzling were actually been used for his 'stone altars' and 'paynted windowes, Quires &c.'<sup>(144)</sup> Clearly Bridgeman's standing amongst the local godly had taken a serious blow as a result of his role in the cathedral's beautification. Yet Bridgeman's part in the persecution of local supporters of the Puritan dissident William Prynne arguably did as much to fan the flames as his ecclesiological investments in Chester, and probably explain his conciliatory policy towards the Mayor and Aldermen which, as we saw in section five, represented a pragmatic back-step from his quest to achieve clerical supremacy in the cathedral.



Bridgeman's leading role in the prosecution of William Prynne's supporters in Chester clearly demonstrates his eagerness to win approval at court following the damaging allegations waged against him during the embezzlements scandal. This episode has been known to historians from at least the time Prynne himself raised the issue during the trial of Archbishop Laud.<sup>(145)</sup> However, the precise nature of Bridgeman's involvement, and its implications for his relations with either the City of Chester or the ecclesiastical establishment, has not yet received the attention it deserves.

On 20 August 1637, Bridgeman wrote to Neile, and probably Laud,<sup>(146)</sup> reporting the entertainment William Prynne received from certain gentlemen of the City, during his absence in Lancashire. Prynne was received by

'..four factious citizens (as I heere) with great solemnity [*sic*] which because I conceive it affronts the state to give such countenance to soe infamous an enemy of both the Church and Commonwealth I thought meete to acquaint your grace with it and to desire your directions therein.'<sup>(147)</sup>

The leading participants were Calvin Bruen, Sheriff of the West of the City and 'a silly but very seditious fellow', John Aldersley, one of the Aldermen who would have been involved in the mayoralty boycott of the cathedral, Peter Ince, a local stationer and suspected distributor of 'Puritanicall bookes', and Robert Ince, a hosier. It seems that Bruen was prepared to honour Prynne to a degree that even Prynne was embarrassed to countenance, for in October, George Gerrard reported to Sir Thomas Wentworth that

'..this Sheriff gave him a suit of coarse Hangings to furnish his Chamber at Carnarvon Castle, other presents were offered him, Money and other things, but he refused them.'<sup>(148)</sup>

Bruen was clearly following in the footsteps of his father, the renowned Puritan John Bruen of Stapleford, both through his support for convicted Puritans, and in his contempt for the authorities responsible for their conviction. When warrants were sent to John Bruen for the arrest of some of his servants, following the destruction of several stone crosses around Lancashire in 1613-14, John Bruen, 'in great contempt of Authoritie and the saide warrant did throwe the same to the ground'. And when his servants were finally imprisoned in the Castle, Bruen personally brought them 'banquets of delicate stufte and great price...'(<sup>149</sup>)

Bridgeman was personally eager to take a leading role in the prosecution of the miscreants. However, he complained that his Consistory Court was the only authority locally available for their punishment, adding, in a letter to the Archbishop,

'... if your Grace thinke fit to send a pursuivant to fetch them into the High Commission it may bee good for example to others of that straine.'<sup>(150)</sup>

In consequence, the case dragged on into 1638, and soon became merged with the wider problems brought about by the Covenanters' rebellion in Scotland. Bridgeman's subsequent handling of the case was guided by the careful interest of both archbishops. However, Bridgeman was acutely aware of the political importance of the issue, whilst his personal animosity with Bruen and his followers devolved upon the Bishop's crop-eared horse, affectionately christened 'Prynne', after its namesake's 'martyrdom'.<sup>(151)</sup>



In 1638 Neile gave instructions to Bridgeman's Chancellor, Edmund Mainwaring, to burn five pictures of Prynne, painted by a local artist. However, soon after, 'upon better consideracon' Neile resolved to have Bridgeman preside over a public burning.<sup>(152)</sup> The 'better consideration' was echoed by Laud. Thanking Bridgeman 'heartily' for his 'care in that particular' (ie the Prynne affair), Laud wanted a clear message delivered to the City by the burning of the pictures. Neile, Bridgeman was told 'sends me word that they have sentenc'd them to be burnt. And I make noe Doubt, but they meane publickly. And for my part: I think 'tis fittest it should be soe.'<sup>(153)</sup> For Neile, reacting against Bruen *et al* was clearly a public relations exercise. The action of the townsmen, Neile explained in his letter, was an expression of 'disloyalty to the proceedings of the state' (Bridgeman underlined this sentence). Having referred to his successful extraction of heavy fines on the guilty parties through the High Commission at York, Neile went on to explain that he wanted a clear message driven home to the rest of the Chester community. He ordered Bridgeman to organise public penances in the cathedral and public acknowledgements of guilt in the 'Common' ie the Guild Hall. Public preachers were also ordered to 'judiciously and discreetly...lay open the nature of the offence committed.'

Neile's wishes were nearly effected according to plan. Writing back in December, Bridgeman explained that two of the guilty were ordered to stand 'on a form before my see in the Quire' before 'as full a congregation as I ever saw in this cathedrall' during divine service.<sup>(154)</sup> However, Bridgeman complained that the Mayor, who was meant to speak up against the miscreants during the

service, 'hath deceived me' for 'when it came to the Acknowledgement hee spake not a word to that purpose.' It seems probable that the Mayor's refusal publicly to criticise Prynne's supporters (and thus alienate himself from the local godly) prompted Mallory's reactionary seating policy in the cathedral the following year (if only as a means of currying favour with Archbishop Neile). As for Bruen, once his token acknowledgement of guilt had been made in the Guild Hall, he continued to absent himself from the cathedral service.

### Conclusion

Bishop Bridgeman was a churchman who spent most of his career ministering to one of 'the dark corners of the land', away from the fashionable influences of the court. As a leading representative of the Church of England in a diocese overwhelmed with Puritans and Papists it was his duty to entice these individuals to conformity. Yet unlike his predecessors he believed there was more to his vocation than just preaching the word of God. In this chapter I have argued that Bridgeman responded to his charge by investing in church fabric and 'the beauty of holiness', and that his patronage was motivated by both piety and politics. With regard to Wigan it is clear that he endeavoured to restore the church to a standard that would encourage local parishioners in this staunchly Catholic area to reassess their attitude towards both the Church and its ministers and show them a level of deference not seen since the Reformation.



Bridgeman's continual reference to the issue of sacrilege testifies his contempt for the iconoclasm and alienation of church property that the Reformation had engendered. However it is clear that he did not use this concept simply to ingratiate himself with local Catholics (who would be expected to share such interest), for, as we saw in section one, his anti-iconoclastic understanding of 'sacrilege' was adapted for use in the context of consecration sermons for Puritan chapels. Moreover, his attack against the claims of members of his Wigan congregation to seating rights on the basis that it was 'sacrilegious' to receive burial beneath the font or in the chancel suggests that his concept of sacrilege was not simply predicated upon his belief that such places were inviolate; rather it implies his objection to their 'superstitious' assumption that their burial in those places would be soteriologically advantageous. In this respect his re-flagging exercise, in which the monuments demarcating the burial places of his congregation's ancestors would have been removed, can be read as an act of iconoclasm. Yet it was an act of iconoclasm comparable to Dean Brian Duppa's removal of 'superstitious' Anglo-Saxon monuments from Christ Church Cathedral Oxford during the 1630s to make room for the latest ecclesiological styles - an iconoclastic act of piety rather than desacralisation.<sup>(155)</sup> Thus it can be argued that Bridgeman's concept of sacrilege was used for two distinct but related objectives. With regard to both Catholics and Puritans it was designed to instill respect for church fabric and Church ministers. By inculcating the godly with scripturally justifiable notions of sacrilege and holiness through the medium of consecration sermons, Bridgeman was evidently seeking to reassure them that the ecclesiology and liturgy of the church of England was not idolatrous. By

beautifying Wigan All Saints with stained glass and a high altar, he was persuading Catholics that the Church of England had more to offer them than sermons and condemnation.

Thus Bridgeman was a man who adapted his ecclesiological policies as a means to maintain religious stability, and possibly facilitate conversion. However his policy was not enforced in historically static Catholic and Puritan environments, and as we have seen, he used his experience and discretion to ‘applyeth himselfe to the times’. Was he a time server? Or did he follow a consistent policy? Bridgeman’s ecclesiological investments from before the Arminian rise to power, such as stained glass windows and the Mortlake tapestry, suggests that he would have no personal aversion to the Arminian conception of ‘the beauty of holiness’ provided it was introduced into the appropriate context.

How do we then explain his failure to maintain Chester Cathedral and St. Oswald’s to the standard required by Archbishop Neile? Perhaps the problem lay in the fact that Bridgeman spent too little time in Chester to ensure that the cathedral was beautified according to the ecclesiological requirements of the Caroline Church. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show what Neile and the Arminians made of Bridgeman’s work in Wigan All Saints, but the evidence regarding seats around the communion table in the chancel suggests they may have found his treatment of this church as offensive as the interior of St. Oswald’s. Ley’s letter of 1635 suggests that Bridgeman took over a year to



ensure that the altar of Chester Cathedral was erected and railed. It may be the case that Bridgeman deliberately avoided introducing the altar until after he had secured the adherence of the volatile Mayor and Aldermen to his seating policy. Trapped between the dictates of local harmony and the controversial policies of the State, Bridgeman was clearly in an extremely difficult position.

Ultimately his dutiful adherence to the ecclesiological requirements of the 1630s strained his relations with the local godly, which were already out of kilter following the commutations scandal. But Bridgeman needed to repair his reputation at Court, and his crusade against Prynne's followers was undoubtedly focused on proving both to Laud and the King that his true interests lay with 'the proceedings of the State'. His acceptance and pursual of the Arminian quest for 'the beauty of holiness' in the later 1630s can also be read in this light. Yet his earlier ecclesiological investments represent important practical evidence of a non-Arminian reading of 'the beauty of holiness', inspired by a keen desire to redress the sacrilege of his reforming predecessors. As such they illustrate how the retreat from the fear of the 'peril of idolatry' was moving in earnest well before it became indelibly associated with the rise of English Arminianism.

## CONCLUSION

What can this study of iconoclasm, ecclesiology and ‘the beauty of holiness’ contribute to our understanding of the history of the early Stuart Church? I have argued that from the end of the sixteenth century the leaders of the Church had begun to react against the iconoclasm of the Reformation and the iconophobic paranoia it bequeathed to their godly contemporaries. The most striking and controversial features of this reaction were the return of religious images into churches following the lead given by King James I. For both religious and political reasons the King personally encouraged the conversion of iconophobia, once a hallmark of sound Protestant orthodoxy, into a Puritan characteristic. Studied over the course of his reign, with particular reference to the Chapel Royal, I hope I have also shown how the development of the King’s position concerning the decoration of churches illustrates the close but flexible links between state-politics, religion and ecclesiology.

The concept of worship in ‘the beauty of holiness’, and its status as an ecclesiological ideal, were firmly propagated through Jacobean Court sermons and the decoration and layout of the Chapel Royal during the later years of James I. The King’s interest in adorning his places of worship with pictures of Christ and statues of the Apostles rests uncomfortably besides his professed Calvinism, but foreign policy favouring peace with Catholic Europe, ecclesiastical influence and personal taste all played a part in determining the decoration of the Chapel



Royal and its role in shaping the range of ecclesiological projects examined in this thesis. If the King, and his chosen style for the decoration of the Chapel Royal, were not responsible for influencing the anti-iconoclastic sentiments of Calvinists like Robert Sanderson and Joseph Hall, or prompting the volte face of Archbishop Abbot's position respecting the danger of images, then how can their views be explained? The retreat from fear of 'the peril of idolatry' was undoubtedly influenced by a range of factors including concern about Reformation sacrilege and iconoclasm, but the lead was surely given by the King, whose views were shared, if not shaped, by his clerical elite. James was clearly inspired by 'his English Doctors', courtier divines like Lancelot Andrewes and John Buckeridge, and the refurbishment and adornment of the royal chapels after 1617 may be seen as a reflection of their improving status, if not sign that the King was being drawn to Arminianism. Yet there is no indication that the King had rejected his Calvinist beliefs, and his argument that images in his chapel were simply for adornment suggests that he may have been influenced by a more general shift in ecclesiastical opinion with regard to these issues. The potential influence of his Calvinist Lord Keeper, John Williams, should not be overlooked in this respect.

'The beauty of holiness' formed the most definitive characteristic of post-Reformation ecclesiology. I have argued that its hallmarks - church decoration, imagery and music - had appealed to other Protestant interest groups besides the Arminians since early Jacobean times, and certainly long before the Arminians rose to power in the late 1620s and 1630s. English Arminians undoubtedly

championed worship ‘in the beauty of holiness’ and this is why modern historians have assumed that their investments in ecclesiology represented a unique manifestation of Arminian piety.<sup>(1)</sup> As we have seen from the evidence regarding Archbishops Laud and Neile’s position respecting religious images, the ecclesiology involved in the refurbishment of the Oxford and Cambridge Chapels, and the attack against Bishop Bridgeman’s failure to ensure the condition of churches in his charge met Arminian criteria, the Arminian understanding of ‘the beauty of holiness’ reflected both a distinctive form of piety and an uncompromising ecclesiastical agenda. Through their deliberate distortion of Reformation history, the Arminians rejected the Protestant iconoclastic tradition and teaching concerning the soteriological efficacy of the sacraments, by implication refuting those solidifian and predestinarian doctrines that formed the cornerstones of the Edwardian, Elizabethan and Jacobean Churches. Combined with their liturgical experiments and ecclesiological investments, the Arminians’ sacramental understanding of ‘the beauty of holiness’ signalled the farthest retreat from that fear of ‘the peril of idolatry’ responsible for dictating the policies of the Tudor Protestant Church.

In approaching the early Stuart Church from the perspective of ecclesiology it becomes clear that concepts like ‘idolatry’ and ‘iconoclasm’ need to be handled with caution. Iconoclasm was not a wholly destructive activity limited to the actions of zealous reformers; rather it could be used to facilitate ecclesiological conversion. As we have seen, there are examples of Arminian iconoclasm - Brian Duppa’s disposal of Anglo-Saxon monuments in Christ



Church Oxford and Archdeacon Kingsley's destruction of monuments celebrating the defeat of the Spanish Armada in St. George's Canterbury for example - which were performed as a preliminary step to introducing worship in 'the beauty of holiness'. It might be argued that this is not proper iconoclasm because it does not concern the Bible's prescription of 'graven images' and rejection of idolatry. Yet the destructive process of removing the funeral monuments of godly divines from the chancels of university college chapels can be interpreted as an attack against what the Arminians perceived to be 'Puritan idolatry' and the 'pretended holiness' of those who considered themselves members of the elect. Had not Lancelot Andrewes denounced such Puritan 'imagination' as nothing but the 'former superstition' of popery 'drawn in backwards'?(<sup>2</sup>) Cosin's inscription above the chancel in Peterhouse, in which he equated Puritans with the ancestor-worshipping Peleagasi, surely lends itself to this interpretation. Archbishop Laud's orders for the public burning of pictures of William Prynne can also be read as an act of iconoclasm, but in a more gratuitous sense.

Iconoclasm was justified by the concept of 'idolatry'. Yet this concept was open to different meanings that can reveal as much about those who used it as those accused of being idolaters. Evidence of an Arminian campaign against Puritan 'idolatry' demonstrates that this term needs to be understood by reference to the changing historical and cultural conditions that gave it meaning. Traditionally idolatry is seen as a Protestant term of abuse against the visual manifestations and practices of Roman Catholicism. Yet as we have seen, Arminian iconoclasm, anti-iconoclasm and their claim that failure to adhere

dutifully to the ceremonies of the Church of England contradicted the second commandment (and was therefore idolatry) represents an broad shift in its usage. Through exploiting the language of reform the Arminians could undermine the Reformation - or at least subvert traditionally Protestant ideals in order to achieve reform according to their own agenda.

Viewed from the general perspective of English ecclesiology in the early seventeenth century, and the iconoclastic background it temporarily displaced, it becomes clear that the Arminian investments represented the end, if not the logical conclusion, of an evolving process of religious retrenchment. No doubt inspired by the ideals of such divines as Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes, the Arminians were also building upon anti-iconoclastic foundations that belonged to a theologically broader range of ecclesiastical interests stemming from the Jacobean Court. Having attempted to rescue, to borrow Conrad Russell's phrase, the holy baby from the idolatrous bathwater, <sup>(3)</sup> the Arminians then opted to refill the tub. Through establishing how innovative the Arminian investments really were, it can be shown how far their role in worship may be distinguished from comparable non-Arminian ecclesiological interests such as those advanced by Bishops Williams and Bridgeman. In the process I trust I have dispelled the myth that the quest to achieve worship in 'the beauty of holiness' represented an exclusively Arminian phenomenon. Diarmaid MacCulloch's suspicion that the Arminian 'style' threatened to encroach upon earlier Jacobean initiatives, is supported by this thesis, for in addition to the Elizabethan and Jacobean monuments the Arminians defaced, abused or removed, the Arminians



attacked recent church repairs including the work ordered by Bishop Bridgeman for St. Oswald's, Chester, which respectively reflected the Bishop's unquestionable dissatisfaction with the iconoclastic legacy of the Tudor Protestant Church. Yet it is important to take stock and establish how far Arminian and non-Arminian versions of 'the beauty of holiness' also overlapped.

It can be argued that Puritans who criticised Bridgeman's and Sydenham's ecclesiological ideals were merely voicing a peripheral concern, for their vituperation was really aimed against that 'great eyesore' - the ecclesiastical hierarchy. All the examples of 'the beauty of holiness' considered in this thesis were advanced by churchmen and advocates of episcopacy. Calvinist and non-Arminian churchmen who advocated worship in 'the beauty of holiness' shared an interest in enhancing the prestige of their office and an earnest desire to compensate for the 'sacrilegious' destruction and alienation of Church property that the Reformation engendered, and this helped to bring them to a new understanding of 'the peril of idolatry' and its relevance to the ecclesiology of the English Church. Bridgeman's handsome contributions towards the St. Paul's Cathedral restoration project and the building of Peterhouse Chapel, combined with his deference to the requirements of Archbishop Neile with regard to church beautification and altar-policy within his own diocese, when set alongside Sydenham's applause for the success of Archbishop Laud's ecclesiological 'Reformation' of the Church, suggests the ease with which Jacobean concern about the legacy of sacrilege and iconoclasm could translate into support for the Arminian cause, and encourage staunch Protestant clerics to reevaluate

Reformation orthodoxies and reject them in the interests of decency and uniformity in the Church.

Ecclesiological affairs in early seventeenth century England were highly complex and a clear dichotomy between the artistic patronage of Calvinists and Arminians cannot be easily shown. Bishop Williams's beautified chapel at Lincoln College readily lent itself to the Arminian cause during the time of its consecration by Richard Corbett, Bishop of Oxford, and it is difficult to differentiate between Williams's chosen ecclesiological style and the Arminian version of 'the beauty of holiness' that emerged in the other university chapels. However I believe I have shown how the Arminian position regarding images and other ecclesiological issues differed from Calvinist and other non-Arminian positions in crucial respects. For the Arminians, religious images were aids to devotion rather than (as James I described them) simply 'ornaments of the Church'. Set in context with their elevated altars and experimental liturgical practices, the Arminians' heavily Christocentric ecclesiology sets them apart from non-Arminian and Calvinist exponents of 'the beauty of holiness' and in a way contemporaries recognised, as I have endeavoured to explain.

The centrality of the issue of images in churches to the troubles that followed in the 1640s should not be underestimated, yet interest in their return to (or in rare cases, retention in) churches was by no means limited to those Arminians held responsible by parliamentary commissioners and other contemporary critics for their re-introduction.<sup>(4)</sup> As we saw in Chapters One and



Four, Bishops Hall and Bridgeman both had to face Civil War iconoclasts - Hall in protection of what to him were inoffensive pre-Reformation images, and Bridgeman against the local godly who opposed his introduction of 'scandalous images' to the east window of Chester Cathedral. However the violence and priorities of the Civil War did much to fuel the iconoclasm of the 1640s, as the evidence concerning the changing views of Sir William Brereton has shown.<sup>(5)</sup> But not all Civil War commanders came to view the new ecclesiological interests of the early seventeenth century as part of a unified initiative to advance Arminianism or restore popery, and the policies of a long-term opponent of Arminian innovations can help explain why. John Aubrey recorded how, in August 1642,

'... the Lord Viscount Saye and Sele came (by order of the Parliament) to visit the colleges, and to see what of the *new popery* they [*sic*] could discover in the Chappells. In our's [Trinity], on the backside of the skreen, had been two altars (of painting well enough for those times, and the colours were admirably fresh and lively). That on the right as you enter was dedicated to St. Katherine, that on the left was of the taking our saviour from the crosse. My Lord Say sawe that this *was donne of olde time*, and Dr. Kettle told his Lordship "Truly my Lord, we regard them as no more than a dirty dish clout"; so they remained untouched 'till Harris's time'.<sup>(6)</sup>

In Laud's opinion Saye was 'the greatest separatist in England', but Saye's tempered attitude towards pre-Reformation images indicates that he was more sensitive to the retreat from fear of 'the peril of idolatry' than Laud's slur might suggest.<sup>(7)</sup> Moreover Saye possibly approved of other, Calvinist-inspired attempts to attain 'the beauty of holiness' for Bishop Williams told the Long Parliament how 'the Lord Saye hath joined with him in his chappell in all the prayers &

service of the Church'.<sup>(8)</sup> Indeed the exceptionally fine condition of Lincoln College Chapel today strongly suggests that Saye did not confuse Williams's interpretation of 'the beauty of holiness' with 'the new popery' of English Arminianism when he conducted his iconoclastic visitation of the university in 1642. It is probably significant that no evidence of the crucifix - or other three dimensional imagery - that Laud was accused of introducing to the chapel during Williams's 'exile' in Buckden in the 1630s now remains. From this it can be suggested that the chapel of Lincoln College was subjected to some damage, but Williams's investments escaped harm. Of course Saye may have found the ecclesiology of Williams's chapel distasteful, but in view of the latter's stand against Laud and the Arminians during the 1630s it would have been difficult for Saye to equate it with idolatry.

Just as evidence of intense lay investment in churches, chantries, monasteries and shrines in the early sixteenth century is a sure indication that few, if any people anticipated the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations,<sup>(9)</sup> so the lavish and expensive investment in 'the beauty of holiness' on the eve of the Civil War suggests that patrons of the forms of church fabric and decoration associated with Arminianism had no foreboding of the iconoclasm that was to characterise the religious policy of the Long Parliament. In fact there was a feeling amongst a number of individuals that iconoclasm was an antiquated activity, and as the relations between King and Parliament broke down some felt that Parliament would neither tolerate an iconoclastic vendetta against recent ecclesiological changes nor other kinds of 'sacrilege' like the alienation of Church property. In



1657, Dr. William Norwich, a leading contributor towards Peterhouse Chapel, recalled that Parliament's decision to reform the college and to oust Cosin came as a complete shock to him. Thus in an attempt to recover some of his proceeds to the chapel programme he insisted that,

‘...if that college roll of building doe neither say this much in termis nor mention me by name, the reasons were because in those times Dr. Cosin's own hand was look'd upon as record sufficiently authentick of itself alone. And I for my part *never fearing so main a change of master and fellowes both so suddenly to ensue*, desired noe other memorandum of things then what I saw made’.<sup>(10)</sup>

In September 1642, Robert Paske, having witnessed the iconoclastic activities of parliamentary soldiers in and around Canterbury Cathedral, became convinced that Lord Rich, the Chancellor of Cambridge, could help ensure that Parliament would be persuaded to legislate against further acts of iconoclasm, confidently stating how ‘the honourable Houses of Parliament being rightly informed herein, will provide against the like abuses in other places’.<sup>(11)</sup> Paske certainly had a point. In October 1641, Parliament had issued warrants for the arrest of some parishioners of St. Mary Woolchurch for their unauthorised destruction of monuments and stained glass within their local church, whilst the House of Lords proved resistant towards legislation for iconoclastic reform.<sup>(12)</sup> However, as the troubles deepened and the consequences of war made the urge for ‘further reformation’ amongst the Lower House’s apocalyptic visionaries more desirable, Parliament went on to legislate against ‘monuments of superstition and idolatry’. Orders from the Commons in September 1641 had already dictated the removal of crucifixes and images representing the Trinity and the Virgin Mary from parish churches, but this policy was not consolidated until

parliamentary ordinances were issued in 1643 and 1644.<sup>(13)</sup> However this policy was not always conducted with the ruthlessness of a Richard Culmer or a William Dowsing.<sup>(14)</sup> As we have seen, some of the chapels of the University of Oxford emerged from the Civil War and Interregnum relatively unscathed. This is probably because the City's surrender articles of June 20, 1646 included the proviso

‘That all Churches, Chapels, Colleges, Halls, Libraries, Schools and Public buildings within or belonging to the City, or University, or to Christ Church or from severall Colledges or Halls thereof, shall be preserved from defacing and spoil’.<sup>(15)</sup>

This evidence suggests that most iconoclasm at Oxford was carried out in 1642 by Lord Saye as he carried out the orders of the Long Parliament of 1641. However, the surrender terms were not rigidly adhered to. Soon after the parliamentary occupation of the City, the Waynflete staff, crozier and mitre were seized from Magdalen college under the pretence that they were ‘Popish trash’. The Fellows of Magdalen complained bitterly to Parliament about this ‘sacrilegious’ theft, but their appeal was eventually dropped on the advice of Williams (a diplomat to the end), who told them that the issue was now too controversial to be safely pursued.<sup>(16)</sup>

The ultimate destruction of the visual manifestations of both Jacobean and Caroline conceptions of ‘the beauty of holiness’ evidently explains the reluctance of historians to approach this subject on the scale undertaken in this thesis, but this thesis is by no means a definitive survey of the extent of ecclesiological investment and change over the course of the early seventeenth century. Many



more studies of parish churches, cathedrals and the private chapels of the aristocracy and gentry are needed before we will know whether or not 'the beauty of holiness' appealed to a wider section of the community than the exponents of ecclesiological change examined in this study. My own work in Chester and Wigan suggests increasing interest in church interiors, but this was episcopally driven. More should be done on church livings which were in the gifts of the laity, and a general survey might throw light on the impact of 'the beauty of holiness' on the Catholic community. As we have seen, Catholics like Richard Hegg of Durham and John Ley's informants in Lancashire spoke approvingly of the ecclesiological changes of the 1630s. If more people like these started attending church regularly because of 'the beauty of holiness', then what kind of effect did they have on their fellow parishioners?

Further useful information regarding the range and style of 'the beauty of holiness' may be obtained through studies of the aristocracy. Pauline Croft and Ian Atherton have already drawn our attention to the ecclesiological interests of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and Viscount Scudamore.<sup>(17)</sup> Much more work can be done on their projects for the chapel of Hatfield House and the church of Abbey Dore. This might then be set in context with the neglected investments of their fellow peers. For example Sir Francis Fanes's fascinating programme for the beautification of Apethorpe church in Northamptonshire (that included stained glass windows depicting the crucifixion), which he completed in 1621 (before his elevation to the earldom of Westmorland), is well worth a study.

Certain important questions still remain unanswered. How typical of Jacobean Protestantism were Bishops Bridgeman and Williams in their pursuit of 'the beauty of holiness'? Williams's fame, and Bridgeman's assiduous record-keeping have provided valuable evidence of neglected programmes of non-Arminian, anti-iconoclastic ecclesiology, and future research in both the dioceses and at parish level may well show that their investments and work represented only the tip of an iceberg.

The failure of Archbishop Laud successfully to introduce his version of 'the beauty of holiness' on a national scale before hostilities broke out, together with the iconoclasm of the Civil War (and later damage and renovations) probably explains why scholars have never attempted a major study of Protestant ecclesiology and the early Stuart Church before, or endeavoured to discover what the different quests to achieve 'the beauty of holiness' actually produced. Nevertheless by using a wide range of sources and examining them from the multidisciplinary perspective of theology, art history and politics, I believe I have shown what can be done. The wealth of primary evidence in print and manuscript, combined with the remarkable ecclesiological evidence of 'the beauty of holiness' in the university chapels of Oxford and Cambridge, are testimony to the rich variety of religious art-forms patronised by members of the early Stuart Church. As a whole they illustrate the declining influence of Reformation doctrine respecting both the danger of images and 'the peril of idolatry'.



## INTRODUCTION

1. C. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford 1990) ; *idem*: The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642 (Oxford 1991); N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism (Oxford 1991); K. Fincham and P. Lake: 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I' in K. Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church (Basingstoke 1993) pp. 23-49; for criticism of Tyacke see P. White: 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', Past and Present 101 (1983) pp.34-54; *idem*: Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Restoration to the Civil War (Cambridge 1992); J. Davies: The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford 1992) ch. 1; K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) ch. 6; for Tyacke's convincing response, see 'Anglican Attitudes: Some recent writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', JBS 35 (1996) pp. 139-67.
  
2. M. Aston: England's Iconoclasts: vol. i Laws against Images (Oxford 1988) pp.75-77; J. Morrill: 'William Dowsing, the Bureaucratic Puritan' in J. Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf, eds: Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer (Oxford 1993) pp. 173-204.
  
3. For example, N. Yates's Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600-1900 (Oxford 1991) pp. 1-40. This work is bereft of ecclesiological evidence for the early seventeenth century. His discussion of the period is confined to such well known issues as the episcopal Calvinism of Jacobean divines, the canons of 1604 and the altar-policy of Archbishop Laud. Argument is limited to criticism of Addleshaw's and Etchells's 'anachronistic' distinctions between 'Catholic and Protestant' and labouring the obvious point that prior to 1840 church buildings and fittings had to meet the requirements of the Book of Common Prayer. His only reference to innovative Jacobean church fittings is reference to a three-decker pulpit at Keddington in Suffolk and a brief discussion on seating.
  
4. G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells: The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London 1948).
  
5. *Ibid* p. 22.
  
6. *Ibid* pp. 34-5.
  
7. *Ibid* p. 38.
  
8. Fincham and Lake, *op.cit.*
  
9. J. K. Holtgen: 'The Reformation of Images and Some Jacobean Writers' in U. Broich, T. Stemmer and G. Stratham, eds: Functions of Literature: Essays Presented to Urwin Wolf on his Sixtieth Birthday (Tubingen 1984) pp. 119-43, 126, for further examples see below, Chapter One, pp. 24-6.



10. Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp.16, 335-6, my italics.
11. *Ibid* pp. 41-2, 461-3, her reference to Bishop Edmund Guest's unique visitation articles of the 1570s, in which the bishop endeavours to ensure that only 'superstitious' images are destroyed, perhaps also belongs in this context, p. 318.
12. *Ibid* pp. 306-42, 462.
13. For brief discussion of English Arminianism and the religious arts see Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp. 71, 193-4, 219-20; K. Newman: 'Holiness in Beauty, Roman Catholics, Arminians and the Aesthetics of Religion in Early Caroline England' in D. Wood, ed: The Church and the Arts (Studies in Church History 28 1992) pp. 308-9; P. Lake: 'The Laudians and the Argument from Authority' in B. Y. Kunze and D. D. Brautigam, eds: Court, Country and Culture: Essays in Honour of Perez Zagorin (Rochester U. P. 1992) pp. 149-75; *idem*: 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness', in Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church pp.165-85; K. Fincham: Pastor as Prelate: The Episcopate of James I (Oxford 1990) p.281 esp.; J. G. Hoffman: 'The Arminian and the Iconoclast' Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 43 (1979) pp. 70-76; *idem*: 'The Puritan Revolution and "The beauty of holiness" at Cambridge' Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 72 (1982-3); D. Hoyle: 'A Commons Investigation into Popery on the Eve of the Civil War', HJ 29 (1986) pp. 419-25; none of these works seriously consider the religious purposes to which this imagery was put, or indeed the meaning of its iconography and what it tells us of its patrons.
14. P. Collinson: The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625 (Oxford 1982); Fincham: Pastor as Prelate.
15. Aston: England's Iconoclasts p. 451, for further discussion of Cecil's chapel, see P. Croft: 'The Religion of Sir Robert Cecil', HJ 34 (1991) pp. 773-96.
16. *Ibid* p. 343.
17. Tyacke: *op.cit.*
18. D. MacCulloch: 'The Myth of the English Reformation', JBS 30 (1991) pp.1-19, 13-14.
19. A. Foster: 'Churchwardens Accounts of Early Modern England and Wales: Some Problems to Note, but Much to be Gained' to appear in The Parish in English Life 1400-1600 (to appear in Manchester University Press 1997?). I am grateful to Dr. Foster for showing me this essay in advance of publication. The work of his student, Joan Barham, will hopefully throw new light on the role of the Protestant and Catholic laity in the restoration of churches in Chichester between 1550 and 1640. Ronald Hutton is largely responsible for establishing



how many accounts survive, and his work has led to two important studies concerning the social impact of Protestantism in early modern England; 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations' in C. Haigh, ed: The English Reformation Revised (Cambridge 1987) pp. 114-38; *idem*: The Rise and fall of Merry England (Oxford 1994).

20. J. Merritt: 'Religion, Government and Society in Early Modern Westminster, c.1525-1625' (University of London, PhD thesis, 1992) pp. 223-59, 365-7, 380.

21. V. Hitchman: 'Aspects of Parochial Religion in Seventeenth Century Kent: the evidence of Churchwardens Accounts' (University of Kent M. A. thesis, 1994) pp. 55-63.

22. I. Payne: 'The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedral Churches c.1547-1646: a Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1990) and see J. H. Shephard: 'The Changing Theological content of Sacrifice and its implications for the Music of the English Church c.1640,' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1984).

23. Croft *op.cit.*, and see below, Chapter Two, pp. 108-110.

24. The most recent commentary is to be found in J. Davis: The Caroline Captivity of the Church pp.22, 43, 76-9, 82, who regards Laud's initiative as the beginning of a wider cathedral restoration programme; for further commentary see K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) pp. 218-23; J. Newman: 'Inigo Jones and the Politics of Architecture' in K. Sharpe and P. Lake, eds: Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England (Basingstoke 1994) pp. 229-255, 249-51.

25. R. Willis and J. W. Clark: The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1886) 4 vols.

26. William Prynne: Canterburies Doome (London 1646) pp. 71-4.

27. N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640 (Oxford 1987) pp. 192-4.

28. Hoffman: 'The Puritan Revolution and 'The beauty of holiness' at Cambridge'.

29. BL MS Harleian 7019.

30. R. Carnac Temple, ed: The Travels of Peter Mundy (Hakluyt Soc., second series, 4, 1924) Anthony Wood: Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls within the University of Oxford (ed. S. Gutch, Oxford 1786).

31. P. Lake: 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness', in Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church pp. 165-85.

32. A. Foster: 'Church Policies in the 1630s' in R. Cust and A. Hughes, eds: Conflict in Early Stuart England:: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642 (London 1989) pp. 193-23, 204-5, 216, and see below, Chapter Four, pp. 236-7.
33. W. Quintrell: 'Lancashire Ills the King's Will, and the Troubling of Bishop Bridgeman', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 132 (1982) pp. 67-103; R. C. Richardson: Puritanism in Northwest England (Manchester U. P. 1972) p. 130; *idem*: 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities: The Case of the Diocese of Chester' in B. Manning, ed: Politics, Religion and the English Civil War (London 1973) pp. 3-37.



## CHAPTER ONE

1. M. Aston: England's Iconoclasts: vol. i War against the Idols (Oxford 1988) p. 341; see also J. Phillips: The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974); P. Collinson: The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Basingstoke 1988); *idem*: From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation (Reading U. P. 1986).
2. Aston: Englands Iconoclasts pp. 442-66.
3. *Ibid* pp. 294-343.
4. *Ibid* pp. 338-41, 392-3; these references are to Archbishop Laud's defence of his repair of stained glass images for his chapel at Lambeth Palace, read during his trial in 1643, and Lancelot Andrewes's anti-iconoclastic interpretation of the second commandment. It should be noted that Aston does not refer to these individuals as Arminians.
5. See below, pp. 48-50.
6. Phillips *op.cit.* pp. 140-182; and see above, Introduction, pp. 4-5.
7. C. Eire: War against the Idols: the Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin (Cambridge 1986) pp. 280-1; K. Thomas: Religion and the Decline of Magic (London 1971) pp. 86-7.
8. D. Macculloch: 'The Myth of the English Reformation' JBS 30 (1991) pp. 1-19, 12.
9. See below, pp. 58-65.
10. MacCulloch: *op.cit.*
11. The ecclesiological manifestations of English Arminian piety are discussed in detail in Chapter Three.
12. See below, pp. 33, 40.
13. Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 293, 363; William Prynne condemned Robert Wright, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, for allegedly destroying the decalogue boards in Litchfield cathedral c. 1632-5, A Looking Glasse for All Worldly Prelates (1636) p. 43.
14. J. Scarisbrick: The Reformation of the English People (Oxford 1983) p. 89; J. E. Mortimer, ed: 'Ripon Minster Fabric Accounts 1661-1676', Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Miscellanea 6 (1953) pp. 85-150, 85; H. M. Colvin, ed: The History of the King's Works: 1485-1660 (H. M. S. O 1975) pt. 1, iii p. 182; D.



Freedburg: Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1566-1609 (New York 1988) p. 113; P. Pierson: Commander of the Armada: The seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia (Yale 1989) p. 210.

15. P. Croft: 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public opinion in Early Modern England' HR: 68 (1995) pp. 266-85, 281.

16. In Lancashire in 1642, 'a royalist sortie was led out against villages and farms,..which were inhabited by Puritans...after they had pulled down the Pulpit [of Hindley chapel near Wigan] and plaid at cards in the pews and upon the deske,they surprised the Holy Bible, took it away, and afterwards tore it to pieces; and they stuck up leaves of it upon posts, in several places in Wigan,saying, "this is the Roundheads Bible"', The Latest Newes from Chichester, Windsor, Winchester and Yorke reprinted in G. Omerod, ed: Civil War Tracts (Chetham Soc., 2 1844) p.63; see also J. Lowe: 'The case of Hindley Chapel 1641-1698', Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society 67 (1957) pp. 45-71.

17. See especially Aston: England's Iconoclasts; Phillips: The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660 ; Collinson: From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia.

18. Collinson: From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia.

19. I. Payne: 'The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedral Churches c. 1547-1646: a Comparative Study of the Archival Evidence' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1990); J. H. Shephard: 'The Changing Theological content of Sacrifice and its implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500-1640' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1984).

20. Calvin's influence behind the iconoclastic interests of the Tudor bishops is discussed in Phillips: Reformation of Images pp. 82, 111-2.

21. The images themselves are discussed in M. Aston: 'The Bishops' Bible Illustrations' in D. Wood, ed. The Church and the Arts (Studies in Church History 28 1992) pp.267-87.

22. A. S. Herbert: Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1621 (London 1968) pp. 78-9.

23. The 1568 edition in CCL H/N-5-12 was subjected to iconoclastic damage, since the face of the God the Father figure represented sitting on a cloud over the ninth chapter of Genesis (p.vi) and elsewhere (xxix ch., p.xviii) has been deliberately scratched out.

24. CCL edition W2/A-2-20 ff. 129v, 128r, 130r, 135v.

25. See below, p. 56 .



26. N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism (Oxford 1991); A. J. Fielding: 'Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts: The Diocese of Peterborough 1603-1642' (University of Birmingham PhD thesis, 1989) p. 57.
27. See below, Chapter Two, pp. 98-101.
28. Daniel Featley: 'Old and New Idolatry Compared', in Clavis Mystica: A Key Opening Divers Difficult and Mysterious Texts of Holy Scripture; Handled in Seventy Sermons (London 1636) p. 791; see also Featley's attack against Romish idols and concern about Arminianism at Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawlinson D 47 f. 46r esp.
29. M. Aston: 'Gods, Saints and Reformers; Portraiture and Protestant England' to appear in L.Gent, ed: Albion's Classicism. I am grateful to Dr. Aston for allowing me to read this essay in advance of publication.
30. R. Gibbings, ed: Fulke's Answers to Stapelton, Martiall and Saunders (Cambridge P. S. 1848) p. 209.
31. J. Eales: Puritans and Roundheads (Cambridge 1990) p.47; John Foxe: Acts and Monuments: With a Life of the Matyrologist, and Vindication of the Work, ed. G.Townsend: (London 1843-9), 8 vols., iii p. 96. For dancing in Worcester Cathedral by iconoclastic Puritan Roundheads, see H. Ellis, ed: 'Letters from a Salbatern Officer in the Earl of Essex's Army...written in 1642', Archaeologia 35 (1853) p.332; and in Hereford Cathedral, C. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford 1990) p.78; for other examples of Roundhead parodies of baptismal rites and other popish activities, see C. Carleton: Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651 (London 1991) pp.28-9, 87, 276-8. The revival of the cult of St. George during the reign of Elizabeth is discussed in R. Strong: The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry (London 1977) pp. 164-185. For the plays see F. S. Boas, ed: The Diary of Thomas Crosfield (London 1935) pp. xxv, 27-9. A piece of Puritan doggerel, attached to the hearse of Archbishop Whitgift, derided the late divine as Reformers 'hinderer, trew pastors slanderer,...The ceremonies procter, the latyn doctor.' Alistair Bellamy has argued that 'this versified marriage of Puritan ecclesiastical polemic with popular carnivalesque should give pause to those [ie. Patrick Collinson] who claim to have detected increasing antagonism between Puritanism and popular culture in this period.' 'A Poem on the Archbishop's Hearse: Puritanism, Libel, and Sedition after the Hampton Court Conference', JBS 34 (1995) pp. 137-65, 138, 140. Bellamy rightly accepts that some Puritans would have found the use of such media unnerving (n.7) but he does not consider the possibility of self-conscious eclecticism at work here.
32. Maculloch: 'The Myth of the English Reformation' p. 7.
33. Hooper's arguments were exploited by William Prynne to attack the ecclesiological innovations of the 1630s, see Histriomatrix (1634) p. 550; for similar contemporary criticism see E. Rose: Cases of Conscience: Alternatives



open to Protestants and Recusants under Elizabeth I and James I (Cambridge 1975) p. 157.

34. J. Browne: The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York (London 1847) p. 305.

35. J. Ayre, ed: The Works of...John Whitgift (Cambridge 1850-53) 3 vols., ii p. 37.

36. Jasper Fisher: The Priests Duty and Dignity (London 1636) p. 13.

37. P. Dear: 'The Church and the New Philosophy' in S. Pumphrey, P. L. Rossi and M. Slawinski, eds: Science, Culture and Popular Belief (Manchester U.P. 1991).

38. T. Plume: The Life and Death of...John Hacket (London 1865 ed.) p. 34.

39. Anthony Cade: Conscience: Its Nature and Corruption...In a Vindication of the Publick Prayers and Ceremonies of the Church of England (London 1661, first ed. 1636) Appendix p. 14.

40. Bodl. MS Rawlinson A 441 f. 15v.

41. See below, Chapter Four, pp. 228-9.

42. Featley: Clavis Mystica pp. 149, 150.

43. Daniel Featley: 'The Tree of Saving Life', printed in Clavis Mystica p. 148.

44. Edmund Gurnay: An Appendix unto the Homily against Images in Churches (London 1641) pp. 9-10.

45. John Rylands Library MS English 524 f.97v.

46. T.R., (anon.): De Templis: A Treatise of Temples (London 1638) p. 99.

47. For example, see John Bruen's common places from Babington, BL MS Harleian 6694.

48. Henry Peacham: The Art of Drawing (London 1606) p. 9.

49. L. Notestein, ed: The Parliamentary Journal Of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (Yale 1923) p. 271.

50. George Abbot: Cheapside Cross Condemned and Censured (London 1641); this letter was printed in 1641 in response to the idolatry of the Laudian Church, G. Welsby: George Abbot: the Unwanted Archbishop (London 1962) pp. 19-20; S. M. Holland: 'George Abbot: the Wanted Bishop' Church History 56 (1987) pp. 172-87; Acts of the Privy Council 1600-1601 p. 27; CSPD 1598-1601 p. 544.



51. M. Camille: The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge 1990) pp. xxv-vii, 78-9 and *passim*.
52. Cited by Welsby, *op.cit.* p. 20 n. 1.
53. Hook's stance indicates the longevity of the iconoclastic position in the Church of England, see also Walter Farquhar Hook: Peril of Idolatry: a Sermon (London 1842).
54. PRO: STAC.21/06.
55. See below, Chapter Three, pp. 161-3, 193-6.
56. P. Lake: review of Collinson: The Birth pangs of Protestant England in JEH 41 (1990) pp. 688-90.
57. Aston: 'Gods, Saints and Reformers'.
58. This is the point that Rudolf Gualter made, in 1550, in response to Christopher Hales's request for portraits of Zurich reformers, *ibid*; J. Peacock: 'The Politics of Portraiture' in P. Lake and K. Sharpe eds: Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England (Basingstoke 1994) pp. 199-229, 200-1; even English Calvinists such as Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, advertised their Protestant credentials with images. According to William Brereton, who visited Auckland in c.1634-5, Morton hung pictures of Huss, Wycliffe, Hierom of Prague, Fagius, Zanchius, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Bullinger, Bucer, Beza, Latimer, Cramner, Bradford, Whittaker, Ridley, Jewel, Perkins, 'and none but of this strain' in the dining rooms in his episcopal palace at Auckland, J. Raine: A Brief Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle or Palace of Auckland (Durham 1842) p. 79f.
59. Brief mention is given to Lord Brooke's monument by N. Pevsner: The Buildings of England: Warwickshire (Harmonsworth 1966) pp. 447-8.
60. M. Howard and N. Llwellyn: 'Painting and Imagery' in B. Ford, ed: The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain 9 vols., iii 'Renaissance and Reform' (Cambridge 1989) pp. 222-54.
61. D'Ewes's comments highlight the significance of an act of Elizabethan catholic iconoclasm performed by Bess of Hardwick. Bess cut out the faces of the saints from a tapestry recovered from a local abbey, and replaced them with classical heads, J. Buxton: Elizabethan Taste (London 1963) p. 132. Surely this act of quasi-iconoclasm was intended to de-sacralise these images for reasons of propriety (considering their new, secular context), rather than to prevent their potential to solicit idolatry?
62. Smart's happiness with the Jacobean Church and discomfort with English Arminian ecclesiology is discussed by Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp.116-9 and J. G. Hoffman: 'The Arminian and the Iconoclast' Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 43 (1979) pp. 70-76. Neither discuss the



ideological significance of Smart's iconophobia.

63. Bodl. MS. Rawlinson A 441 f. 62v.

64. D. Raines, ed: The Acts of the High Commission within the Diocese of Durham (Surtees Soc., 34 1857) ii p. 168 n.\*

65. Cade: Conscience: Its Nature and Corruption Appendix p. 7.

66. Richard James: A Sermon on the Eucharist (c. 1629) extracts printed in T. Corser, ed: Iter Lancastrense (Chetham Soc., 7 1845) p. xc.

67. BL Thomason E180 (17) sig. A2.

68. M. Camille: The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge 1989).

69. See R. N. Swanson: 'Liturgy as theatre: The Props', in Wood, ed: The Church and the Arts pp.239-55; M. C. Erler: 'Palm Sunday Prophets and Eucharistic Controversy', Renaissance Quarterly 48 (1995) pp. 58-81, who considers the conservative significance of the dramatic Palm Sunday Prophets in English liturgies amidst the arguably heterodox climate of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Smart himself argued that 'If the House of God were ever made a thearticall stage for the people to hear and see playes acted therein, the Cathedral Church of Durham is such an one at this time, especially when the sacraments are administered,..' Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 1364 (Peter Smart's Common Place Book) f. 8v.

70. William Prynne: Histriomatrix (1634) pp.28, 550.

71. For discussion of this aspect of iconophobia see Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 124-5, 322 esp.

72. Richard Culmer: Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury (London 1644).

73. The destruction of brass monuments, usually on the pretext that they were embellished with superstitious inscriptions, made their removal one of the most lucrative features of reformation iconoclasm, despite Tudor proclamations designed to protect them.

74. J. W. A. Bennett and H. R. Trevor Roper, eds: The Poems of Richard Corbett (Oxford 1955) p. 87.

75. William Hinde: A faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen (London 1641) p.79.

76. Richard Crashaw's poem is prefixed to Robert Shelford: Five Discourses sig.A; this paradox is also reflected in the life like statue which is ironically situated in Abraham Van Linge's stained glass representation of the death of the



iconoclastic King Hezekiah, now in Balioll College, Oxford (circa 1630).

77. Shephard: 'Theological Content of Sacrifice' *passim*.

78. *Ibid* pp. 187-310.

79. P. Lake: 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I' in L. L. Peck, ed: The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (Cambridge 1991) pp. 113-32, 120-2.

80. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp. 69, 71.

81. This glass, along with other evidence of Arminian iconography, is discussed in detail in Chapter Three, pp. 172-6, 190.

82. John Bastwick: The Answer of John Bastwick...to the Exceptions made against his Letany by a Learned Gentleman annexed to the second part of Bastwick's letany (Amsterdam [?] 1637) p. 58.

83. Fielding: 'Conformists, Puritans and the Church Courts', p. 207.

84. C. Garside Jnr: Zwingli and the Arts (Yale 1966) pp. 131-2.

85. The Second Part of the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry in J. Griffiths, ed: Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (London 1908) p. 205.

86. Puritan concern about the human propensity to commit idolatry is discussed in J. Goring: Godly Exercises or the Devil's Dance? Puritanism and Popular Culture in Early Modern England (Dr. Williams Library Thirty Seventh Lecture, 1983), p. 23 esp.

87. Simon Episcopus: The Confession of Faith of those Called Arminians, or a Declaration of the Ministers and Pastors which in the United Provinces are Known by the Name of Remonstrants Concerning the Chief Points of Christian Religion (1629, trans. anon London 1684) pp. 38-9.

88. Laud's argument that his position respecting images was in accordance with the reformed Churches may have been true with respect to some German Lutheran churches, but it was hardly representative of the ecclesiology of reformed European Churches as a whole. As I argue below, in order to mute potential hostility Laud and his followers attempted to disguise the innovatory nature of their ecclesiological enterprises by linking them to a fabricated picture of reformed Protestant interests, WCO Clarke MS Appendix, "The Trial of Archbishop Laud" (no foliation) sub. date 27 May 1644.

89. Laud: Works vi p.17; T. B. Howell and W. Cobbett: State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours 33 vols., iii p.549; Laud was quite clearly abusing Calvin by ignoring his prohibitions



against the creation of Christocentric images and *any* kind of images in churches, for which he was upbraided by William Prynne: Canturburies Doome (London 1646) pp. 464-6, cf. Phillips: Reformation of Images p. 84.

90. Jean Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion ed. J. T. Neile, trans. F. W. Battles (London 1960) 2 vols., ch. 11 sect.12 p.112.

91. Calvin: Institutes introductory preface to King Francis I (1560) sect. 4 p.20; ch. ix sect. 13 pp.112-4.

92. Whitgift: Works iii p.127.

93. Bodl. MS Tanner 299 f. 119r-v; Corbett: State Trials iii p.558b.

94. In 1633 Sherfield was heavily fined for his iconoclasm, 'bringing his world crashing about his ears'. P. Slack: 'The Public Conscience of Henry Sherfield', in J. Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf, eds: Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England: Essays Presented to G.E.Alymer (Oxford 1993) pp. 151-171, 168; *idem*: 'Religious Protest and Urban authority: the Case of Henry Sherfield, Iconoclast, 1633' in D. Baker, ed: Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest (Cambridge 1992) pp. 295-302; K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) pp. 345-8. Sharpe argues that 'For the king, as others, the Sherfield case was concerned not with ceremonial disagreements, but with the authority of episcopacy.' Yet whilst he mentions the fact that Charles I ordered Sherfield to replace the window with plain glass he fails to note anything about the radical defence of images promoted by Neile and Laud during this trial (for criticism of Sharpe see N. Tyacke: 'Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History from the Reformation to the Civil War', JBS 35 (1996) pp.139-67,164-5). Sharpe notes that the glass Sherfield damaged was reparable, and he implies that making Sherfield repair the damage with a new sheet of plain glass was a concession to iconoclastic consciences. Yet making Sherfield replace the damaged glass with new glass at his personal expense would have significantly added to the financial burden of his punishment and in this context may arguably be interpreted as an acerbic riposte to Sherfield's iconoclastic position. It would be interesting to discover the fate of this reparable glass.

95. Cited in E. D. Gilman: Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation (Chicago U.P.1986) p. 13.

96. DCDCL MS Hunter 67/6.

97. Nicholas Tyacke has shown how modern Anglican apologists are engaged in exactly the same activity - denying Laud and his followers were Arminians and exonerating them from the charge of deviance from Reformation orthodoxy, 'Anglican Attitudes', and see above, Introduction, pp.

98. John Weever: Ancient Funeral Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the Islands ajacent with the disoulved Monastaries therin contained (London 1631) p. 50. Weever acknowledged Laud's sponsorship



in his dedicatory preface.

99. *Ibid* pp. 51-4.

100. Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 320-4.

101. P. L. Hughes: Tudor Royal Proclamations (Yale 1964-9) 3 vols., ii pp. 146-8.

102. Aston's arguments are usefully summarised in T. Watt: Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge 1991) pp. 132-4.

103. P. Hughes and J. F. Larkin eds: Tudor Royal Proclamations (Yale U. P. 1969) 3 vols., iii p. 147.

104. Aston: *op.cit.* p. 316.

105. For the Elizabethan Injunctions against Glass images see E. Cardwell: Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England: being a collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry from the year 1546 to the year 1716 (Oxford 1839) 2 vols., i pp.37-8; Aston *op.cit.* pp.338-9; thus in 1561 the Rector of Stanford Rivers was presented by his ordinary for failing to deface the stained glass images in his church. F.G. Emmison notes how this church was 'remarkably barren in providing new furnishings as fonts and pews' Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts, mainly from the Essex Archdiaconal Records (Essex County Council 1973) p.183; the Vicar of Bearsted in Kent was presented by Edmund Guest for the same offence, CCL MS Dcb. X.1.4. ff. 98v-99r. Twentieth century apologists for the Laudian reforms have perpetuated D. MacCulloch's 'Myth of the English Reformation' by maintaining that stained glass was always a legal medium for religious imagery, G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells: The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London 1948) p.35.

106. Works of John Jewel ii pp.1004-5; J. Ayre, ed: The Works of...John Whitgift (Cambridge 1850-53) 3 vols., iii pp. xiii-v, 581-2.

107. This argument is clearly implicit, both in the quotation cited above, and also where Weever brands as Puritans all those who are seen to rob the Church of its due rites, *op.cit.* p. 55.

108. Williams's point was published in Heylyn's anonymously printed A Coale from the Altar (London 1636) p. 74; for Heylyn's response see Peter Heylyn: Antidotum Lincolniense (London 1637) sig. A2, pp. 105-110.

109. Peter Heylyn: Ecclesia Restaurata: Or the Reformation of the Church of England: With the Life of the Author by J. Bernard (Cambridge 1849) 2 vols., ii p. 270, quoted by Aston *op.cit.* p. 302 n. 2. Heylyn's revised argument may of course have been the product of wider reading and research. Sir John Heywood, the Elizabethan annalist, recorded that in August 1559, iconoclasm was executed '...with great fervency of the Common people; especially in beating down,



breakinge, and burning images, which had been erected in the churches, declaring themselves noe lesse disordered in defacing them then they had been immoderate and excessive in adorning them before.' John Bruce, ed: Annals of the First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth (Camden Soc., o.s. 6 1840) p. 28, cf. F. M. Fisher: 'The Reformation of Church and Chapel in the Inns of Court 1530-1580' Guildhall Studies in London History 3 (1979) pp. 223-47, 241. Anthony Milton has recently examined Heylyn's career, and has argued that during Charles's reign he was little more than a time-server (or, as contemporaries would have had it, a 'weathercock'), willing to change his religious stances as the times dictated, Paper read at the Reformation Colloquium, Magdalene College, Cambridge, April 1994.

110. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War p. 91; this passage is cited in full in P. White: Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Restoration to the Civil War (Cambridge 1992) p. 9.

111. For further examples see below, Chapter Three, pp. 180-2, 190.

112. T. R: De Templis p. 195. This work was published anonymously but may possibly have been written by Richard Tedder, whose Sermon Preached at the Primary Visitation of...Matthew [Wren] ..in June 1636 (London 1636) addresses similar ecclesiological issues, such as images in churches, but without the bitterly ironic criticism of Reformation orthodoxies to be found in the former publication.

113. Cardwell: Documentary Annals i p.238; there remains some confusion as to this letter's authorship (and dating, although it almost certainly appeared before 1575) since it is the same as Ridley's sermon against idolatry, see P. Collinson: Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism (London 1983) p.126.

114. This point concerning T. R's position respecting transubstantiation is discussed in Chapter Three p. 189.

115. De Templis pp. 222-4; for more explicit criticism of the Holimly against the Peril of Idolatry see Richard Montague: Appello Ceasarem (London 1625) p. 258.

116. The idea that the iconoclastic reforms contaminated society with a bout of visual anorexia forms the substance of Collinson: From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia cf. The Birth pangs of Protestant England (London 1988) p. 119.

117. ie. Those 'who are not due worshippers of God himself, that fall not lowly down before his presence, religiously to adore him as well with their Bodies as their Souls.' John Cosin: A Collection of Private Devotions (London 1664 ed.) sigs.C.3-4.

118. For English Arminian interest in the liturgical refuge afforded by the Prayer Book of 1549, see D. MacCulloch: Thomas Cranmer: a Life (Yale 1996) pp. 625-6, 629.



119. Bodl. MS Tanner 68 f. 219r, my italics.
120. Moreover, in October 1641 Parliament issued warrants for the arrest of parishioners responsible for destroying images without specific parliamentary warrant, BL: Thomason E173 (14).
121. Humphrey Sydenham: Jacob and Esau: Election and Reprobation a Sermon Preached at St.Paul's Cross March 1622 (London 1626); *idem*: The Well Turned Cymbal: Preached in a Sermon at the Dedication of an Organ...1630, extracts reprinted in J. Chandos, ed: In God's name: Examples of Preaching from the Act of Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity (London 1971) pp. 319-327; Sydenham praised Laud for 'this Reformation' his ecclesiological policies had facilitated, and derided 'this Gall of Bitterness' vented from the spleens of critics like Henry Burton and William Prynne. Sermons on Solemn Occasions (London 1637), dedicatory epistle to Laud, and see pp. 269-70. It might be argued that Sydenham was a weathercock, who followed the winds of Laudian change, but there does not appear to be any evidence that he (unlike, say, Heylyn) received any significant benefit for so doing.
122. J. Fletcher, ed:The Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon (Chetham Soc., cix 1880) p. 32.
123. Humphrey Sydenham: The Waters of Mirah and Mesiah (1630) reprinted in Chandos, ed: In God's Name p. 315.
124. Samuel Hoard: The Church's Authority asserted in a sermon preached at Chelmsford at the Metropolitan Visitation of ..William Laud..March 1636[7] (London 1637) p.31.
125. J.Sears McGee: 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion' in R. L. DeMolen, ed: Leaders of the Reformation (London 1984) pp.718-45, 719; K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) ch.6.
126. P. Lake: 'Laudianism and the Argument from Authority' in B. Y. Kunze, and D. D. Brautigam, eds: Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honour of Perez Zagorin (Rochester U.P. 1992) pp. 149-75, 170 esp.
127. Anon: Bartholemew Faire or Variety of Fancies where you may find a variety of wares to please your mind (British Library Thomason E/173 [6] London 1641).
128. See below, Chapter Two pp. 92-101.
129. HMC House of Lords Addenda 1514-1714 (New Series 11 1962) p. 411; Thomas Fuller: The Church History of England, ed. G.Tegg (London 1868 [first ed.1655]) 3 vols. iii p.187.
130. See above, pp. 41-2.



131. BL MS Harleian 750 ff. 91r-102v, this was probably written in Cambridge between the 1590s and 1614 (when he became a Bishop) since it is attributed to 'Dr. Overall'. The document is transcribed in an eighteenth century hand.

132. *Ibid.* Richard Montague also argued that the Homily Against the Perill of Idolatry (1563) though 'fit for the time', was obsolete because people were no longer prone to abuse images, Richard Montague: Appello Caesarem: a just appeale from two unjust informers (1625) pp. 258ff, 264 esp.; William Laud made exactly the same point during the trial of Henry Sherfield, Laud: Works vi p.17. By contrast Peter Smart claimed that the 'simple multitude' in Durham had been 'bewitched' by the recent erection of images and altars in the Cathedral, Bodl. MS Rawlinson A 441 f.11v; similarly a Scottish visitor in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford in September, 1642 'maravalyed how the schollers could goe to their bookes for those paynted idolatrous wyndowes', Anthony Wood: Life and Times 1632-1663 (Oxford Historical Society 19 1891) p. 60.

133. The Pensioner ordered a Bencher to ensure that the new window contain a Biblical narrative scene, 'in memory of our Lord praying in the Mount', William Dugdale: Origines Judicales (London 1666) p. 283 cf. Fisher: 'The Reformation of the Church at the Inns of Court' p. 231; for Cranmer's seals see MacCulloch: Thomas Cranmer pp. 228-9.

134. CRO: 3913/1/3 f.209 (Chester Cathedral Dean and Chapter Treasurers' accounts 1584-1640).

135. Abbot: Cheapside Cross condemned and censured. This tract was published in 1641 as part of the iconomachic reaction to the abuses of the Laudian Church. The cross itself was pulled down in 1643, VCH London i p.331.

136. K.Fincham and N.Cranfield, eds: 'John Howson's Answers to Archbishop Abbot's Accusations', Camden Miscellany xxix (Camden Soc., 4th series, 34, 1987) pp. 338-9.

137. VCH Surrey iii pp. 548-50; A. V. Peatling: Ancient Stained Glass in the Churches of Surrey (Surrey archeol.soc.1930) p. 42; M. Archer: 'Seventeenth Century Stained Glass at Little Easton' Essex Journal 12 (1977) p. 9 and see above, pp. .

138. L. Ziff: The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton 1962) pp. 51-2; C. Holmes: Seventeenth Century Lincolnshire (Committe for the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 1980) pp.95-6; CSPD 1619-23 pp. 244, nos. 76-7, 258 no.52; PRO STAC 8 259/25.

139. For Sanderson's views see P. Lake: 'Serving God and the Times: The Calvinist Conformity of Robert Sanderson', JBS 27 (1988) pp. 81-116, 95 esp.

140. Robert Sanderson: The Works ed.W. Jacobson (Oxford 1854) 6 vols., ii pp. 41-75.



141. For Laud, see Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists appendix, pp. 269-70.
142. Sanderson: Works pp. 45-6.
143. *Ibid* p. 53.
144. *Ibid* pp. 47, 64.
145. *Ibid* pp. 64-5.
146. *Ibid* p. 65.
147. *Ibid* pp. 65-6.
148. S. Anglo: Images of Tudor Kingship (London 1992) p. 16.
149. Peter Heylyn: Cyprianus Anglicus: or the History of the Life and Death of...William [Laud] Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1668, following 1680 ed.) p. 229.
150. Sanderson: Works pp. 73-4.
151. See below, Chapter Two pp. .
152. Robert Ballie: The Canterburians Self- Conviction (1641); William Hinde: A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life of and Happy Death of John Bruen of Stapleford in the county of Chester (London 1641) pp. 78-9 esp.; Abbot: Cheapside Cross Condemned and Censured; Edmund Gurnay: An Appendix unto the Homily against Images in Churches (London 1641); Thomas Warmstry: A Convocation Speech...Against Images, Crosses, the New Canons, and the Oath & c. (London 1641); Warmstry argued that although there was no need to tear down churches, it would be 'better fortie churches demolished than one soule ruined' by the 'idolatry' of the English Arminian Church , p.9; George Saltern: A Treatise against Images and and answer to those who object that the times have changed (B.L.Thomason E/173[8] London 1641).
153. See Chapter Two, pp. 92-101.
154. R. C. Richardson: Puritanism in North West England (Manchester 1972) p. 128.
155. E. Hawkins, ed: Sir William Brereton's Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland 1634-1635 (Chetham Soc, 6 1844) p. 83.
156. Acts of the High Commission ii p. 168 n.\*
157. CRO MS DCC/14/68; J. Roland Phillips: Memorials of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches 1642-1649 (London 1874) 2 vols., i p. 181, ii pp. 111-2.

158. See below, Chapter Four, pp. 241-2.
159. J. Morrill: 'Sir William Brereton and England's Wars of Religion' JBS 24 (1985) pp. 311-32, 319.
160. *Ibid.*
161. For example, see L. G. Wickham Legg, ed: 'A Relation of a Short Survey of Western Countries' (Camden Soc., 3d series 52 1936); L. G. Wickham Legg ed: A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties (Stuart Series no.17 1904).
162. John Hacket: Scrinia Reserata (London 1692) i pp. 45-6.
163. Williams is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three, pp. 144-55.
164. Bodl. MS Cherry 2 ff. 111, 115.
165. John Pocklington: Altare Caesarem (London 1638) p. 87.
166. Joseph Hall: Hard Measure: Written by Himself Upon his Impeachment (London 1710 ed.) p. 15; extracts reprinted in Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 68-70.
167. The Works of Joseph Hall...Dean of Worcester (London 1625) p. 281, my italics; similarly, in 1606, Hall denounced the 'wrongfull jealousie' of the Scottish Minister, Andrew Melville, who criticised the 'popish' decoration and altar in the Chapel Royal, W. T. Costello: The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (Harvard U.P. 1958) pp. 127-8, 196 n.85. Melville was a Ramist theologian with an iconoclastic conscience, see below, Chapter Two, pp. 89-90.
168. Works of Joseph Hall p. 527; this chapel was consecrated on St. Stephen's day, 1623.



## CHAPTER TWO

1. A Proclamation for preventing the decayes of Churches and Chappels for the time to come (11 October 1629), printed in J. F. Larkin, ed: Stuart Royal Proclamations II: The Royal Proclamations of Charles I (Oxford 1983) pp. 248-50.
2. A. Foster: 'A Biography of Archbishop Richard Neile (1562-1640)' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1978) pp. 176-7; R. A. Marchant: 'The Restoration of Nottinghamshire Churches', Thoroton Society Transactions 65 (1961) pp. 57-94.
3. C. Hill: The Economic Problems of the Church (Oxford 1958).
4. Thus in November 1633 when the wealthy Yorkshire landowner, John Harrison, built a chapel in Leeds to cope with the increasing population, he promised Archbishop Neile that the minister would not have to be 'in anyway obnoxious to the feoffees for his mayntenance, to wayle upon them for it, or for them to have any power upon any pretences or resorts to withhold it so long as he approveth himself in his ministry to his Ordinary', DCDLC MS Hunter 9/5. However it took Harrison nearly a year to persuade Neile to consecrate the chapel. Neile was worried that Harrison would not properly maintain the curate and feared competition in Leeds 'pulpit against pulpit and chappell against church in the same towne', but the real hold up was over the method of appointing the curate, MS Hunter 9/6-16; R. A. Marchant: The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642 (London 1960) pp. 116-7. The chapel itself was decorated with an elaborate chancel screen and a railed altar. No images were employed however, and plain glass was used for glazing, J. E. Stocks: 'The Church of St. John the Evangelist, Leeds', Thoresby Society 24 (1919) pp. 184-226.
5. A. Woodger: 'Post-Reformation Mixed Gothic in Huntingdonshire Church Towers and its Campanological Associations', Archaeological Journal 141 (1984) pp. 269-309.
6. G. Bernard: 'The Dating of Church Towers: Huntingdonshire Re-Examined', Archaeological Journal 149 (1992) pp. 344-50.
7. C. W. Foster: The State of the Church (Lincoln Record Society 23 1926), pp. 220-36 esp.
8. J. Merritt: 'Religion, Government and Society in Early Modern Westminster, c.1525-1625' (University of London, PhD thesis, 1992) pp. 223-59, 365-7, 380; V. Hitchman: 'Aspects of Parochial Religion in Seventeenth Century Kent: the evidence of Churchwardens Accounts' (University of Kent M.A. thesis, 1994) pp. 21-2, 55-63, 74, 76, 60 esp. Hitchman notes a slight rise in expenditure for the period 1631-9, but concedes that 'what cannot be shown is how much of the expenditure...was directly related to Laud's beauty of holiness policy.'



9. For example, see K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) ch. 6.
10. G. Yule: 'James VI and I: Furnishing the Churches of his Two Kingdoms' in A. Fletcher and P. Roberts, eds: Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson (Cambridge 1994) pp. 182-208, 188-9.
11. Ibid p.189 n.50, the reference he cites is Foster: *op cit*.
12. William Bradshaw: A Myld and Just Defense of Certeayne Arguments (1606) pp.44-5 quoted by N.Tyacke: 'Archbishop Laud' in K.Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church (Basingstoke 1993) pp.51-71, 55.
13. M. Dzelzainis: "'Undoubted Realities": Clarendon on Sacrilege', HJ 33 (1990) pp.515-40; for discussion of the Laudian interest in 'the beauty of holiness' in the 1630s see P. Lake: 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness', in Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church pp. 165-85.
14. P. Croft: 'The Religion of Sir Robert Cecil', HJ 34 (1991) pp. 773-96.
15. Thomas Fuller: The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year 1648 (London 1837) 4 vols., iii pp. 264-6; T. McCree: The Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh 1819) 2 vols., i pp.221-247; HMC Salisbury 19 p. 490.
16. John Williams: Great Britains Solomon (London 1625) pp. 50-1. Similarly, Williams told a French Abbot in 1624 that in spite of diverse liturgical and ecclesiological practises between the continental reformed churches, '...it is a note as old as Iraneous, which will justify us from a rupture, that variety of ceremonies in severall churches, the foundation being preserved, doth commend the unity of faith.' John Hacket: Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams D.D. (London 1692) i p. 212. By contrast, it was Laud's drive for ceremonial and liturgical uniformity that exacerbated divisions within the English Church. Indeed Williams may have been making hints to king Charles (who would have undoubtedly been an eager listener to the above funeral sermon for his late father) about the orthodoxy of James's doctrinal position.
17. D. Baldwin: The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern (Worcester 1990) p. 146.
18. *Ibid* p. 148.
19. *Ibid* p. 150.
20. M. Aston: England's Iconoclasts: vol.i Laws against Images (Oxford 1988) pp. 306-42.



21. G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells: The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London 1948) p. 137.
22. Baldwin *op.cit*; Aston *op.cit*.
23. Yule: 'Furnishing the Churches of his Two Kingdoms', p. 183.
24. *Ibid*.
25. James I: A Collection of his Maiesties Workes (London 1616) pp. 303-4.
26. M. Lee, Jnr: Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I (Illinois 1980) pp. 161-2; J. Phillips: The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974) p. 141.
27. The English Doctors were the attendant bishops - Richard Neile, of Lincoln, James Montagu, of Winchester and Dean of the Chapel, and Lancelot Andrewes, of Ely and King's Almoner, and the attendant chaplains; John Bridgeman (parson of Wigan), William Laud (Dean of Gloucester) Joseph Hall (Dean of Worcester), Valentine Carey (Dean of St. Paul's), John Young (Dean of Winchester), and Dr. Joleston. The other two chaplains, Wilkinson and Buckingham's chaplain, Balcanquall, were not yet doctors, HMC Downshire 6 p.139: to this list should be added the name of John Williams, future Bishop of Lincoln, who had been named royal chaplain probably shortly after this list had been compiled, see Samuel Rawlinson Gardiner's short biography, DNB s.n. Williams, John.
28. Westminster Cathedral Archives: (Catholic Newsletters on Jacobean Ecclesiastical Politics) series A vol.16 (1617-22) pp. 47-8 (I am grateful to Dr Kenneth Fincham for this reference); the glazier Richard Butler was employed to make 'sondry pieces of painted glasse in the windowes of the chapell...' Butler had produced images for Cecil's chapel and went on to paint the crucifixion scenes for the Catholic Lord William Howard's chapel glass at Naworth Castle in 1624. In 1636 he was also involved in Laud's project to repair the glass at Lambeth Palace, Croft: 'Religion of Robert Cecil' p.788; Per Palme: The Triumph of Peace: A study of the Whitehall Banqueting House (Uppsala, Sweden 1957) p. 19. n.1; G. Ornsby, ed: Selections from the household books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle (Surtees Soc. 68 1878) p. 222; C. Ashdown: The History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers in the City Of London (London 1919) p.33; the bills Ashdown cited are discussed by I. Atherton: 'Viscount Scudamore's Laudianism: The Religious Practices of the First Viscount Scudamore' HJ 34 (1991) pp. 567-96, 592-3 and n. 126.
29. E. F. Rimbault, ed: The Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal from 1561-1744 (Camden Soc., n.s. iii 1872) p. 163.
30. The ante-chapel altar is placed before three elevated niches that contain statues that may be the ones James referred to in Parliament. The illustration is reproduced in Baldwin: The Chapel Royal p. 100.



31. T. Birch: The Court and Times of James I ed. R. F. Williams (London 1848) 2 vols., ii p.435, cited in J. Bliss ed: Two Answers to Cardinal Perron and Other...Works of Lancelot Andrewes (Oxford 1854) pp. lvi-vii.
32. It is worth comparing James's selection of English Arminians to fulfil this role to his selection of Calvinists to support Prince Maurice at the Synod of Dort in 1618-19.
33. For further evidence of Wren's and Mawe's interests in 'the beauty of holiness' see Chapter One p. 65 and Chapter Three, pp. 184-6, 191.
34. N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640 (Oxford 1991) p. 46; J. Twigg: The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution (Cambridge 1990) p. 25.
35. For Wren's chaplaincy, see CUL Additional MS 48 f. 212r.
36. CUL MS Mm 1.46 pp. 37-8; this matter was taken up again by the Long Parliament in 1641, D. Hoyle: 'A parliamentary Investigation into Popery at Cambridge on the Eve of the Civil War', HJ 29 (1986) pp. 419-25; A. Milton: 'The Laudians and the Church of Rome, c.1625-1640' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1989) p. 238.
37. See below, p. 98f. In a letter to the Earl of Arundel, Harsnet defended Pocklington as 'an honest, just and religious man' and described his sermons as 'learned and godlie'. Harsnet added that Pocklington effectively cleared himself before the University heads and 'that his Majestie was pleased to expresse himselfe with some admiration of the man' and was prepared to have Pocklington preach before him. Harsnet suggested to Arundel that he might use the occasion to commend Pocklington to the King, BL Additional MS 39948 f. 184r-v.
38. G. P. V. Askrigg: Letters of James VI and I (California U.P. 1984) p. 397; A. J. Loomie: Spain and the Jacobean Catholics vol. ii 1613-1624 (Catholic Record Society 1978) pp. 185-6.
39. The lay out of the Spanish chapel, with a list of its utensils, can be found in J. Collier: An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain (London 1708-1714) vol. ii p.726; for Andrewes' design see William Prynne: Canterburies Doome (London 1646) p. 353; it is interesting to note that James gave Charles a double cross of Lorraine to present to the Infanta but he seemingly tried to allay the Prince's qualms in handling the object by telling him that it is 'not as rich as ancient', Askrigg: *op.cit.* p. 400.
40. J. G. Evans: Seventeenth Century Norwich (Oxford 1979) p. 86; CSPD 1623-5 p. 238; T. B. Howell and W. Cobbett: State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours 33 vols., ii pp. 1253-1258; CJ i pp. 784-5.
41. LJ iii p. 388.



42. State Trials ii p. 1253; for the link between Harsnet's ecclesiological interests and his anti-Calvinism see Tyacke *op.cit.* pp. 164-5.
43. S. White: Sir Edward Coke and the Grievances of the Commonwealth (Manchester 1979) p. 160; for Coke's citation of these precedents see State Trials ii p.1258 and CSPD 1623-5 p. 249.
44. Either John Williams or William Laud (Hacket says Williams, Peter Heylyn says Laud) referred to this precedent (during the time that this Parliament was sitting) to dissuade Buckingham from accepting John Preston's advise that it would be a good public relations exercise to dissolve more Church property into lay hands. According to Hacket, Williams gave Buckingham a scroll listing M.P's inclinations to show him 'how they stand addicted in Religion', and 'how they will be strong for the supportance of the Cathedral chapters.' Scrinia Reserata i pp. 205-6; both Heylyn's and Williams's positions are discussed in S. Adams: 'Favourites and Factions at the Elizabethan Court' in G. Asch and A. M. Burke, eds: Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650 (Oxford 1991) pp. 265-89, 279.
45. White *op.cit.* pp.163-4; Abbot told the Lords that 'it was ordinary for the commons to complain of the Governors of the Church' when the petition was presented, C. G. Tite: Impeachment and Parliamentary Legislature in Early Stuart England (London 1974) p. 174; S. R. Gardiner: Lords Debates 1624 and 1626 (Camden Soc., n.s. 24 1879) pp. 96-7; I have found no evidence that this matter went any further than the Lords although James alluded to a future hearing in his speech dissolving Parliament. James declared that if he was suppressing ordained popular ministers then 'yf he be guiltie [he] must be punished', CSPD 1623-25 p.265; BL MS Harleian 159 f. 136v.
46. LJ iii p. 384 (b); CSPD 1623-5 p. 252.
47. The presence of these petitioners and their evidence is in BL Additional MS 18597 ff. 167r-168v, 174v-175r and Gardiner: *op.cit.*
48. BL Additional MS 18597 f. 168r.
49. See below, Chapter Three, pp. 177-9.
50. *Ibid.*
51. BL MS Harleian 159 f. 136v, my italics. In 1622-3 'great figures with gilded heads and shadowed draperies' were commissioned for the Chapel Royal in Greenwich. Since they were produced by John de Critz, who also gilded and painted 'the figure of a Prophett as big as life at the upper end of the chappell' in 1635, we may assume they were the images to which the king referred, H. M. Colvin: The History of the King's Works 1485-1660 iv (1982) p. 116.
52. Gurnay's complaints are recorded in R. C. Johnson [*et al*]: Proceedings in Parliament 1628 (Yale U. P. 1977-8) 4 vols., iii pp. 557, 586; CJ i p. 903 (b).



53. Croft: 'Religion of Sir Robert Cecil'; A. MacGregor, ed: The Late King's Goods (London and Oxford 1989) pp. 56, 79, 82, 102, 206.
54. Daniel Featley: 'Old and New Idolatry Compared' (1619), printed in Clavis Mystica (London 1636) pp. 784-794, 792.
55. *Ibid* pp. 788-9.
56. See above, Chapter One pp. 59-60.
57. G. Eldelen, ed: The description of England: By William Harrison (New York 1968) pp. 35-6.
58. BL MS Harleian 7033 f. 71v.
59. J. Heywood and T. Wright: Cambridge University: Transactions during the Puritan Controversies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London 1854) 2 vols., ii pp. 316-321.
60. Merritt *op.cit.* p. 249.
61. These conclusions are based on analysis of the Fabric Rolls in York Minster Dean and Chapter Library from 1582-3 until 1639, MSS. E3/59-E3/64. The purchase of the glass from London is recorded on roll no. E62/2, and see J. Browne: The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter York (London 1847) p. 306.
62. Thomas Fuller: The Worthies of England ed. P. A. Nuttall (1662, New York 1965 ed.) 3 vols., ii p.181.
63. For example, see above, Chapter One, pp. 49-50, 56-7; and below, Chapter Three, pp. 189-90 esp.
64. DCDCL MS Hunter 10/3, my italics.
65. The evidence for the Jacobean innovations is contained in 'The Accompt Book of Richard Wright', quoted in G. Cobb: English Cathedrals, the Forgotten Centuries: Restoration and Change from 1530 to the Present Day (Over Wallop, Hampshire 1980) p. 39.
66. Merritt *op. Cit.* pp. 249-51, 355.
67. DCDCL MS Hunter 25/89-100.
68. DCDCL MS Hunter 44/2, 24.
69. *Ibid.*
70. I. Payne: 'The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedral Churches c.1547-1646: a Comparative Study of the



Archival Evidence' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1990) pp. 72-3, 86, 91, 19, 29-56, 58 and *passim*.

71. Merritt, *op.cit.* pp.366-7; and for Exeter, J. A. Vage: 'The Diocese of Exeter 1591-1640: A Study of Church Government in the Age of the Reformation' (University of Cambridge, PhD thesis, 1993) p. 273. I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham for this last reference.

72. Lady Alice Dudley's contributions are discussed in J. Eales: 'Iconoclasm and the Altar in the English Civil War' in D. Wood, ed: The Church and the Arts (Studies in Church History 28 1992) pp. 313-329.

73. Annales, or, a General Chronicle of England Begun by John Stow... Continued and Augmented...by Edmund Howes (London 1631 ed.) pp. 894-96.

74. *Ibid* p. 895 (a).

75. For Mainwaring see DNB s. n. Mainwaring, Roger; Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp. 159, 239-40.

76. Laud: Works iii p.213, iv pp.246-7; see also Eales: 'Iconoclasm and the Altar'.

77. This petition is printed in G. Clunch: Bloomsbury and St. Giles Past and Present (London 1890) pp. 14-5.

78. My italics, Foster: The State of the Church p. 220, as a circular see CSPD 1601-1603 pp. 205-6.

79. See below, p. 132 .

80. E. Cardwell: Synodolia: A Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons, and Proceedings of Convocations in the Province of Canterbury from the year 1547 to the year 1717 (Oxford 1842) 2 vols., i p. 295.

81. K. Fincham: 'Episcopal Government, 1603-40' in Fincham, ed: Early Stuart Church pp. 71-92, 74, 259 n.9.

82. BI Precedent Book 4 pp. 2, 59, 112, 123, 130, 131, 143. Similar licences were issued in the Southern provinces, and recorded evidence survives for Lincoln. LAO Red Book 1611-93 ff. 111v-112r; CUL MS Mm 1.49 pp.319-20.

83. W. Hunt: The Puritan Moment: the coming of Revolution in an English County (Harvard U.P.1980) p. 180.

84. This legitimacy was signalled by the Earl of Salisbury's outspoken criticism of Henry VIII as 'a child of lust and a man of iniquity' pronounced before the Lords during the 1610 Parliament, Croft 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', p.786;



similarly, during the 1636 Royal visit to Oxford University, George Gerrard attended an afternoon sermon in St. Mary's, in which the preacher 'rayled much against Henry the 8th'. This preacher also directed his attentions 'against John Selden for his history of Tithes', suggesting that the criticism concerned Henrician sacrilege. Gerrard also noted that the preacher could look forward to trouble from Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whilst '...if my Ld. Of Canterbury heare of yt, I hope he shall receive some repriment.' A. J. Taylor: *The Royal Visit to Oxford, 1636*, *Oxoniensia* (1936) pp. 153-9, 154-5; for James, see T. Corser, ed: *Iter Lancastrense* (Chetham Soc., 7 1845) p. lix. As Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, Christopher Potter even had the temerity to regard the continued observance of Elizabeth I's birthday 'very sacrilegious', since she retained the bishopric of Ely for twenty four years, 'a national sin in England because confirmed by act of Parliament'. F.S.Boas, ed: *The Diary of Thomas Crosfield* (Oxford 1935) p. 74; during the funeral sermon commemorating the death of Lancelot Andrewes, in 1626, John Buckeridge claimed that the late Bishop of Winchester believed that the Thirty Years War was God's punishment for the alienation of episcopal and monastic property by Catholic Princes as well as Protestants. These views were revived in the 1640s amidst fears respecting the imminent alienation of episcopal property. Dzelzainis: "'Undoubted Realities": Clarendon on Sacrilege' p. 524 esp.

85. Williams: Great Britain's Solomon p. 46.

86. John Selden: The History of Tithes: that is, the practice of payment of them. The positive laws made for them. The opinion touching the right of them (London 1618).

87. ie. The sins of their forefathers', Henry Spelman: De non temernadis Ecclesius: A Tract on the Rights and Respect due unto Churches (London 1613) p.86; see also Sir Thomas Ryves: The Poore Vicar's Plea, declaring, that a Competencie of Meanes is due to them out of the Tithe, notwithstanding the Improprations (London 1620); Richard Montague: Diatribes upon the first part of the late history of tithes (London 1621).

88. PRO C115/M24/7758; William Laud and Scudamore's conscience is discussed in Atherton: 'Viscount Scudamore's Laudianism' pp. 570-1 esp.

89. C.Russell: The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637-1642 (Oxford 1991) pp. 254-5.

90. Humphrey Sydenham: The Well Tuned Cymball: a Vindication of the Moderne Ornaments in our Churches. Preached at the Dedication of an Organ lately set up at Bruton in Somerset (1630) extracts reprinted in J. Chandos: In God's Name: Examples of Preaching from the Act Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity, c.1534-1662 (London 1971) pp. 319-27, 325.

91. James Sempil: Sacrilege Sacredly Handled (London 1619) p. 25.



92. HMC House of Lords Addenda 1514-1714 (New Series 11 1962) p. 410.
93. Fulke Robarts: God's Holy House and Service (London 1639) p. 53.
94. William Hardwick: Conformity with Piety, Requisite in God's Service: Delivered in a Visitation Sermon at Kingston Upon Thames September 1638 (London 1638) pp. 14, 20.
95. Chapter Four, pp. 208, 211-2, 217, 219, 232.
96. For Prideaux's iconomachic views, see A Sermon Preached on fifth October 1624 at the Consecration of St. James Chapel in Exceter College (Oxford 1625). For his views on impropriations, see his letter applauding Stephen Nettles for Nettles' attack against John Selden's opposition to the clerically defended, historically based right to collect tithes, Bodl. MS Rawlinson 47 f. 16; Stephne Nettles: An Answere to the Jewish Part of Mr Selden's Historie of Tithes (Oxford 1625).
97. Selden spoke approvingly of bowing to the altar and felt that the second commandment respecting graven images could be safely ignored, citing the apocryphal story of St. Luke the painter saint, John Selden: Table Talk (London 1716 ed.) pp.47-8. His readiness to accept that painting fell within the bounds of this biblical proscription would normally have placed him amongst the ranks of reformist iconomachs, but his willingness to dispense with the commandment itself is exceptional. For contemporary discussions of the decalogue see Aston: England's Iconoclasts *passim*. During the Long Parliament Selden opposed further reformation and yet he chose to support Parliament's cause during the Civil War; C. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford 1990) p. 226.
98. Prideaux: A Sermon Preached at the Consecration of St. James Chapel sig. B2r. This sermon was vehemently anti-Catholic. Cardinal Bellarmine's defence of Catholic consecration rituals was Prideaux's main target.
99. *Ibid* sig. B2v.
100. L. G. Wickham Legg, ed: 'A Relation of a Short Survey of Western Countries' (Camden Miscellany 3d series 52 1936) pp. 91-2.
101. Brother of William James, the future Bishop of Durham.
102. The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth: House of Lords and House of Commons Journals, 1558-1601 ( 1682, Irish U. P. reprint 1973) p. 640.
103. R. G. Usher: The Reconstruction of the English Church (Oxford 1910) 2 vols., i pp. 216-1.



104. In the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, c.1619, an extension to the church and plans for a new chapel of ease were seen as the only means to combat the effect population growth was having on religious standards. Western parishioners had already been provided with access to its chapel in Knightsbridge, whilst an outdoor pulpit was introduced as a further solution, Merritt: *op. cit.* p. 380.
105. Bishop Richard Corbett publicly denounced those who regarded investment in church fabric (especially the St. Paul's restoration project) as idolatrous, suggesting such beliefs were widely accepted, J. W. A. Bennett and H. R. Trevor Roper, eds: The Poems of Richard Corbett (Oxford 1955) p. ix.
106. F. G. Emmison notes how this church was 'remarkably barren in providing new furnishings as fonts and pews', Elizabethan Life: Morals and the Church Courts, mainly from the Essex Archidiaconal Records (Essex County Council 1973) p. 242; see also VHC Essex ii p.45; L. Wickham Legg: English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century (Henry Bradshaw Soc. 41 1911) pp. xi ff.
107. C. Eire: War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin (Cambridge 1986) pp. 311-12.
108. K. Thomas: Religion and the Decline of Magic (London 1971) pp. 86-7.
109. Richard Hooker: Works: Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; with several other Treatises;... (1597) ed. J. Keble (Oxford 1874) 3 vols., iii p. 61.
110. Phillips: Reformation of Images p. 141.
111. Hooker: Works iii pp. 60, 57-8, the second quotation is partially cited in Phillips: Reformation of Images p.136; H. Davies: Worship and Theology in England from Andrewes to Baxter and Fox, 1603-1690 (Princeton 1975) p.12; and see J. H. Shephard: 'The Changing Theological content of Sacrifice and its implications for the Music of the English Church c. 1500 -1640' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1984) p. 207 ff; K. Fincham: Pastor as Prelate: The Episcopate of James I (Oxford 1990) p. 228 ff.
112. Peter Lake has recently shown how Hooker's theological interests inspired the Arminians, but his work has not extended to Hooker's influence respecting ecclesiological issues, 'Lancelot Andrewes, John Buckeridge, and Avant-Garde Conformity at the Court of James I' in L. L. Peck, ed: The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (Cambridge 1991) pp. 113-32; John Buckeridge: A Sermon Preached Before His Majesty at Whitehall, March 22.1617...touching Prostration and Kneeling in the Worship of God cf. Shephard *op.cit.* pp. 221 ff.
113. Buckeridge, *op.cit.*; Shephard, *op.cit.* pp. 234-5.
114. Lawrence was Greek Professor from 1572, DNB: s.n. Lawrence, G. The revisions appear to have been prompted by a memorandum Lawrence prepared



on the Bishop's Bible question following this appointment, A. S. Herbert: Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525-1621 (London 1968) pp. 70-2, 75-6. The translation of Psl. 96.9 remained unchanged in later editions of the Bishop's Bible ( for 1568, 1575, 1577, 1595). The last major revisions to the Bishop's Bible took place in 1595. This passage was translated in the same way for the James I Bible, leading J. A. Martin erroneously to assume that 'the beauty of holiness' was a Jacobean introduction to translated scripture, Beauty and Holiness: The Dialogue between Aesthetics and Religion (Princeton N. J. 1990) p. 9. By contrast, Eamon Duffy anachronistically writes of a Marian version of 'the beauty of holiness', The Stripping of the Altars, 1450-1580 (Yale 1992) p.530; see also G. Bernard 'The Church of England c.1529 - c.1642', History 75 (1990) pp. 203-4.

115. See below, Chapter Four, p. 217; similarly Hooker argued that churches were places 'for mutual conference, and, as it were, commerce to be had between God and us', Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity p. 61.

116. John Archbold: The Beauty of Holiness: A sermon preached at the Court (London 1621) regrettably Archbold fails to state the day on which this sermon was preached. With respect to his career, Archbold had held these livings since 1611, exchanging them both for the Bristol Deanery in 1623, CSPD 1611-18 p. 73; CSPD 1619-23 pp. 558, 563.

117. Sampson Price: The Beauty of Holiness, or, the Consecration of a House of Prayer by the Example of our Saviour (London 1618); Lancelot Andrewes: A Sermon Preached Before the King at Whitehall (1617) reprinted in G. Bliss, ed: Ninety-Six Sermons: By the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes (Oxford 1841-3) 5 vols., iv pp. 361-84; for discussions about Andrewes and the 'beauty of holiness' see Fincham: Pastor as Prelate p.281 esp.

118. My italics.

119. See above, Chapter One pp. 53-7.

120. The same complaints were levelled at worship in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, c. 1607, and by the Bishop of Derry against Scots migrants in Ireland, in 1634, see below, Chapter Three, p. 183; Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland 1633-47 (London 1907) p. 87.

121. ie a greater delivery than the Nation's providential delivery from the Spanish Armada and the Powder Treason.

122. Lossky: Lancelot Andrewes p. 340.

123. See above, p. 94.

124. Price's late father was the former incumbent, whilst Overall was the local diocesan. There is no other evidence that Price was familiar with Overall, although they may well have met at court.



125. Price: The beauty of Holiness, Introductory Preface.
126. See below, p. 132.
127. Price: Beauty of Holiness p. 13.
128. K. Parker: The English Sabbath: A study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War (Cambridge 1988); Peter Heylyn: The History of the Sabbath (London 1636); Francis White: A Treatise of the Sabbath Day (London 1635); John Pocklington: Sunday no Sabbath (London 1636).
129. Price *op cit.* p. 18.
130. *Ibid* p. 20.
131. HMC House of Lords Addenda 1514-1714 p. 421 ff., intriguingly, the iconomach, Stephen Dennison was rector. See also William Prynne: A Quench Coale (Amsterdam 1637) pp. 196-9; A Schedule Annexed to a Petition to the Parliament from the County of Nottingham complaining of Grievances under the Ecclesiastical Government by Archbishops, Bishops, etc, 1641, cf. V. Stanley: Heirurgia Anglicana: Documents and extracts illustrative of the Ceremonial of the Anglican Church (London 1902) 3 vols., i pp. 39-42, 335-9.
132. Price: *op. cit.* p. 22.
133. Price: *op.cit.* pp. 8, 33.
134. Lossky: *op.cit.* p. 341.
135. Lancelot Andrewes: Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini contra Praefationem Monitoriam Jabobi R. (London 1610) p. 184; John Pocklington: Altare Christianum (London 1637) p.107; John Bramhall: The Works (Oxford 1842-45) 5 vols., v p. 217.
136. For instance see Price's references to Basil, Athanasius, Auxibius and others, The Beauty of Holiness pp. 16-7 esp. Price's interest in patristics anticipates the 'Anglican' position of later generations, especially in his acceptance that its continuous tradition was a better precedent than what H. R. Trevor Roper describes as 'that marginal episode, the Roman mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury', 'The Church of England and the Greek Church in the time of Charles I' D. Baker, ed: Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian (Studies in Church History 15 1978) pp. 213-40, 215.
137. Price: *op.cit.* pp. 22-3.
138. *Ibid* p. 30.
139. *Ibid* pp. 30-1.



140. Sampson Price: Londons Warning by Laodicea's Luke-Warmness (London 1613), quoted by A. Walsham: Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England (Royal Historical Society 1993) p. 167; for Walsham, the victims of Price's criticism are church papists, but Nicholas Tyacke is more inclined to think of them as Arminians, review of Walsham, History 80 (1995) pp. 481-2.
141. Milton: 'Laudians and the Church of Rome', p. 140.
142. C. Hibbard: Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill 1983) p. 57.
143. Laud: Works iii pp. 407-8.
144. William Heywood: The Peace of the Church...Preached at Francis, Bishop of Peterborough his Visitation at Daventry, Northampton July 12 1637 (London 1638) p. 43.
145. Archbold: The Beauty of Holiness: A sermon preached at the Court unfortunately no date is given for the preaching of this sermon.
146. *Ibid* pp. 16-17.
147. *Ibid* p. 2.
148. *Ibid* p. 4.
149. *Ibid* p. 7.
150. *Ibid* pp. 12-13.
151. *Ibid* p. 13.
152. *Ibid* pp. 2-3.
153. Chapter Three, pp. 186-9.

## CHAPTER THREE

1. A. J. Taylor: 'The Royal Visit to Oxford, 1636', Oxoniensa 1 (1936) pp. 153-9, 153.
2. For example, see J. Sears McGee: 'William Laud and the Outward Face of Religion' in R.L.DeMolen, ed: Leaders of the Reformation (London 1984) pp. 718-45; Laud's campaign to refurbish the chapel of St. John's College Oxford is discussed below, pp. 202-3.
3. Duppa's owed his royal service to his patron the Earl of Dorset, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain. The allegation that Laud held 'the power and practice of naming chaplains' came from the King's Chamberlain's secretary, Michael Oldsworth, who had held this post since the reign of James I, N.Cranfield: 'Chaplains in Ordinary at the Stuart Court: The Purple Road' in C.Cross, ed: Patronage and Recruitment in the Tudor and Stuart Church (Borthwick Studies in History, 2, 1996) pp. 120-47. Cranfield argues service as a royal chaplain was the 'sine qua non' to episcopal preferment, but he overlooks the university careers of these men I have listed.
4. The chapel restoration programmes as a whole are briefly discussed in N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism 1590-1640 (Oxford 1991) pp. 192-4; H.R. Trevor-Roper: Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans: Seventeenth Century Essays (Glasgow 1987) pp. 71-2, 82-5; G. Worsley: 'The Origins of the Gothic Revival: A Reappraisal', TRHS 6th series 3 (1993) pp. 105-50.
5. The only recent publication concerning Williams is H. T. Blethen: 'Bishop Williams and the Altar Controversy 1627-1641', Welsh Historical Review 9 (1978) pp. 142-54; the biography written by his chaplain is still unsurpassed: John Hacket: Scrinia Reserata: A Memorial Offered to the Great Deservings of John Williams D.D. (London 1692).
6. DNB s. n. Williams, John.
7. Thomas Fuller: The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year 1648 (London 1837) IX, vi p. 48; Williams's funeral sermon commemorating James I can be read as an implicit criticism of the King's pro-catholic foreign policy.
8. Hacket: Scrinia Reserata ii p.65; V. Green: The Commonwealth of Lincoln College (Oxford 1979) p. 181 f.
9. DNB s. n. Pocklington. John; Bodl. MS Cherry 2 f. 8.
10. J. B. Mullinger: The University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1873-1911) ii pp. 500-1; Hacket: *op.cit.* i p. 43; for Andrewes's and Overall's Arminianism see



Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp. 20, 24, 37, 45, 89, 91, 103, 169.

11. Hacket, *op.cit.* p. 95.

12. T. Baker: The History of the College of St. John the Evangelist ed. J. E .B. Mayor (Cambridge 1869) 2 vols., ii pp. 672-3; CUL MS Mm. 1. 46 p. 404. Williams's Calvinism and doctrinal anti-Arminianism is demonstrated in Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists pp. 209-10.

13. Baker: St. John's i p.196; D. Roberts: The Mitre and the Musket: John Williams, Lord Keeper, Archbishop of York, 1582-1650 (London 1938) p. 12.

14. Peter Heylyn: 'Memoranda' prefixed to *idem*: Memorial of Bishop Waynflete Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford ed.J. R. Bloxham (Caxton Soc., London 1851) p. xxi.

15. Memorial of Bishop Waynflete p. xxiii.

16. Hacket: Scrinia Reserata i p. 212 cited in V. Stanley: Westminster Abbey (London 1890) pp. 420-21.

17. For this advice see above, Chapter Two, p. ; Anthony Cade: Conscience: Its Nature and Corruption (London 1661, first edition 1636), sig 2, introductory dedication to Williams.

18. Cade: Conscience p. 17.

19. *Ibid* sig 3.

20. *Ibid* sig 2.

21. HMC Cowper Appendix pt. 2 p. 112.

22. LAO MS Bj 1/7 Parker Fabric 1617-1633, no foliation sub. dates.

23. Cade: *op.cit.* sig 2.

24. E. G. Cole, ed: Lincolnshire Church Notes made by Gervase Holles 1634-1642 (Lincoln Record Society 1 1911) following LAO Hill 43 (Cole's personal annotated version in which Cole observes that Holles's description of Williams's arms match those at Gray's Inn) pp. 52-3; LAO D&C Cijj 48/1/2 'Survey of the Bishop's Palace at Lincoln, 1647'; in 1660 Bishop Sanderson undertook another survey, only to find there was 'not any part of this palace now standing but onely one tower thereof' , *ibid* (appendix).

25. ALCO 'Medium Registrum' f. 70r; Hacket: Scrinia Reserata ii p.35; Baker: St. John's ii p.674; W. F. Oakeshott: 'The College Chapel', Lincoln College Record (1957) pp. 8-12; Green: The Commonwealth of Lincoln College pp. 167-9; A. Clark: 'The consecration of Lincoln College Chapel' Collectanea (Oxford



Historical Society 4th series 47 1905) pp. 136-148; Taylor: *op.cit.* p.153; See also the editorial to the Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society 1880-1885 pp. 163-7.

26. John Williams: Great Britain's Solomon (London 1625) p. 38.

27. See above, Chapter Two p. 95.

28. J. Bliss, ed: Ninety Six Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes (Oxford 1841-3) 5 vols., ii pp. 54-5, these sermons were originally printed in 1629.

29. He refers to Villalpando and Serlio in Great Britains Solomon, pp. 7, 24, 34, 62; cf. Per Palme: The Triumph of Peace (Uppsala 1957) p. 24; the anonymous advocate of 'the beauty of holiness', T.R., was similarly inspired by Serlio: De Templis: A Treatise of Temples Wherin is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, consecrating and Adorning Temples (London 1638) p.186; Archbishop Laud employed one of Serlio's patterns to decorate the ceiling and main doorway to the Great Parlour in the President's lodgings at St. John's College, Oxford, which was completed in 1635, H. Colvin: The Canterbury Quadrangle (Oxford 1988) pp.79-80; for an earlier example (c.1623-4) see the designs in the great hall of Apethorpe manor, VCH Northampton pp. 545-6.

30. Giova Battista Villalpando: Ezechielem Explanationoles (Rome 1596-1604).

31. Sir Christopher Wren dismissed Villalpando's attempts to reconstruct the ideal forms of Solomon's temple, claiming that all he had successfully planned was a 'fine Romantick piece after the Corinthian order'. He went on to note that in Solomon's time architects followed 'the Tyrian Manner', E. F. Sekler: Wren and his place in European Architecture (London n.d.[c.1950-56]) p. 52.

32. Green *op.cit.*; RCHM City of Oxford p. 68; N. Pevsner: Oxfordshire (London 1974) p.147, who claims the screen was made c. 1675; A. Vallance: Greater English Church Screens (revised edition, London 1947) p. 160, who claims it was constructed c.1686.

33. Taylor: 'Royal Visit' pp. 153-4.

34. Quoted by R. Wittkower: Gothic versus Classic: Architectural Projects in the Early Seventeenth Century (London 1974) p. 76.

35. I have not yet discovered how widely such concordance was accepted. Staunch Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestants argued that Antichrist was prefigured by Babylon in a Biblical context, provoking criticism from Laud and other English Arminians who believed that the 'True Church', was 'neither Rome nor a conventicle', and did not exist as an invisible institution during the 'dark ages of Popery' but rather survived in the ecclesiastical establishments, A.Milton: 'The Laudians and the Church of Rome, c.1625-1640' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1989) p. 82; Laud: Works ii Dedicatory Preface to A Relation of the Conference betweene William Laud and Mr Fisher the Jesuite p. xvii.



36. Williams himself displayed his antipathy towards iconomachic sentiments soon after his collation to the deanery of Westminster in July 1620. He erected several statues, including one representing Abbot Islip, 'at his own cost'; Stanley: Westminster Abbey pp. 420-1.
37. William Prynne: Canterburies Doome (London 1646) p. 71; during his trial Laud was blamed for the presence of this image, an allegation he rejected under the curious (and wrong) pretext that it had been set up prior to his chancellorship (which began in 1630); Laud: Works iv p. 221.
38. Although older images, (like the New and Old Testament stories that are displayed in type/antitype sequence in the thirteenth century English glass on display in St. Peter Hungergate in Norwich) could be displayed according to this strategy, the use of iconic images in such a context is perhaps unique.
39. The images in the East window representing the crucifixion, the resurrection, the ascent of Elijah and the creation of Adam contain metaphysical scenes which are depicted through the use of the same devices employed by Bernard Van-Linge to represent the sickness of Hezekiah in the North East glass in the chapel of Balliol College, Oxford.
40. William Perkins: A Reformed Catholike in Works (London 1626 ed.) p. 588.
41. John Yates: Ibis ad Ceasarem (London 1626) p. 18; in 1611 Robert Cecil commissioned the artist Rowland Buckett to paint a picture representing the Annunciation, which includes the presence of a white dove ascending between the two figures, E. Auerbach and C. K. Adams: Painting and Sculpture at Hatfield House (London 1971) pp. 26, 152; this image was also used by Bishop John Warner for the font he commissioned and donated to Canterbury Cathedral in 1639, E. Warner: The Life of John Warner (London 1901) p. 16; an illustration of which may be found in G. Woodruff: Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral (London 1912) opposite p. 320; this subject was particularly abhorrent to the iconoclast Richard Culmer, who defaced this font: Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury (London 1644) pp. 5, 14.
42. See above, Chapter One, p. 53.
43. A point made by J. Davies: The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford 1992) p. 15 and jacket cover.
44. In spite of Laud's denial of responsibility for the images of Lincoln Chapel, according to a prosecuting witness in Laud's trial, William Benley, this glass was set up in 1637, when Williams would have been either in London answering the Star Chamber, or in exile in his diocese, HMC House of Lords Addenda 1514-1714 (New Series 11 1962) p. 414.
45. Sherfield's trial was in February 1633, Laud: Works vi p. 17.



46. Peter Studley: The looking Glasse of Schisme... (London 1634) p. 294; Studley was writing about the axe murderer, Enoch ap Evan, and tried to link his moral deviance to his religious nonconformity, P. Lake: 'Puritanism, Arminianism and a Shropshire Axe Murder' Midland History 15 (1990) pp. 37-65. Another 'flatterer', Isaac Bargrave, told Charles that Kings are 'God's Christs on Earth', using the logic that if to disobey a Royal Command was to disobey God, then disobedience to the king was tantamount to idolatry; Isaac Bargrave: A Sermon Preached before King Charles (London 1627) pp. 18, 20-21.
47. Soldiers visited the college to arrest delinquents in 1647; Green: *op.cit.* pp. 243, 248-9.
48. Williams evidently had to grant the Bishop of Oxford, Richard Corbett a commission to consecrate this chapel: ALCO 'Medium Registrum' f. 70r. He stayed in Buckden at this time, from where he dealt with delegations from the University (over the matter of statues) *Ibid* f. 70v.
49. The Eagle 17 (December 1891) p. 3; this appears to have been a calculated move since in 1637 Charles I tried and failed to sequestrate the books Williams had given to mitigate his Star-Chamber fine; *Ibid* 3 (1906-13) pp. 244-5.
50. R.Carnac Temple, ed: The Travels of Peter Mundy (Hakluyt Soc., second series, 4, 1924) p.27; Anthony Wood: Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls within the University of Oxford (ed. S.Gutch, Oxford 1786) p. 463; BL MS Sloane 1435 ff. 122r-123v; printed notice of the original of this poem, plus its authorship, is to be found in HMC Fifth Report pt.1 (1876) p.413(b).
51. It is ironic that some of the new glass (which survived the visitation) depicted Bishop Robert King, standing before the burning monastery following its dissolution. Like the other surviving window, it was provided by a private benefactor, King's brother's grandson, Canon Henry King. Bishop King sat on the bench that sentenced the Oxford martyrs, and so it seems that the Parliamentary visitors chose to leave this image since it could be construed to imply that the Bishop was getting his just deserts. During his trial William Laud was admonished for repairing the glass in Lambeth Palace chapel because the damage was meant to signify 'our indignation and detestation against them [ie images] like the ruins of our abbies and monasteries', John Rushworth: Historical Collections (1680-1700) 7 vols., ii p. 275.
52. I take this date from the earliest account where dating is given, Travels of Peter Mundy p.27; Anthony Wood, believed that they had been painted in 1634, Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls within the University of Oxford (ed. S. Gutch, Oxford 1786) p. 463.
53. For a general discussion regarding the politics of contemporary antiquarianism, see K. Sharpe: Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England (Oxford 1979); for Ussher, see Trevor Roper: Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans ch.3; and for Laud, Laud: Works v p.495.



Monuments to Edward the Confessor were major attractions for medieval pilgrims, especially those surviving in Westminster Abbey, M. Camille: The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image making in Medieval Art (Cambridge 1989) p. 126; John Weever: Ancient Funeral Monuments within the Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland and the Islands adjacent with the Dissolved monasteries therein Contained (London 1631) p. 3; William Somner: The Antiquities of Canterbury (London 1640) introductory dedication to Laud. John Bancroft, the Master of University College, shortly before he was appointed Bishop of Oxford, set up Alfred's arms in the old chapel, Wood: Colleges and Halls p.60; Alfred's reign was equated with that of Charles I's by Robert Powell, in a book he dedicated to another advocate of 'the beauty of holiness', Bishop Walter Curle, The Life of Alfred...together with a Parallel of Prince Charles (London 1634). According to William Dugdale, during the Civil War, the Earl of Essex's men, visiting Worcester Cathedral, destroyed lead chests containing the bodies of Saxon Kings, Bishops and Nobles, as well as statues of their Stuart successors, A Short View of the Late Troubles in England (London 1681) p. 558.

54. Wood: Antiquities p. 462.

55. This description is literally the same as the one of stained glass images offered by the 'Weamen of Middlesex' in their petition to the Long-Parliament. The Petition of the Weamen of Middlesex BL Thomason E180 (17) sig. A2.

56. Duppa's Chichester articles are printed in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders or Directions...of Public Worship (London 1867) pp. 506-8. The only other case of such an anti-iconoclastic inquiry is to be found in the visitation articles of Bishop Edmund Guest for 1572, in which he wanted to know if any images besides 'superstitious' images proscribed by the Elizabethan Injunctions, had been unlawfully destroyed in his diocese, M. Aston: England's Iconoclasts vol. I: Laws against Images (Oxford 1988) p. 318. Duppa's predecessor at Chichester, Samuel Harsnet, insisted that the plate of brass stamped with his effigy (in Chigwell, Essex) upon his grave 'be so rivetted & fastened near to the stone' to deny the opportunism 'of Sacrilegious Hands', F. Blomefield: Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk (London 1739-45) 3 vols., ii p. 404. A photograph of this plate can be seen in K. Fincham: Prelate as Pastor: the Episcopate of James I (Oxford 1990) between pp. 180 and 181.

57. BL MS Sloane 1435.

58. BL MS Sloane 1435 f. 122r.

59. *Ibid* f. 123r.

60. Travels of Peter Mundy p. 27.

61. Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 401-8.



62. Travels of Peter Mundy p. 33, my italics. Similarly, Gerrard exclaimed 'Ritcher glasse for figures and paintings I have not seene' Royal Visit p. 153. The coloured glass that Mundy saw in Magdalen must have been the same as that which Wood claimed the Parliament's soldiers sought out and destroyed in 1646, Colleges and Halls p. 351.
63. NCO MS 7626-7663 (1620-41).
64. NCO MS 7656.
65. NCO MS 7655, 1193, the latter MS is a contract drawn up by the carpenter William Harris for the approval of Pincke and the fellows.
66. *Ibid.*
67. NCO MS 7651. It was removed in 1646-7 and set up in the nave, NCO MS 7672.
68. NCO MS 7657.
69. NCO MS 7647; such prayers were regularly purchased by the parishes.
70. These celebrations are recorded annually in the accounts from 1630-1. For the prayers for the Scottish mission, see NCO MS 7660.
71. For example see C. Winston: 'On the Painted Glass in New College Chapel and Hall, Oxford', Archaeological Journal 9 (1852) pp. 29-59; C. Woodforde: The Painted Glass at New College, Oxford (Oxford 1951).
72. Especially in the chapels at Trinity, and St. John's in Cambridge, R. Willis and J. W. Clark: The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1886) 4 vols, ii pp. 284, 567-8, 572; SJCC College Rental 1555-1574 f. 104r.
73. For examples see Chapter One, pp.75-6, below, pp.262; A.Gray: Cambridge University: An Episodical History (Cambridge 1926) p. 104; organs, screens and images were the primary objects of violence, Willis and Clark: Architectural History ii pp. 38-9; Vallance: Greater English Church Screens p. 70; JCC MS Audit Book 1560-99 entry for 1568.
74. Woodforde: Painted Glass at New College p. 11.
75. *Ibid* p. 12; NCO MS Account Roll 7645 1630-31.
76. Initially there were sixty four of these figures NCO MS 7657 1637-8 cited in J. Buxton and P. Williams: New College, Oxford 1379-1979 (Oxford 1979) pp. 204-5.



77. J. Le Keux: Memorials of Cambridge (London 1847) 2 vols., i p. 193.
78. A. Attwater: Pembroke College: A Short History (Cambridge 1936) p. 68.
79. SJCC MS Rental 1634-5 f. 24r.
80. Peter Heylyn: Cyprianus Anglicus (London 1668, following 1680, ed.) p. 131; J. R. Bloxam: A Register of the Presidents, Demies...and other members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford, from the foundation of the College to the present time (Oxford 1853-55) 8 vols., ii p. lxxxix.
81. My italics, W. D. Macray: A Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, from the foundation of the College (n.s. Oxford 1894-1915) 8 vols., iii pp. 51-2 cf. Bloxham *op.cit.* pp.xciv-v; R. D. Middleton: 'The Chapel of Magdalen College in the time of President Frewen', Church Quarterly Review 149 (1949) pp. 72-9, 76.
82. MCO MS CS/36/18/18.
83. For Butler's work for Cecil at Hatfield see P. Croft: 'The Religion of Sir Robert Cecil' HJ 34 (1991) pp. 773-96; for his work for Curle at Winchester see F.R.Goodman, ed: The Diary of John Young S.T.P. Dean of Winchester 1616 to the Commonwealth (London 1928) p. 138; for Curle's links with Cecil see J. Bruce, ed: Manninghams' Diary (Camden Soc., o.s. 99 1868) pp. vii-viii.
84. PC MS Accounts 1628 and 1631; PC Register 1646-1719 p. 7.
85. For Frewen's preferment to Gloucester, see K. Fincham: 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity' in The History of the University of Oxford iv (forthcoming) p. 209 and n.121. I am grateful to Dr. Fincham for showing me this chapter in advance of publication. Laud does not appear to have been directly involved in this appointment but there is no evidence that he disapproved of it.
86. R. Taylor: 'William Laud, Dean of Gloucester 1616-1621', Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc. 76 (1953) pp. 85-6.
87. The description matches the picture of the fresco in Magdalen, printed in VCH Oxford iii p. 196; W.Bray, ed: The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn (London 1854) p. 267. The artist was Isaac Fuller who produced other Christocentric pictures for the chapel after the Restoration, T. C. R. Boase: 'An English copy of a Carracci Altarpiece', Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institute (1952) pp. 253-4; the lectern is reputed to be the first of its kind to be set up and used in post-Reformation worship, H. A. Wilson: Magdalen College (Oxford 1889) pp. 145-6; however a brass lectern was purchased for Durham Cathedral in 1589, and re-erected and repaired (suggesting possible iconophobic objections) in 1592, Durham Cathedral Muniments Room: MS D.C.B.3131; D. Marcombe: 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham 1558-1603' (University of Durham PhD thesis, 1977) p. 205; lecterns were damaged and destroyed by iconoclasts during the Civil Wars. A carpenter was ordered to destroy one at St. Cross's.



Winchester in 1643. However he could not bring himself to damage what he found to be a fine piece of craftsmanship, and so he cut the legs in such a way as to allow for their easy replacement, Notes and Queries n.s. 2 (1955) p. 545.

88. The extent of the damage at Magdalen should not be overestimated. In 1651 glass repairs were carried out, costing the college a mere £24-00, VCH Oxford iii p. 206; whilst three years later, Evelyn recorded how the chapel had been restored to its 'pontifical order, the altar only I think turned tablewise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteemed) were almost universally demolished;..' Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn p. 201.

89. James I's efforts to re-edify St. Paul's Cathedral, as the Langton/Van-Linge commission demonstrates, are often either overlooked or ignored. Even H.M.Colvin, in his introduction to his discussion of the early Tudors architectural patronage, contended that 'They were to be the last architectural tribute to be paid by the temporal power to the spiritual until the building of the great portico of old St. Paul's Cathedral in the reign of Charles I.' H. M. Colvin: The History of the King's Works (London 1963-1975) 6 vols., iii pt. 1 p. 1.

90. WCM 4/31. All three signed this agreement.

91. MCO MS CS 36/18/18.

92. MCO MS CS/36/3/2.

93. Greenbury had already received £2 for viewing the chapel in 1632, which has encouraged some writers to assume that he began the work at this time (this payment is recorded in Bloxham: Register vol. iii p. 281). Nearly everyone who has written about the chapel has assumed that Greenbury began work at this time; however the contract between Frewen and Greenbury was not signed until July 12 1637, MCO MS CS/36/3/3.

94. MCO MS CS/36/3/2.

95. MCO MS CS 3/3, the total cost came to £171 for the great west window, and £112 for the others.

96. Laud: Works iv p. 240; discussed in T. Watt: Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640 (Cambridge 1991) p. 160.

97. BL Additional MS 4274 f. 152r.

98. Richard Symmonds: 'Oxford Church Notes, 1643-4', Collectanea (4th series, Oxford Historical Society 47 1905) pp. 99-136, 128.

99. RCHM City of Oxford 72 (a).

100. W. A. D. Engfield: The History of the Painter-Stainers Company of London (London 1923) p. 65.



101. *Ibid* p. 65.
102. *Ibid* pp. 95-6.
103. *Ibid* p. 101.
104. B. Woodcroft: An alphabetical Index of Patents and Inventions (London 1969) p. 228.
105. Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural Society (1880-5) p. 167. Even with Symmond's notes it is impossible to determine which figure faced whom, and so we cannot say whether their iconic status was diffused by their context.
106. P. Lake: 'Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' in R. Cust and A. Hughes, ed: Conflict in Early Stuart Britain: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1640 (London 1989) pp. 72-107.
107. London 1624; K. Fincham: 'Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's defence of Protestant Orthodoxy' Historical Research 61 (1988) pp. 36-65; for the context of this publication in the prevailing debate concerning the visibility of the Church before the Reformation, see A. Milton: Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge 1995) ch. 6.
108. G. Parry: 'William Harrison and the two Churches in Elizabethan Puritan thinking', HJ 36 (1985) pp. 370-94.
109. John Prideaux: Certaine Sermons (Oxford 1637) p. 10.
110. H. Sydenham: Sermons on Solemn Occasions (London 1637) p. 266; the view of the cyclical appearance of 'the ungodly' was developed by St. Augustine of Hippo in his The City of God Bk. xii ch. 14.
111. Ninety Six Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes v p. 58.
112. CSPD 1639-40 pp. 87-8 no. 38; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, claimed that Laud began to assume that all Calvinists were Puritans following the abuse he got from Robert Abbot and other staunch Calvinists during his early days at Oxford, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, together with an historical view of the affairs of Ireland (Oxford 1849) 7 vols., i pp. 128-9. Much earlier John Howson had argued that Puritan teaching was beginning to sound like Arianism: K. Fincham and N. Cranfield, eds: 'John Howson's Answers to Archbishop Abbot's Accusations', Camden Miscellany, xxix (Camden Soc, 4th series, 34, 1987) pp. 319-41, 322. For details of the Arian schism itself see J. Stevenson, ed: A new English Eusebius: Documents illustrative of the History of the Church to A.D. 337 (London 1957) pp. 292, 340-352, 369, 375-7, 384-5.
113. For the biographical details I have tried to ensure that the hagiographical literature I have drawn upon would have been familiar to Greenbury and the



Magdalen Fellows. Standard texts available to them would have included the writings of Eusebius and Socrates, and other works like John Christopherson's collection of ecclesiastical histories, which include the works of Sozomen, Evagrius, and Theodoret, Historiae Ecclesiae (Lovain 1569 last ed. 1612) 8 vols.

114. Stevenson *op.cit.* pp. 336-337.

115. This citation is from book 10, ch. 4 of Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History, quoted in C. E. Pocknee: The Christian Altar (Alcuin Club Collections 32 1963) p. 64.

116. Aston: England's Iconoclasts, *passim*; D. Freedburg: The Power of Images (Chicago 1991) p. 394 ff; Camille: The Gothic Idol, pp. 203-220.

117. Examples of these parallels being drawn can be found in Lancelot Andrewes *op.cit.* ii p. 416 and other refs.

118. For the ideological context of this theory see J. P. Sommerville: 'The Royal Supremacy and Jure Divino Episcopacy', JEH 34 (1983) pp. 548-558; however Sommerville underestimates Laud's Patriarchal interests.

119. CSPD 1639-40 p. 87 no. 38, Laud to Joseph Hall November 11 1639. For the wider political context see J. Morrill, ed: The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context 1638-1651 (Edinburgh 1990); for the view that Scots propaganda helped to cement peoples' resolutions against the King see K. Sharpe: The Personal Rule of Charles I (Yale 1992) pp. 813-824; C. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford 1990) pp.38-9.

120. This line of thinking was attacked by William Prynne, in Lord Bishops none the Lords Bishops (Amsterdam 1640).

121. Fincham: 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity', p. 187.

122. William Prynne: Canterburies Doome p. 71; Bloxham: Register ii, appendix p. 281.

123. M. Whinney and O. Millar: English Art 1625-1714 (Oxford 1957) p. 55.

124. Wood: Colleges and Halls, pp. 329-31.

125. NCO MS 7661 1639-40; T. Corser, ed: Iter Lancastrense (Chetham Soc., 7 1845) p. xxii.

126. See Chapter Four, pp. 224-5; Chapter Two, pp. 98-101.

127. CSPD 1636-7 p. 544-5; this policy was one of the grievances levelled against Laud during the run up to his trial, CSPD 1643 p. 546 no.71.



128. Laud: Works vi p. 460. Kinsley accordingly applied this policy to the rest of his archidiaconal jurisdiction in 1636, Appendix to the Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders and directions...of public worship pp. 506-8, article 69. This policy formed one of the Parliamentary grievances against Laud, CSPD 1641-3 p.546. This monument may have been similar to the one erected by the Elizabethan gentleman Robert Reyce of Suffolk. Educated in Geneva under Theodore Beza, he returned to England to purge the church of Preston in Suffolk of popish relics and erected painted wooden tryptichs that contained a Latin commemoration of the defeat of the Armada and an exhortation against image worship, D. MacCulloch: Suffolk under the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600 (Oxford 1986) pp. 119-20.

129. M. Duffy: The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print 1600-1832 (Cambridge 1986) p. 58.

130. See Weneslas Hollar's engraving of the interior of the House of Lords, during Laud's trial, c. 1643. This is printed opposite the frontispiece to William Prynne: A Breviate of the Life of William Laud... (London 1643).

131. Wood: Colleges and Halls pp. 329-31; Laud: Works v pp. 49-70; H. R. Trevor Roper: Archbishop Laud 1573-1645 (London 1963) p. 120; Laud was effectively in charge of the University from 1628, and running the proctoral cycle from this time. I am grateful to Kenneth Fincham drawing this to my attention.

132. Thus between May and August 1631 a feud over the doctrines of the church focused on the pulpit of St. Mary's Oxford. Thomas Hill, Thomas Forde, Giles Thorne and William Hodges denounced 'Popery', 'Arminianism' and Pelagianism' to the consternation of Vice-Chancellor Smith. Hill attacked 'our Pelagian Votaries', arguing that 'Popish darts whet a fresh on a Dutch Grinston, have pierced deep, and without speedy succor will prove mortall.' He also maintained that support of Arminian views was regarded as a means to preferment in the Church; Prynne: Breviate of the Life of William Laud pp. 173-4; Dean Duppa of Christ Church kept Laud in touch with the proceedings. Charles heard both sides of the complaints at Woodstock in August, and reprehended John Prideaux and John Wilkinson, Principal of Magdalen Hall, for countenancing the 'factitious' (ie Anti-Arminian) parties, A. Wood: History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford ed. Gutch (Oxford 1796) 2 vols., ii pp. 370-380; Laud: Works v pp. 49-75; Bodl. MS Jones 17 ff. 300-309; cf. M. H. Curtis: Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642 (Oxford 1959) pp. 173-5; Davies: Caroline Captivity pp. 121-2.

133. Humphrey Sydenham was equally critical of the way altars were called 'dressers and oyster boards' in Somerset, Sermons on Solemn Occasions, p.270; In London, an altar might be called a 'good court cupboard', as Sir Henry Marten described the one in St. Gregory's, Davies: Caroline Captivity, p. 211.



134. Reprinted in Oxford Historical Society: Collectanea 4 (1904) p. 47 ff., my emphasis.
135. This sermon is at odds with Keith Thomas's belief that interest in consecration necessarily belied a belief that the temporal world could be affected through the 'superstitious' rituals and incantations these ceremonies appeared to involve, Religion and the Decline of Magic (London 1971) chs. 1 and 2.
136. P. Lake: 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness', in Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church pp. 165-85.
137. ECC Bur. 8. 1 (Bursars Accounts) f. 193r; BL MS Harleian 7019, discussed in A. Pritchard 'Puritan Charges against Crashaw and Beaumont', Times Literary Supplement (1964) p. 578; D. Hoyle: 'A Commons Investigation into Popery on the Eve of the Civil War', HJ 29 (1986) pp. 419-25.
138. P. Collinson: The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London 1967) pp. 125-6; P. Lake: Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (Cambridge 1982) p. 42 and *passim*.
139. ECC MSS 3. 2. 21 (College Register) p. 80.
140. ECC Bur. 8. 1 (Bursars Accounts) f.193r; in December the following year the Chancellor complained that worship performed in the chapel did not conform to the requirements of the Prayer Book. He also complained that hoods were not worn on Sundays and holy days and that scholars still failed to receive the sacraments kneeling, LAO Cijj/12/2/13 (Box labelled 'Universities 1555-1674').
141. C. H. Cooper: Memorials of Cambridge (Cambridge 1860-1866) 3 vols., i pp. 8-20; J. G. Hoffman: 'The Puritan Revolution and 'The beauty of holiness' at Cambridge' Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 72 (1982-3); Hoyle: 'Commons Investigation into Popery'; *idem*: 'Near Popery and yet no Popery: Theological Debate in Cambridge in Cambridge, 1590-1644' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1991) pp. 213-4; Trevor Roper: Catholics Anglicans and Puritans ch. 2; Whinney and Millar: *op.cit.* p. 57.
142. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists p. 194.
143. Willis and Clark: *op.cit.* i p. 42; RCHM Cambridge i p. lxxix.
144. The porch was demolished in the eighteenth century, Willis and Clark *op.cit.* i p. 45.
145. PC Register, p. 7; PC MS Accounts (unfoliated series of papers which effectively extend to 1637).
146. *Ibid.*



147. Christopher Wren: Parentalia (London 1750) p. 9; In 1635, money was found to repair and beautify Little St. Mary's chancel from the college chapel funds, where Parishioners were subjected to Richard Crashaw's liturgical experiments before the Civil War. The account for these repairs, costing over £111 can be found amongst the loose papers in PC Chapel Accounts 1628-32; for Crashaw see Pritchard: 'Puritan Charges against Crashaw and Beaumont' p. 578; Trevor Roper: Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans p. 107.

148. J. Sanson, ed: The Works of... John Cosin (Oxford 1843-5) 5 vols., i p. 79; BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 73. It is significant that both Aquinas and experimental Calvinists both believed that the 'secret will' of God was, to a certain degree, accessible to human scrutiny. By contrast the Caroline proclamation against predestinarian teaching reflects Laud's belief that the nexus of this theological conundrum remained 'unmasterable in this life'. Laud himself believed that the New College students' exclusive attention to Calvin undermined their future careers, but he did not prescribe any fixed alternatives, Laud: Works v p. 117.

149. R. Surtees: History and Antiquities of the County Palatinate (E. P. Reprint 1972) 4 vols., i p. cvii.

150. For the Devotions and the Primers see K. Newman: 'Holiness in Beauty, Roman Catholics, Arminians and the Aesthetics of Religion in Early Caroline England' in D. Wood, ed: The Church and the Arts (Studies in Church History 28 1992) pp. 308-9.

151. Hoffman *op.cit.* p. 99. Cosin's own Book of Common Prayer, heavily annotated, exists at Peterhouse; *ibid* p. 105 n. 55.

152. PC Register pp. 13, 16; PC MS Interregnum Journal f. 53. The latter reference is a list of variety of liturgical apparatus, including a variety of altar cloths; in 1645 'a bundle of pictures' were also discovered, f. 3. Peter Lake has recently argued that Laudians attributed a great deal of significance to the 'holydays' of the liturgical Calendar, an importance that stood in contradistinction to the singular 'Puritan' or 'Judaistic' 'Sabbath', 'The Laudian Style', p. 172. Peter Smart, a Calvinist critic of contemporary Arminianism, assumed that the IHS was a 'Jesuiticall' symbol. Cosin denied this, citing its appearance on London pulpit cloths, The Correspondence of John Cosin ed. G. Ornsby (Surtees Soc., 52, 55 1868-72) 2 vols., i p. 127. Yet this was probably a recent innovation for the fourteenth clause of the Root and Branch petition is proof of Cosin's claim '...the pulpits, clothed, especially now of late, with the Jesuit's badge upon them in every way' S. R. Gardiner: The Constitutional Documents of the English Revolution 1625-1660 (Oxford 1906) p. 140; Nicholas Cranfield has informed me that one such cloth, made from green Genoese velvet, survives in St. Laurence's, Reading. It was a gift to the town from William Laud (being his birthplace). The use of the symbol IHS goes back to the middle ages. Indeed the Marian martyr, John Philpot had this symbol inscribed on the frontispiece to his Apologie for Spitting upon an Arian (n. d.) however the iconomachic editors of the Cambridge Parker society in the last century chose to print the meaning 'Jesus



is God with us' in its place, for their edition of Philpot's works. The Apologie is printed in John Strype: Ecclesiastical Memorials (London 1816) vol. vii no. xliii; The Works of John Philpot (Cambridge P. S. 1842) p.293. The IHS was certainly appropriated by the Jesuits as their symbol, and it continues to adorn the frontispieces of books that come out of Jesuit presses. The sign was also linked to transubstantiation since it was inscribed on a number of mediaeval pixes, J. Scarisbrick: The Reformation and the English People (Oxford 1993), pp. 44-5.

153. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 73.

154. BL MS Harleian 7019 ff. 71-2; Sancroft reported that 'Dr Cosens is Vice Chancellor,..[yet]..it seemes 'tis Sir Cosens for he weares a bachelors gowne & 'tis thought he would bring others to it. Noblemen & Knights' eldest sonnes he would have weare round caps...' Bodl. MS Tanner 157 f. 97r. However, this practice had been enforced in Christ Church, Oxford in 1632 when all scholars, regardless of degree, were compelled to attend divine service wearing caps, Christ Church Oxford: Chapter Act Book 1549-1646 f. 260.

155. Willis and Clark *op.cit.* i p.145; tabernacles were subject to iconoclastic violence under Edward VI and Elizabeth, for instance, at Eton in 1561, and Christ's in 1550, *ibid* i p. 442, ii pp. 206-7.

156. Cosin's sacramental beliefs, which I have briefly summarised here are in The Works of John Cosin v. For the context of his beliefs within the Reformist tradition see J.H.Shephard: 'The Changing Theological Content of Sacrifice and it's Implications for Music in the English Church, c. 1500-1640' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1984) pp. 240-50.

157. T. R: De Templis: A Treatise of Temples Wherein it is Discovered the Ancient Manner of Building, Consecrating and Adorning temples (London 1638) pp. 199-200. T.R's conclusion appears to link the Lutheran Eucharistic theology of co-substantiation, advanced by such Elizabethan proto-Arminian divines as Bishop Richard Cheyney of Gloucester, with concepts of patristic hypostasis, which was promoted by Andrewes and his contemporary Sampson Price; C. Litzenberger: 'Bishop Richard Cheyney of Gloucester: an Infidel in Religion?' Sixteenth Century Journal 25 (1994) pp. 567-85, and see above, Chapter Two, p. 130.

158. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 71.

159. RCHM Cambridge ii p. 158.

160. These images may well have been found damaged in Little St. Mary's, since the chapel accounts reveal that a new set of wings for these images was produced between October 1631 and April 1632, whilst no reference survives pointing to their initial production; PC Chapel Accounts, sub. date.

161. Hoffman *op.cit.* p. 97; T.A.Walker: A Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men (Cambridge 1927) s. n. Skippon, Luke; I understand from the latter source



that Skippon had some connection with Bishop Neile and so may well have been connected with the court. Rubens's original was commissioned in 1620, T. L. Glen: Rubens and the Counter Reformation: Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620 (London 1977) pp. 57-61; Rubens was actually in England at the time of this commission, serving as ambassador for the Spanish Infanta at Court (Sharpe: Personal Rule of Charles I p. 67), but there is no evidence that Rubens was consulted or even aware of this stained glass. Sutton himself was a member of The Worshipful Company of Glaziers, which received its charter in 1638, C. H. Ashdown: History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers (London 1919) pp. 114, 117.

162. The precedent for diluting water with wine in the English service was established by Lancelot Andrewes in his private chapel in Ely the practice was approved of by William Laud who apparently brought an unusual implement called a 'triacle' for the purpose James I thought the practice would be a good way of impressing the Catholics, and so insisted that Matthew Wren and Leonard Mawe administer the sacraments to Prince Charles in this form during the marriage negotiation proceedings in Madrid in 1623, Prynne: Canterburies Doome pp. 22, 353; J. Collier: An Ecclesiasticall History of Great Britain, Chiefly in England (London 1708-14) 2 vols., ii p. 726.

163. J. Lempriere: Classical Dictionary of Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors (London 1949), s. n. 'Cabiri': the Pelegasi (presumably the semantic similarity with the otherwise unconnected pelagianism was not far from Cosin's mind) were mentioned by Varro (cf. St. Augustine of Hippo) and Cicero.

164. CUL MS Mm 1. 49 p. 455.

165. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 85; the fifth son of the first Earl of Westmorland kept Crucifixes and an organ in his Emmanuel chambers: Bodl. MS Tanner 158 f. 73r. Patrick Collinson has observed that 'sacrament gadding' by conformists (and possibly church papists) was a widespread activity in Elizabethan times, as 'gadding' to sermons was increasingly becoming; 'Puritans and the Elizabethan Church' in C. Haigh, ed: The Reign of Elizabeth (London 1984) p. 218.

166. J. O. Halliwell, ed: The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simmond D'Ewes During the Reigns of James I and Charles I (London 1845), 2 vols., ii p. 112.

167. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 73; A. G. Matthews: Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy During the Grand Rebellion (Oxford 1988) p. 87.

168. BL MS Harleian 7019 f.74; Pritchard, *op.cit*; G. G. Warters: The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw (New York 1972) p. xvii.

169. Baker: St John's ii pp.517-8; a probable future contributor would have been Lord William Maynard, who had already employed Baptista Sutton to produce



a crucifixion scene for his private chapel in Little Easton, in 1634. Nicholas Tyacke assumed that Maynard's work was the first of its kind in such a Protestant context, Anti-Calvinists, pp. 193-4; however, in 1621, Sutton had produced a crucifixion scene on glass for the late Protestant Sir Anthony Mildmay's chapel at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire, RCHM Northampton plate 62; scenes representing Christ's life and passion are also depicted in the glass in Wadham College chapel, completed in 1622, RCHM Oxford pp. 120-1.

170. SJCC Rental 1619-1634 ff. 242r, 358v; expenses included 'freeze work', also new kneeling mats and prayerbooks f. 334.

171. SJCC Rental 1555-1574 ff. 44r, 60v, 76r.

172. *Ibid* f. 104r., see also Willis and Clark *op.cit.* ii p. 292; Baker: St. John's i p. 153.

173. J. T. Fowler, ed: Rites of Durham being a Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, & Customs...of Durham before the Suppression (Surtees Soc., 107 1902).

174. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 74; Prynne: Canterburies Doome, p. 73; cf. Baker: St. John's ii pp. 629-30.

175. SJCC Rental 1634-5 f. 24r. This glass, though destroyed under Arrowsmith, survives in fragments in the great west tower of the new chapel.

176. *Ibid* f.76v, my italics.

177. Peterhouse chapel, SJCC Rental 1634-5 f.24r, 1635-6 f.49r.

178. SJCC Rental 1634-5 f.24r; 1635-37 ff. 76v, 102r; Baker: St. John's i p.93; Willis and Clark *op. cit.* ii p.293; Prynne: Canterburies Doome p.74; BL MS Harleian 7019 f.74.

179. SJCC Rental 1634-49 f. 226v; on the more recent discovery of the frescoes, see Cardale Babington: The History of the infirmary and Chapel of the Hospital and College of St. John the Evangelist at Cambridge (Cambridge 1874) p. 20.

180. SJCC Rental 1635-6 f. 49v; Willis and Clark: *op.cit.* p. 283.

181. SJCC Rental 1636-7 f. 76v; Dallam also made organs for Jesus and Kings; A. Gray and F. Brittain: A History of Jesus College, Cambridge (London 1960) p.76; Willis and Clark *op.cit.* i p. 518.

182. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 74.

183. Trevor Roper: Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans, pp. 85, 108; Laud: Works iv p. 221f., for the controversy surrounding Beale's election; see Charles's letters to the college, Baker: St. John's i p. 503, ii p. 623.



184. Baker: St. John's i p.217; The Eagle, 130 (March 1903) pp. 6-7; CUL MS Baker Mm 1. 38 f. 349; PRO PROB. 11/178/134; Robert Cecil's sons were taught by Richard Neile, and were probably also familiar with Lancelot Andrewes, a Cecil client which may well explain their interest in 'the beauty of holiness'; Croft: 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', p.793.

185. A. J. Tolly: Founders and Benefactors of St. John's College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1888), pp. 39, 102-3; for Beale's supervision of these projects and his direction of the college's finances to pay for them see SJCC Rental 1634-5 f. 24r, 1636-7 f. 76v; the Allots maintained strong links with St. John's, Richard Allot, a senior fellow, persuaded Richard Neile to help his cousin receive a fellowship in 1619, SJCC MSS D94 no. 6238c.

186. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 74, summarised by Tyacke, *op cit*; the lettering above the crucifix was more obviously no 'Jesuit's badge', and can be found in many medieval crucifixion scenes.

187. Bachcroft was an anti-Arminian who was evidently much disliked by Cosin, Mawe and other Arminian 'courtiers' (as Joseph Mede described them). In 1634 he joined other 'Puritan' masters in voting against Thomas Love's BD - to the Arminians' consternation, J. Twigg: The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution (Cambridge 1990) pp. 26-7, 31.

188. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 79; Willis and Clark: *op.cit.* i pp. 192-4; RCHM Cambridge i p. 74; C. Brooke: A History of Gonville and Caius (New Hampshire 1985) pp. 111, 122.

189. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 77. This was probably during Thomas Comber's mastership, which lasted from 1629 until 1635. In 1636, soon after Samuel Brooke's succession, it was 'Agreed by Master and Seniors to set our communion table in our chappell as it is in cathedrall churches and chappells at the upper End [of the chancel] and the ground to be raysed and yt the chappell be adorned accordingly', TCC Master's Conclusion Book p. 149.

190. For Willis's expulsion during the commonwealth see Twigg: Cambridge University p.296; for his chaplaincy to Lennox see Matthews: Walker Revised p. 41; for the raid on Lennox's house (in fact now he had been created Duke of Richmond) HMC Portland 3 p. 132. Lennox was once a staunch Calvinist; DNB s. n. Stuart, James.

191. TCC Senior Bursars Account book ff. 13r, 29r-v; see also Willis and Clark: *op.cit.* ii p. 575.

192. BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 77; cf. Hoyle: 'Commons investigation' p. 420; a painting of Queen Henrietta Maria by Greenbury hung in the combination room of St. John's, RCHM Cambridge p. cxiii. The discovery of 'Eight peeces of blew broad cloth with pictures on them drawne in oyle and black leade' found in Peterhouse library in 1653 also seems like Greenbury's work, PC Register p. 13.



193. CUL MS Mm 1. 49 p. 455; BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 78; in the accounts that survive for Queen's, beneath the heading 'Reparation of the Chappell 1632' payments for carpentry, glazing and painting are recorded, but the results are not elucidated, CUL Queen's College Book 6 f. 47r.

194. Martin's activities have been discussed by Hoyle: 'Commons Investigation', p. 421; Twigg: University, p.25; Milton: 'Laudians', p. 237.

195. JCC Bursars Accounts 1599-1643 f. 797; Gray: Jesus College p.75; the organ needed repairing in 1639, suggesting excessive use, Bursars Accounts f. 964; BL MS Harleian 7019 f. 80.

196. CUL MS Mm 1. 49 p. 356; JCC Audit book 1644-76 (Ac. 1. 4) f. 24; Bursars Accounts 1599-1643 ff. 303, 401, 425, 451, 475, 499, 524.

197. BL MS Harleian 7033 (MS Baker 6) f. 71v; Cooper: Memorials p. 387; Le Keux: Memorials p. 280.

198. JCC Audit Book 1560-99 entry for 1568.

199. BL Additional MS 70083 (unfoliated), I am grateful to Mr Arnold Hunt for this reference. Representations of angels were not formally ordered to be destroyed until the Long Parliament issued its second iconoclastic ordinance in May 1644, Aston: England's Iconoclasts pp. 76-7.

200. For example, in April 1636 George Gerrard wrote from the Court to Sir Thomas Wentworth, future Earl of Strafford, to inform him that 'The clergy are so high here since the joining of the white sleeves with the white staff [ie.the appointment of Bishop Juxon to the treasury], that there is much talk of having a secretary a Bishop, Dr. Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford; but this comes only from the young fry of the clergy, little credit is given to it, but it is observed they swarm mightily about the Court.' William Knowler, ed: The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches (Dublin 1740) 2 vols., ii p. 2; for analysis of the increasing power of the clergy under Charles I and Laud, A. Foster: 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised' in Fincham, ed: Early Stuart Church pp. 139-61.

201. Scott, ed: Notes from St. John's iii pp. 236-44; Bodl. MS Tanner 338 f. 308-9; Spincke had attacked the chapel beautification programme claiming 'the beautie of God's house doth not consist in the painting and pargetting the walls with Mosaick devises, not in anticking with Legends, not in copeing the ministers with sumptuous and gorgeous Apparell.' For the record of Spincke's expulsion see SJCC MS C51 f. 6r. Spincke actually went to Oxford and in 1643 he preached in favour of iconoclasm. He argued that all the pictures from the chapels should be collected and burnt together, citing Basel in 1528 as his precedent (as he did in the sermon he was forced to recant), Richard Spincke: A Sermon Preached in Oxford...1643 (Oxford 1644) sig.A3v. Venn mistakenly records that Spincke matriculated from St. John's in 1628 to become incorporated at Oxford, Venn:



202. Bodl. MS Top Oxon b. 48 ff. 35r, 36r, 46r.
203. Bodl. MS Tanner 338 ff. 373r-380r.
204. For Neile's role at Queen's see Diary of Thomas Crosfield p.74; and for Laud's satisfaction with the results, that included the installation of stained glass windows by Abraham Van-Linge, see Laud: Works v pp. 62, 84, 115, 143 cf. Fincham: 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity' p. 206; the degree of devout behaviour Curle, Laud and Neile required from scholars clearly reflected the precedents established by worship in the Chapel Royal, of which they all had experience. Laud cited St. George's Chapel Windsor and the ecclesiological precedents set there by Henry V (notably a prominent anti-Lollard) during the trial of William Prynne in 1637, Laud: Works vi pp. 57-60.
205. PC MS Accounts; Laud also employed the Peterhouse glazier Baptista Sutton to produce glass for Tothilfields chapel in Westminster, W. W. Lille: 'The trial of Archbishop Laud', Journal of Master Glass Painters 8 (1942) p. 140.
206. Laud: Works vii p. 355.
207. Laud: Works iv p. 223; HMC House of Lords Addenda 1514-1714 p. 414.
208. The results of Cosin's inquiry are printed in C. H. Cooper: Annals of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1842-1908) iii pp. 280-3; in 1637 Laud gained powers of visitation to most of the Cambridge Colleges, but did he not find time to carry out a visitation Twigg: University of Cambridge pp. 38-41; Fincham: 'Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity', p. 204.
209. V.Stanley, ed: Hierugia Anglicana (London 1848) p. 16; CUL MS Ec 6. 3 f. 118r.
210. Laud: Works v p. 610.
211. Davies: The Caroline Captivity.
212. Cade: Conscience: Its Nature and Corruption (London sig. 2), introductory dedication to Williams. Other contemporary descriptions of this chapel are to be found in Heylyn: Cyprianus Anglicus p. 13; Robert Ballie: The Canterburians Self-Conviction (1641) p. 56.
213. Taylor: 'Royal Visit' p. 153.



## CHAPTER FOUR

1. W. B. Shaw: The Story of Presbyterianism in Wigan: A Record of Three Centuries (London 1912) pp. 6-7.
2. K. Fincham: Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I (Oxford 1990) p. 227, n. 81.
3. R. C. Richardson: 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities: The Case of the Diocese of Chester' in B. Manning, ed: Politics, Religion and the English Civil War (London 1973) pp.3-37, 21 esp; VCH Cheshire 3 pp. 29-36; for Bridgeman's problems with the Crown, see W. Quintrell: 'Lancashire Ills the King's Will, and the Troubling of Bishop Bridgeman', Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 132 (1982) pp. 67-103; the leading plaintiff, James Martin, was once one of the King's (evangelical) Preachers in the North West. Martin believed that Bridgeman was guilty of praemunire, a factor indicating Charles I's personal interest in the case, CSPD 1631-3 p. 578.
4. LAO MS Cor.M/2 f. 58; for the context of this sermon see below, p. 220.
5. Having heard John Lewis preach in St. Alban's in the summer of 1620, Bridgeman brought him back to Wigan to work and teach. He thus joined two other ministers 'namely Mr Augustine Wilbore and Mr Sherlock', the latter being permitted to read a weekly lecture in the church, WRO D/D2-A13/1 f. 101; his preaching skills at court were noted by John Chamberlain, E. McClure Thomson, ed: The Chamberlain Letters: a Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626 (New York 1965) 2 vols., ii p. 161.
6. CRO EDA 3/1 ff. 244r-6r; a modified version of this sermon was read during the consecration of Sir Ranulph Crew's private chapel, Crew Hall, Lancashire in 1635, L. Wickham Legg: English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century (Henry Bradshaw Soc., 41 1911) pp.191-203. I follow the original MS where possible through out this section. In addition, Bridgeman consecrated Humphrey Booth's chapel in Salford, Lancashire in 1635, F. Gaskell, ed: Notitia Cestriensis (Chetham Soc., 8, 19, 1845-9) 2 vols., ii p.97. That year he consecrated Sir Thomas Aston's chapel, built to replace Middleton chapel in the Deanery of Frodsham. Beneath a coat of arms, it was inscribed 'Hanc Capella Parochia Priviligo Dotavit Joh. Bridgeman Epus Cestriensis... 1635 Notitia Cestriensis i pp.354-5.
7. This quotation, from 1 Corinthians 3. 17, was discussed by Sir Henry Spelman, who used it to attack post-reformation acts of sacrilege, especially impropriations, The History and Fate of Sacrilege (1632), ed. S. Warren (London 1895) p. 14.
8. For example, Prynne's fellow martyr, John Bastwick, argued that consecration was an intrinsically popish activity, and the assumption that one place was holier



than another effectively allowed for the doctrine of the real presence: 'It is a prodigious wickedness in deed and a thing not supportable to compare the Creator of all things to the creature, or to circumscribe the incomprehensible, or to think that with magnificence and statlinesse of buildings, or any presents to procure his fauour or make him more pripitious vnto us.' The Answer of John Bastwick..to the exceptions made against his Leetany... (Amsterdam [?] 1637) pp. 17b-18a. For a discussion of sectarian sensitivity to this issue, from the Lollards to the Interregnum, see K. Thomas: Religion and the Decline of Magic (London 1971) pp. 65-8.

9. WRO D/D-A13/1 f.160. The Calvinist Bishop of Durham, James Pilkington, insisted in the 1570s that 'It is popishe to believe that which the Bishops doe teach that place to be more holy than the rest'. Cited by T. Baker: History of the College of St. John the Evangelist (ed.E.B.Mayor Cambridge 1869) 2 vols., i p. 153 n. 4.

10. John Prideaux: A Sermon Preached on fifth October 1624 at the Consecration of St. James Chapel in Exceter College (Oxford 1625) sig. C3.

11. J. S. Fletcher, ed: The Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon of Outwood (Chetham Soc., 109 1880) pp. 24, 26.

12. Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon pp. 26, 33.

13. *Ibid* p. 33. Bridgeman had agreed to consecrate the chapel on 17 November 1627, but the Minister's stipend was not finally settled until 11 December 1634, CRO EDA 3/1 f. 246r.

14. Archbishop Neile refused to consecrate chapels until he was assured that the maintenance would be provided for an acceptable minister, see above, Chapter Two, p. fn ; Jerome Phillips had argued that poorly educated preachers had entered the clerical profession because of poorly paid stipends: 'sacrilegious patrons give their livings upon such dishonest terms', he complained, 'that no man of gifts or grace can accept them; and therefore they are faine to find out such as will accept them on any termes', The Fisher Man: A Sermon Preached at the Synod held at Southwell in Nottinghamshire (London 1623) p. 4.

15. Correspondence of Nathan Walworth and Peter Seddon p. 32.

16. *Ibid* pp. xxiv-v.

17. *Ibid* p. 32.

18. N. Pevsner: The Buildings of England: South Lancashire (London 1969) p. 424; N. Lossky: Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626) (Oxford 1991) pp. 104-5.

19. H. F. Kearney: Strafford in Ireland 1633-41: A Study in Absolutism (Cambridge 1989) pp. 115-6.



20. William Hinde: A Faithfull Remonstrance of the Holy Life of and Happy Death of John Bruen of Stapleford in the county of Chester (London 1641) p. 78; Bruen was not motivated by iconoclastic principles *per se*. Whilst he destroyed religious imagery, he left certain stained glass images representing kneeling laymen intact, G. Omerod: The History of the County Palatinate and City of Chester (London 1882) 2nd edition, ed. T. Helby, 3 vols., ii pp. 312-3, 320-1. In 1614 Bruen ran into trouble with Star Chamber for destroying seven crosses in Delamere Forest, Tarvin, Christleton or Vicars cross and Eccleston cross. The charges were brought by Sir John Savage. I have not yet been able to establish whether Savage was the then Mayor of Chester, or the future Catholic Earl Rivers. I hope to do a detailed case study of this incident, and its ramifications in the near future. Savages' complaint is re-printed in F. R. Crossley's 'Cheshire Church Furniture' pt. 3 Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society 55 (1940) p. 75.

21. Daniel King: The Vale Royall of England, or the County Palatinate of Chester Illustrated (London 1656) p. 203.

22. R. C. Richardson: Puritanism in Northwest England (Manchester U.P. 1972) p. 130. The Puritan Minister Richard Fogg became the curate in 1632. VCH Lancashire 6 pp. 152-3. Bridgeman consecrated the church of St. Stephen's, Astley in 1631. This Church had been re-built by Adam Mort, who had been recently accused of being a Puritan by the Vicar of Preston, James Martin. However, during the Civil War, Mort was suspected of being a Papist. *Ibid* pp. 143, 176; CRO EDA 3/1 f. 246r.

23. J. Davies: The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford 1992) pp. 18-19; for criticism of Davies's assumption that these divines engaged in 'Caroline idolatry' through equating the reverence due to both the altar and the chair of state, see N. Tyacke: 'Anglican Attitudes: Some Recent Writings on English Religious History, from the Reformation to the Civil War', JBS 35 (1996) pp. 139-67, 158.

24. See above, Chapter One, pp. 50-1.

25. For the view that the English Reformation stimulated 'a theological process that culminated in a revision of the nature of the sacrifice to be offered to God during worship' on account of the solifidian belief that the enormity of Man's sin prevented any hope of liturgical propitiation, see J. H. Shephard: 'The Changing Theological Content of Sacrifice and its Implications for Music in the English Church, c.1500-1640', (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 1984) p. 30 and *passim*.

26. My italics.

27. History of Wigan Manor p. 278.

28. For his residency, see the letter cited above, fn. 4. I have yet to unearth evidence that Bridgeman took up residence until the year before his appointment



as Cathedral receiver, SRO F/632 ff. 115-29 (Accounts for Peterborough Cathedral, c. 1608-10, 'from the time I was chosen receiver which was 28 October 1609'). In 1612, Bridgeman began his D.D. in Cambridge, and in 1614 he was appointed Cathedral Treasurer, *ibid* ff. 138-40.

29. N. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590-1640 (Oxford 1991) p. 16.

30. W. J. Sheils: The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough 1588-1610 (Northants. Record Soc., 30 1979) pp. 75-88 esp.; History of Wigan Manor p. 182.

31. G. T. O. Bridgeman: 'Bishop John Bridgeman of Chester' The Palatine Notebook 3 (Manchester 1883) pp. 1-12.

32. The ambivalence of Northampton's religious inclinations encouraged the libel that he was 'the great Archpapist, learned Curio' whilst an epitaph appeared on his death claiming:

'Here lies my Lord of Northampton, his maisties erwigg,  
With a Papisticall bald crowne & a Protestant perewigg.'

P. Croft: 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', HR 68 (1995) pp. 266-86, 278.

33. BL MS Harleian 7002 f. 295; I have not been able to find out more about Bridgeman's relationship to Northampton, although it is probable that it was secured through Bishop Dove, who was a client of the earl, L. L. Peck: Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I (London 1982) pp. 57, 230 n. 70. Bridgeman was elected canon residentiary 6 May 1615, Bridgeman: 'Bishop Bridgeman' p. 2.

34. L. L. Peck: "'For a King not to be Bountiful were a Fault': Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England", JBS 25 (1986) pp. 31-62, 40, more recently Peck has extended this argument, observing that points of 'contact' between patron and client were likened to points of contact between man and God, effected through good works and the intercession of the saints. For example, Francis Bacon could describe Buckingham as a 'good angel'. By contrast, John Prideaux, Calvinist and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford University, celebrated Christ as 'the greatest Master of Requests'; L. L. Peck: Court, Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England (1990) pp. 50, 82 esp. This issue is also discussed by Pauline Croft, in her review of Peck's book, HJ (1993) 36 p. 415.

35. See above, Chapter Two, p. 293 and fn. 37.

36. LAO MS Cor.M/2 f. 58.

37. Symon Gunton: The History of the church of Peterburgh wherein the most remarkable things concerning that place, from the first foundation thereof: With other passages of history not unworthy publicke view, are represented (London



1686) pp. 331-2.

38. Bridgeman's name figures beneath the list of Royal Chaplains amongst the King's entourage that was compiled before the journey, whilst G.T.O. Bridgeman discovered evidence from amongst the Bishop's personal papers respecting both the journey and Bridgeman's early acquaintance with the future Archbishop, HMC Downshire 6 p. 138.

39. History of Wigan Manor pp. 203-4.

40. Quintrell: 'The Troubling of Bishop Bridgeman'.

41. Bridgeman *op cit.* p.230. For the ritual of St. George's Chapel see Elias Ashmole: The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter (London 1672); for an example from 1635 see A. J. Loomie, ed: Ceremonies of Charles I: the Note Books of John Finet, 1571-1641 (New York 1987) p. 178.

42. The living's value at the time of Bridgeman's appointment was over £80 per annum, which made it the second best in the county (Winwick coming first), John Price: Danmonii Orientales Illustres: Or, the Worthies of Devon (London and Exeter 1701) pp. 99-100; In 1638, Bridgeman offered £1000 for the advowson for Wigan All Saints, but he was outbid by Sir William Murray, D.D., the Warden for Manchester College, History of Wigan Manor, p. 59.

43. Fincham: Prelate as Pastor p. 26.

44. Chamberlain Letters ii p. 161; the notion that Bridgeman found pluralism distasteful was first raised by his descendant, G. T. O. Bridgeman, on the basis of Bridgeman's resignation of the rectory of North Torton and the Vicarage of Heavitree following his acceptance of the Vicarage of Bexhill, Wigan Manor pp. 184-5, yet in 1621, Bridgeman became Rector of Bangor, which he held in commendam with Wigan All Saints.

45. History of Wigan Manor p. 187.

46. History of Wigan Manor p. 235.

47. *Ibid* pp. 263-4, 271-9; WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 95, 97-100, 103, 146; R. V. H. Burne: 'The History of Chester Cathedral in the Reigns of James I and Charles I', Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society 39 (1952) pp. 59-91, 71; CRO EDA 3/1 f. 254r.

48. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 2, 54, 56, 59, 62-3, 154 esp.; R. V. H. Burne: Chester Cathedral from its Founding by Henry VIII to the Accession of Queen Victoria (London 1958) pp. 104-5, 114-6.

49. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 59-63.



50. WRO D/D2-A13/1 f. 103; The History of Wigan Manor p. 263.
51. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 97-8, 100.
52. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 83-4.
53. *Ibid* ff. 97-8.
54. R. Dinn: "Monuments Answerable to Mens worth": Burial Patterns, Social Status and Gender in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds' JEH 46 (1995) pp. 237-55, 255.
55. *Ibid* pp. 248-9.
56. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 83-4.
57. Keith Thomas has shown that in the early modern period 'In a semi-literate society, still much dependent on oral tradition, it was the old who controlled access to the past. They were the repositories of local history and custom...' 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', Proceedings of the British Academy 62 (1976) pp. 205-49, 233-4.
58. WRO D/D2-A13/1 ff. 68, 105, 117, 150, 154.
59. *Ibid* f. 103. The Gerrards of Ince were an old catholic family, yet this attempt to control family burial places suggests a degree of long-term conformity, or at least 'church popery'. F. O. Blundell: Old Catholic Lancashire (London 1925) 3 vols., ii p. 82, iii p. 203; Bridgeman's claims that some of his parishioners remembered Mary I 's reign seems dubious - but the fact that the roodloft survived well into Elizabeth I's reign indicates the religious conservatism of the parish.
60. WRO D/D2-A13/1 f. 150.
61. A. Foster: 'Church Policies in the 1630s' in R.Cust and A.Hughes, eds: Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-42 (London 1989) pp. 193-23, 204-5, 216.
62. WRO D/D2-A13/1 f. 103: '[in] this old chancell...I & my predecessors tyme out of mind have set at the west end thereof & my wife at the East end & my servants all along the south side & the ministers box stood on the north side...& the communion table stood in the midst & the organs have stood over the same'.
63. M. Aston: 'The Segregation of Women in Churches' in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, eds: Women in Church (Studies in Church History 27 1990) pp. 237-94. In Durham Cathedral, a line drawn by Bishop Cosin in the 1660s to demarcate the bounds beyond which women were not permitted to pass still survives; for the location of the reception of communion in Jacobean churches, see G. Yule: 'James VI and I: Furnishing the Churches of his Two Kingdoms' in A. Fletcher and P.



Roberts, eds: Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson (Cambridge 1994) pp. 182-208.

64. WRO D/D2-A13/1 f. 117, and repeated in November, 1622, f. 155.

65. *Ibid* f. 150.

66. *Ibid* ff. 105, 146.

67. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 131; VCH Lancashire 6 p. 181 n. 4.

68. For Wigan recusancy in the early seventeenth century see VCH Lancashire 4 pp. 57-8; Blundell: Old Catholic Lancashire ii p.48; Blundell claims that the landed proprietors of the Wigan area remained largely Catholic during this period.

69. A. Milton: Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge 1995) p. 365.

70. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 196r; History of the Church and Manor of Wigan p. 343.

71. K. Fincham and P. Lake: 'The ecclesiastical policies of James I and Charles I' in K.Fincham, ed: The Early Stuart Church (Basingstoke 1993) pp. 23-49.

72. C. Haigh: 'Finance and income in a new diocese: Chester 1541-1641', in R. O'Day and F. Heal, eds: Continuity and Change Personnel and Administration in the Church of England 1500-1642 (Leicester U. P. 1976) pp. 145-166.

73. CRO EDC 5/1619 no. 20.

74. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 254r; History of Wigan Manor pp. 277-9.

75. CRO EDD 3913/1/4 ff. 165, 167, 199, 266, 223.

76. CRO EDD 3913/1/4 f. 223.

77. Henry Bradshaw: The Holy Lyfe and History of Saynte Werburgh (1521) ed. E.Hawkins (Chetham Soc., 18 1848) p. 137; William Dugdale: Monasticon Anglicanum (London 1817) 2 vols., ii p. 371.

78. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 226v.

79. CRO EDD 3913/1/4 f. 325; for the commission, see CRO DCC/14/68.

80. Richardson: *op.cit.* pp. 16-19.

81. Burne *op.cit.* pp. 106-7.

82. Bridgeman believed that St. Oswald's church was under his immediate jurisdiction as Bishop of Chester, but this was contested by the Dean and Chapter.



83. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 220r-v,130v; Burne: *op.cit.* p. 104.
84. CRO P29/7/2 f. 163 (St. Oswald's vestry book 1607-20); CRO P29/7/1 f.28r (Churchwardens accounts 1575-1629).
85. CRO P29/7/2 ff. 79-80; CRO P29/7/1 f. 34r.
86. N. Aldridge: 'Loyalty and Identity in Chester Parishes 1540-1640', in S. Wright, ed: Parish Church and People (London 1988) pp. 85-125, 94-5; R. Tittler: 'Seats of Honour, seats of Power: The Symbolism of Public Seating in the English Urban Community, c.1560-1620', Albion 24 (1993) pp. 205-225, 218.
87. CRO EDA 3/1 f.130v; Burne *op.cit.* pp. 104-5.
88. CRO EDC 5/1630-31 no. 1.
89. *Ibid.*
90. The mayor and aldermen boycotted the cathedral because of a row over status and seating. A similar battle took place between the mayor and Sir Ranulph Crewe at Holy Trinity in 1639 over seating privileges, CRO EDC 5/1639 no. 20.
91. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 130v.
92. CRO P29/7/2 f. 309.
93. This report is printed in History of Wigan Manor pp. 369-71.
94. Foster: 'Church policies of the 1630s', 202-3; VCH Cheshire 3 pp. 34-5; R. A. Marchant estimates that for between 1635 and 1639 churches within Neile's jurisdiction 'spent about £40 on its church in fabric repairs and improvements, and the provision of church furniture and ornaments.' The Church Courts under the Law (Cambridge 1969) p. 200.
95. SRO D1287/P/399/123.
96. SRO D1287/P/399/132.
97. In December, Potter noted that 'Our good friend Dr Easdall may perhaps with his good master's help come of a more happily than an honest man', but he was unsure how 'to take curb his insolencye and right ourselves', and asked for Bridgeman's advice, *Ibid* 136.
98. A point made by Dr. William Richardson in his paper on the Elizabethan Episcopate, The Religious History of Britain Seminar London 29 November, 1994.
99. Quintrell: *op.cit.*



100. BL MS Harleian 2103 f. 29r; CRO P65/8/1 (St. Michael's Churchwardens Accounts, entry 1633-4) records payment for the rail. This order demonstrates that Bridgeman wanted altars set in an 'altar-wise' position, and thus confutes Julian Davies's argument that Bridgeman 'enforced only the rail and the east-end position', The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford 1992) p. 218.

101. The churchwardens accounts do not indicate that Bridgeman's orders respecting the screen were adhered to. In fact in 1638-9, 30li 4s 6d was 'paid a mason for his worke in the church about the skreene', CRO P65/8/1 sub. date. In 1640, the churchwardens were summoned to the consistory court again on the charge that the 'skreene or partition betwixt the bodie of the church and the chancell was soe defaced or demolished that it could not be easily discerned that there was any skreene or partition at all, and that the seats in the chancell were not quire wise. It was therefore ordered that partitions or skreenes should be forthwith erected and made handsome & decent with long pillasters to sever the bodye of the church from the chancell and the chancell from the North and South side thereof.' It was also observed that some seats in the church were 'doubly benched soe the people doe sit with their backes towards the Lord's table or communion table'. CRO EDC 5/1640 no. 60. Was the remaining partition deliberately damaged, as a reaction to the consistory court's ecclesiological orders?

102. CRO EDC 5/1634 no. 96; EDA 3/1 ff. 252v-253r. Surprisingly, B. P. Levack does not note this appointment in his biography of Mainwaring. B. P. Levack: The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641 (Oxford 1973), Appendix, s. n. Mainwaring, Edmund. In 1640, Mainwaring ordered the churchwardens of St. Michael's in Chester to re-erect their chancel screen, and make it 'handsome and decent with long pillasters to sever the bodye of the church from the chancell and the chancell from the North and South sides thereof'. He also insisted that Parishioners should receive the sacraments 'at the Rayle or...before the communion table'. CRO EDC 5/1640 no. 60.

103. BI MS High Commission Act Book f. 352r; H. Blomefield: 'On Puritanism in Chester 1637: An Account of the reception of William Prynne by certain inhabitants of the City of Chester when on his way to be imprisoned in Carnarvon Castle' Journal of the Archaeological and Historic Society of Chester 1st series, pt. ii (1876) pp. 271-88; SRO D1287/P/399/158.

104. Burne: Chester Cathedral pp. 118-9.

105. John Ley: A Letter (Against the Erection of an Altar) written June 29 1635 (London 1641), my italics pp. 2-4, 19-20.

106. *Ibid* p. 16.

107. *Ibid* p. 4.

108. I have found no other evidence of people contributing images to the cathedral at this time, although it is possible that Ley was critical of surviving



pre-Reformation images.

109. CRO EDA 3/1 f. 131; it is also possible that Bridgeman was inspired by his father in law, William Helyar, who caused controversy by setting up pictures in Exeter Cathedral shortly after James I's succession, see above, Chapter Two pp. 107-8.

110. PC Register p.13 (List of benefactors). Bridgeman donated £20.

111. See above, Chapter One, pp. 66-7, 74-7.

112. CRO EDD 3913/1/4 f. 325; for Bruen's commission, see CRO DCC/14/68.

113. Ley: *op.cit.* pp. 19-20; Thomas Morton: A Defence of the Innocencie of the Rhree Ceremonies of the Church of England (London 1618).

114. CRO EDC 5/1619 no. 29.

115. CRO EDC 5/1622 no. 7.

116. CRO EDC 5/1623 no. 50.

117. CRO EDC 5/1628 no. 4. Another interesting case involved Thomas Ireland of Warrington in 1631. Ireland was brought before the Consistory Court for having built a seat 'in the manner of a scaffold 12 foot above the floor on pillars of wood' thus overlooking the pulpit and congregation, CRO EDC 5//1631 no. 15; for a further example see C. Wren: Parentalia London 1750) p.74.

118. CRO EDA 3/1 ff. 130v-131r.

119. ie. He continued to invest, rather than exploit his immediate gains.

120. SRO D1287/P/399/165B.

121. SRO D1287/P/399/162A, Thomas Mallory to Neile, February 1638.

122. SRO D1287/P/399/162B.

123. SRO D1287/P/399/162B.

124. SRO D1287/P/399/123.

125. SRO D1287/P/399/165B.

126. SRO D1287/P/399/145.

127. CRO EDC 5//1623 no. 50; EDC 5//1628 no. 29.

128. The living was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time, which would explain Vicar Henry Tilson's appeal to Laud. This factor does not

alter the probability that Bridgeman relaxed his clericalist seating policy out of deference to Neile's wishes. It also demonstrates Laud's greater sympathy with Bridgeman than with Neile over this issue at this particular time.

129. SRO D1287/P/399/176.

130. Used to usher the mayoralty out of their seats.

131. SRO D1287/P/399/176.

132. This correspondence between Laud and Bridgeman is printed in the Cheshire Sheaf (1880) 1 pp. 9-10.

133. The Prynne episode is discussed below, pp. 254-7.

134. Cheshire Sheaf pp. 9-10. 'Prynne's entertainment' and its political ramifications are discussed in the following section.

135. K. R. Wark: Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire (Chetham Soc., 19 1971) ch. 9.

136. Richardson: 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities'.

137. HMC 12th. Report Appendix pt. 2: Cowper MSS pt. i p. 401, 1 February 1630; Bridgeman's presence in Lancashire was appreciated by the Liverpool Corporation. They exploited his accessibility and petitioned him to provide monthly sermons by 'conformable' ministers, in lieu of the fact that Liverpool was 'a markett Towne and a Towne of great Resort and [sic] many Papists Inhabiting thereaboutes', R. G. Doffie: 'John Crosse of Liverpool and Recusancy in Early Seventeenth Century Lancashire' Recusant History 20 (1991) pp. 31-48, 35.

138. P. Collinson: The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London 1967) pp. 406-7; C. Haigh: Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire (Cambridge 1975) pp. 300-4.

139. Richardson: 'Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities' pp. 21-3 esp., Bridgeman is known to have looked favourably on a number of non-conformists across his diocese, VCH Cheshire 3 pp. 32-4; VCH Lancashire 2 pp.61-2. He got into trouble with James I and Charles I (thanks to Richard Neile) for this behaviour, Wigan Manor p. 371; CRO EDA 3/1 ff. 280-1, 251.

140. Ley: *op.cit.* pp. 19-21, cf. Tyacke: Anti-Calvinists p. 223.

141. I have dated this letter according to the time of Angier's suspension, see above, p. 214; Life of Angier pp. 57-8. Abbot's suspension from the primacy had just been lifted, but it is clear that Laud was the key force in ecclesiastical affairs at this time.



142. Ley: *op.cit.* p. 17.
143. As Bishop of Durham, Matthew destroyed an elaborately carved Maunday bench that had survived the fierce iconoclastic activities of Bishop Pilkington, D.Marcombe: 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral 1558-1603' (University of Durham PhD thesis, 1973) p. 205.
144. Charles Herle to Bridgeman circa. April 1641, SRO D1287/P/399/210.
145. Blomefield: 'On Puritanism in Chester 1637'.
146. Laud wrote to Bridgeman discussing the issue on 21 November 1637, only five days after Bridgeman received a reply from Neile, SRO D1287/P/399/158, 159.
147. SRO D1287/P/399/5B.
148. William Knowler, ed: The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches (Dublin 1740) 2 vols., ii p. 115.
149. PRO STAC 8: 21/06.
150. SRO D1287/P/399/5B.
151. Burne: Chester Cathedral p. 119.
152. SRO D1287/399/P/158.
153. SRO D1287/P/399/159.
154. SRO D1287/P/399/7B.
155. See above, Chapter Three, pp. 156-7.

## CONCLUSION

1. For example, see K. Newman: 'Holiness in Beauty, Roman Catholics, Arminians and the Aesthetics of Religion in Early Caroline England' in D.Wood, ed: The Church and the Arts (Studies in Church History 28 1992) pp. 303-13.
2. G. Bliss, ed: Ninety Six Sermons; By the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrewes (Oxford 1841-3) 5 vols., v p.69.
3. C. Russell: The Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford 1990) p. 107.
4. For example see Edmund Gurnay: An Appendix unto the Homily against Images in Churches (London 1641); Thomas Warmstry: A Convocation Speech...Against Images, Crosses, the New Canons, and the Oath & c., (London 1641); George Saltern: A Treatise against Images and an answer to those who object that the times have changed (B.L.Thomason E/173[8] London 1641).
5. See above, Chapter One pp. 79-82 ; Chapter Four pp. 232, 240, 252.
6. John Aubrey: 'Brief Lives': Chiefly of Contemporaries Set Down...between the Years 1669 and 1696: edited from the Author's MSS. ed. A.Clark (Oxford 1898) 2 vols., ii pp. 23-4, my italics.
7. According to Anthony Wood, Lord Saye did not arrive in Oxford until September. He also noted that soldiers appeared in Christ Church but did not perform any violent acts, Life and Times 1632-1663 (Oxford Historical Society 19 1891) pp. 60-63.
8. BL MS Harleian 6424 ff.44v-45r; for the authorship and dating of this manuscript see C. Russell: 'The Authorship of the Bishop's Diary of the Long Parliament in 1641', BIHR 41 (1968) pp. 229-36.
9. E. Duffy: The Stripping of the Altars (Yale 1992).
10. PC Interregnum Journal 13 April 1657 ff. 81-2, my italics. Norwich did not escape the Parliamentary investigation lightly. He was alleged to have spoken in favour of flagellation, auricular confession and justification through works in a sermon that he had delivered in St.Mary's. He also was observed using the sign of the cross 'at our devotion' and derided those who refused to receive the sacraments at the altar rails, BL MS Harleian 7019 ff. 61-2.
11. Paske was Cathedral Treasurer in 1633, CCL MS DCC Treasurers Accounts no.41 (1633); A Copy of a letter sent to a Honourable Lord by Dr Paske; reprinted in Bruno Ryves: Querela Cantabrigensis (London 1685) pp. 118-20 and HMC Fifth Report pp. 45-7.
12. J. Morrill: 'The Attack on the Church of England in the Long Parliament, 1640-2', in D.Beales and G.Best, eds: History, Society and the Churches (Cambridge 1985) and reprinted in J.Morrill, ed: The Nature of the English



Revolution (London 1993) pp. 69-90.

13. M. Aston: England's Iconoclasts: vol.i Laws against Images (Oxford 1988) pp. 74-7; however if the Puritan controversialist, John Vicars, is correct then the iconoclasm began considerably earlier. Vicars claimed that the King's soldiers, marching up to York on their way to the 'Bishop's Wars' in 1640, 'did most strangely and uncontrollably turn rude-reformers, as they marched through the contreys, forcibly intruding and getting altar rails, turning altars into communion-table postures, making enquiries...how their ministers carried themselves in their pastorall charges.' Marginalia Dei Anglicana or English Parliamentary Chronicle (London 1646) 3 vols., i p. 294.

14. Aston: *op.cit.* pp. 74-92; J. Morrill: 'William Dowsing, the Bureaucratic Puritan' in J.Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf, eds: Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England: Essays Presented to G.E.Aylmer (Oxford 1993) pp. 173-204.

15. Reprinted in John Rushworth: Historical Collections (London 1659-1701) 7 vols., ii p. 283 and Bulstrode Whitelocke: Memorials of Great Affairs of State (London 1680) pp. 210-13.

16. Wood: Life and Times, 1632-1663 pp. 131, 138 n. 2; Bodl. MS Tanner 338 ff. 243r-244v; I. J. Gentles suggests that most Civil War iconoclasm was carried out between 1642-4, and that, of over nine thousand churches, fewer than thirty were subjected to iconoclasm. However he does not mention the university chapels or consider acts of iconoclasm that continued sporadically throughout the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Nevertheless, his overriding argument that more iconoclasm was carried out during the Tudor Reformations is probably correct, The New Model Army in England and Wales, 1645-1653 (Oxford 1992) pp. 109-10.

17. P. Croft: 'The Religion of Sir Robert Cecil', HJ 34 (1991) pp. 773-96. I. Atherton: 'Viscount Scudamore's Laudianism: The Religious Practices of the First Viscount Scudamore' HJ 34 (1991) pp. 567-96.

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MSS Baker (Eighteenth century transcripts of documents concerning the history of Cambridge University, compiled by Thomas Baker).  
Mm.1. 38: MS Baker 27.  
Mm.1. 46: MS Baker 35.  
Mm.1. 49: MS Baker 38.  
MS Ec. 6. 43.  
MS Additional 48.  
MS Queens College Book 6 (account book 1621-91).

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL LIBRARY (CCL)  
MS Dcb. X. 1. 4.  
DCC Treasurers Accounts no. 41 (1633).



CHESHIRE RECORD OFFICE (CRO)

MSS DCC/14/68, EDA 3/1, 3/2, EDC5/1619 nos. 20, 29, 1622 no.7, 1623 no. 50, 1628 nos. 4, 29, 1630/31 no. 1, 1631 no. 15, 1634 no. 96, 1639 no. 20, 1640 no. 60, EDD 3913/1/3, 3913/1/4, P29/7/1, P29/7/2, P65/8/1, P87/1/1.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1549-1646.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL DEAN AND CHAPTER LIBRARY (DCDCL)

MSS Hunter 9, 10, 25, 44, 67.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL MUNIMENTS ROOM

D. C. B. 3131 (Purchase of a brass lectern, 1589).

EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE (ECC)

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Bur. 8. 1 (Bursars Accounts 1599-1643).

CHA 1. B 4 (Inventory Book).

JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE (JCC)

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Ac. 1. 4: Audit Book 1644-1676.

Bursars accounts 1557-9.

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JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER

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LINCOLN ARCHIVES OFFICE (LAO)

Red Book 1611-93.

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