Migrations of the Holy: The Devotional Culture of Wimborne Minster, c.1400-1640

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Short abstract

This thesis is a study of the religious culture of the market-town parish of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, from c.1403-1640. Broadly, it is a contribution to the history of the English Reformation (or Reformations, as the historian pleases; capital 'R' or lower-case). Religious change is the most significant focus, but over a longer period of time than is usually allowed for. Such themes as lay control, tithe controversies, relations with the ordinary, and popular support for preaching and church music are considered, as well as theological issues about the nature of English and European Protestantism. The thesis includes quantitative evidence drawn from the parish churchwardens' accounts and also wills.

The date range was chosen for a number of reasons. First, because the available evidence for the parish is unusually rich, and allows for a kind of sustained attention that cannot be directed towards other such parishes: Wimborne has among the earliest and most complete surviving churchwardens' accounts in England (beginning in 1403), as well as myriad other sources, including hundreds of wills, and corporation and church-court records. Secondly, as a means of pursuing Alexandra Walsham's 'migrations of the holy' agenda. Walsham believes that investigation of religious change in the late medieval and early modern periods is hindered by those very periodisations, which are in fact products of the changes in question; how, then, to study religious change without presupposing too much? To that end, the structure of this thesis is both chronological and thematic; and an attempt has been made to preserve what was unique and so important about the changes of the mid-sixteenth century, during the reigns of Henry VIII and his progeny, at the same time as revealing deeper structural changes – and continuities too.

The broad division of the thesis is into two parts. This first three chapters, part one, establish the early religious scene in the parish, examining the legacy of the Minster's place as a mother church in the Anglo-Saxon landscape of east Dorset, and how parish identity and forms of self-organisation were put to the test during the reigns of Henry VIII and his son, Edward VI. In part two, the focus is the interaction between the parishioners and the parish's new governing structure, a closed corporation of 12 lay worthies; in particular, the governors' attempts to provide regular preaching of the most sophisticated kind, as well as elaborate polyphonic music, and disputes arising from their management of the tithes and the divisive behaviour of one preacher in particular.

Long abstract

The thesis is a longue durée study of the market-town parish of Wimborne Minster, Dorset, from c.1400 to 1640. It falls within the history of the English Reformation, but also attempts to make a contribution to a new methodological debate about religious change and how best to study it historically; this debate has been initiated by Alexandra Walsham, who has suggested John Bossy's concept of 'migrations of the holy' as a new organising concept – hence the title of this thesis.

The principal questions are these: did the changes usually associated with the Reformation (considered as a phenomenon of the mid-to-late sixteenth century) happen at Wimborne; how? And how do such changes fit (or not) into religious trends in the parish over a longer period? The last question can be rephrased as one about the interpretive value of periodisation, especially of periodisations which have emerged out of the changes in question: is the concept of a Reformation or Reformations useful; or does it presume too much? Principal themes include lay self-organisation and control of parish religion, the institutional determinants of religious change, episcopal enforcement of orthodoxies old and new, tithes and tithe disputes, popular support for preaching and church music, as well as the theological issues at the heart of Protestant attitudes to both. The analysis of religious change is underpinned by quantitative analysis of trends in the parish churchwardens' accounts and, to a lesser extent, the wills of parishioners, across the period of study.

The date 1403 was chosen because it is the date of the first surviving churchwardens' account; 1640, because it marks a significant threshold in British history, the beginning of the Civil Wars. An investigation of this depth, which is unusual for small-town parishes and indeed for most studies of the English Reformation, has been made possible by the extraordinary survival of Wimborne's churchwardens' accounts. These accounts make up one of the principal sources for the thesis, allowing year-on-year plotting of trends in expenditure, gifts, bequests and burials. Other sources of note are wills, corporation records, local narrative and antiquarian accounts and material from the parish's consistory court, including act books and churchwardens' presentations.

The thesis is organised around Norman Jones's observation that different communities and different institutions experienced different Reformations; institutions structured the responses of ordinary people to officially mandated religious change. In Wimborne's case, this means an

ongoing analysis of the interaction between the parish's governing structures, first a royal free chapel and then a parish corporation, on the one hand, and the parishioners themselves on the other. Because of the Saxon origins of the royal free chapel, the thesis must necessarily consider an even longer span of time than the period 1403-1640. The college had its genesis in and derived its enduring characteristics from the pre-parochial minster system; and even after the college's dissolution, the parish and its governance still bore the distinct imprint of the college and its ancient origins. At Wimborne, parish identity and autonomy were especially strong, because the parish was and remained (until the mid-nineteenth century) a peculiar jurisdiction outside the authority of the local bishop.

The first part of the thesis is a challenge to J.H. Denton's contention that a 'balanced account' cannot be written of the effects the royal free chapels and their administration had on the worship of the parishes they served. Denton is one of only a handful of historians to write about the royal free chapels in detail. Royal free chapels became notorious for the negligence of their deans and prebendaries, largely because those positions were used as ready sinks of patronage for the king to reward his household and close followers. While in this respect Wimborne was typical, all the 'inclusive institutions' (Robert Whiting) of the late medieval church were still present, and behind them a vigorous lay organisation; and perhaps the latter was made more vigorous by the independence allowed by the absenteeism of the deans and prebendaries. In the first and second chapters of this three-chapter part, long-term trends in giving, burial and commemoration are considered, and they reveal that the Minster remained in a very real sense what it had been in the late Anglo-Saxon period: a mother-church in the local landscape. These chapters also draw on a forthcoming article about the Minster's native cult, St Cuthburga, and compare it to the cult of Henry VI, which appears to have been adopted through Lady Margaret Beaufort's influence. The third chapter concerns the religious changes of the 1530s and 1540s, including the dissolution of the college in 1548, and its longer-term effects. This chapter sets the scene for the second part of the thesis. In line with the 'migrations of the holy agenda', an attempt has been made to preserve what was distinct about these changes from the longer-term changes described in the earlier chapters. The dissolution of the royal free chapel produced a fundamental redistribution of power and ownership in the parish, over a period of 40 years.

The second half is composed of four chapters: two on the interesting and unusual regime of preaching and polyphonic music that developed during the reign of Elizabeth I and after – the 'cathedral order of service', as the parish's new corporation had it – and two on challenges to that

regime, from within and outside the parish. For generations of historians of English Protestantism, such a regime would have been a conflation or even confusion of two powerful opposing principles after 1558, Word and music (or, more broadly, Word and ritual); but these chapters demonstrate that this was not necessarily so.

The first chapter, focusing on the corporation's efforts to establish a high-quality preaching ministry through a market-day lectureship, is also a demonstration of the success and securing of the Reformation in Dorset in the first three decades after 1558. The chapter is a critique of the work of David Underdown on the county town, Dorchester, and its godly renewal after a devastating fire in 1613. The chapter draws on the author's own work on Dorchester before 1613, and on the activities of Wimborne's governors and the parishioners themselves, to argue that neither Dorchester nor Wimborne were as hostile to reform as Underdown suggested. In the second chapter, Wimborne's musical regime serves as the starting-point for a broader consideration of the place of music in English Protestant culture.

The first serious challenges to the unity of the parish's 'cathedral order of service' are considered in the third chapter. Vocal opposition to the preaching ministry resulted from the employment of a hardline non-conformist preacher brought to Wimborne from the retinue of the 2nd earl of Pembroke. Although Thomas Norman was a 'star signing' for the corporation, which was looking to extend its earlier success with the preaching ministry, many parishioners were not impressed, either by his ritual non-conformity, which angered the middling sort who were the majority of churchwardens, or by his thundering preaching, especially the doctrine of predestination and all its various implications, in this life and the next.

The various costs, social and financial, of Norman's ministry exacerbated difficulties the governors were already having collecting their tithe income, and these quickly spiralled into a crisis of legitimacy. Lawsuits, challenges to the corporation's letters patent and the cost of repairing the Minster after the collapse of the spire in 1600 – all combined to prevent the corporation from effectively governing the parish; and in the long run, although the corporation survived and managed to regain its financial footing, ill-feeling towards it seems to have intensified. Under the growing pressures of Laudianism in the mid-1630s, this ill-feeling and by-now well-established precedents for opposition produced the most serious challenge to the corporation. A local godly faction from Dorchester, motivated apparently by the suppression of Wimborne's lectureship, sought the dissolution of the corporation, and when Archbishop Laud was drawn in to the dispute, the corporation's fate appeared to be sealed. This unusual conjunction of godly and Laudian

interests reveals more of the nature of local and national politics in the mid-1630s, as a failure of moderation (the corporation's attempt to reconcile Word and music, rather than position one in a superordinate position to the other), and perhaps a foreshadowing of the far bloodier and more protracted conflict-to-come.



A swan preens itself in the opening letter of the churchwardens' account for 1589-90

(DHC, PE-WM / CW / 1 / 41, fo.31)

Contents

Contents 1
List of figures 3
Acknowledgements 5
Abbreviations 7
I: Introduction 13
i Thomas Gerard visits Wimborne 14
ii Wimborne as studied, the sources 22
iii Social dramas and arbitrary locations: two anthropological notes 30
PART ONE 33
II: Region, county, parish, town and minster 33
i Chalk and cheese 34
ii Parish, town and minster 39
iii Urban and devotional complexity: the chapels 51
III: A college and its constituencies: a 'balanced account' 55
i A new tower 56
ii The royal free chapels: problems and developments at Wimborne and elsewhere 62
iii Clergy and laity: the Minster as site for benefaction, burial and commemoration 69
iv Graphs and tables 82
v Some initial conclusions 102
IV: The road to dissolution, and beyond 105
i The Compliance Conundrum; popular support for change 106
ii Ten years: from the royal injunctions of 1538 to the Second Chantry Act 108
iii Fifteen years: from the Second Chantry Act to the parish corporation 119
iv The dispersal of college and chantry property, 1549-90 131
v A town diminished but not destroyed? 135
PART TWO 138
V: 'Long Inquire for a Precher': preaching and reformation at Wimborne, 1563-94 138
i Magistracy and ministry; the godly 139
ii Establishing a lectureship 148
iii Popularity and Protestantisation I 155
iv The appointment of Thomas Norman 166
VI: 'The cathedral order of service': the continuity of religious music at Wimborne, 1403-1640 169

i Hammond does Wimborne 170
ii Music at Wimborne, 1403-1563 177
iii Music at Wimborne after 1563 183
iv Wimborne's musical regime: popularity and Protestantisation II 190
v Choir and pulpit: a brief conclusion 193
VII: 'Such a knave as Mr Norman': troubles with the preacher, troubles with tithes 194
i A year of 'great fires' (some greater and more providential than others) 195
ii Norman's detractors 199
iii Norman's supporters: the godly of Wimborne, Dorset and beyond 208
iv Some problems with tithes 218
v Concluding remarks 225
VIII: Archbishop Laud and the corporation, 1634-9 228
i William Whiteway observes town, county, king- and Christendom (but not Wimborne) 229
ii Chronology of the dispute, 1636-9 235
iii Analysis 239
iv Choir and pulpit: another brief conclusion 251
IX: Conclusions 253
Maps and images 263
Bibliography 302
Manuscript sources 302
Printed primary sources 306
Secondary sources 310
Unpublished dissertations 335
Online resources 335

List of figures

The first 20 figures are presented in order in section four of chapter three, pp.82-101.

Fig. 1	Total income (£) including rollover, 1403-1640
Fig. 2	Rollover as % of total income, 1403-1640
Fig. 3	Rents as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1640
Fig. 4	Ales as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1640
Fig. 5	Fairs and markets as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1640
Fig. 6	Total money and money realised from gifts and bequests (pence), 1403-1548
Fig. 7	Total money and money realised from gifts and bequests (pence), 1403-1640
Fig. 8	Gifts and bequests as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1548
Fig. 9	Gifts and bequests as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1640
Fig. 10	Number of gifts and bequests of money / from which money was realised, 1403-1548
Fig. 11	Number of gifts and bequests of money / from which money was realised, 1403-1640
Fig. 12	Gifts and bequests from beyond the parish as % of Income from gifts and bequests, 1403-1548
Fig. 13	Gifts and bequests received from outside the parish, 1403-1640
Fig. 14	Offerings as % of income (minus rollover), 1403-1548
Fig. 15	Offerings to Cuthburga and King Harry (pence), 1496-1538
Fig. 16	Offerings to the Virgin Mary at Easter (pence), 1495-1547
Fig. 17	Gatherings as % of Income (Minus rollover), 1570-1615
Fig. 18	Seats as % of income (minus rollover), 1565-1640
Fig. 19	Number of seats purchased annually, 1565-1640
Fig. 20	Knells as % of income (minus rollover), 1600-40

This figure is presented at the end of section two of chapter four, p.118.

Fig. 21 Commemorations recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, 1470-1548

These three figures are presented in order at the end of section three of chapter four, pp.129-30.

Fig. 22 Values of positions in the Minster and its chantries, 1548

Fig. 23 Incumbents 1535 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*) and 1548

Fig. 24 Stipends 1548

These final two figures are presented at the end of section three of chapter five, p.165.

Fig.25 Gifts to the poor of the parish in wills (pence), 1540-1641

Fig. 26 Recipients of money gifts to the poor in wills, 1540-1641

All maps and images are included as an appendix between the conclusion and bibliography.

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For Geoff.

I'll tell you all about it when I see you again.

Abbreviations

N.B. All URLs are listed here, unless otherwise stated in the footnotes to the main text.

Place of publication is London unless otherwise specified.

26 Counties	*A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties observed in a seven weeks Journey begun on August 11, 1634 By a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the Military Company in Norwich*, ed. L.G. Wickham Legg (1904)
AB	Act book of Wimborne's parish consistory court, 1601-3: Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, PE-WM / CP / 1 / 1
BL	British Library, London
Cal. IQPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analoguous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (26 volumes, 1903-)
Cal. Pap. Reg.	*Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, (19 volumes, 1893-)
Camden	W. Camden, *Britannia; sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, & Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio* (1606)
CCED	Clergy of the Church of England Database

	www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, followed by a person ID, unless otherwise stated
CCR	*Calendar of the Close Rolls*
'Chantries'	E.A. Fry, 'Dorset Chantries', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* 27-31 (1907-11), 214-33, 12-29, 30-79, 13-57, and 85-114 respectively
Coker	J. Coker, *A Survey of Dorsetshire* (1732)
Coulstock	P. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge, 1993)
CPR	*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*
CSP, Edward VI / Mary / Elizabeth	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (multiple volumes, 1856-72)
CSP, Charles	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I* (23 volumes, 1858-97)
CWA	Wimborne's churchwardens' accounts: Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, PE-WM / CW / 1 /
DHC	Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, Dorset
Dorset IQPM	*Abstracts of Dorset Inquisitions Post Mortem Returned in the Court of Chancery in the Reign of Charles the First*, ed. E.A. Fry and G.S. Fry (1894)

EHR	*English Historical Review*
HJ	*The Historical Journal*
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HOPO	History of Parliament Online www.historyofparliamentonline.org
HR	*Historical Research*
Hutchins	J. Hutchins, *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, ed. W. Shipp and J.W. Hodson, (4 volumes, 1861-73)
Inq. Misc.	*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (8 volumes, 1916-2003)
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
L&ISP	List and Index Society Publications
L&P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII: Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Elsewhere in England*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (23 volumes, 1862-1932)
Mayo	C.H. Mayo, *A History of Wimborne Minster; the Collegiate Church of St Cuthberga and King's Free*

	Chapel at Wimborne (1860)
MB	Governors' minute book: Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 1 / 1
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online www.oxforddnb.com
P&P	*Past and Present*
PDNHAS	*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* (before volume 50, the periodical bore the title *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*)
Protestation Dorset	*The Dorset Protestation Returns Preserved in the House of Lords, 1641-2*, ed. E.A. Fry (1912)
RA	Governors' receivers' accounts: Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, PE-WM / GN / 3 /
RCHM Dorset	*An Inventory of Historical Monuments in Dorset* (5 volumes, 1952-75)
Reeve	D. Reeve, 'Wimborne Minster, Dorset: A Study of a Small Town' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2000)
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SDNQ	*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset*
Short Survey	*A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties Made by a*

	Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg (Camden Miscellany, XVI; 1936)
Standing Committee	*The Minute Books of the Dorset Standing Committee, 23rd Sept., 1646, to 8th May, 1650*, ed. C.H. Mayo (Exeter, 1902)
TMBS	*Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*
TNA	The National Archives, London
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Tudor Subsidies	*Dorset Tudor Subsidies, 1523-1593*, ed. T.L. Stoate (Bristol, 1982)
VAI	*Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, eds. W.H. Frere and W. Kennedy (3 volumes, 1910)
VCH	*Victoria County History*
Vindogladia	N. Russell, *Vindogladia: An Historical Account of the Antiquity, Ancient Funeral Monuments and Endowments of the Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (1803)
Whiteway	*William Whiteway of Dorchester: His Diary 1618 to 1635* (Dorchester, 1991)
Whittock	*Views of the Exterior and Interior of the Collegiate Church of St Cuthberga, Wimborne Minster Dorset Drawn and Engraved by Nicholas Whittock. With a Concise History of the Church, and*

Description of the Plates (1839)

I: Introduction

> For no phenomenon is particularly mysterious in itself, but any of them can become so to us, and it is precisely the characteristic feature of the awakening human spirit that a phenomenon has meaning for it. We could almost say, man is a ceremonious animal. This is partly false, partly nonsensical, but there is also something in it.[1]

> But here I have been trying to classify all the prisoners, and that is hardly possible. Real life is infinite in its variety in comparison with even the cleverest abstract generalisation, and it does not admit of sharp and sweeping distinctions. The tendency of real life is always towards greater and greater differentiation. We, too, had a life of our own of a sort, and it was not a mere official existence, but a real inner life of our own.[2]

[1] L. Wittgenstein, 'Remarks on Frazer's *Golden Bough*' in *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*, ed. M. Lambek (Oxford, 2002), p.89.
[2] F. Dostoyevsky, *The House of the Dead* (New York, 2004), p.209.

i Thomas Gerard visits Wimborne

Thomas Gerard's *Survey of Dorsetshire*, written perhaps in 1624, follows the pattern established by William Camden in his *Britannia*.[3] So Gerard begins, like Camden, 'at the surest and certainest Bound, the Sea', meeting it at the western end of the county, and proceeds eastwards, river by river, following the full course of each in turn, describing the principal settlements as he comes to them (**Maps 1-2**).

Some time later, he reaches the confluence of the rivers Stour and Allen, and there the market town of Wimborne Minster.[4] The town, according to Camden, had once been 'Vindogladia', meaning 'between two rivers', until the advent of the Saxons, when the Celtic prefix was added to the Germanic 'Burn, that signified Water'. From Badbury Rings, an ancient hill-fort, Gerard crosses a 'faire plaine'; now populated by nothing fiercer than rabbits, but once the site of a rampart of Edward the Elder, who had besieged his turncoat brother Æthelwold at a nearby residence of the West-Saxon kings. That residence, 'if there were anie such, I should with the judicious *Cambden* seeke at *Kingston*', Gerard adds. By Kingston he meant the manor of Kingston Lacy, once held by the earls of Lincoln and then the house of Lancaster, 'whose Bountie and Liberalitie *Winburne* hath had goode Tryall of'.

Gerard describes an early monastery at Wimborne, whose foundation by Cuthburga, sister of the famous King Ine, he dates to 712. Having refused to consummate her marriage to the king of Northumbria, she was finally released from one set of vows to pursue another. Returning to Wessex, she founded a monastery on royal land. In time, that monastery decayed, and after 'there arose in the verie Place therof a faire new one, with a Vault under the Choire, and an high Spire Steeple besides the Bell Tower'. In this new royal church, dedicated to the now-sainted Cuthburga, 'in lieu of those Nunnes, were placed Prebendaries, governed by a Deane'. Gerard lists the most outstanding monuments within the church: the tomb of the Saxon martyr-king Æthelred, newly repaired; those of Gertrude Blount, marchioness of Exeter; and of the Beauforts,

[3] Coker, p.8. Gerard's authorship of the *Survey* was established by J. Batten in 'Who Wrote Coker's Survey of Dorsetshire?' *SDNQ* 5 (1896-7), 97-102. Also, E.H. Bates, 'Thomas Gerard of Trent, His Family and His Writings', *PDNHAS* 35 (1914), 55-70.
[4] Gerard's description of Wimborne is on pp.111-14.

the lords of Kingston Lacy and parents of Lady Margaret, who founded a chantry in the Minster to support a local grammar school (**Images 14** and **15**).

Where Wimborne had once been 'Right famous… and much frequented; beautified allsoe with a goodlie Church or Minster, with a Nunnerie adjoineing therto', the prebendaries and dean, like the nuns before them, 'nowe are also gone'. In Gerard's present-day, Wimborne is now 'surelie… much more commendable for what it hath beene than for what it is'. Now an echo of another antiquarian: not William Camden but John Leland, a visitor to Wimborne almost a century earlier, who wrote, 'The toun of Wimborne is yet meatly good and reasonably welle inhabitid, it hath beene a very large thing, and was in price in tyme of the West-Saxon kinges'.[5] Gerard acknowledges that the town has all the right natural advantages of position – 'the Seate goode, the Circuite large, frequentlie inhabited and well watered' – yet it is now 'but destitute of goode Buildings'.

A synecdoche for this protracted decline is a more sudden and spectacular one, that of the spire steeple, of which Gerard provides the only contemporary description.

> Anno Domini 1600, (the Choire beeing then full of People at tenne of Clock Service, allsoe the Streets by reason of the Markett) a sudden Mist ariseing, all the Spire Steeple, beeing of a verie great Height, was strangelie cast downe; the Stones battered all the Lead, and brake much of the Timber of the Roofe of the Church, yet without anie Hurte to the People.

But while Leland had seen around him only the signs of a past magnitude, Gerard also saw hope for the future. The ruins of the spire have been 'commendablie repaired with the Church Revenues'.

> For Sacriledge hath not yet swept awaye all, beeing assisted by Sir John Hannam, a neighbour Gentleman, who, if I mistake not, enjoyeth the Revenues of the Church, and hath done commendablie to convert part of it to its former use.

Among antiquarians, historians and travellers of his day, Gerard was far from alone in lamenting the ruinations – the sacrilege – of the mid-Tudor decades; his is a largely typical account. As Margaret Aston has shown, in the early modern period the physical ruins and remnants of the dissolutions were a great spur to history, to consciousness of the past and to attempts to preserve

[5] J.Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543, Parts I to III*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907), p.257.

it in written form.[6] But Gerard's sympathy for pre-Reformation religion was not cut and dried: if he was an adherent of 'comely' rather than 'plain' or 'precise' worship, he certainly was not a crypto-Catholic either, as a number of asides and statements throughout the *Survey* make quite clear.[7]

With a few notable exceptions, most modern historians have chosen not to present the Reformation as a moral story, grand or otherwise; although there is enough about the Reformation story for any historian to feel its moral freight – the repression and heavy policing that were handmaidens of changing state policy, the martyrdoms and the destruction of a form of life that was clearly neither as dysfunctional nor as disliked as was once widely believed.[8] If not obviously a moral tale, this study will follow Gerard's account in one important aspect: in its focus on the devotional life of Wimborne Minster over a very long period of time – a *longue durée*.

A study of Wimborne on such terms has much to offer the broader field of Reformation history.[9] First of all, as a community which *can* be studied in detail from as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Wimborne Minster can speak to recent methodological debates about the value of seeing the English Reformation as a long Reformation; not an event confined to the sixteenth century, but one prefigured earlier, say in the native heresy of Lollardy, in clerical efforts to reform abuses and in pre-existing monarchical control of the Church, and an event whose internal dynamics and effects continued to ramify well beyond the sixteenth century, perhaps even into the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[10] In emphasising a long Reformation, historians must not neglect short-term factors. One historian who has been especially alert to this danger is Norman Jones, and his work will be of central importance to this thesis. In his book *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation*, Jones shows how England ended the sixteenth century with a 'reconstructed culture' that was to its subjects 'clearly Protestant': fundamental

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[6] M. Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 231-55.
[7] Bates, 'Thomas Gerard', 64.
[8] See the postscript to P. Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (2017), pp.574-9.
[9] For broader overviews of Reformation historiography, D. MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation on the Map', *TRHS* 6th ser. 15 (2005), 75-95 and *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd edn. (Basingstoke, 2003); C. Haigh, 'A.G. Dickens and the English Reformation', *HR* 77: 195 (2004), 24-38; D.M. Loades "The Historiography of the Reformation in Britain", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100 (2009), 308-25; A. Pettegree "A.G. Dickens and His Critics: a New Narrative of the English Reformation", *HR* 77:195 (2001), 39-58; P. Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (2003).
[10] See the essays in N. Tyacke ed., *England's Long Reformation: 1500-1800* (Abingdon, 1998), and, for a European perspective, P.G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict and the Search for Conformity, 1350-1750* (Basingstoke, 2004).

change did take place over a short period.[11] A sudden change, the dissolution of the centuries-old royal free chapel in 1548, will form the central pivot of this study.

A false choice between long- and short-term explanations may, in some sense, be an allied problem of the so-called Compliance Conundrum (Eamon Duffy), in which coercion and collaboration / enthusiasm have all too often been seen as mutually exclusive terms; why was the English Reformation accepted if it was not sought by the ordinary man and woman?[12] The real problem may not be so much long-term vs. short-term, but, as Alexandra Walsham has argued, the actual periodisations historians are wont to use – the medieval, the early modern.[13] Instead of providing clarification, these temporal divisions may actually make it harder to understand religious change, being products themselves of the changes under analysis. By confining themselves to their own period, early modern historians must often rely on caricatures of late medieval religion – 'immemorial' or 'traditional' religion – to provide the departure-point – 'stability' or 'integration' – for their studies; of course, the same is no less true of medievalists. In recognition of the importance of this insight, the title of this thesis is directly taken from Walsham's recent article, itself a borrowing from the late John Bossy; and the structure of the thesis reflects it too, with a broad chronological movement but also non-sequential elements.[14]

If, as Norman Jones has demonstrated, local conditions produced local responses to the 'problems and opportunities of the Reformation', then the response at Wimborne will have been of a very particular kind; Wimborne was anything but a typical parish – if such a thing existed. The unusual governing structures of the parish, in particular, are worthy of attention, and will be central focuses of this thesis: first a royal free chapel, and then an even rarer parish corporation (which notably receives no mention in Thomas Gerard's account). The parish remained a peculiar jurisdiction throughout the period of this study, and many of the powers and possessions of the medieval deans were shared by the corporation, including the right to hold a consistory court, on the model of an archdiaconal court. Medieval historians have generally ignored the role of particular kinds of religious institution in determining the religious character of local communities, and for no religious institution is this truer than the royal free chapels, 22 of which had parochial rights in

[11] N. Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002), p.6.
[12] Ethan Shagan's book *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003) is perhaps the most sophisticated attempt to analyse the English Reformation beyond the dialectic of compliance-coercion, as a series of situated negotiations between Crown and people.
[13] A. Walsham, 'Migrations of the Holy: Explaining Religious Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44:2 (2014), 241-80.
[14] J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985).

the later Middle Ages.[15] J.H. Denton's 'constitutional study', concerning the early origins of the peculiar jurisdictions and their subsequent development, remains the most substantial work on the royal free chapels, beside an MPhil thesis on the chapels of south Staffordshire before the Norman Conquest.[16] Royal free chapels provided livings for some of the most important royal servants and churchmen of the Middle Ages, whose administrative duties prevented their regular attendance in the chapels; among Wimborne's deans were such luminaries as John de Berwick; Hugh Oldham; Reginald Pole, later Cardinal Pole; and Dr Nicholas Wilson, Tower-mate of More and Fisher. Non-attendance was as much a feature of the lives of Wimborne's four prebendaries as of its deans, and the chapel was overseen by a sacrist and staffed with local clergy, including chantry priests. As far as the pastoral effects of absenteeism are concerned, there does exist some work of value for comparison, such as Nicholas Orme's essay on the episcopal peculiar of Crediton.[17]

More broadly, this study will contribute to the established body of work on the Reformation in English towns. During the late Middle Ages, Wimborne was one of around 700 middling English towns whose importance was steadily growing. Many, like Wimborne, were under some form of ecclesiastical lordship – monastic, usually; and the dissolutions are commonly seen to have freed many towns to reform, prosper and expand.[18] The experience of the monastic town of Bury St Edmunds, for instance, appears to bear a close similarity to Wimborne's. After the dissolution of the abbey, the town remained unincorporated, and the town lands were vested in a group of feoffees with a similar mandate to Wimborne's new governors.[19] Other monastic towns, such as Shaftesbury, whose abbey had venerable royal links, or Cerne, lost their raisons d'être with their abbeys, and thereafter fell into headfirst decline.[20]

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[15] J.H. Denton, *Royal Free Chapels, 1100-1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), p.132.
[16] A.E. Jenkins, 'The Early Medieval Context of the Royal Free Chapels of South Staffordshire' (MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 1988). See also W.R. Jones, 'Patronage and Administration: The King's Royal Free Chapels in Medieval England', *JBS* 9:1 (1969), 1-23.
[17] N. Orme, 'The Church in Crediton from St Boniface to the Reformation', in T.A. Reuter ed., *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton* (Exeter, 1980), pp.97-131.
[18] For general summaries, see V. Harding, 'The Reformation and Culture, 1540-1700', in P. Clark ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume II: 1540-1840* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.263-88, and the introduction to R. Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England: Politics and Political Culture, c.1540-1640* (Oxford, 1998). On towns like Wimborne, see A. Dyer, 'Small Market Towns', and J. Barry, 'South-West', in Clark ed. *Cambridge Urban History*, pp.425-50 and 67-92, respectively.
[19] See the introduction to *Accounts of the Feoffees of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds, 1569-1622*, ed. M. Statham (Woodbridge, 2003), pp.xiii-lxvii.
[20] K. Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007), esp. pp.190-205; J.G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), chapter seven, 'Reformations', and idem, 'Religion and Politics in English Monastic Towns', *Cultural and Social History* 6:3 (2009), 277-96.

While comparative work on the Reformation experience in English towns is still quite rare, a more serious limitation is the shallowness of the source-base for many small towns; this obviously precludes an investigation of the sort being undertaken here. Robert Bearman's article on Stratford-upon-Avon, for instance, is confined to the period 1530-80, and the evidential gaps, especially in the town's churchwardens' accounts, Bearman has to sidestep with the aid of material from neighbouring towns.[21] The same criticisms could be made of Barbara Coulton's work on Shrewsbury and Coventry.[22] Subtler, long-term changes and continuities are almost entirely absent from these accounts.

Geographically, too, these towns are largely concentrated in the 'Great Crescent', a sweep across south and south-east England, from Norwich to Hove, via East Anglia, London and Kent, up the Thames Valley to Bristol, Coventry and Gloucestershire; it was in that area A.G. Dickens argued Protestantism first took hold, and others have since pointed to a striking coincidence with strong Lollard sympathy there before the Reformation.[23] It is often simply assumed that areas beyond the Crescent were far less amenable to reform. Very little has been written about the religious culture of Dorset in either the late medieval or the early modern period, apart from Andrew Brown's study of Salisbury diocese and David Underdown's work on the county town, Dorchester, and on pre-Civil War regional cultures in the greater Westcountry.[24]

The first half of the thesis is an attempt to produce, over three chapters, a 'balanced account' of the effects on parochial worship of the royal free chapel and its administration. In 1970, J.H. Denton claimed such an account was impossible for the royal free chapels as a class, and this is the first concerted attempt to show otherwise in a particular instance. The second chapter draws on a

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[21] R. Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience in a Warwickshire Market Town: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1530-1580', *Midland History* 32 (2007), 68-109.

[22] B. Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: A Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:2 (1996), 307-35 and 'Implementing the Reformation in the Urban Community: Coventry and Shrewsbury, 1559-1603', *Midland History* 25 (2000), 43-60.

[23] A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn. (1989), pp.50-6. The phrase 'Great Crescent' is Diarmaid MacCulloch's, from *The Later Reformation*, p.106. Among the studies of Great Crescent urban centres are R.D. Smith, *The Middling Sort and the Politics of Social Reformation: Colchester, 1570-1640* (Oxford, 2004); M.S. Byford, 'The Price of Protestantism: Assessing the Impact of Religious Change on Elizabethan Essex: The Cases of Heydon and Colchester' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1988); J. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1610* (Aldershot, 2001). For London, see S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (1989), for instance, and C. Burgess, 'London Parishioners in Times of Change: St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, circa 1450-1570', *JEH* 53 (2002), 38-63.

[24] A. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1550* (Oxford, 1995); D. Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (1992) and *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985).

forthcoming article to reveal the fortunes of the Minster's native cult, St Cuthburga, in comparison with that of a royal imposition, Henry VI; again, the nexus between the institution and its constituencies.[25] Underpinning this account is also a long-term consideration of trends in gifts, bequests and burials, revealing the extent to which the Minster, even in the fifteenth century, was still a kind of mother church in the local landscape. The third chapter considers the specific matrix of prescribed religious change during the reigns of Henry VIII and his son, Edward VI. This chapter follows events through the dissolution of the royal free chapel to the establishment of the parish corporation, and the sale of college and chantry property into the 1590s. Introduced for the first time are the Hanham family, whose influence over parish life was noted by Thomas Gerard. The first John Hanham, an early evangelical – a follower of reformed religion, or a proto-Protestant – was one of the chantry commissioners who assessed and dissolved the royal free chapel, and while he treated the parish sympathetically, he also benefitted heavily from the dissolution, beginning a decades-long process of acquisition that would install his descendants as the chief men of the parish.

In the four chapters of the second half of the thesis, the newly established corporation replaces the royal free chapel as the governing structure of the parish. Unlike the royal free chapel, the corporation was a lay body drawn specifically from the gentry and sturdiest yeomen of the parish; this section, therefore, is focused particularly on lay control and social stratification in worship.

The first two chapters of the second half concern the governors' attempts to establish a godly preaching ministry and, at the same time, to provide a rich cathedral-style liturgy, drawing on the parish's traditions and through links with certain of the region's cathedrals; a seeming conflation, even a confusion, of two powerful opposing principles within English Protestantism after 1558: Word and music (or Word and ritual). The first chapter, focusing on the preaching ministry, can be seen as revealing of the success of the Reformation at Wimborne in the early decades after 1558, and of attempts to consolidate and extend that success. The chapter is also a critique of the work of David Underdown on the county town, Dorchester, and its godly renewal after a devastating fire in 1613. The second chapter, on the musical regime, is both descriptive and comparative, while also considering the implications of that description for a wider understanding of English Protestant, especially godly, culture between 1558 and 1640; this is done in dialogue

[25] C. Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry: Two Royal Cults at Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 1403-1538', *Sixteenth Century Journal* (forthcoming). This paper in its completed form can be viewed on my Academia.edu page (www.oxford.academia.edu/charlescornishdale).

with important reappraisals of the place of music in English Protestant culture and Protestant culture more generally.[26] 'Attitudes to music confounded the binary opposition of "Puritan" and "Conformist"'.[27]

The third chapter is a study of the effects of a hardline non-conformist preacher on the religious life of the parish. Brought to Wimborne from the employ of the 2nd earl of Pembroke, Thomas Norman was a 'star signing' for the corporation, which appears to have been planning an intensification of its earlier efforts at reform. Many of the parishioners, however, took an instant dislike to him, and his ministry opened deep cleavages among the parishioners, separating governors from governed, clergy from laity. The middling sort were Prayer-Book Protestants, so-called because they were more interested in the prescribed rituals of the Church than fiery preaching: they presented Norman regularly to the parish court for his ritual nonconformity. Those lower down the social ladder apparently disliked his preaching of the doctrine of predestination – that the saved and the damned had been chosen by God in advance – and also his harsh disapprobation; they chose not to attend his sermons, preferring to play coits, dance in the fields or just sit in the street and abuse the churchwardens' sidesmen. Norman's fractious ministry reveals much about the pastoral expectations of many ordinary parishioners and the uncertain place of lecturers in particular.

Norman's arrival also came at perhaps the most inopportune time for the corporation: difficulties collecting its tithe income soon became a crisis of legitimacy, as the corporation was engulfed by lawsuits, challenges to its letters patent and the massive cost of repairing the Minster after the freak collapse of the spire. Although it survived, the corporation was left vulnerable, and under the growing pressure of Archbishop Laud's campaign to restore the medieval dignity and autonomy of the Church, the corporation's legitimacy would again be challenged, this time by a local 'Puritan' faction seeking its dissolution. In due course, Laud was drawn into the dispute, and the corporation's fate appeared to be sealed. The composition, connections and motivations of the participants – the subject of the final chapter – reveal much about the tenor of local and national politics in the mid-1630s; and, perhaps, the causes of the wars whose beginning marks the end of this thesis.

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[26] The most important work of reappraisal is J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourse, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010).
[27] Ibid, p.69.

ii Wimborne as studied, the sources

Wimborne's past has received the most sustained attention from antiquarians, mainly local antiquarians: first from early-modern and eighteenth-century writers such as Thomas Gerard, Nicholas Russell and John Hutchins; and then in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from Charles Herbert Mayo, Peter Hall, and the Canons Stote-Blandy and Fletcher, both priests of Wimborne.[28] The earlier antiquarians did much to preserve source material that is now lost in its original form, and they also wrote parish histories. Hutchins' county history, in particular, is massive and its importance to later antiquarians and historians cannot be overstated. His account of Wimborne is derived in large part from Nicholas Russell's earlier history, *Vindogladia*, a debt that was properly acknowledged.[29]

There are just two academic histories of Wimborne, only one of which has been published. Both are case studies: Patricia Coulstock's book on the royal free chapel, with a particular focus on the Minster's three perpetual chantries; and David Reeve's PhD at the University of Exeter, which charts the development of the town, and in particular its corporate government, between 1620 and 1690.[30] Neither Coulstock nor Reeve tapped Wimborne's rich and already well-surveyed archival seam as deeply as they could, or perhaps should, have. Despite Coulstock's stated aim of providing a 'case study of the ever-changing nature of the English parish church', the churchwardens' accounts and wills go almost completely unused, and much of the book concerns the largely speculative origins and form of the original double monastery. The chapters on the three perpetual chantries are, nonetheless, of importance. The chantries were Redcott's chantry, founded by two local laymen in the early fourteenth century; the Great Chantry, a college of four priests founded by Dean Thomas de Brembre in 1355; and Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry, for a single priest who was also to act as a grammar-master and teach local children.

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[28] Hutchins, iii, pp.178-283; *Vindogladia*; Mayo; P. Hall, *Ductor Vindogladiensis: An Historical and Descriptive Guide to the Town of Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire, with a Particular Account of the Collegiate Church of St Cuthburge, the Chapel of St Margaret, and Other Charitable Endowments in the Same Parish* (1830). The published essays and articles of the later group are too numerous to cite here. They range from biographies of persons associated with the Minster to descriptions and transcriptions of documents, and are published either in *PDNHAS* or *SDNQ*.

[29] M.J. Fletcher, 'Manuscript History of Wimborne Minster', *SDNQ* 21 (1933-5), 54-6. A copy of *Vindogladia* is held at the Dorset History Centre. PE-WM / AQ / 1 / 3.

[30] Coulstock and Reeve.

Reeve's study contains very useful statistical and demographic material, taking in as it does a period for which taxation and administrative records are more forthcoming. But his account of post-dissolution religion in the parish is as circumscribed as Coulstock's for the period before 1548, with scant attention paid to the most detailed sources for popular religion. Reeve does little to bridge the gap between medieval and early modern periods, or to consider the continuing ramifications of the medieval government of town and parish. It might be said that he treats manifestations or effects – the parish corporation, social and confessional divides – rather than underlying causes.

Outside these two studies, Wimborne features with some regularity in Andrew Brown's book on lay piety in the pre-Reformation diocese of Salisbury.[31] He discusses the veneration of saints at Wimborne, including brief mentions of the cults of Cuthburga and King Henry VI, processions, chantry-foundation and building-work on the Minster. His focus is explicitly comparative, and he draws Wimborne into a number of illuminating comparisons: with other, larger and wealthier, cloth towns in the diocese; and with both 'chalk' (arable) and 'cheese' (woodland or pasture) parishes, whose social life and customs were directly influenced by their topography and most of all their agricultural organisation.[32] Katherine French has used Wimborne's medieval churchwardens' accounts in an article on women's guilds, of which there were two at Wimborne: the Wives of the Town and the Wives of the Land, which engaged in competitive cake-selling for the benefit of the parish.[33] David Underdown makes a handful of references to Wimborne, and in particular to the persistence of older communal revels, such as church ales, and to attempts at moral reform within the town.[34] Brief references to Wimborne are also made in the work of Ronald Hutton.[35]

The primary sources for this study are mostly held at the Dorset History Centre, Dorchester, under the mark PE-WM. The most important source for this thesis is the corpus of parish churchwardens' accounts, which begin in 1403. The accounts for 1403-1475 come as a series of loose rolls of parchment, and thereafter the accounts are packaged into books covering significant spans of up to 100 years. The accounts provide a view onto the corporate activities of the parish, as centred on the nave of the Minster: offerings to saints' cults; the renting of parish-owned

[31] Brown, *Piety*, especially pp.83-6, 88-9, 94-7, 105, 107, 117, 119-20, 234 and 241.
[32] Underdown, *Revel*.
[33] K. French, 'Maidens' Lights and Wives Stores: Women's Parish Guilds in Late Medieval England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29: 2 (1998), 399-425.
[34] Underdown, *Revel*, pp.56, 58, 196 and 205.
[35] R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994).

livestock; the brewing and sale of beer; gifts and bequests to the church; payments for processions and decoration of the church interior; payments for seating, graves and bell-ringing; and day-to-day repairs to the fabric and contents of the church – nails, bell-ropes and bell-wheels, baldrics, mortar, lead, lime, wax and stone. While churchwardens' accounts are primarily financial records, it would be a category error to see them as primarily economic rather than religious documents: the upkeep of the church was not simply a matter of economics but a religious duty imposed on the parish as a collectivity, and therefore an opportunity to express collective identity, pride and preference.

The loose rolls are written in heavily abbreviated Latin, with a good admixture of vernacular, and are generally double-sided, with the main account on the front and an inventory of goods, varying from liturgical items to livestock, on the back. From then on, the accounts come in book form, and it is the first two books, covering the periods 1480-1580 and 1581-1636 respectively, that have been used. These account books were obviously compiled later. The accounts in the first book begin in heavily abbreviated Latin, but then by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the language has abruptly changed to English. This change accompanies a notable decline in quality that continues for some years; another noticeable decline takes place in the 1540s. By contrast, the loose rolls, despite some quite serious fading and water-staining at times, are of a uniform quality. For the most part, though, it is clear that all of the accounts are finished accounts, and the majority demonstrate this in their presentation, beginning with a calligraphic preamble, often with rather charming flourishes – a swan preening itself inside the opening letter, as in the account for 1589-90, or instead two lugubrious men, in the account for 1593-94.[36]

It is clear that a process of drafting took place, because small amounts of draft material also survive. These appear to be records of individual receipts and, in at least one case, a partial draft of a full account. Since the accounting period was more or less an entire year of twelve full months, it was only natural that somebody would keep ongoing records, in whatever form, and that drafts of the synthesis would be made. 'Somebody', because it is clear that the accounts were not always written by the churchwardens. In fact, certainly in the earlier period of the loose rolls, it is probable that a minority of accounts were written by the churchwardens themselves. Most of the loose rolls include among the expenditure a payment for the writing of the account, and when the writer is named, they are usually named as a cleric. These references start to disappear once the accounts in the first book are underway, and have totally disappeared by the second book. This change,

[36] CWA, 40, fo.31 and 51 respectively.

coupled with the change to English as the primary language of accounting, may represent a new scribal practice, with the churchwardens gradually taking over the writing of the accounts. Or it may simply be that money for the service now ceased to cross palms. It should be noted that throughout the period 1563-1640, the governors – the parish elite one level above the churchwardens – were and remained largely illiterate, as is shown in their official documents, where many signed their names with faltering crosses or crude approximations of the first letter of their name.

One notable continuity, which I have examined elsewhere, is the constant presence of phonetic words from the Dorset dialect, which indicate that the scribes, whether clerics or laymen, were overwhelmingly local men; men because no women served as churchwardens during this period.[37] These words indicate, at the very least, that the clerical scribes were almost certainly parish clerks or priests, or chantry priests, rather than prebendaries: the prebendaries were not locally recruited and, like their counterparts elsewhere, spent next to no time in attendance.

The accounts also contain within them evidence of their use for performance, of the oral process by which they were presented before the parishioners and given their approval. In many of the accounts from the first two books, notes and memoranda feature after the main account, and clearly show the parish at work in approving matters such as the sale of seats and rental of parish property; there are crossings-out and mistakes that almost certainly indicate dictation. At least one of the loose rolls also has a payment '*ad visum decani*', which suggests a separate performance for the dean may have taken place on some occasions.[38]

A lively debate about the completeness and representativeness of churchwardens' accounts as sources has taken place in recent decades. Issues for debate have included whether all payments for parish worship are included; whether the surviving accounts have been edited or redacted in any way; and how else to accesss non-monetary participation, including the devotions of the poorest members of the parish.[39] Regardless of whether or not Wimborne's churchwardens'

[37] C. Cornish-Dale, 'Early Traces of the Dorset Dialect in the Churchwardens' Accounts of Wimborne Minster: Some Notes', *SDNQ* 38: 383 (2016), 33-9.
[38] Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry priest had to render his annual account before the assembled members of the college. Coulstock, Appendix V.
[39] See C. Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *EHR* 117: 471 (2002), 306-32, followed by B. Kümin, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond London and Bristol', *EHR* 119:480 (2004), 87-99, and then finally C. Burgess, 'The Broader Church? A Rejoinder to "Looking Beyond"', *EHR* 119:480 (2004), 100-16. On non-monetary participation in devotional life, see K. French, 'Rebuilding St Margaret's: Parish

accounts are 'complete' records of all expenditure on worship in the parish, it is clear that they are remarkably consistent in the types of information they record; a point elaborated in greater detail in chapter six, on the parish's musical regime. The draft material that survives tallies completely with surviving accounts, and the very length and apparent exhaustiveness of mundane payments – down to the last nail – allow further faith to be placed in their consistency as practical records, and not just presentational or summary documents. Where redaction took place, it appears to have been for very specific reasons and in very specific contexts, most of all the protection of parish property from confiscation in the 1540s and 1550s. This last issue will be returned to later.

Individual, instead of collective, preferences are perhaps best expressed in the surviving wills. Wills have long been used by historians as sources for religious belief in the medieval and early modern periods. A.G. Dickens once used changes among will preambles, in which the testator commends their body and soul, to gauge the progress and popularity of early evangelicalism.[40] Dickens' approach is now seen as the maximalist approach for wills as indicators of religious belief, and has been much criticised in point of fact and principle.[41] Even so, wills remain an essential source for medieval and early modern historians, and most local and general studies of the Reformation in England continue to make extensive use of them. Preambles need not be treated as wholly unreliable evidence, so long as they are examined, first, with theological sophistication and, secondly, with the rest of the will's contents and other sources to substantiate the beliefs of the testator. In her work on Gloucestershire, for instance, Caroline Litzenberger has demonstrated the value of such an approach, corroborating an important claim made by Patrick Collinson: that English Protestantism was a late development, and in no meaningful sense fully established even by 1580.[42]

The survival rate of Dorset's medieval wills is poor; Wimborne is no exception. The earliest surviving will of a parishioner is that of Peter Pope, a husbandman, written on 15 April 1530 and proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 15 July 1538.[43] Between then and the beginning

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Involvement and Community Action in Late Medieval Westminster', *Journal of Social History* 45:1 (2011), 148-71.

[40] Dickens, *Reformation*, pp.214-15 and 'The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987), 213-17.

[41] See for instance, J. Craig and C. Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy', *JEH* 44:3 (1993), 415-31; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-1580*, 2nd edn. (2005), pp.506-9; and J.D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *JEH* 49:1 (1989), 19-27.

[42] C. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997).

[43] TNA, PROB 11 / 27 / 296.

of Elizabeth's reign, there are just three more extant wills.[44] It is only in the 1560s that the number of extant wills begins to increase dramatically. In total, for the period 1530-1640, 261 wills of parishioners and the occasional parish priest survive; 94 are held at the National Archives, and the remaining 157 at the Dorset History Centre, among the papers of the parish consistory court, where they were presented and proved. Fortunately, for the period before and after 1530 the churchwardens' accounts record gifts and bequests made to the parish, so information on gift-giving to the church is far from absent for this earlier period. Besides the wills of parishioners, there are a number of wills of deans of the royal free chapel, such as Roger Coryngham and Gilbert Kymer, as well as prebendaries, such as William Loryng, some of whom remembered Wimborne in their wills. Also of relevance are the wills of important and wealthy laymen and -women from the surrounding area and beyond who made bequests to Wimborne. With the scribal copies kept at the National Archives, the handwriting cannot be used as a guide to who wrote the original and the influence they might have had on the formulation of the will; although a few record in the provisions themselves who actually wrote the original will that was copied.

Other important sources include the records of the parish corporation, which are copious: receivers' accounts, a minute book, tithe leases, deeds, loose acts, memoranda, indentures, correspondence, and much more. The governors' minute book is one of the most important records for the corporation. The book is supposed to record all meetings and orders of the governors as a corporation, but it was not used as consistently before 1640 as after, and much debate and discussion clearly took place informally and elsewhere, probably among the more important members of the corporation such as the Hanham family and their lawyer friends. The book is closely written, because it was not an outward-facing document like the churchwardens' accounts; it had no wider readership than the corporation itself. Some of the material is difficult to read, but still a handful of very important orders are elegantly written, suggesting a measure of corporate pride was being expressed. A series of loose notes and orders also survive, which suggests again some process of drafting or further record-keeping at work. Many have no corresponding entry in the act book, but the wording of the acts and orders clearly implies that they were or had been implemented. The receivers' accounts essentially function as a corresponding set of churchwardens' accounts for the chancel and the school after 1563, which were the governors' responsibility and were maintained with the parish tithes. They bear a similar organisation to the

[44] Those of John Compton, gentleman, TNA, PROB 11 / 30 49 (written 5 December 1543, proved 20 February 1544); of Thomas Goby, TNA, PROB 11 / 41 / 5 (written 15 August 1558, proved 2 September 1588); and of Robert Faver, DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 1 (written 23 July 1558, with no date of probate).

churchwardens' accounts, with income and expenditure segregated and a final set of totals. More information about the process of compiling these records is given in section four of chapter seven, when the governors' problems with tithes are considered in detail.

The consistory papers, which include the wills, are another source of great importance for the period after 1548. There is all sorts of loose material; most notably this includes hundreds of churchwardens' presentments, lists of moral and spiritual offenders passed by the churchwardens to the official of the court. These loose presentments do not record what happened as a result of the presentment, only details of the infraction to be considered, which might include direct quotation of rough or defamatory speech. As working notes, the presentments are scrappy, with evidence of folding, and they are sometimes difficult to read. There is only one surviving act book for the period. It is closely written in heavily abbreviated Latin, and bears all the evidence, including mistakes and reworkings, that show its use during court proceedings, as a complete record of the cases that came before it. By comparison with the loose presentments, it reveals precisly when court business took place (and therefore how partial the surviving presentments for each year are), the conduct of offenders and also the enforcement of discipline – as often unsuccessfully as not.

By contrast, the dissolutions have left the defunct royal free chapels, including Wimborne, poorly evidenced. Because of the way the chapels were administered, they probably never developed traditions of record-keeping to match those of the great monasteries and more recent collegiate foundations; but, even if they had, their records would still have been just so much loose paper to the new owners of their lands and other possessions.[45] There are no internal materials, such as accounts or statutes, for the college at Wimborne or for the peculiar jurisdiction before the dissolution, to correspond with the surviving material for the later governors and their financial and disciplinary apparatus; although there is some evidence for the three medieval perpetual chantries.[46] Nevertheless, other materials from the parish archive, especially the churchwardens' accounts, bear the marks of the college and allow aspects of college life to be seen, if not in the full light of day, then at least through the shadows they cast. Comparative material from similar institutions like Crediton will also be used to inform the analysis.

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[45] Denton, *Chapels*, p.22; Coulstock, p.98.

[46] The chantry materials are the basis for the main part of Coulstock's book. The cartulary of Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry is reproduced as an appendix, as are materials associated with the foundation of Thomas de Brembre's chantry.

Certain sources have not been consulted extensively. Manorial records for the parish as a whole are patchy, apart from the excellent records for Kingston Lacy, which was for most of the period of this thesis a parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster. A consideration of these records for a period of nearly 250 years would merit a dissertation of its own, and much of the material contained within them, such as custumals and rentals, falls beyond the purview of this thesis. Given the poor condition of the manorial records for the other manors in the parish, it would be impossible to provide anything but a glimpse into the demographics and organisation of the parish manorial structures. Thankfully, other sources, such as taxation records and the certificates of the Dorset chantry commissioners for 1547, allow the demographics of town and parish to be reconstructed with a certain degree of confidence.

Although the majority of the sources for this thesis, including the churchwardens' accounts and many of the wills, are drawn from the archive at the Dorset History Centre, central sources such as episcopal registers and material from among the State Papers feature too; in fact, a wide variety of extra-parochial sources have been consulted, including the close and patent rolls, papal letters and petitions, Chancery and other court materials, and records of the Court of Augmentations.

A few notes on the episcopal sources. Before 1542, when Dorset was transferred to the newly created diocese of Bristol, the county was part of the diocese of Salisbury, as it is now. Being a peculiar jurisdiction, Wimborne was almost entirely outside the structure of the established Church. The exact nature and limits of the peculiar jurisdiction are not entirely clear, but the medieval bishops of Salisbury certainly had no right of visitation over Wimborne.[47] While there is evidence of cooperation between the bishops of Salisbury and the college, and indeed of interchange of personnel between cathedral and college, any attempts at encroachment upon the rights of the king and the deanery of Wimborne were vigorously resisted, as was generally the case with all the royal free chapels. In 1238, for instance, Henry III forbade the bishop and the archdeacon of Wells from presenting to any prebend or church in the deanery, and in 1290, the archdeacon of Dorset's claims to jurisdiction over the church, apparently based on precedent, were bluntly rebuffed.[48] The dean of Wimborne kept his own consistory court, in much the same way as the corporation later would, investigating and prosecuting offences that would otherwise have been presented to the archdiaconal or episcopal court.[49] As a result, Wimborne barely features in

[47] On one occasion, a bishop of Salisbury did attempt to exercise such a right. Coulstock, pp.202-3.
[48] Ibid, p.105.
[49] The first reference to the parish court comes in the churchwardens' account for 1479-80, when John Mason was paid 8d to repair a window 'ultra Constaryplace' in the church. CWA, 40, fo.5.

the surviving episcopal registers or other episcopal sources during the medieval period. Appointments of prebendaries and deans are usually recorded in the patent and close rolls.

With regard to the post-Reformation episcopal sources, the situation is further complicated by the effects of two devastating fires. The first took place at the Archdeacon's Court in Blandford on 4 June 1731, consuming the bishop's sub-registry; and the second during the Bristol riots of October 1831, when the bishop's palace, and with it vast amounts of written material, was burned by the mob.[50] Many important sources for the county therefore only begin after one or other of these two much later dates. Nevertheless, where it has been possible through Wimborne's own records to investigate relations with the bishop of Bristol and with other bishops in the later period, this has been done. The picture adumbrated is similar to that for the pre-Reformation period: of a community whose independence from local episcopal jurisdiction did not prevent friendly relations and cooperation with bishops. The final chapter, which focuses on Archbishop Laud's attempt to dissolve the corporation in 1636, is therefore also an account of the shattering of amicable voluntary relations with the episcopate.

iii Social dramas and arbitrary locations: two anthropological notes

Many of the chapters of this thesis will open with a social drama or situation, a detailed ethnographic-style account of some particular incident or set of circumstances. Each will be used to introduce the main themes and the *dramatis personae* of the chapter in a dynamic way.

The anthropologist Victor Turner defined 'social dramas' as follows.

> It is in the social drama that *Weltanschauungen* becomes visible, if only fragmentarily, as factors giving meaning to deeds that at first seem meaningless… The social drama is an eruption from the level surface of ongoing social life, with its interactions, transactions, reciprocities, its customs making for regular, orderly sequences of behaviour.[51]

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[50] See P. Stewart, *Guide to the Records of the Bishop, the Archdeacons of Salisbury and Wiltshire, and Other Archdiaconal and Peculiar Jurisdictions, and to the Records from the Bishop of Bristol's Sub-Registry for Dorset* (Trowbridge, 1973).

[51] V.W. Turner, *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology* (New Delhi, 1979), p.83.

In formulating this notion, Turner was developing the work of another anthropologist of the Manchester School, Max Gluckman, and his famous analysis of a 'social situation', namely the opening of a new bridge in Zululand. Social situations are 'the events [the anthropologist] observes and from them and their inter-relationships in a particular society he abstracts the social structure, relationships, institutions, etc. of that society'.[52]

A second anthropological notion of relevance is that of 'arbitrary locations'. Its use here will be as a counter to the persistent criticism that parish studies are, for want of a better word, too parochial: that they tend, in various ways, to reify or isolate the parish community, at the expense of extra-, sub- and trans-parochial locations, networks and groupings.[53] Whereas anthropologists were once interested in what might be termed 'natural communities', whose physical boundaries were sharply delineated (villages, tribes, etc.), now it is claimed that they must emancipate themselves from constraints of location and follow the actors themselves, going where they go and making connections as they do; only this will capture the new holism of global culture and the disappearance of 'knowable communities'. Just as locations are constructed through interaction, so the anthropological field-site emerges *a posteriori*, in the process of fieldwork. A fine aim, and the method has revealed new processes and complexities; but it brings with it a number of risks. The main risk comes from the problematic notion of totality implied, as if the absence of fixed location provides immediate access to a completeness that was previously beyond reach. Rather than a single totality, multi-sited ethnography may reveal a multiplicity. Another problem is that the method obscures the fact that all researchers, in the planning and execution of anthropological research – indeed any form of research – must necessarily reduce indeterminacy by defining objects of study: the 'tyranny of choice' demands it. As one anthropologist has written of his fieldwork researching nationalism in a Corsican village:

> Not being a ubiquitous being, I had to make choices: should I go to the sheep-shearing or accept an invitation to meet my neighbours' family? 'Do' participant observation in a bilingual classroom, or follow the teachers to a training course on the other side of the island? ...Fieldwork involved constant choices, and there was often no good reason to prioritize one over the other.[54]

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[52] M. Gluckman, 'Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand', *Bantu Studies* 14:1 (1940), 3.
[53] For very strong criticism, mainly directed at Eamon Duffy's work, D. Aers, 'Altars of Power: Reflections on Eamon Duffy's "The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-1580"', *Literature and History* 3rd ser. 3:2 (1994), 90-105.
[54] M. Candea, 'Arbitrary Locations: in Defence of the Bounded Field-Site', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13: 1 (2007), 173-4.

His suggested response? 'Arbitrary locations': the researcher, acknowledging the necessity of some kind of closure, strictly delineates a field-site. While he traces some connections within its boundaries, others he leaves open and incomplete, thus gesturing towards but never fully grasping the beyond. Such a field-site 'can only ever be a window onto complexity, and never a holistic entity to be explained'.

With regard to parishes as units of study, and Wimborne in particular, a number of related comments can be made. First, it is abundantly clear that every parish was more than an administrative unit: it was a living, meaningful reality with the parish church at its centre, a unit of administration and a unit of identification. Of course, it was not the only such unit. Secondly, as a result of the peculiar jurisdiction, the integrity and identity of Wimborne as a parish were bolstered yet further. So parishes in general, and Wimborne in particular, are somewhat, but not entirely, arbitrary locations: places with real historical continuity and meaning, but whose boundaries cannot be treated as rigid or impermeable.

Think of Wimborne, then, as a 'window onto complexity': connections with other locations and contexts will be revealed and discussed, but the parish will remain the central frame of reference.

PART ONE

II: Region, county, parish, town and minster

Sweet Be'mi'ster that bist a-boun
By green an' woody hills al roun'
Wi' hedges reachen up between
a thousan' viel's o' zummer green,
Wher elems' lofty heads da drow
Ther shiades var haymiakers below,
An' wild hedge flow'rs da charm the souls
O' maidens in ther evemen strolls…

The zwellen downs, wi' chaky tracks
A'climmen up ther zunny backs,
Da hide green meads, an' zedgy brooks
An' clumps o' trees wi' glossy rooks,
An' hearty vo'ke to lafe an' zing,
An' churches wi' ther bells to ring,
In parishes al in a string
Wi' white roads up a thirt the hills.[1]

[1] *The Complete Poems of William Barnes, Volume One: Poems of the Broad Form of the Dorset Dialect*, ed. T.L. Burton and K.K. Ruthven (Oxford, 2013), 'Be'mi'ster' (p.92) and 'The White Road up Athirt the Hill' (p.54).

i Chalk and cheese

'There was more than a proverbial contrast between chalk and cheese' in the medieval diocese of Salisbury, writes Andrew Brown (**Maps 3-6**).[2] In organising his study of lay piety in the diocese around that contrast, Brown was looking immediately to the work of David Underdown on pre-Civil War regional cultures.[3] For Underdown, chalk and cheese were real determinants of cultural and political life in the region, to the 1640s and beyond; most importantly of all, they helped determine political allegiance in the Civil Wars, deciding regions for or against king or Parliament.

The premise is simple: observable differences in local economies, culture and religion grew out of and were sustained by basic social, especially agricultural, differences between arable-farming (chalk) and woodland or pasture areas (cheese). On the one hand, the chalk areas were predominantly given over to sheep and corn husbandry, and by the fourteenth century had become renowned for the wool they produced; settlements were nucleated, and distributed along the bottoms of the rich river valleys, the parishes following the early settlement pattern and 'climbing up the river valley to give them a distinctive elongated shape'.[4] In the clay vales, on the other hand, dairy farming predominated, especially in north-west Wiltshire. Where the settlements in the chalk lands tended to be compact, here they were far less so, and did not cling to the river valleys but were scattered and dispersed. Among the many cultural differences that resulted from these differences were religious ones, with the nucleated settlements of the chalk areas fostering communal investment and an identity that was strongly traditionalist, and the scattered settlements of the cheese areas producing individualism and dissent.

Open champion (cheese) land was the most common type in Dorset, despite enclosures (**Map. 3**).[5] The Marshwood Vale, in particular, to the north and west of Bridport, was a pasture area that almost entirely conformed to the ideal description of the cheese areas given above. The Vale was part of a broader dividing line of agricultural regions: to the west, the counties were largely pasture; to the east, the rest of Dorset and the counties beyond were mostly arable. The enduring character

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[2] Brown, *Piety*, p.8.
[3] Underdown, *Revel.*
[4] Brown, *Piety*, pp.8-9.
[5] The discussion that follows is drawn from J.A. Casada, 'Dorset Social History, 1540-1640', *PDNHAS* 92 (1971), 224-43; J.H. Bettey, *Dorset* (1974); C. Taylor, *The Making of the English Landscape: Dorset* (1970); Brown, *Piety*; and Underdown, *Revel.* Direct quotations are cited.

of agriculture in Dorset was fixed early, by the end of the 12th century, so that 'by 1300 the landscape of Dorset was more extensively occupied, cultivated and grazed than ever before. Nowhere in the county could one stand and view any scene without the imprint of man's work on it.'[6] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a notable decline in prosperity and a reduction in the area under cultivation, largely as a result of the Black Death, which is said to have arrived in England at Melcombe Regis, one of Dorset's four principal ports at the time. There is physical evidence of many deserted settlements within the county, especially on the chalklands, and the inquisitions post-mortem for the period show further evidence of ruin and decline.

One effect of this contraction was a massive increase in sheep farming on the chalklands, to which Thomas Gerard would later attest, in the 'first detailed description of the topography of the whole county'.[7] His description is worth quoting more or less in full.

> Though the Aire of this Territorie bee good and healthfull, yet is not the *Soyle* barren, but rich and fruitfull… The more Northerne Part, divided from the South almost by a continuall Ridge of high Hills, is somewhat flat, and was in foregoeing Ages wholely Forrests… abounding also with verie good Pastures, and Feedeings for Cattell; watered with fine Streames, which take their Courses through rich Meadowes; which Inducements have invited manie of the Gentlemen of these Partes to dwell there… the South Parte… consisteth altogether of Hills… all overspread with innumerable Flockes of Sheepe, for which it yeelds very good and sound Feedeing, and from which the Countrie hath reaped an unknowen Gaine… Cornefeilds they have plentie, which seldome deceive the Husbandmans Expectation; and adjoyneing to the Rivers good Meadowes, though not in soe great Plentie as the North Parte of the Shire; to which though it bee inferiour for Profite, yet it exceedes much for Pleasure, beeing freed from those two generall Enimies of Sports, Durt and Inclosures, and well stored with such Game, as at their severall Seasons serve for Sports and Recreations.[8]

Another effect of the Black Death was the emergence of a new elite of landholding families. This process, already well under way at the beginning of the sixteenth century, would be greatly enhanced by the dissolution of the religious houses: J.H. Bettey notes that of the 211 leading families in Dorset in 1634, nearly half appeared for the first time between 1529 and 1603.[9] Among these families were the Tregonwells of Milton Abbey and the Strangways of Melbury Sampford, both of which benefitted heavily from direct involvement in the dissolution of two of Dorset's oldest Benedictine foundations, Milton Abbey and Abbotsbury Abbey respectively. To this day,

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[6] Taylor, *Dorset*, p.110.
[7] J.H. Bettey, 'Early Topographers, Antiquarians and Travellers in Dorset', in M. Brayshay ed., *Topographical Writers in South-West England* (Exeter, 1996), p.77.
[8] Coker, pp.3-4.
[9] Bettey, *Dorset*, p.48.

Dorset's many surviving Tudor and Stuart manor houses, such as Hanford House, Anderson Manor and Dean's Court at Wimborne, attest to the rise of these nouveaux riches, as do a number of churches that were similarly beautified by the proceeds of new money. Frampton church, for instance, was rebuilt by Robert Browne, 'a descendant of a remarkable local family who were minor tenants of the manor of Frampton until the late fifteenth century', before moving into commerce in the early sixteenth. Having acquired the manor of which his ancestors had been tenants as well as Bettiscombe manor and land at Broadwey, Robert Browne also rebuilt the two family seats, Frampton and Forston, near Charminster.[10] On the whole, though, the county had been and would remain one of comparatively large landholdings and non-resident landowners.

Like the physical landscape and the economies it produced, the late medieval religious landscape of Dorset was also distinctive; not for unconnected reasons.[11] The county was especially notable for its ancient Benedictine monasteries. Of the ten large Benedictine houses in the diocese of Salisbury, five were in Dorset: Abbotsbury, Cerne, Milton, Sherborne, and the nunnery at Shaftesbury.[12] Those houses, all of which had their origins in the Saxon period, were concentrated in or towards the west and north of the county. This had not always been the case; but the early monasteries at Wareham and Wimborne both failed to outlast the tenth century, probably because of Viking incursions. The Benedictines remained a popular destination for the Dorset gentry's largesse throughout the late Middle Ages: 63% of the surviving gentry wills contain bequests to these houses. Nor did the local gentry, unlike their counterparts in the other counties of the diocese, stop founding perpetual chantries in monastic houses: of the six monastic chantries founded in the diocese after 1350, five were in Dorset. One spur to benefaction was long-standing family traditions and associations, and another was surely the exclusivity the closed orders represented.[13]

During the later Middle Ages, the east of the county had no ancient foundations to match Sherborne or Shaftesbury, except Wimborne, which also had the distinction of being the county's only collegiate church. The east did, however, have Cistercian abbeys at Bindon and Forde, and a nunnery at Tarrant Crawford. There were small houses of Austin Friars at Poole and Sherborne, and the Dominicans had a friary at Melcombe Regis. The Franciscans had a friary in Dorchester,

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[10] Ibid.
[11] This survey draws especially on E.T. Long, 'The Religious Houses of Dorset', *PDNHAS* 53 (1932), 16-50.
[12] Brown, *Piety*, p.27.
[13] Ibid, pp.29-34.

the county town, and nearby was a commandery of Knights Hospitallers, at Friar Mayne. A number of dependent priories also existed among the larger foundations: a cell at East Holme, under the control of the Cluniac priory of Montacute, in Somerset; a Benedictine priory at Wareham which was suppressed in 1414 and granted to the Carthusians; the priory of Horton, belonging to Sherborne; and the priory of Cranborne, belonging to Tewkesbury abbey. Both Horton and Cranborne had histories stretching back into the Saxon period, and had once been independent, if humble, foundations in their own right. Before the complete suppression of the alien priories in England, there had been several in the county: at Frampton, Loders, Muckleford, Povington, Spettisbury, Stour Provost, Sturminster Marshall, Winterborne Monkton and Wareham. Their lands had been either seized by the crown or distributed among other foundations; Sturminster Marshall, for instance, was taken by Henry V and became a royal peculiar. Finally, there were a number of hospitals in the county, most of which were under the control of a religious foundation. The hospitals at Bridport, Sherborne and Tarrant Rushton were all religious in this sense, while the hospital of St Margaret and St Anthony at Wimborne appears to have been a secular foundation.

Like all dichotomies, the chalk and cheese is not all-encompassing, a total explanation. Where Underdown's work is perhaps too deterministic, Brown also points to the growing importance of the cloth trade and the cloth towns in the medieval diocese of Salisbury. As a result of Edward III's sharp increase of the wool custom, many of the region's towns became known for their cloth; and the wealth generated by the trade allowed heavier investment in 'penitential good works'. 'If there is one impression to be gained about the differences between cloth towns and other areas in the region, it is one of greater intensity: greater wealth and investment in religious life, but also greater fragmentation, more sedition and heresy'.[14]

Although the wool and textile industry was well developed in Dorset, the county remained on the fringe of the most important cloth-producing area in western England, and the cloth produced in Dorset was of inferior quality to that of Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire; kersey was the Dorset fabric, a coarse cloth. The Dorset cloth industry suffered a decline under the Stuarts, but was still important enough in the early eighteenth century for Daniel Defoe to comment on it. He noted that a great many were employed in the manufacture of knitted stockings.[15]

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[14] Ibid, p.17.

[15] Bettey, 'Early Topographers', p.83. Other important industries in Dorset were rope-making at Bridport, lace-making, salt-making and cloth-making; and a vigorous overseas trade took place from the county's four

Among those medieval cloth towns, and still knitting stockings when Defoe passed through, was Wimborne Minster. Its situation on and around the heathland of south-east Dorset also made it exceptional, neither chalk nor cheese. John Leland wrote of the 'morisch and hethy ground' he trudged across to reach the town, around the late 1530s (**Image 7**).[16] Sparsely inhabited and unpropitious for agriculture, it was the 'Ishmaelite' space Thomas Hardy took for his Egdon – 'Haggard Egdon', 'the great and particular glory of the Egdon waste':

> Civilisation was its enemy; and ever since the beginning of vegetation its soil had worn the same antique brown dress, the natural and invariable garment of the particular formation. In its venerable one coat lay a certain vein of satire on human vanity in clothes… The great inviolate place had an ancient permanence which the sea cannot claim… The seas changed, the fields changed, the rivers, the villages, and the people changed, yet Egdon remained.[17]

While Hardy would have had his readers see Egdon as an eternal and unchanging space, a pitiless counterpoint to the fugitive concerns of his men and women, the reality of Dorset's heathlands was in fact more changeable; although it was not until the twentieth century that they began to disappear on a significant scale. By the end of the sixteenth century, for instance, hundreds of acres of Holt Heath, to the north of Wimborne, had been enclosed for both sheep- and arable-farming. These larger-scale, later, enclosures mirrored a smaller-scale, earlier, process of reclaiming land for individual farms, not only on Holt Heath but elsewhere too.[18]

Besides the topographical factors and religious trends already noted, it is also true that religion in east Dorset, particularly on the heathlands, was of a poorer sort. The depopulation of the chalklands and, in particular, agricultural difficulties reduced collective investment in parish churches, and in religion as a whole. Wealthier parishes were better equipped to respond to innovations, such as the introduction of new cults, and also to fulfil their obligations for ornaments and vestments. The relative poverty of eastern parishes during the late medieval period is most visibly evidenced today by the paucity of church-building there between 1348 and the dissolutions.[19] In north and west Dorset many churches, such as Beaminster, Whitchurch Canonicorum and Bradford Abbas, were either entirely rebuilt or underwent significant alteration; in the east, by contrast, substantial modification, let alone rebuilding, was almost non-existent.

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main ports of Lyme Regis, Poole, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which had emerged as rivals to the older ports of Bridport and Wareham, before eclipsing them.

[16] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.255.

[17] T. Hardy, *The Return of the Native* (1978), ch. 1, p.56

[18] Taylor, *Dorset*, pp.94 and 133.

[19] Brown, *Piety*, p.121.

Further, less enduring, evidence of the relative poverty of heathland parishes is the fact that very few perpetual chantries were founded in the east after 1348.[20]

ii Parish, town and minster

At the centre of the late medieval parish of Wimborne Minster, if not geographically then in gravitational terms, was the town; and at the centre of the town, the Minster.

The urban district, some 650 acres, is now all that remains of the medieval parish (**Map 9**). The medieval parish was nearly 20 times larger; the second largest parish in the county, after nearby Cranborne (13,000 acres). Its size would have been comparable to the largest parishes in the Kentish Weald, an area once comprised of unusually large parishes.[21] The exact boundaries of the medieval parish are now uncertain; nor do they appear to have been much less uncertain in 1559, when a commission was launched by the crown: '*De Thomas domino Paulet & aliis assignatis ad inquirendum de omnibus viis mediis & modis de quantitate procinctum & ambitum parochiae de Wymborne Minster*'.[22] The commission's findings are unknown. In 1894, when the present, much-reduced, parish was formed by scission, the area from which it was cut amounted to just under 12,000 acres (**Map 8**). Three other parishes were also made: Colehill, at 2,400 acres; Holt, at 5,562 acres; and Pamphill, at 6,200 acres. Pamphill was created solely from the old parish of Wimborne, whereas Colehill and Holt took on some land from adjoining parishes.[23] The pre-1894 parish contained a number of hamlets and small settlements outside the town: Abbotstreet, Bothenwood, Bradford Bryan, Chilbridge, Colehill, Cowgrove, Dogdean, Furzehill, Gaunts, Grange, Hillbutts, Leigh (including Eastbrook, a hamlet attached to the town), Pamphill, Petersham and Wilksworth (**Maps 10-13**). Because of its size there was also variety in the geological structure of the parish: the fertile flood-plains of the Stour and Allen to the south of the

[20] Ibid, p.97.
[21] Alan Everitt discusses the exceptional size of parishes in the early-modern Kentish Weald, in 'Nonconformity in Rural Parishes', in *Land, Church and People: Essays Presented to H.P.R. Finberg* (Welwyn Garden City, 1970), pp.178-99.
[22] Quoted in *Vindogladia*, p.5.
[23] *RCHM Dorset*, v, pp.4, 32, 44 and 77.

town, and the terraced alluvium and chalk of Cowgrove to the east of the town; the ancient heathland of Holt to the north; the mixed clays of Thornhill, where wheat could not be grown.[24]

The key to understanding the unusual size and internal variety of the parish lies in the early organisation of the Church in Dorset and the minster system; the medieval parish was a fossil or relict of that ancient time. 'The royal free chapels were the exception which proved the rule concerning the fortunes of the Anglo-Saxon minsters': whereas most minster parishes went into decline and fragmented into smaller units from the eleventh century, a small number became royal free chapels, and their parishes were preserved largely as they had been.[25] Despite the general decline of the minster parishes from the eleventh century, John Blair has noted that even in the late medieval period their parishes 'were still more likely than others to be multi-focal, and to be well above average size; they consequently tended to contain abnormally large and varied constellations of subsidiary sites, and populations who were socially and economically diverse'.[26] Unlike other early foundations such as Christchurch Twyneham and Plympton, Wimborne, for whatever reason, escaped the 'Norman obsession for creating regular communities'; if Wimborne had been re-endowed or converted, many of the later problems of personnel, administration and funding might well have been avoided.[27]

The earliest history of Wimborne is speculative and poorly attested, and will not be dwelled on at length here, especially as Patricia Coulstock has already done so. The recorded history of the place begins with Cuthburga, one of the two sisters of King Ine of Wessex, and her monastery by the river. The date of the foundation may have been as early as 705; this was an important date in the consolidation of West Saxon control over Dorset, the creation of the bishopric of Sherborne.[28] The location and layout of the monastery are uncertain, as is its contribution to the development of the town. Elsewhere in Dorset, Milton, Cerne and Abbotsbury all owed their development into large and prosperous settlements (by Dorset standards) to their resident abbeys.[29] Cuthburga's

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[24] Reeve, pp.18-19 and 36.
[25] Jenkins, 'Early Medieval Context', p.189.
[26] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p.512. For the general development of the minster system, see chapters six to eight.
[27] I owe thanks to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch for bringing this point to my attention; the quotation is his (pers. comms.). For Christchurch and Plympton, see Blair, *Church*, pp.513-22.
[28] Coulstock, pp.35-40, 49-50. The foundation of minsters was part of the broader process by which 'the West Saxon kings turned themselves from being military overlords to being territorial rulers'. B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (1995), p.185.
[29] Taylor, *Dorset*, pp.101-102. On the relationship between churches and the development of urban areas, see for instance J. Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (1986), pp.139-54.

monastery was probably fortified, and circumstantial evidence suggests an important role in the secular administration of the area.[30]

The early church at Wimborne had broad pastoral responsibilities in the surrounding area. The minster parishes were extensive, far more so than the average parish of the late medieval period; but not so extensive that by the mid-ninth century most places in lowland England were further than ten miles from a minster.[31] In Dorset, there is good toponymical evidence for some of these early minsters: Beaminster, Charminster, Iwerne Minster, Sturminster Marshall, Sturminster Newton and Yetminster, besides Wimborne. On the basis of documentary and archaeological evidence, other places where early minsters existed include Sherborne, Wareham Lady St Mary, Whitchurch Canonicorum and Canford Magna (**Map 7**).[32] Something of the former greatest extent of Wimborne's minster parish can be reconstructed from a variety of sources: Domesday Book; various payments owed by local churches to the deans of the royal free chapel and then to the parish corporation that replaced it; and the extent of Wimborne parish until 1894. On this basis, Hampreston, Hinton Martell, Hinton Parva (alias Stanbridge), Shapwick, West Parley and one of the Tarrant villages (Gunville, Hinton, Launceston, Monkton, Rawston, Rushton, Keyneston, Stubhampton or Preston) have all been attributed to the early minster parish.[33] Further evidence of the Minster's importance is given in Domesday Book, which records at least four priests associated with the Minster, dwelling in different parts of the ancient parish.[34]

So by 1066 the original community of nuns had ceased to exist, replaced by a community of secular canons. The last definite reference to monasticism at Wimborne comes in 962, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which reveals that the monastery was now a double monastery, housing both nuns and monks.[35] Peaceful or otherwise, the disappearance of the monastery and its replacement with a community of secular canons was mirrored elsewhere in the county; at Abbotsbury, for instance, where a decayed minster was renovated and re-populated with canons in 1026, before its conversion to a monastery, in 1044.[36] The revival of communal life probably came a little later at Wimborne than at Abbotsbury, in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The earliest part of the

[30] Coulstock, pp.60-4.
[31] See Blair, *Church*, pp.135-81.
[32] Taylor, *Dorset*, pp.78-81.
[33] Coulstock, p.67. D.A. Hinton and C.J. Webster, 'Excavations at the Church of St Martin, Wareham, 1985-86 and "Minsters" in South-East Dorset', *PDNHAS* 109 (1988), 47-54.
[34] Coulstock, p.67.
[35] Ibid, pp.95-6.
[36] S. Keynes, 'The Lost Cartulary of Abbotsbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989), 207-43.

Minster dates from the first half of the eleventh century, and by the later Middle Ages the Confessor's personal role was accepted as tradition: the collegiate seal bore his arms, and a medieval mural uncovered in the crypt featured him standing on one side of a church (presumably the Minster) opposite another West-Saxon king, the murdered King Edmund.[37]

By the late thirteenth century, the college had been established in the form that would remain until 1548: a dean, four prebendaries, and a sacristan. These personnel are first listed in 1291, in the papal *Taxatio* of Nicholas IV. The income of the deanery, consisting almost entirely of tithes, was £71 per annum, of which £26 13s 4d went to the dean, £10 to each of the four prebendaries and £4 6s 8d to the sacristan.[38] It was the job of the sacristan to run the college on a day-to-day basis in the absence of the dean. The prebendaries were not expected to be resident, perform divine service and administer the cure of souls, but collected the money from their prebends and employed vicars in their stead. The first, partial, confirmation of this arrangement comes in 1355, with the foundation of Thomas de Brembre's Great Chantry, when a charter confirming the appropriation of Shapwick to the chantry stated that the dean and prebendaries '*officiare per se in divinis hactenus non solebant*'.[39] The prebendaries were probably already employing stipendiary vicars to be resident and fulfil the duties they did not; although it was not unknown for prebendaries to make no such provision – merely to pocket the money. Four vicars were definitely being employed by the beginning of the fifteenth century; in the churchwardens' account for 1409-10, money was paid on the feast of St Stephen '*ex consuetudine*' to the college and parish personnel, including the '*iiij clericis parochialibus*'.[40] The earliest reference to deacons or secondaries is in the will of Gilbert Kymer (proved 12 July 1463), dean of the college, which includes among its bequests '*iiij*^{or} *diaconibus ibidem* [at Wimborne] *cuilibet eorum xij d ad celebrand' exequias et missas pro anima mea*'.[41] The personnel of the college would be enhanced in the mid-fourteenth century by two chantry foundations, adding a maximum total of five priests, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the addition of another chantry priest.

Physical evidence of the college buildings is minimal. Leland, passing through in the 1540s, said that 'the ministers of the chirch of Winburne hath a praty house or college to inhabite. The dean

[37] Coulstock, pp.97-8. Tracings of the mural are DHC, PE-WM / Accession 7401.
[38] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV. Circa A.D. 1291*, ed. T. Astle, S. Ayscough and J. Caley (1802), pp. 178 and 180.
[39] Appendix II, Document B in Coulstock, p.195.
[40] CWA, 5.
[41] TNA, PROB 11 / 5 / 14.

hath a fair house'.[42] Dean's Court, the seat of the Hanham family, is so called because it was there, to the south-east of the Minster, that the dean's residence is supposed to have lain. The present redbrick mansion was built in 1725 and, until further work was carried out in 1868, visibly enclosed a medieval hall.[43] The rest of the college is likely to have been in the same area. The dean's residence probably came into the hands of John Hanham from Lord Clinton and Saye, who had purchased the farm of the college mansion house in 1552, having been granted 'the site of the late college or free chapel of Wymborne' a year earlier.[44] The college and its appurtenances were extensive: the second grant to Clinton and Saye records that the mansion house came '*cum domibus stabulis edificiis structuris gardinibus ortis pomariis eidem mancioni pertinentibus*'. These '*edificiis*' and '*structuris*' may have included domestic, devotional and agricultural buildings: a royal inquiry of 1367 into defects in the possessions of the deanery reported damage amounting to no less than £400 in 'the halls, chambers, chapel, kitchen, bakehouse, grange, ox-house and mill'.[45] Such an extensive complex was by no means unusual. At Westbury-on-Trym, for instance, in the fifteenth century, Bishop John Carpenter significantly remodelled the church and college, creating for the prebendaries, schoolmaster and dean 'accommodation… every bit as substantial as that at their church'. A large quadrangular block of accommodation, probably within a walled complex, was constructed on the model of the recently established Oxford colleges – New College, All Souls and Lincoln.[46]

While the development of the community itself is reasonably clear, the development of the college's status as a royal free chapel is obscure. Initially the right to present to the deanery seems not to have resided with the crown, but may first have passed to the crown via the earls of Gloucester, upon the marriage in 1189 of Prince John to Isabella, the sole heir of Earl William; when John acceded to the throne ten years later, this right would then have passed on to his successors.[47] The first evidenced appointment by a king dates from King John's reign, and from then until the dissolution of the college in 1548 'the appointment and names of successive deans of Wimborne are recorded in royal administrative documents, most in the Patent Rolls'.[48] As well

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[42] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.257.
[43] *RCHM Dorset*, v, p.86.
[44] The grant of the site of the college is in *CPR, Edward VI,* iv, pp.203-12. The grant of the mansion house is reproduced in 'Chantries', vol. 29, 61-2.
[45] *CPR, Edward III,* xiii, pp.436 and 443.
[46] N. Orme and J. Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym: Monastery, Minster and College* (Bristol, 2010), pp.176-84.
[47] Coulstock, p.102.
[48] Ibid.

as appointing the deans, the king would also appoint to the prebends and churches in the dean's gift if the deanery fell vacant. The king could launch enquiries into the administration of the church and its maintenance, and was active in preventing any and all encroachments upon the exempt jurisdiction of the college, whether from the local archdeacon or the pope. On the whole, the peculiar jurisdiction of the college went largely without challenge during the later Middle Ages.[49]

From the time of the founding of the college at Wimborne and the rebuilding of the church, more can be said about the town (**Maps 14-15**). At Domesday, 'Wimborne was probably an agricultural settlement with an urban element… outside the precinct and perhaps with its own chapel'.[50] The urban area was not referred to as a borough, but had burgesses. The tenure of the town itself was divided between a number of holdings: the king's manor, which, with four other manors, including Kingston Lacy (centred on Pamphill, to the west of the town), later came to the lord of Kingston Lacy, as duke of Lancaster; Queen Maud's manor; a priest at Hinton had 11 houses in Wimborne; Bishop Maurice of London held one-and-a-half hides at Hinton belonging to the church of Wimborne Minster and eight burgesses; Horton Abbey had a chapel in Wimborne; Edward of Salisbury held Canford and with it three bordars and one house at Wimborne belonging to Canford.[51]

The medieval town came to be divided between the manors of the dean and the lord of Kingston Lacy, and as such was an example of a 'seigneurial borough', an unincorporated borough under the control of one or more seigneurial lords. Such boroughs, whether under lay or ecclesiastical lordship (or both, as was the case with Wimborne), constituted two-thirds of all boroughs in medieval England.[52] No charters of incorporation were obtained for Wimborne in the medieval or early modern periods: municipal institutions, including a mayor and a common council, did not develop, and the tenants continued to elect their own officers at the lord's court.[53] The division of the town between its two seigneurs followed modern-day Prior's walk in the town: to the north

[49] Denton, *Chapels*, p.50.
[50] K.J. Penn, *Historic Towns in Dorset* (Dorchester, 1980), p.121.
[51] Ibid, pp.121-3.
[52] R.H. Hilton, 'Towns in English Medieval Society', in R. Holt and G. Rosser ed., *The Medieval Town in England, 1200-1540* (1990), p.26.
[53] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124. A.L. Clegg, *A History of Wimborne Minster and District* (Bournemouth, 1960) p.25.

was the Borough, part of the manor of Kingston Lacy; to the south, the dean's part, referred to as the Town.

The deanery manor included most of the town and also Leigh, to the east. Its origin, creation and organisation are uncertain. 'While the estate seems to have comprised some of the possessions of the college, some important parts were evidently not regarded as included in it': the chantry commissioners sold the property of the college not as a single unit, but separate lots.[54] The manor had its own court, of which a few rolls and accounts survive. On the dissolution of the college, the manor came into the hands of the crown and was swiftly granted to Protector Somerset, with substantial estates and rights within the local area; it returned to the crown almost as swiftly, upon Somerset's attainder and execution. By the end of the 16th century the manor was included within Kingston Lacy, and the deanery estate had come into the hands of the Hanham family.[55] In the seventeenth century, the Hanhams held a town court for their urban possessions and a rural court to cover their possessions in Leigh, Wilksworth and Abbotstreet.[56]

Kingston Lacy was centred upon Pamphill, to the west of the town. The manor was among the largest in the county, and comprised the tithings of Abbotstreet, Barnesley, Cowgrove, Leigh, Thornhill and Wimborne.[57] One court covered the Borough area of the town, another court covered the rural manor.[58] There was at one point a hunting lodge, Kingston Hall, to the north of present-day Kingston Lacy house, and a deer park to the northwest; in 1540, Leland wrote 'Ther hath beene sins a fair maner place caullid Kingston-Haul and this is now in a manner clerely defacid'.[59] From the early fourteenth century, the overlordship of Kingston Lacy was in the hands of the crown, and the manor was held by a number of sub-tenants. The first holder of an independent manor of Kingston appears to have been Robert de Beaumont, count of Meulan, who died in 1118. His son became the earl of Leicester, and the manor became part of the honour of Leicester. The manor then passed to the de Lacys, and by 1310 the overlordship had passed to the crown, apparently from the earls of Winchester. Over the following two centuries, the manor was granted to various supporters of the crown, including the earls of Lincoln and John Beaufort, the duke of Somerset and father of Lady Margaret Beaufort. In 1547, the manor was granted to Protector Somerset, along with substantial estates and rights within the immediate area, but was

[54] Clegg, *Wimborne Minster*, pp.64-5.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Reeve, p.22.
[57] Hutchins, iii, p.233.
[58] Reeve, p.22.
[59] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.256.

again vested in the crown after his attainder and execution. The manor continued to be rented out through Elizabeth's reign. Soon after his accession, James I granted the manor to Sir Charles Blount, who sold it in 1636 to Sir John Bankes, attorney general to Charles I.[60]

Those two were not the only manors within the parish during the Middle Ages. Sherborne Abbey held land at Abbotstreet, Bradford Bryan and Barnesley, one part of which came into the hands of John Hanham in 1545, with the rest granted to the re-founded Sherborne School in 1550.[61] The priory of Christchurch Twyneham held the manor of Barnesley, and a small amount of land elsewhere in the parish. These possessions passed to Edward Twyneho after the dissolution of the priory.[62] A manor at Wilkesworth was granted by Henry VIII to Queen Catherine Howard and then to Queen Catherine Parr, and was later purchased by Thomas Hanham, the grandson of John Hanham, in 1590.[63] Thornhill manor appears to have been absorbed into Kingston Lacy.[64]

The deanery manor and Kingston Lacy were by far the two most important manors within the medieval parish, and their interaction with each other appears to have been a spur to the growth of the town. Archaeological evidence from an area known as the Leaze, a series of earthworks on the meadows to the south of the town, suggests that planned expansion took place within the dean's manor around 1200, probably to establish a new market centre and gain more rents. The earliest archaeological evidence from this new development demonstrates the 'essentially rural' nature of the town at that time, while later buildings excavated reveal the presence of urban artisans and craftsmen, who probably sold their wares 'at the market and on the spot'.[65] In response, the lord of Kingston Lacy established a rival development within his manor, to the north: an east and a west borough, laid out rationally, with parallel streets; these provide an enduring contrast to the rabbit-run of streets around the Minster (**Maps 14–15**). West Street, to the west of the Minster and within the dean's manor, was also developed at around this time.[66] Not long after the establishment of this rival development, what became a long-running dispute over the town markets was initiated by the lord of Kingston Lacy, who claimed that the dean's market was impinging on his own.[67] During the later medieval period, the Borough market was abandoned,

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[60] Clegg, *Wimborne Minster*, pp.57-63.
[61] Ibid, pp.73-4.
[62] Hutchins, iii, p.235.
[63] DHC, D-HNM / A / 1 / 2.
[64] Clegg, *Wimborne Minster*, p.74.
[65] N.H. Field, 'The Leaze, Wimborne, An Excavation in a Deserted Medieval Quarter of the Town', *PDNHAS* 94 (1973), 49-62.
[66] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124.
[67] Ibid.

and by way of compensation the town's butchers and shopkeepers had to pay a small tax annually at the Borough court.[68] The dean's market continued throughout the medieval period. It was originally held in 'the churchyard', but probably not the Minster churchyard; instead, the churchyard of St Peter's, a church to the north of the Minster, may have been used. In 1224, it was ordered that the market should take place beyond the cemetery walls. The dean leased the market rights to the parishioners until 1548, and so the profits were recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, alongside the profits of Cuthburga fair, which was held in the town on the Sunday closest to her feast (31 August). As well as Cuthburga fair, there were three other fairs in the medieval parish: two at Pamphill, which were granted to the parish by Henry VII on 6 June 1497 and held on St Thomas the Martyr's Day and St Luke's Day respectively (29 December and 18 October); and a fair on Holt Green, granted by Henry III to the de Lacy family in 1286. After the dissolution, the market and Cuthburga fair were leased by the crown to various parishioners, who in turn leased them back to the parish until 1597, when the parish gave up its lease.[69]

The taxation evidence, by contrast, suggests stagnation and under-performance. In the 1360s, the lord of Kingston Lacy was receiving only 77s 3d from the Borough manor annually, whereas the bishop of Winchester, for instance, was receiving annual rents of between £7 and £16 from his new towns and urban developments at that time.[70] Wimborne's lay subsidy ratings, as a whole, were low, among the lowest of all the towns in Dorset and low even in comparison with neighbouring settlements. This may be indicative of an early town-country divide within the parish.[71] In the seventeenth century, the occupational profile of the town was significantly more diverse than that of the rural part of the parish: between 1620 and 1654, 64 different occupations were present in the town, compared to 20 in the countryside surrounding it.[72] Among the town-dwellers were dealers, craftsmen, retailers, professionals, including many attorneys and lawyers, as well as clerics, teachers and doctors. The textile and leather industries remained important to the town, as they had been in the Middle Ages.[73] By contrast, agriculture continued to dominate the

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[68] Reeve, p.19.
[69] D. Reeve, 'Wimborne Minster and Holt Markets and Fairs in the Early Modern Period', *SDNQ* 35 (2005), 242-45. Henry VII's grant of the two fairs at Pamphill is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts in an important series of memoranda placed after the account for 1663. CWA, 42.
[70] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124.
[71] J.W. Day, 'Wimborne – Early 14th C. Title Deeds', *SDNQ* 34 (1996-2000), 237-40.
[72] Reeve, p.129.
[73] Hutchins states that before the dissolution of the guilds there had been a guild of shearmen, tuckers and cappers and another guild of wool merchants based in the guildhall, and that they had all maintained guild-lights. Hutchins, iii, p.203. Tanner is a surname that appears as early as 1407-8, in the churchwardens' accounts. CWA, 3.

rural area into the seventeenth century; although weavers, tailors and clothiers also operated outside the town, and the building industry – carpenters, thatchers, glaziers and brick-makers – also served and operated within the countryside.[74]

While the developments in the town were systematic, certain local advantages remained underexploited: there is no evidence, for instance, that the flood plains to the south were ever developed, or that quays were ever built on the river.[75] The Leaze development was abandoned in the fourteenth century, probably because of the Black Death, and never reoccupied or re-developed after.[76] When Leland visited Wimborne and commented that it 'hath been a large thing', it may have been to the visible remains of the Leaze that he was referring.[77]

The medieval town was home to an almshouse for lepers, St Margaret and Anthony's, and this was later joined by a second set, the Courtenay almshouses, founded after the death of Gertrude Blount, the marchioness of Exeter, in 1558 by her nephew, Mountjoy Blount. Little can be said about the Courtenay almshouses before 1640: there are no accounts or internal documentation for the new foundation. The surviving wills do at least record occasional gifts from the parishioners, the first of which came in 1568: a bushel of wheat from John Baron.[78] The almshouse buildings themselves, which stood between the Minster and Dean's Court, were demolished in 1960. St Margaret's, by contrast, is much better evidenced. It lay within the manor of Kingston Lacy, about a mile to the north-west of the town. The thirteenth-century chapel built for the almshouses still stands today, as do the original almshouses, although significantly modernised and extended. Given its location within the manor of Kingston Lacy, St Margaret's is likely to have been founded by one of the lords of Kingston Lacy; but probably not John of Gaunt as reputed, because its existence can be proved long before the reign of Edward III.[79] A long existence, but also precarious; in 1548, the chantry commissioners valued St Margaret's at just 29s 8d, 'in whyche hospitall ther be viij impotent powre men which dothe not onlye lyve by the profytts of the sayd howse but by the devocon of the people and [inhabitants] of the sayd towne of Wymborne'.[80] There is no systematic evidence for St Margaret's and the sustenance it received from 'the devocon of the

[74] Reeve, p.35.
[75] P.J. Woodward, 'Wimborne Minster, Dorset – Excavations in the Town Centre, 1975-80', *PDNHAS* 105 (1984), 57-74.
[76] Field, 'The Leaze'.
[77] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.256.
[78] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 14.
[79] 'Hospitals: St Margaret and St Anthony, Wimborne', in *VCH Dorset*, ii, p.106.
[80] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 24-25.

people' until the late 1550s, when the surviving wills begin to increase in number and record a regular flow of gifts to the almshouses and even, on occasion, to particular residents.[81] A book of accounts for the almshouse survives which begins in 1567 and records, in similar manner to the parish churchwardens' accounts, both income, including gifts, and expenditure.[82] These accounts show that from 1567 to 1683 the almshouses were administered directly by two annually elected members of the parish, and that they were assisted by the constable of the town and the stewards of Kingston Lacy, on behalf of the lord of Kingston Lacy. The administration of the almshouses during the period before 1547 is obscure, but by the early decades of the sixteenth century the later arrangements were more or less already in place: a surviving deed from 1519 records the election of a new proctor for the hospital by Dean Reginald Pole, the sacrist of the college, the constable of the town and the steward of Kingston Lacy.[83] Coulstock wrongly claims that St Margaret's was dissolved in 1548 and then 'revived in 1567'; in fact, the chantry commissioners explicitly sought to preserve both the grammar school and the hospital at Wimborne, and at Sherborne, those 'being the places most mete for the purpose'.[84] The evidence of Wimborne's wills show that it was still in existence in 1558, when two parishioners, John Faver and John Goby, each gave bequests to the almshouses, and in 1565 another parishioner, Thomas Painter, left a bequest of 2d to each resident.[85]

Despite the low subsidy ratings and the poverty of some of its residents, Wimborne was and remained an important centre for the wool trade, in manufacturing and distribution, in part because of its royal links; in March 1341, for example, King Edward III instructed the sheriff of Dorset that all the royal wool in the eastern part of the county should be packed and taken to Wimborne for storage until further notice.[86] The town enjoyed natural advantages of the sort that carried other towns like Reading to prosperity and sustained them through great economic upheavals: a good position on east-west and north-south trade routes, including the route from Poole to Blandford, and at the confluence of the rivers Stour and Allen.[87] Wimborne's proximity

[81] A handful of medieval deeds, mainly gifts to the almshouses, survive and are held at the DHC, under the mark D-SMS / 1.
[82] DHC, D-SMS/ 3 / 1.
[83] DHC, D-SMS / 2 / 1. Coulstock, pp.145-6.
[84] Coulstock, p.146. 'Chantries', vol 28, 24.
[85] Respectively, DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 1; TNA, PROB 11 41 5; DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 5.
[86] *CCR, Edward III,* vi, p.17.
[87] On Reading, J. Martin, "Leadership and Priorities in Reading during the Reformation", in P. Collinson and J. Craig eds. *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke 1998) pp.113-29.

to and trade links with Poole are especially worth comment.[88] In 1548, the chantry commissioners noted in a memorandum that a grammar school should be maintained at Wimborne because 'the towne of Wymborne ys a greate market towne & a throughfare & hath many children therin'.[89]

'A greate market towne': Wimborne was considered a populous as well as a large parish, but a reasonable estimate of the population cannot be given until 1548, when the chantry commissioners gave the number of houseling people (communicants) as 1700. According to Marjorie McIntosh, at this time a child would first take communion at around the age of ten, and since children below ten constituted perhaps 25% of the population, a further 25% can be added to houseling figures to arrive at a population estimate.[90] By that multiplier, Wimborne's houseling figure yields a total population of 2125, in 1548.

Later evidence allows more accurate estimates of the population, including its distribution between town and country, to be made. Using Dorset's Protestation (1641-2) and hearth-tax returns (1662-4 and 1673-4), David Reeve has arrived at the following projected totals: in 1641-2, a total population of 2538, with 804 people in the town and 1734 in the countryside; in 1662-4, a population of 1867, with 792 people in the town and 1075 in the countryside; in 1673-4, a population of 2289, with 1008 in the town and 1381 in the countryside.[91] The Protestation returns suggest the rural population was significantly in excess of the urban population by 1640, but the imbalance may not always have been quite so great. As many as 400 people are believed to have died in an outbreak of plague in 1636, and more deaths probably occured in the town than the country, for obvious reasons.[92] Another severe outbreak of plague, or sweating sickness, had taken place in east Dorset in 1551-2, and was reported by the commissioners for church goods, who were unable to take inventories for Wimborne, Canford or Poole as a result.[93]

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[88] From the start, the churchwardens' accounts record payments to architects, glaziers, masons and other tradesmen from Poole. Stone, in particular, appears to have been sourced there regularly.
[89] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 20.
[90] M.K. McIntosh, *A Community Transformed: The Manor and Liberty of Havering-atte-Bower, 1500-1620* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.9-10.
[91] Reeve, p.30.
[92] Hutchins, iii, p.228.
[93] W.M. Barnes, 'Church Goods, Dorset, 1552', *PDNHAS* 26 (1906), 158.

iii Urban and devotional complexity: the chapels

Another example of 'the complex nature of the whole town' and parish is 'the provision of churches' – which is to say, chapels.[94] John Leland wrote that 'There be in and about [Wimborne] diverse chapelles that in tymes past were, as I have lernid, paroche chirchis of the very toune of Winburne'.[95] At around the same time, the chantry commissioners noted that 'ther by iij chappells wherein ther is devyne servece bycause the Said Chappells be distante from the Churche of Wymbourne iij myles And is for the ease of the people'.[96] An important later account, from 1657, names these three chapels as St James's, St Stephen's and St Peter's; but actually there was another chapel, St Catherine's, which either was still in use or recently had been.[97] A fifth chapel disappeared at a much earlier stage.[98] A chapel of St Mary is mentioned in 1163, in a bull of Alexander III confirming the possessions of Sherborne Abbey. Sherborne had probably acquired this chapel when it acquired Horton Abbey, which had held a chapel in the town at 1066.[99] St Mary's is believed to have stood in the Cornmarket, to the north of the Minster.[100] The churchwardens' accounts record a 'Saint Mary house' – '*tenementum Sancte Marie*' or '*domus sancte marie*' – from 1406-7, but if this was the chapel in the town once held by Horton, it is impossible to know when or how it passed to the Minster.[101] Saint Mary house was used for church ales, with regular receipts among the churchwardens' accounts for another '*taberna sancte marie*' or '*pro venditione servisie in domo sancte marie*'.[102] The parish continued to spend money on St Mary house into the early sixteenth century, including a new charcoal stove among various repairs in 1495-6, and a new loft and other additions in 1532-3.[103] The last mention of St Mary house in the pre-Civil War churchwardens' accounts came in 1572-3, when it was rented as a tenement to

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[94] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.126.
[95] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.256.
[96] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 23.
[97] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8. I have fully transcribed this account and provided a commentary in 'A History of the Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster and the Parish Corporation, Written in 1657', *Southern History* 38 (2016), 84-105.
[98] None of them now survive in their original medieval form. St Stephen's and St James's were completely rebuilt in the nineteenth century. A catholic chapel was built at the beginning of the twentieth century on the site of St Catherine's. The sites of St Peter's and St Mary's have both been put to secular uses.
[99] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124. Clegg, *Wimborne Minster*, pp.72-3.
[100] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124.
[101] CWA, 3.
[102] CWA, 7 and 23.
[103] CWA, 40, fo.13 and 92.

one Jasper Cross.[104] St Mary house continued to be rented out by the parish until the middle of the eighteenth century.[105]

St Peter's and St Catherine's were also, like the defunct St Mary's, within or close by the urban district. St Peter's, to the north of the Minster, had also been a free chapel at one point.[106] From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the parish paid for significant costs associated with it, and its upkeep may also have fallen to the deans of the Minster.[107] How long it remained in religious use is unclear. In 1452-3, the cemetery had already been converted to secular use and was being rented out by the parish; and the chapel itself, still referred to as 'seynt peters chyrch', had obviously been long neglected when in 1530 the churchwardens had the windows boarded up.[108] In 1543-4, at an expense to the parish of over £12, it became 'the newe chirche hows'.[109]

St Catherine's was probably founded by the dean 'for the transpontine suburb of Leigh', which was a manor of the deanery.[110] The majority of the chapel's costs were probably footed by the dean and college, but there is evidence the parish played a role in its upkeep; in 1436-7, for instance, the churchwardens paid a plumber for repairing '*quosdam defectus in Capella sancte katerine*'.[111] By this time, the chapel was in serious decay, and the next year the Minster obtained a modest indulgence for its repair.[112] Further repairs were paid for by the churchwardens in 1440-1 and 1444-5.[113]

The two medieval chapels about which the most is known were both within the manor of Kingston Lacy: St Stephen's at Kingston, to the west of the town, and St James's at Holt, far to the north. Both owed their foundation to the lords of Kingston Lacy. St Stephen's appears to have been founded earlier; it was probably the intended destination of a royal grant of 1236 to John de Lacy, who received 14 tie-beams '*ad quandam capellam erigendum apud manerium suum de Kingeston*'.[114] The chapel was apparently built adjoining the early manor house mentioned by

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[104] Ibid, fo.204.
[105] There are a number of leases dating between 1695 and 1753 held under DHC, PE-WM / CW / 5 / 10.
[106] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[107] CWA, 2, 15 and 17.
[108] CWA, 28; 40, fo.82 and 86.
[109] CWA, 40, fo.139.
[110] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.124.
[111] CWA, 18.
[112] 5 Id. Oct. 1437 in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, Volume 8, 1427-1447*, ed. J.A. Twemlow (1909).
[113] CWA, 21 and 24.
[114] *CCR, Henry III*, iii, p.324.

Leland. There was a chapel at Holt by 1368 at the latest, as recorded in a royal grant to John of Gaunt, then lord of the manor.[115] Before 1548, chantry priests were involved in the administration of both chapels. In 1286, Henry de Lacy obtained a license to grant land to Christchurch Priory for the founding of a chantry of two priests 'to say mass daily in the chapel of the donor's Court of Kyngeston'.[116] The fact that two priests were to be provided, may be evidence that there were already two chapels within the manor – i.e. that one priest was to perform divine service in each chapel. That was certainly the arrangement by the time the canons of Christchurch petitioned King Edward IV, in 1465: the value of the benefice was no longer enough to support the two chaplains, they claimed. The king therefore allowed the prior and canons to provide just a single chaplain, in one chapel. Less than 30 years later, another royal grant noted that St Stephen's was now in ruin, and ordered that the chaplain should be based at Holt.[117] The one-priest chantry at Holt, called the chantry of St Jacob, is recorded among the chantry certificates of 1548; but there is no corresponding entry for St Stephen's. The chapel at Holt would continue in use after 1548 as the sole chapel within the parish. St Stephen's would have a more interesting fate. By 1573, a special investigation of the Duchy of Lancaster described the chapel and the adjoining manor house as ruined beyond repair, and not long after the parishioners decided to divert unspecified funds away from the maintenance of the chapel towards the establishment of a lectureship.[118]

There is evidence that the parish paid towards St Stephen's before 1548 too, although just a single payment. In 1440-1, the parish had paid 8s 4d for leadwork '*super capellam Sancti Stephani*'.[119] There are no references to similar payments for St James's. The role of the Minster's clerical community in the maintenance of these two chapels is also obscure. There is no good reason to suppose that the deans contributed to their maintenance, the chapels both being outside the deanery manor; but the account from 1657 states that the parish's three medieval chapels of ease, which are named as St James's, St Stephen's and St Peter's, were each administered by one of the Minster's four parish priests.[120]

The first direct evidence for popular devotions attached to the chapels comes from after 1548, by which time only St James's at Holt was in regular use. Between 1548 and 1640, seven parishioners

[115] P. Warren, 'The Story of Holt Church and Holt Forest, Wimborne', *PDNHAS* 88 (1967), 188.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid, 188-90.
[118] This is a central episode in the first chapter of the second part of this thesis.
[119] CWA, 21.
[120] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.

gave either money or produce to the chapel.[121] Attendance can only be guessed, even in that later period. On 26 January 1659, the corporation met and decided to increase the stipends of the priests and clerks, and in doing so noted that St James's was frequented by 'divers of the Inhabitants… tyme out of mind'; they still did so because 'some of them [were] dwelling about a mile beyond the sayd Chappell further from the sayd Church, and not neere any other Church or Chappell'.[122]

It is necessarily to the Minster, then, and the extraordinary records produced by the parish as it fulfilled its communal obligations towards the nave, that we must now look; and, in the first instance, to an ambitious building project that began at the end of the 1430s and was to continue for three decades.

[121] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 37, 89, 151 and PJ-WM / W / E / 4 and 8; TNA, PROB 11 / 80 / 370 and 11 / 186 / 417.
[122] MB.

III: A college and its constituencies: a 'balanced account'

> …we have certein right good and notable clerks, of grete fame and verteueux disposicion, attending in our service, as yet by us unpromoted, and destitute of benefices. We, havyng knowelech that there is like, in shorte tyme, to voide a prebende in the ministre of Wymborne, longyng unto your gefte and collocacion, as patron therof, as it is said, desire, and hertly praye you, that ye will grante us the nexte prebende that first shall voide there, for to avaunce therwith oon of our said clerks. Wherinne trusteth verreilly ye shul not mowe oonly pourvei right well for the wele and worship of your said prebende, to God's pleasance; but also cause us to have you in tendre remembrance of our good grace therfore, in tyme comyng.[1]

[1] 'A Letter from the Queen to Master Gilbert Kymer, Chancellor of Oxford and Dean of Wymborne Minster', in *Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou and Bishop Beckington and Others, Written in the Reigns of Henry V and Henry VI*, ed. Cecil Munro (1863), no. 103.

i A new tower

At the end of the 1430s, the parishioners of Wimborne Minster began what would be lengthy preparations for the building of a new bell tower (**Images 4-6**); their progress can be followed in detail, via the churchwardens' accounts, over the following three decades. Such a project was not unusual for the wealthier, cheesier, parts of Salisbury diocese at this time, where many churches were either partially or fully rebuilt to reflect new architectural styles.[2] At Wimborne, the new tower arose as much from necessity as from a desire to keep up with developments elsewhere, after the apparent botching of another costly addition to the Minster: a spire that would later be reputed to have rivalled Salisbury's in height.[3] The spire was the culmination of a series of significant alterations to the church around the beginning of the fifteenth century: modification of the crypt beneath the chancel; widening of the ambulatory into north and south chapels; incorporation of the Lady chapel into the chancel; formation of central archways through what had been the side walls of the sanctuary; addition of a vaulted south vestry; westward expansion of the nave and aisles; and construction of a porch on the north side of the church (**Map 16**).[4] Nothing is known of the effort or cost that went into the spire's construction; but about its collapse in 1600 – spectacular, yet without loss of life – plenty can be inferred from the fabric of the church and the contemporary written evidence. An explanation close to the fall of William Golding's eponymous spire has been suggested, plausibly: 'defective masonry of a spire set on a tower which was never intended to support such a load'.[5] References to the '*defectus campanil*' appear on a number of occasions in the earliest churchwardens' accounts, and these must have resulted from the massive load added to it, or from the poor construction of the spire itself.[6] If these faults had instead been obvious before the spire's construction, then the story of Wimborne's spire would also surely, like Golding's, be one of overweening folly too.

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[2] See Brown, *Piety*, p.121.
[3] The early modern antiquarian Lieutenant Hammond made this claim. *Short Survey*, p.69.
[4] *RCHM Dorset*, v, pp.80-81.
[5] The quotation is from Clegg, *Wimborne Minster*, pp.96-7. Charles Herbert Mayo suggested that the fall was due to alterations made to the crossing tower a century earlier, and that the tower had been weakened when broader arches were cut into the walls of the transept. Mayo, p.32.
[6] Water appears to have been an aggravating cause as the spire's deterioration continued in the sixteenth century. CWA, 40, fo.19 and 41, for instance.

In 1437-8, work on the new tower appears to have begun in earnest; the churchwardens, of course, took the lead.[7] They paid a minimum of three *cementarii* – masons – for advice on separate occasions that year. One came from nearby Christchurch, another from Salisbury, the latter humping a large cable that was used in the removal and re-hanging of the bells. A mason was also paid £6 13s 4d, either for marking out the work needed on the old tower, or the position of the new – '*ad punctuandum campanile pro commentione*'; further piecemeal expenses, such as for stone, plaster and young helpers, too. Those masons, or others, returned in 1442-3, when the churchwardens paid 20d to one of them '*ad videndum defectus campanil'* and 15d '*alia vice mason ad videndum loca pro uno turre & defectus campanil.*'[8]

At the same time as this costly work was taking place, the churchwardens were looking for wealthy patrons in the area. In that first year, they also hosted a *jantaculum* for John Heryng, the lord of Chaldon Herring and Winterbourne Clenston.[9] Heryng would be visited again by the churchwardens some ten years later, in 1449-50, and again money was spent entertaining him – Malmsey wine, cakes and 'pasteys' for a second *jantaculum* – as well as costs to his servant William '*ad demonstrandum locum in quo turris edificabitur*'.[10] Heryng's gift towards the construction of the new tower, if indeed he gave one, must have been significant: he and his wife were probably buried in the Minster, and later churchwardens would dedicate an unusual care towards the maintenance of his obit, which was kept until 1548.[11] Heryng was not the only local gentleman to contribute to the tower: in 1448, the lord of Hampreston, John Beynton, signed an agreement with the churchwardens to allow the drawing of 200 loads of stone from Hampreston Heath.[12] The following year, a number of parishioners contributed 'cartloads of stone' – presumably stone drawn, by means of their own carts, from Beynton's land: Nicholas Bene and Robert Browning, John Draper and John Footman, John Galway, William Gay and William Slegg, Richard Hardman, Roger Haynesworth and Thomas Russell, William Hobb, John Lineham and Roger King, Richard Pottell and Richard Goby, Richard Rawl, and John Richman and Robert Frere.[13] The stone Beynton donated appears to have been used inside the two-metre-thick walls of the

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[7] CWA, 19.
[8] CWA, 22.
[9] The courting of Heryng (although without mention of the *jantaculum* in 1437-38) is discussed in Brown, *Piety*, pp.94-5 and 117.
[10] CWA, 27.
[11] Hutchins noted 'a stone, which formerly had the figures of a man and woman on it in brass', which he took to be a monument to them, and added that the Heryng arms had still been visible as late as 1600. Hutchins, iii, pp.213-14. CWA, 40, fo.144.
[12] The agreement, no longer extant, is reproduced in Hutchins, p.206.
[13] CWA, 27.

tower, as rubble between the inner and outer walls: 'no stone from the Hampreston area is visible' on the tower.[14] The visible sections are probably Chilmark stone, 40 carriages of which the churchwardens paid to be 'stapled' and brought from Tisbury quarry, in Wiltshire, in 1459-60.[15]

Occupied with gaining better advice than the builders of the spire had provided, and with guaranteeing the support of local gentlemen, the churchwardens also had to amass a significant surplus to pay for the work. This required careful management of the parish finances, one reason the project took as long as it did. The churchwardens' efforts can be followed closely, but not completely. They began the year 1443-4 with a £12 6s 4d rollover, which they had increased by the end of the year to £22. By 1449, that surplus had been increased to £51 17s 3½d, and the following year to £61 5s 7d. The next surviving account, however, that of 1452-3, begins with a surplus of just 9½d: the £60 accrued had now been spent.[16] Significant outlay was required again, in 1459-60, when the '*expenciones nove opere*' amounted to £29 12½d.[17]

The competence the churchwardens displayed throughout this endeavour is one of the still points in the still-turning world of this study. The system in place in 1403, and in 1437 when the work towards the new tower began, was the system still in place in 1640: two male churchwardens elected annually. Unlike in Morebath and some other parishes, there was no set rotation among the same families; although kinship was an organising principle.[18] Wimborne's churchwardens were, with a few exceptions, drawn from among the 'middling sort', a social group united not so much by wealth as by a shared subscription to the values of respectability and community service; and in this, Wimborne was far from unusual.[19] Eighty-one of Wimborne's churchwardens can be identified in the subsidies of 1525, 1545 and 1594, and of the 75 assessed for goods, over 50% (39) were at the bottom end, at between £1 and £4. Only 17% (13) were assessed at £10 or more, the two highest assessments both being for £20.[20] Prior experience helped, and some of Wimborne's

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[14] J. Thomas, *Dorset Stone* (Stanbridge, 2008), p.96.
[15] CWA, 29. Tisbury was one of the places where Chilmark stone was quarried. See J.Hare, *A Prospering Society: Wiltshire in the Later Middle Ages* (Hatfield, 2011), pp.167-8.
[16] CWA, 22-8.
[17] CWA, 29.
[18] E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (2003), pp.24-32.
[19] On the social origins of late medieval and Elizabethan churchwardens, B. Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c.1400-1560* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.33-41, and on the middling sort more generally, H.R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, 2007).
[20] *Tudor Subsidies*. In the few cases where a churchwarden was assessed in more than one subsidy, the subsidy rating closest to his tenure as churchwarden has been used. Three of the 81 were assessed for land rather than goods: two at £4, the third at £3. Three have no recorded or legible assessment. The assessments must be treated with some caution, because over time they became increasingly inaccurate, to the extent

churchwardens had also, for instance, been wardens of St Margaret's almshouse.[21] Gentlemen, by contrast, served as churchwardens only very occasionally. After 1563, the gentry were given a new forum for participation in the parish, but in a way that explicitly reinforced the division between them and the middling sort, and amplified their power. The corporation's charter explicitly stated that its members were to be drawn from the 'most discreet' (i.e. wealthiest) of the parishioners, and a survey of governors and churchwardens between 1563 and 1640 reveals that this was so: on the whole, the two groups had separate memberships.[22] This might be seen as part of the wider phenomenon of 'gentry encroachment' caused by the Reformation; certainly, no resident gentry appear to have played as prominent a role in parish affairs before 1548 as the Hanham family did afterwards.[23]

The wider lay response to the new tower's construction can also be seen in the churchwardens' accounts. Individuals, of course, and also sub-parochial institutions contributed, including the Bothenwood (a small hamlet) and maiden-light guilds. The individual response was greater by far, and the accounts suggest a real growth of interest in the Minster during the period 1437-65: as well as spikes in the total amount of gifts and bequests given each year to the Minster, gifts and bequests from outside the parish also spiked dramatically. Most noticeably, in 1439-40, as the churchwardens and the parish were beginning their long preparations, gifts and bequests from outside the parish accounted for just over 34% of the total gifts received either in money or in forms that were immediately realised as money, and totalled nearly 30% each year between 1444 and 1446. But if word had spread about the new tower, it had not spread all that far: during the period of construction, the furthest-flung gifts came from Shaftesbury and from Fordingbridge in Hampshire, across the New Forest from Wimborne.[24]

Less visible than the leadership of the churchwardens, or the generosity of the parishioners and people of neighbouring towns and villages, is the role of the Minster's clerics. Wimborne's accounts record only two gifts from clerics '*pro novo opere*', both in 1459-60: 20s from Gilbert

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that a very wealthy gentleman might be assessed for as little as £4 for land. I have discussed the inaccuracy of the Tudor subsidies with regard to the assessment of Nicholas Humfrey, a gentleman and member of Wimborne's corporation who was assessed for £4 in the 1594 subsidy, in a forthcoming article 'The Receivers' Accounts of the Governors of Wimborne Minster, 1574-1620' (which can be accessed on my Academia.edu page (www.oxford.academia.edu/charlescornishdale)).

[21] The earliest surviving accounts for St Margaret's begin in 1568. DHC, D-SMS / 3 / 1.

[22] Cornish-Dale, 'Receivers' Accounts'.

[23] See for instance, B. Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale, 1483-1560* (Farnham, 2010), pp.141-78 and Tittler, *Towns*, pp.169-71.

[24] The former came in 1439-40, the latter in 1449-50. CWA, 20 and 27 respectively.

Kymer, the dean, and 3s 4d from John Lovell, one of the prebendaries.[25] Was this really all there was? Construction projects as ambitious as this, or even more so, could be financed entirely by lay initiative: the complete reconstructions of Louth and Bodmin churches, for instance, at a cost of £300 and £260 respectively.[26] But perhaps not. In the twelfth century, at the same time as the original tower was being constructed, the clerical community began to produce the first written hagiographical material about St Cuthburga, probably as a means of attracting extra pilgrim money, which could have been put towards the construction work.[27] Maybe it was no coincidence, then, that in the year the preparations for the new bell tower began, another attempt was made to promote St Cuthburga, this time with a papal indulgence.[28] Whether it was obtained by petition of the college or resident clergy on the one hand, or by the parishioners on the other, is unclear; but the cult was clearly a focal point for the clergy, even some of the non-resident clergy. Most notably, William Loryng, one of the prebendaries, made a lasting contribution to the cult by paying for the casting of the Minster's largest bell, the Cuthburga bell, and record of his gift was re-inscribed on the bell when it was re-cast, in 1629. The effects of the indulgence – increased pilgrim traffic and therefore income? – are not clearly evident in the churchwardens' accounts: the accounts only begin to record income from offerings to St Cuthburga in a consistent and comparable way towards the end of the century.

One antiquarian who wrote very perceptively about the fabric of the Minster was Charles Herbert Mayo; and a number of his comments demonstrate the value of treating the construction of the new tower as a social drama. 'A circumstance worthy of notice', Mayo wrote, 'in the consideration of the fabric of the church as it has come down to us, is the way in which successive builders have made their parts of the work additions to, rather than alterations of the existing structure… Here [at Wimborne] all is unpretending, and no piece of old building that could be retained has been thrown away'. This abiding canniness Mayo attributes to 'the comparative poverty of the establishment' and 'the absence of any celebrated names from its rolls during the times when church architecture flourished most'.[29] Which is to say that the workmanship of the spire and new tower, and of the church as a whole, contain an unmistakeable imprint of the institutional arrangements that prevailed from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century. The addition of the

[25] CWA, 29.
[26] Kümin, *Community*, pp.186-7.
[27] See Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'. It may have been at this time that the Minster was first dedicated, or re-dedicated, to St Cuthburga.
[28] On the obtaining of indulgences, R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007) pp.77-84.
[29] Mayo, p.27.

spire and the new tower seems to have been at the extreme capacity of the parish and clerical community. Despite the best efforts of the churchwardens, the new tower was as poorly built as the spire, its deterioration almost as rapid. In 1509-10, William Helyar was paid 'for makyng of holys in the towre to make fast the wyndowys.[30] As early as 1549-50, the door into the tower was bricked up, and in 1583-4 the windows, previously made fast, were barred.[31] Constant repairs were needed, as the structure became increasingly unsafe; in 1623-4, for instance, a workman named 'Wildaie' was paid 40s for 'the harmes he received from the tower' – from falling masonry, perhaps.[32] Ironically enough, the bells themselves were part of the problem; and in 1627-8 it was agreed with Bartholomew Alford 'to newe make the Cadge of the greate Bell and to sett him Free from the Tower Wall, for it did indanger the Tower, and to Braase strengthen make stronge and sett Cleare all the Cadge of thother Bells from the Tower wall aforesaied'.[33] The tower continued to be a problem and source of significant expenditure until the eighteenth century, when an heroic effort by two churchwardens 'put the finishing stroke to the improvements'.[34]

In these two chapters, the imprint of the establishment, as Mayo put it, will be considered beyond the fabric of the Minster, on the broader devotional life of the parish before 1548. Here, in this chapter, the relationship between the royal free chapel and the parish, as well as other of the Minster's constituencies, will be considered in general terms, before a specific matrix – the events of the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations – is considered in detail in the next chapter. These two chapters will, in large part, challenge a contention made some 40 years ago by J.H. Denton, one of the few historians to write about the royal free chapels at length:

> …[although archbishop] Pecham asserted that the immunities of the [royal free] chapels endangered the cure of souls… how far plurality and non-residence – which were completely unchecked in the royal free chapels – endangered the administering of the parishes it is impossible to judge.[35]

The infrequent appearance of royal free chapels in bishops' registers, and the statutory freedom of the royal clerks who were deans of the chapels, make it almost impossible, Denton claims, to write 'a balanced account of their spiritual administration' for the period 1100-1300.[36] Invariably, when collegiate evidence is present, parochial evidence is lacking, and vice versa. Furthermore,

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[30] CWA, 40, fo.42.
[31] Ibid, fo.150 and CWA, 41, fo.11.
[32] CWA, 41, fo.191.
[33] Ibid, fo.214.
[34] Mayo, p.63.
[35] Denton, *Chapels*, p.148.
[36] Ibid.

much of the writing on abuses within the royal free chapels, whether individually or in their entirety, is also partisan and polemical. The most vociferous complaints date from an earlier period of intense conflict over the spiritual liberties of these chapels, or from early attempts to impose celibacy on married clergy. 'Convert this sty of pigs, this whore-house of Satan into a temple of God', wrote Peter of Blois, former dean of the royal free chapel of Wolverhampton, in a letter to the pope. The clergy of Wolverhampton 'fornicating publicly and openly… proclaimed like Sodom their own sin'; try as Blois might to reform them himself, 'it would have been easier to change wolves into sheep, and wild beasts into men.'[37]

ii The royal free chapels: problems and developments at Wimborne and elsewhere

In 1355, when Dean Thomas de Brembre came to found his chantry of four priests at Wimborne, one of his explicit aims was to improve the administration of the parish and its cure of souls. Not only was the parish large and populous, but the dean and prebendaries were usually absentees. To support the chantry, the rectory of Shapwick, already attached to the deanery, was to be alienated. This required various approvals, and in time they were obtained: first from the chapter of Salisbury and the rector of Shapwick, then from the dean and chapter of Wimborne, and finally from the papal nuncio Hugh Pelegrini, on behalf of the archdeacon of Dorset. In his approval, Pelegrini restated the adverse circumstances the foundation was intended to address: '*dicta capella latam habens parochiam populosam, cuius decani et canonici se ut plurimum absentantes ab ipsa eidem officiare per se in divinis hactenus non solebant, sacerdotum et ministrorum aliorum passa est indecenter penuriam retroactis temporibus*'.[38]

Compare this entry of 1659 from the governors' minute book, in which they rehearse the reasons for the corporation's establishment:

> …the sayd parish, being very large spatious and populous and having one great Church in the Towne of Wimborne frequented by soe great a number of parishioners, as can scarse contayne them, and one Chapell, a member of the sayd Church at Holt within that parish about two miles distant from that Church, which Chappell divers of the Inhabitants have

[37] Quoted in ibid, p.149.
[38] Appendix II, Document B in Coulstock, p.195.

> tyme out of mind frequented, some of them dwelling about a mile beyond the sayd Chappell further from the sayd Church, and not neere any other Church or Chappell…[39]

There is no reason, then, to disbelieve de Brembre's reasons. Not long before the establishment of the Great Chantry, there had been three royal inquiries into the state of the deanery, all of which had found significant defects and decay. In 1338, the damage amounted to £28 3 s.[40] In 1349, the damage was not quantified, but the church was said to be 'greatly defective' in books and ornaments, and expensive repairs were required to manse and houses.[41] In 1351, the damage, again, went unquantified, and the same charges were repeated, but at greater length: destruction in the chapel itself as to books, vestments and ornaments; alienation of possessions – manors, prebends, lands, houses, woods and gardens; loss of liberties and privileges conferred by the king's progenitors. These depredations were, the king was given to understand, the result of 'the negligence of the deans… in the time of previous deans'.[42] The Black Death was causing serious devastation and desertion on the chalklands at that time, too. The third inquiry, which came a year into the tenure of de Brembre as dean, must have influenced his decision to found the Great Chantry.[43] The problems continued, however, even after the foundation. In 1367, another inquiry found that no less than £400 would now be required to make things good. The previous dean, Henry de Buckingham, had received £100 for necessary improvements to the deanery – suggesting that perhaps yet another inquiry had taken place at the beginning of his term as dean, which began in October 1361.[44]

Absenteeism and neglect were not limited to the royal free chapels: other collegiate churches suffered too, especially churches like the episcopal peculiar of Crediton, Devon. Without fuller collegiate material – statutes, ordinances, accounts, etc. – for Wimborne, Crediton provides a useful comparison-case. Although Crediton was much wealthier and larger, the same strains were apparent. Crediton was an unattractive, because peripheral, location, and since the bishops of Exeter distributed the prebends as little more than rewards to servants and relatives without ever forcing the canons to be resident, invariably they were not; most farmed their tithes to local laymen for an annual sum. From the 1220s onward, successive bishops attempted reform. In 1253, Bishop Blondy imposed a tax of two years' stipend on incoming canons towards the upkeep of the fabric.

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[39] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 1 / 1.
[40] *Inq. Misc.,* ii (1916), p.396.
[41] *CPR, Edward III,* viii, p.386.
[42] *CPR, Edward III,* ix, p.78.
[43] He was appointed on 5 August 1350. Coulstock, Appendix VII.
[44] *Inq. Misc.*, iii (1937), pp. 239 and 255 and *CPR, Edward III*, xiii, pp.436 and 443.

A separate body of deputy clergy had been created, probably in the twelfth century, to carry out daily service in the church, and this was strengthened in various ways, including through incentives to attendance. But it was not until the episcopacy of Grandisson (1327-69) that truly determined reforms were implemented. Over a period of decades the bishop enhanced the standard of worship by enlarging the choir, improved the status of the vicar who acted as curate for the parish by bolstering his salary, and imposed residency on the two 'dignitaries' of the college, the precentor and treasurer. Grandisson's reformed statutes would provide the framework for institutional life at Crediton until the college's dissolution.[45]

These bishop-led efforts to solve or at least mitigate inbuilt faults at Crediton are likely to have been more vigorous than any measures taken at Wimborne. Because the royal free chapels were not part of an active and regular scheme of visitation of the kind ideally practised by bishops, abuses often went unchecked or proved difficult to remedy even when they were identified. Visitations of the royal free chapels, which appear ultimately to have been the royal chancellor's prerogative, usually only took place when complaints about the spiritual or temporal condition of a house reached the king. In 1519, the schoolmaster and chaplain of Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry wrote to Reginald Pole, the new dean, and his mother, the countess of Salisbury, to complain about conditions within the college, and about the sacrist's character and behaviour in particular; if a royal inquiry followed, however, no evidence of it remains.[46] Katherine Wood-Legh suggested that 'the chancellor's practice of leaving houses unvisited for long periods until offences had accumulated must, in many cases, have led to a relaxation of discipline.' 'A surprising number of enquiries' came after the appointment of a new head, and this was undoubtedly the case with the four known inquiries at Wimborne.[47] Evidence for decanal visits to Wimborne is rare, and the inquiries that took place may also have coincided with the only visits some of the deans ever made. Nicholas Wilson, the final dean, visited in the immediate weeks after his appointment, and while another visit cannot be completely discounted, his role in high politics through the later 1530s and into the early 1540s would have relegated Wimborne to the bottom of his priorities.[48] Even so, given all these potential barriers to good governance, there is little reason to doubt the findings of the commissioners appointed to investigate abuses, or their will to reform: broad mandates and

[45] The discussion of Crediton is from Orme, 'Crediton'.
[46] TNA, SP 1 / 18, fo.281; *L&P*, iii:i, no.411. This incident will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
[47] K.L. Wood-Legh, 'Royal Visitations of Hospitals and Free Chapels', in her *Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934), pp.38-59. The quotations are taken from pp.59 and 45, respectively.
[48] Wilson's visit and his role in the dissolution of the college is considered in the next chapter.

searching powers were granted, including the ability to punish and even deprive offenders, and the commissions usually were hindered less by the religious community and resulted in deeper changes than similar undertakings in a monastic setting.[49]

The creation of the Great Chantry is the only act of top-down, planned reform at Wimborne for which evidence survives; and in the longer term, it did make a positive contribution, increasing the number of resident clergy. Patricia Coulstock has shown that by the turn of the sixteenth century, the Great Chantry had come to occupy a central role in the administration of the daily life of the Minster, in conjunction with the sacrist, who was the 'guardian' of the Great Chantry and received a stipend of 40s a year for that role. The clearest indication of the importance of this nexus is given in the foundation charter of Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry, from 1511, in which one of the three parties to the charter was the sacrist and chantry priests of the Great Chantry.[50] Lady Margaret's chaplain was to live in common with those of the Great Chantry, one of whom was to supervise the new chaplain's annual account of his expenses and to hold one of three keys to the new chantry's strong-box. A chaplain from the Great Chantry was also to be present when a new incumbent swore his solemn oath.[51] Later, when Wolsey's legatine visitation arrived at Wimborne, the Great Chantry's importance was again demonstrated: its seal, 'in the absence of the chapter's seal', was appended to the receipt of the exaction made.[52]

The lack of inquiries, or direct evidence of inquiries, after 1367 might also be taken as evidence in support of a stronger claim, that the new chantry solved the Minster's pastoral and administrative problems. But there are signs to the contrary. One is the aforementioned letter sent to Reginald Pole by the chaplain of Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry.[53] The incident came soon after Pole's appointment to the deanery and could have been some time in the making. It is quite noticeable that for five or six years before Pole's appointment, the quality of the churchwardens' accounts had been extremely poor in comparison with earlier accounts, especially the surviving loose rolls, which end in 1480.[54] This drop in quality may be a reflection of wider conditions, as a similar drop appears to have occurred in the last accounts of Henry VIII's reign, when uncertainty about the

[49] Wood-Legh, 'Royal Visitations'.
[50] Coulstock, chapters 9 and 10.
[51] Ibid, Appendix V, Document 6.
[52] Ibid, p.160.
[53] TNA, SP 1 / 18, fo.281; *L&P*, iii:i , no.411. The discussion of Pole's career that follows is taken from T.F. Mayer, 'Pole, Reginald (1500-1588), cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury', *ODNB*, accessed 29 January 2017. See also Mayer's *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet* (Cambridge, 2000).
[54] CWA, 40, fo.1-55.

future of the college was mounting, and also in the surviving accounts from Edward's reign, after the college's dissolution.[55] Pole succeeded Henry Hornby as dean, whose links to Lady Margaret Beaufort make him an interesting case. During his nine-year tenure, Hornby of course held a number of other more important benefices and positions, such as the wardenship of Tattershall College, Lincolnshire and the mastership of Peterhouse, Cambridge; but the fact that he was appointed while still an executor of Lady Margaret's will suggests that he was expected to scrutinise affairs at the Minster with some care and regularity – at least until her chantry and grammar school had been founded.[56] Whatever the outcome of the chaplain's complaint to Pole – there are no further references to the offending sacrist in the churchwardens' accounts or anywhere else – the accounts continued to be of a relatively poor quality well into the late 1520s. Normality was only restored with the account for 1528-9, elegantly written and neatly divided.[57] Pole visited Wimborne once for certain, shortly after his appointment, but from 1521 until the end of the 1520s was either in Italy engaged in study, or acting for the king in the matter of his divorce.[58] Then from 1532 until being deprived of his English benefices, including the deanery of Wimborne, Pole remained on the continent, beyond the reach of the new supreme head of the Church of England.

Before Pole returned to the continent in 1532, he – or perhaps the sacrist on his behalf – may have made at least some minor changes to the administration of the college and parish. In the churchwardens' account for 1528-9, there appear two new payments from the community towards the upkeep of the Minster's furnishings: 're of my lord deane for reparacyons of the ornaments yerely vj s viij d' and 're of the iiij prebendarijs For reparacyons of the bokes and vestments yerely xiijs iiij d'.[59] These payments, which continued until the dissolution of the college, may have been the result of reforming the statutes. The fourth inquiry of the fourteenth century, in which allegations were made against the late dean Henry de Buckingham, reveals that the dean's payment had not been on the statutes in 1367. The commissioners reported that since the college statutes imposed no obligation for the dean to leave or contribute stock for the church, and since the reported defects were not caused by him, de Buckingham had not been acting improperly in doing

[55] Evidence discussed in the next chapter.
[56] On his career, M.G. Underwood, 'Hornby [Horneby], Henry (c.1457-1518), college head', *ODNB*, accessed 29 January 2017. Hornby is discussed again in the next chapter.
[57] CWA, 40, fo.71-4.
[58] In 1519 Pole witnessed, with the Minster's sacrist, the appointment of a new proctor for St Margaret's almshouse. DHC, D-SMS / 2 / 1.
[59] DHC, PE WM / CW / 1 / 40, fo.71b.

no more than collecting his money and exercising his rights as patron.[60] A similar tax to ensure the proper upkeep of the ornaments, books and vestments had been imposed on the canons of Crediton by Grandisson at a much earlier date.[61]

In the face of administrative exigencies at Crediton, Bishops Blondy and Grandisson had also experimented with new roles, and during the fifteenth century a similar process appears to have happened at Wimborne too.[62] A number of references to a sub-sacrist or sub-sacrists appear scattered throughout the loose rolls, and continue into the first years of the first book of churchwardens' accounts. In 1409-10, there is a reference to two sub-sacrists receiving a portion of the proceeds of the year's holy processions.[63] In 1439-40 and 1444-5, two individuals are separately named as sub-sacrists, one of whom was paid for his advice on a single occasion and the other of whom was paid for lighting candles in the choir and Lady chapel.[64] There is another reference in a rough roll that appears to date from the 1470s, and then the final reference appears in the account for 1496-7, in which two sub-sacrists are paid '*pro custodiendo Orologii et pro illuminacione diversorum luminum infra Ecclesiam*'.[65] If these references are indeed to new personnel, and not to parish clerks under a different name, then the sub-sacrists did not outlast the fifteenth century: no references appear in the later churchwardens' accounts or in other documents, including the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and the chantry certificates.

Other, less positive, changes to the staffing of the Minster were also afoot, but only at the end of the period can they be seen.[66] The wishes of a chantry-founder, however powerful or well loved, were never completely sacred, especially as economic or political circumstances changed. Not even those of a Lady Margaret, the king's mother: Edward Laborne, the chantry priest who complained to Pole and his mother in 1519, was not a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, as he should have been, but rather a close follower of Pole's.[67] More seriously for the devotional life of the parish, by 1535 at the latest, Thomas de Brembre's wishes had also been subverted, so that fewer than four extra priests were being provided; this could have happened at any point in the intervening two centuries. As the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* shows, not only had the position of one of the four chantry

[60] *Inq. Misc.*, iii, pp. 239 and 255
[61] Orme, 'Crediton', p.104.
[62] Ibid, pp.102-9.
[63] CWA, 5.
[64] CWA, 20 and 24.
[65] CWA, 39, roll 1 and 40, fo.16.
[66] The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and chantry certificates are discussed at length in the next chapter.
[67] Laborne's apparently not being a graduate of Christ's is noted in Coulstock, p.185. Laborne's later career is discussed in the next chapter.

priests been lost permanently, but two of the chantry priests were also being employed as vicars; just one extra priest, rather than four (**Fig. 23**). Nor was such doubling-up limited to the Great Chantry: by 1535 the sacrist had also become chaplain of Redcott's chantry, which for a good portion of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been empty, owing to legal wrangles about the validity of its mortmain license.[68] One of the positions in the Great Chantry could easily have disappeared in a period of adverse economic conditions. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, many chantries perished under conditions of declining rents and crop yields; in Wiltshire, for instance, 80 percent, and in Essex 78 percent of the institutions that had obtained mortmain licenses in the first half of the fourteenth century had disappeared by the 1540s.[69] Pluralism was a common means for chaplains to top up their salaries, and economic conditions may have driven the chaplains of the Great Chantry to do so.[70] Wimborne's sacrist had the best reason of all its resident clergy to seek further employment: his was the least remunerative position within the Minster at 1548, excepting that of parish clerk. In 1548, the sacrist also held livings elsewhere to a value of £30. Two chaplains of the Great Chantry were also holdings livings out of nearby Christchurch Priory.

Before the relationship between the Minster and its various constituencies, clerical and lay, is considered in detail, some of the primary statistical evidence for that analysis, as well as the rest of the study, must be presented.

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[68] On the chantry and its ongoing difficulties, Coulstock, pp.133-46.

[69] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p.89. In the later Middle Ages, many of the dependent priories also experienced significant falls in rents and farms. St Leonard's, Stamford, saw its rental income fall from over £50 in 1380 to £34 in 1532. M. Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.249-51.

[70] The phenomenon was most pronounced in urban areas, especially cities. Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.33-4.

iii Clergy and laity: the Minster as site for benefaction, burial and commemoration

As at Crediton, few of the non-resident clergy at Wimborne appear to have given gifts to the Minster, remembered it in their wills or been buried there.[71] This lack of attachment is likely to have been reciprocated by the parish; as at Beverley, for instance, where there was little popular affection for the prebendaries, but plenty for the resident vicars.[72]

Of the deans, Gilbert Kymer gave small gifts to the parish and the resident clergy in his will: 20s to the fabric of the Minster; 3s each to the four chaplains; 20d each to the four parish priests; and 1s to each of the four secondaries to celebrate exsequies and masses for his soul.[73] Kymer's are the only gifts from a dean that are recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. Hugh Oldham left nothing to the Minster or its clergy.[74] The last dean to be buried at Wimborne was apparently Thomas de Brembre, in 1361, and before him John de Berwick, at whose altar-tomb parish business, including the rendering of the churchwardens' accounts, was carried out for centuries.[75]

One or two prebendaries gave gifts and bequests. Thomas Lovell gave a small gift towards the construction of the new tower. The most generous prebendary was William Loryng, who held at least three other prebends elsewhere. As well as paying for the Cuthburga bell, he gave a small gift in 1410-11, and later bequeathed a large missal to the Minster, among gifts to other religious foundations, including Bangor cathedral, the Carthusian monastery at Witham, Merton College, Oxford and the University of Cambridge's library.[76] There is no record of the burial of a prebendary at Wimborne.

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[71] Orme, 'Crediton', pp.109-10.
[72] S. Brown, *The Medieval Courts of the York Minster Peculiar* (Borthwick Papers 66; York, 1984), pp.14-15.
[73] TNA, PROB 11 / 5 / 14.
[74] TNA, PROB 11 / 19 / 279.
[75] Hutchins, iii, p.186. The first reference to the use of Barwick's tomb for parish business comes at the beginning of the account for 1550. CWA, 40, fo.153.
[76] CWA, 6. His will is LPL, Reg. Chichele 1, fo.290. Loryng had prebends at Bangor, Biggleswade, in the diocese of Lincoln, and Torleton, in the diocese of Salisbury. J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Volume 11, the Welsh Dioceses (Bangor, Llandaff, St Asaph, St Davids)*, ed. B. Jones (1965), pp.11-16; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Volume 1, Lincoln Diocese*, ed. H.P.F King (1962), pp.36-8; and *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Volume 3, Salisbury Diocese*, ed. J.M. Horn (1962), pp.91-3. On Loryng's gifts, mainly books of civil law, to the University of Cambridge, see J.C.T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.9 and 23-4. It is unclear which university was Loring's alma mater.

As regards the resident clergy, their connections to the Minster, expressed through gifts and burials, were far closer; naturally. Gifts from the sacrist, the most important of the resident clergy, could be generous: John Warland bequeathed 10s, a chalice, a rood and 'the Grette portowys' – a breviary – to the Minster in 1520-1; Simon Benson, the final sacrist, gave an acre of land towards the maintenance of the Minster's bells – from then on to be known as 'the Bell Acre'.[77] Frustratingly, little that is specific can be known about the vicars and chantry priests who served the Minster, apart from those who are named in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and chantry certificates. Of the overwhelming majority, not even their names are known, because their appointments were not recorded in episcopal registers. While this practice continued after the dissolution of the college, there are at least surviving corporation records to show the institution and careers of the parish ministers. References to priests in the medieval churchwardens' accounts are often so curt that it is difficult to know whether the reference is to a priest from the Minster or elsewhere. A number of priests from the surrounding area appear in the churchwardens' accounts: the Minster received bequests from the rector of Spettisbury in 1465-6 and the rector of Hinton Martin in 1476-7, and in 1503-4 both the parson of Hampreston and 'Sir Richard from Tarrant' – a second priest? – were buried in the Minster.[78]

The medieval vicars, and thus at least some of the chantry priests, were probably local men, like the parish priests at Crediton and Beverley Minster.[79] At Beverley, the recruitment of local men at a young age, and the long periods of service they enjoyed, were essential to maintaining good relations with the laity.[80] The presence of phonetic dialect-words in Wimborne's churchwardens' accounts – words like 'awter' or 'hauter' for 'altar', 'sawter' for 'psalter', 'zapitt' for 'sawpit', 'pwontyng' for 'pointing' – suggest very strongly that the scribes of the accounts, many of whom were either priests or clerks, were from Dorset or the Westcountry.[81] The sacrists may also have been local men: Coulstock notes that none appear to have been royal clerks.[82]

The vicar about whom the most, by far, can be said is Sir John Ace. Like all of the medieval vicars, he is not recorded among the surviving episcopal registers. He first appears in the parish in 1530,

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[77] CWA, 40, fo.58 and 120.
[78] CWA, 30, 36 and 40, fo.32.
[79] Orme, 'Crediton', pp.110-11. D. Lamburn, *The Laity and the Church: Religious Developments in Beverley in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century* (York, 2000), p.14.
[80] S. Brown, *Medieval Courts*, p.14.
[81] Cornish-Dale, 'Early Traces'.
[82] See Coulstock, Appendix IX.

as a witness to – and probably scribe of – the earliest surviving will of a parishioner.[83] A number of phonetic dialect-words in this will, and in others that he witnessed and therefore probably also wrote, indicate that he too was a local man. In 1535 he is recorded as one of the priests of the Great Chantry, and in 1548 as a chaplain and a vicar to one of the prebendaries. Ace is the closest Wimborne has to a Sir Christopher Trychay, the voice and hero of Eamon Duffy's Morebath: a priest who remained in his parish from the 1530s into the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Like Trychay, then, and every one of the priests who remained in place from the 1530s until 1559 or beyond, Ace would have been open to charges of hypocrisy – of being a Vicar of Bray, 'who never once will faulter… except the Times shou'd alter'.[84] But Ace's career looks far more like a vindication of one of Eamon Duffy's central claims in *The Voices of Morebath*: that the abiding of Trychay and other such men, far from being a betrayal, was a fulfilment of their role, both in the priest's own mind and in those of his parishioners. It is to this ideal that Duffy is alluding, enigmatically, when he says that in Morebath's churchwardens' accounts, although written by Trychay alone, 'all the voices of Morebath are one voice'.[85] Ace clearly remained a source of trust and stability throughout his 40 years at Wimborne. After 1548, he was witness to, scribe of and recipient of a money gift in eight more extant wills of parishioners.[86] These eight wills include that of John Hanham, one of the chief beneficiaries of the dissolution of the royal free chapel and an early evangelical and friend of Protector Somerset.[87] Ace's own will, self-written in 1569, reveals more of his character, learning and place within the parish.[88] His wish was to be buried in the Minster, and he gave various goods to church and parish, including gifts towards the repairing of the nave and chancel, to 'the neediest poor' and towards the repairing of bridges and highways. Cash gifts to all of his local godchildren – six at a minimum. The inventory to his will suggests that he was probably a moneylender, as priests often were: £43 5s 8d of ready money was found in his chest.[89] Nor was Sir John Ace a 'Sir John Lacklatin': he had 21 Latin books in his possession and 20 English. None

[83] The will of Peter Pope, husbandman. TNA, PROB 11 / 27 / 296.
[84] In the East Riding of Yorkshire, for instance, 35 priests instituted in Henry's reign were still in their parishes in 1559, 19 of whom continued into the 1570s and three of whom lasted into the 1580s. P. Marshall, *The Face of the Pastoral Ministry in the East Riding, 1525-1595* (York, 1995), p.7
[85] Duffy, *Morebath*, p.17.
[86] The two pre-Elizabethan wills are both from 1558 and are those of John Hanham and Robert Faver; TNA, PROB 11 / 42b / 476 and DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 1 respectively. The other wills are DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 3, 6, 10, 13, 15, 17 and 18.
[87] Hanham's career and acquisitions at Wimborne are discussed in the next chapter.
[88] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 19. The will is reproduced in Hutchins' account of Wimborne.
[89] Marshall, *Pastoral Ministry*, pp.19-20 and R.M. Swanson, 'Profits, Priests and People', in Burgess and Duffy eds., *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, p.156.

is given a title. Some may have been from the defunct college's library. Some may also have been alchemical or natural-scientific books: the inventory lists an alembic and still.[90]

The churchwardens' accounts record a few gifts and bequests from other parish priests and chaplains: 24d from Nicholas the chaplain in 1404-5; a knife from another chaplain, Thomas Champagne, in 1413-14; 20s from 'maister morer' in 1470-1.[91] Some priests are recorded as being buried in the Minster: among them was Sir Adam Chamber, one of the dramatis personae in an attempt during the summer of 1538 to save the offerings to St Cuthburga from confiscation.[92] Chamber also gave a small bequest to the Minster, which was recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. Other vicars of the Minster who may have been buried there before 1548 include Sir Robert Holine, who was buried in 1529-30 and left a bequest of 8d to the Minster, and Walter Norris, who was buried in 1537-8 and also left a small bequest.[93]

One form of clerical participation in the life of the Minster has left no trace at Wimborne: obits and other forms of commemoration. At Exeter Cathedral, the vast majority of obits – 'a poor relation of chantries… often overlooked in studies of medieval piety and commemoration' – were paid for by members of the resident clergy; nearly 200 in the surviving records, from the thirteenth century onwards.[94] By virtue of their very residence, these clerics were 'committed to the cathedral', their sense of being part of a 'community of the dead and living' especially strong; as a result, they took great care to attend and maintain the commemorations.[95] Although Wimborne has nothing like the evidence that survives for Exeter, not a single priest features among the payments for commemorations recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. Such payments may not have passed through the hands of the churchwardens: when Gilbert Kymer asked in his will for masses on his behalf at Wimborne, the payments were made directly to the deacons there.[96] So the lack of collegiate records may explain the lack of clerical obits. On the other hand, the resident

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[90] On priests as alchemists, R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.133-40. Gilbert Kymer had been a keen alchemist and one of the signatories to a petition to Henry VI for the granting of a licence to practise. See D. Geoghegan, 'A License of Henry VI to Practise Alchemy', *Ambix* 6 (1957), 10-17 and P. M. Jones, 'Medicine and Science', in L. Hellinga and J.B. Trapp ed., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III: 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), p.437.
[91] CWA, 2, 7 and 31.
[92] See Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'. For his burial, in 1541, CWA, 40, fo.123.
[93] CWA, 40, fo.76 and 113.
[94] The quotations are from D. Lepine, '"Their Name Liveth for Evermore?" Obits at Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages', in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess eds., *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* (Donington, 2010), pp.58-74. See also his '"Pause and Pray with Mournful Heart": Late Medieval Clerical Monuments in Lincoln Cathedral', *TMBS* 19 (2014), 15-40.
[95] Lepine, '"Their Name"', pp.72-3.
[96] TNA, PROB 11 / 5 / 14.

clergy might not have thought commemoration at Wimborne such a priority, perhaps because the sense of community was not as strong. One cause may have been the choice of all but one or two of the deans not to be buried there: Julian Luxford has noted that 'a college's mausoleum contributed to the resident clergy's sense of corporate identity'.[97] At Exeter cathedral, by contrast, where many of the bishops of Exeter were interred, a cult of episcopacy developed as a shared focus for the resident clergy, helped on by the cathedral's lack of saints.[98]

Lay involvement with the Minster will be considered in relation, particularly, to recent work on other secular colleges.[99] Clive Burgess claims that 'in the two centuries before the Reformation' the late medieval college underwent a revival every bit as spectacular as the earlier monastic revival: hundreds of colleges, of many shapes and sizes, were founded across Europe during this time. The college's appeal was in large part a function of its malleability, meaning that it could assume a great variety of forms, whether within a university or the corner of a parish church; and it was better placed to respond to the development of the new teachings on Purgatory than older communities were. As with monastic founders and patrons, the founders and patrons of colleges 'set store by the celebration of an elaborate liturgy and the accumulation of masses', but the college form gave them closer control and, just as importantly if not more so, at a fraction of the price.

The benefits accruing to Wimborne during this revival should have been significant: it was the only collegiate church in late medieval Dorset, and one with prestigious royal connections, including its very own royal saints buried in the Minster, and after 1483, close links with the new Tudor dynasty, via the Beauforts.[100] It should be clear already, however, that 'popularity', let alone 'revival', is not a word that can easily be applied to the clerical response of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This impression is further substantiated, and complicated, by lay responses to the Minster, both from within and without the parish: gifts, burials and commemorations. A note on calculation. When the data concern money trends, inflation, especially over as long a period as 240 years, is of course a consideration. W.K. Jordan's work on philanthropy, and his claim that private charity increased in the early modern period, was famously criticised for failing to adjust

[97] J. Luxford, 'The Collegiate Church as Mausoleum', in C. Burgess and M. Heale eds., *The Late Medieval English College and Its Context* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.110-39.
[98] Lepine, '"Their Name"'.
[99] See the essays in Burgess and Heale eds., *College*. The quotation is from Burgess's introduction to the volume, 'An Institution for All Seasons: the Late Medieval English College', p.3. This introduction provides the basis for the discussion of colleges that follows.
[100] Lady Margaret's role in the introduction of the cult of Henry VI is central to my article 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.

the value of endowments against inflation.[101] While there is broad agreement that serious inflation 'was… a dominant feature of the sixteenth-century economy', and recognised as such by contemporaries, providing an exact measurement, and adjusting accordingly, is rather more difficult, and subject to various local, regional and chronological, as well as occupational, variations.[102] Here, the data have been presented in ways that obviate the need to calculate for inflation, by supplementing absolute figures with proportions ('pieces of the total pie') and frequencies, especially for gifts.

The limitations of the primary sources deserve some consideration first. Gifts to the clergy, such as for tithes withheld, cannot be quantified, because the churchwardens' accounts do not list them. Nor can gifts to the chantries, especially the Great Chantry. At around the time of its foundation, at least four laypeople contributed land and property towards its endowment, presumably in expectation of post-obit commemoration, and further gifts may have accrued. In 1365-6, Henry Blakhat, Roger Selyman and Alice Cook together obtained a mortmain license to grant messuages in the town to the chantry, and Richard de Corston obtained a license to grant a more substantial package, it would appear, of messuages, land, rents and pasture in various rural parts of the parish.[103] Some of these gifts may be among the many grants of the chantry's former possessions recorded in the chantry certificates.[104]

The lack of medieval wills is a particular difficulty. The earliest will of a parishioner from Wimborne, that of Peter Pope, was written in 1530 and proved some eight years later.[105] The wills of Pope's fellow parishioners do not survive in significant numbers until the late 1560s: the next two wills date from 1543 and 1558.[106] Pope gave gifts to a number of guild lights whose existence would otherwise be unknown or all but: the weaver's light and the Bothenwood light, the crown and lamp lights.[107] Hutchins, and before him Nicholas Russell, mentioned trade guilds within the

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[101] See W.G. Bittle and R. Todd Lane, 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: a Reassessment of W.K. Jordan's Data', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 29 (1976), 203-10. Jordan's argument has been defended, for instance by J.F. Hadwin, in 'Deflating Philanthropy', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 31 (1978), 105-17. See also I. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), p.163.

[102] The quotation is from C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: the People of Britain, 850-1520* (2005), p.268. See R.B. Outhwaite, *Inflation in Tudor and Stuart England* (1969).

[103] Respectively, TNA, C 143 / 317 / 16 and C 143 / 357 / 10.

[104] Discussed in the third chapter of this part.

[105] TNA, PROB 11 / 27 / 296.

[106] TNA, PROB 11 / 27 / 296 and 11 / 30 / 49.

[107] On guild lights, see K. Farnham, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c.1470-1550* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.73-4.

parish, including guilds of shearmen, tuckers and wool merchants, but the evidence they consulted is now gone.[108] After the accounts for Edward VI's reign, two pages of what may be guild accounts have been inserted into the first book of churchwardens' accounts.[109] In addition to references to guild lights, Pope's will also reveals connections with other churches and parishes: after a small gift to the cathedral at Salisbury, he gave a cow 'to the increase and maynetenaunce of the light before the sepulchre' in the church of Hinton Martin, and a sheep towards the repairing of the church of Chalbury.

Even without medieval wills, the churchwardens' accounts show that the administration of the royal free chapel did not prevent the growth of what Robert Whiting has called the 'inclusive institutions' of the medieval parish: church, chapel and guild.[110] Wimborne's accounts show a great variety of means of fund-raising and participation. In just a single year, 1501-2, the parish derived its income from the following sources: the previous year's surplus; offerings on holy days; the sale of candles at the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary; offerings left in the two saints' boxes in the church; the sale of jewellery; burials; bequests, including livestock that were then sold; payments for post-mortem commemorations; fixed rents of property; the rental of brewing leads; market tolls; and payments for standings at three fairs.[111] Other regular and remunerative activities included church ales, and later, replacing them, cake-selling competitions held by 'the wives of the town' and 'the wives of the land'. Cakes and ale usually earned at least £5 a year each and sometimes as much as £10.

In important respects, rather than the revival posited by Burgess and others, the churchwardens' accounts reveal that the Minster hardly changed at all (**Figs. 1-20**). In fact, until 1548 it remained what it had been in Saxon times: a mother church in the local landscape. Of the gifts received from outside the parish, which the churchwardens were meticulous in noting, the vast majority came from the surrounding area: mainly from east and east-central Dorset, but also from west Hampshire and south Wiltshire. Only two gifts were received from outside this catchment area: from Shaftesbury and Salisbury. Over a third of gifts and bequests from outside the parish before 1548 (a minimum of 19 of 53, nearly 36%) came from parishes that have been attributed to Wimborne's Anglo-Saxon proto-parish: Hampreston, the Hintons, Shapwick, the Tarrants and

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[108] Hutchins, iii, p.202. *Vindogladia*, pp.26-27.
[109] CWA, 40, fo.160-1. One must date from the 1520s or 1530s, and the other is dated 1537 and contains, among other things, a list of debts owing to the Bothenwood and Holt lights.
[110] R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1991), chapter 5.
[111] CWA, 40, fo.27-8.

Parley. Gervase Rosser has noted how 'a continuing attraction can… be observed in those former central or minster churches of the Saxon period which in various guises continued to exercise an element of pastoral care in the later medieval period'.[112] The parish naves of Tewkesbury, Thorney and Crowland abbeys are 'cases in point'; although these former minster churches, unlike Wimborne, had later been re-endowed and converted into monasteries.[113] Some of Wimborne's former dependent churches still maintained at least a nominal subordination to the Minster. Until 1548, yearly payments were made to the dean from the rectories of Pimperne, Hinton Parva and Hampreston, and the dean also had a right to certain tithes in Moor Crichel, Shapwick and Pimperne. In 1563, these payments and tithes were transferred to Wimborne's parish corporation.[114] The medieval deans also had the rights of presentment to Hampreston, Hinton Martell and Silton, churches to which the king would present during voidances of the deanery.[115] Wimborne's status as the only ancient religious community in the area was also important, and probably brought the gifts from other parishes in the immediate neighbourhood that had not been part of the Minster's Saxon parish: Canford, Little Canford, Corfe Mullen, Gussage St Michael and Sturminster Marshall, among others.

There is evidence that pilgrims continued to visit the Minster across the fifteenth century, including a reference in 1495-6 to pilgrim badges 'cum ymago sancte cuthburge' in the parish store.[116] Where the pilgrims came from is never recorded, merely the amounts left in offerings annually; but they are not likely to have travelled far, perhaps from the same catchment area as the gifts and bequests received by the parish. So the cult of St Cuthburga would have been much more like the local cults of obscure Cornish saints than, say, the Holy Blood of Hailes, which even in the 1530s drew pilgrims 'by flocks out of the West Country', according to Hugh Latimer.[117] As a Saxon foundation with its own saints, Wimborne faced stiff competition from the richer, older foundations of Sherborne, Shaftesbury, Cerne, Milton and Abbotsbury. Shaftesbury, for instance, kept the remains and relics of Edward the Martyr, a saint of the Sarum Use, like Cuthburga, and of Ælfgifu, the wife of King Edmund I. Sherborne cults included those of its most illustrious Saxon

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[112] G. Rosser, 'Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late-Medieval England', *TRHS* 6:1 (1991), 186. See also his essay, 'The Cure of Souls in English Towns Before 1100', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (1992), pp.267-84.
[113] Rosser, 'Parochial Conformity', 186.
[114] *CPR, Elizabeth I*, ii, p.577-9; DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2.
[115] *CPR, Edward III*, xii, pp.114-15 and 120.
[116] CWA, 40, fo.12. This discussion of the cult of St Cuthburga is taken from my article 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.
[117] N. Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000), *Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity, 500-1560* (Chichester, 2007). The Latimer quotation is from Shagan, *Popular Politics*, p.165.

bishops, such as Wulfsige and Ealhstan, the latter of whom was also buried there. These ancient houses maintained the loyalty of the Dorset gentry throughout the medieval period, as Andrew Brown has shown, and ordinary people may have shown a similar preference for them too.

As a percentage of total income received from gifts and bequests, the amount received from outside the parish did, however, decrease between 1403 and 1548: the trend line shows a decrease from 8% at the beginning of that period, to 4% by the end. But the decrease is nothing like as drastic as that experienced after the dissolution of the college, when gifts and bequests from outside the parish all but disappear from the churchwardens' accounts: whereas 53 gifts and bequests are recorded between 1403 and 1548, only 7 are recorded between 1548 and 1640 – when the accounts are at their most complete. Noticeably, not a single gift is recorded from Hampreston, which had contributed at least ten gifts before 1548.

Another sign or symptom of change in the Minster's place as a local mother church came in 1434, when the rector of Hampreston, John Hay, petitioned the pope on behalf of his parishioners.[118] Hay asked for burial rights at Hampreston: the parishioners were still having to be buried two miles away, in the Minster's churchyard, 'as by ancient right', but the journey was treacherous 'especially in winter, during floods' and bodies might then only be buried after a wait of four or more days. The request was granted, on the condition that 'fitting recompense' should be offered to the Minster for its loss of mortuary fees. The king's approval of the grant is recorded in the patent rolls in 1440.[119]

There is also evidence to substantiate the status of the givers, both the type of gift given and, in many cases, a statement of the giver's title. A handful of gentleman patrons can be identified, but under very specific conditions. A number of tenements and properties in the town were left to the Minster during the fifteenth century, presumably by wealthier parishioners, but their precise status is unknown: in the 1420s, Nicholas Manstiche left a tenement, land and a garden, and was commemorated with an anniversary that continued into the 1480s; not long after, William Stote left a house and land and was commemorated on at least one occasion, in 1444-5.[120] John Bracy, possibly Wimborne's only churchwarden to die on the job, left a tenement to the Minster in 1537-

[118] *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, xiii, p.505.
[119] *CPR, Henry VI*, iii, pp.485-6.
[120] For Manstiche's gifts, CWA, 14 and 16, and for his 'mind' or anniversary, CW / 1 / 19. For Stote's gifts, CWA, 21 and for his commemoration, held together with Manstiche's, CW / 1 / 23. These gifts are discussed by Brown in *Piety*, pp.94-5.

8, from the profits of which he also received a short-lived commemoration.[121] Gentlemen who were not resident in Wimborne but owned property within the parish might be patrons of the Minster and seek burial there. John Talbot and Thomas Rolle, two devout gentlemen with close family ties to Wimborne, both left gifts to the Minster, including the earliest surviving manuscript (from 1353) in its chained library.[122] John Orenge was buried in the Minster in 1537-8 and gave a small bequest.[123] The county gentry's horizons were wider than those of the ordinary laypeople of east Dorset and they might be expected to have sought the 'malleability' allowed by a college such as Wimborne; it is clear, however, that beyond the parish the Minster was not an attractive destination for benefaction, burial or commemoration. The hard work that went into securing John Heryng's support for the construction of the new tower serves as a perfect illustration. Close proximity was probably an influence, and more than one gentleman benefactor, like Heryng, came from neighbouring Hampreston: William Lucy gave an earlier and much smaller gift than John Beynton.[124]

Although Wimborne was not a new foundation of the later collegiate revival, its royal links may not have been sufficiently compelling to draw the gentry away from institutions with which they and their families already had long-standing connections. The attitude of Wimborne's churchwardens towards the obits they kept may have been either a symptom or another cause of lack of interest among the gentry. An assurance of care was something that many gentry were assiduous, even obsessive, in obtaining; Ralph Woodford, for instance, a Leicester gentleman, planned his commemoration at the Augustinian abbey of Owston, and transferred the necessary endowment, ten years in advance.[125] Andrew Brown has already remarked that by the end of the fifteenth century Wimborne's churchwardens were holding just a single general obit for benefactors, at a fraction of the cost the endowments for obits generated.[126] But even before they began to do this, it is noticeable that many obits, including Nicholas Manstiche's, were kept irregularly, and in some accounts from the mid-to-late fifteenth century, there is no mention of

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[121] CWA, 40, fo.112. Brown, *Piety*, pp.94-5.
[122] See their wills, TNA, PROB 11 / 21 / 510 and 11 / 22 / 36, respectively.
[123] 'Orenge, John (by 1480-1538 or later), of London, Exeter and Plymouth, Devon and Wimborne Minster, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 6 February 2017. His daughter married John Hanham, whose family would benefit most from the dissolution of the royal free chapel.
[124] CWA, 4. Lucy's father had fought at Crecy and Poitiers. See the note to 'Lucy, Sir William (1353-1401), of Charlecote, Warws.', *HOPO*, accessed 6 February 2017; and also N.H. Nicholas, *The Controversy Between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry, A.D. MCCCLXXXV-MCCCXC*, ii (1832), p.261.
[125] E. Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, c.1422-c.1485* (Cambridge, 2002), p.188.
[126] Brown, *Piety*, pp.105-6.

the maintenance of obits at all: in the four surviving rolls for the period between 1449 and 1470, not one payment for the keeping of an obit is recorded (**Fig. 21**).

The gifts and burials of the Beaufort family, the most high-profile of the late medieval period, were almost certainly a fluke; a result of the sad circumstances of the husband and father, John Beaufort's, last days. A shocking fall from grace, and worse yet a rumoured suicide; a burial away from the centre of things, with as much salvaged dignity as possible.[127] He was 'buried quietly and without any ostentation': a priest prayed for him for two days, and a small commemorative window was erected.[128] His wife later joined him in the Minster, under an effigy-tomb paid for by Lady Margaret (**Image 15**).[129] The fact that her parents were buried in the Minster can be the only credible explanation for Lady Margaret's continuing interest in the Minster, including her promotion of the cult of Henry VI and the foundation of her chantry. Her will is a good indicator of her relative institutional priorities, at arguably the most crucial moment of her life. Although it includes a provision for a requiem mass at the Minster, bequests to the dean and chapter, and a new set of vestments and two copes of cloth of gold, her focus was clearly elsewhere as she meditated upon and provided for final things: on 'her larger enterprises… particularly in her instructions regarding her colleges at Cambridge and for Westminster Abbey, her burial place'.[130]

Among the parishioners themselves, money trends indicate serious changes in their behaviour in the period 1403-1548. The trend, as a whole, for gifts and bequests of money or other items that were realised as money, shows a significant decrease. This fits into an even longer term trend of decline, again expressed absolutely. The decline appears much sharper when considered in terms of the number of gifts and bequests of either money or items that were then realised as money; again, the trend is part of a decline that continues until 1640. The decline is also visible in the proportion of the churchwardens' total income for which gifts and bequests accounted.[131]

So long before the dissolution of the college in 1548, significant changes were taking place to one of the main voluntary sources of funding for the parish. These trends do not include the trend in

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[127] On suicide and burial in medieval England, C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (1998), p.96. A peripheral burial of this sort was far from unusual. During the later Middle Ages, the Austin Friars in London appear to have exercised a monopoly on such burials. For this point I owe thanks to Anik Laferriere, who is working on that group.
[128] M.K. Jones and M.G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), p.30. CWA, 23.
[129] J.M.J. Fletcher, 'Lady Margaret and Wimborne Minster', *SDNQ* 21 (1935), 221-2.
[130] Coulstock, p.170.
[131] The total income is expressed without the previous year's surplus; although the figures with the surplus included show a decrease of a similar magnitude.

non-money gifts that were not sold but kept and used, such as altar cloths, banners and vestments, which completely disappeared as the changes of the 1530s and 1540s took hold; most were obviated forever once the reformed faith was established. Such items cannot be charted as easily as money, and it is sometimes unclear in the churchwardens' accounts, for one reason or another, whether they had been given, bought or made. The general impression, certainly by the 1530s, is that the churchwardens were not keeping as many items as were given, but were selling them straight away; by the 1440s, livestock, for instance, were always sold rather than kept.

At least two questions or observations follow. The first concerns the extent to which these changes to voluntary religion may themselves have been voluntary – i.e., encouraged by the churchwardens themselves or the parish. Any answer can only be speculative, but is still worth asking. It is certainly possible that across the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century a rationalisation of parish finances was underway, one in which structures less subject to individual whims were emphasised to the exclusion of those that were more.[132] By the end of the fifteenth century, the parish regime had acquired a strong base in property, at least some of which had been given to support obits, and the income from this source continued to grow across the next century, all the way to the Civil War. The stability of the parish's rental income would have been extremely important during the 1540s and 1550s, as inflation continued to bite and, with the Edwardian Reformation progressing, many voluntary funding sources were reduced or disappeared.[133] The churchwardens' apparent lack of care over the maintenance of obits may appear strange, then; but the amount of rent income relative to the amount of effort required to administer it may have been deemed sufficient, and so perhaps no attempt was made to attract further gifts of property in exchange for commemoration.[134] It is possible that giving was, if not discouraged, then at least not given the encouragement it might have received in parishes with less stable bases for funding. The trend for offerings to saints, which will be further considered in the next chapter, is also suggestive. Another voluntary form of funding, offerings decreased across the period between 1403 and 1548, in

[132] Andrew Brown has noted the growing tendency, at Wimborne and in some other parishes, to rely on property (or 'the dead' rather than 'the living') for parish income, but my presentation of the data here differs from his. He presents average figures for blocks of time, which I believe obscures certain trends, especially in terms of gift-giving. Brown, *Piety*, pp.88-90. This is also something Beat Kümin has noted in his work on parish regimes, especially *Community*. Neither Brown nor Kümin suggests that the reorganisations of parish finance that took place in the parishes they studied might have resulted from planning.

[133] The figures for the Edwardian Reformation are not included in the graph of rental income as a percentage of total income minus rollover, because many of the Edwardian accounts are obviously incomplete, or appear to be. It is clear, nonetheless, that rental income remained relatively stable, providing around £6-7 a year at that time. On the importance of rent revenue to parishes during the Edwardian Reformation, Kümin, *Community*, p.205.

[134] The burdens of churchwardenship are discussed in Kümin, *Community*, p.93.

marked contrast to Robert Whiting's evidence from Devon, for instance, where offerings only declined as iconoclasm and image-breaking took hold in the 1530s.[135] It is noticeable that, beside the introduction of the cult of Henry VI and a few extra offering days in the mid-fifteenth century, there was no real attempt at innovation, and the cult of Henry VI, probably introduced at Lady Margaret Beaufort's behest, was received with little enthusiasm by the parish.[136] Again, the effort could have been deemed disproportionate to the gain.

The second observation concerns the parish chapels. The changes noted above were happening at a time when the Minster, physically at least, was becoming increasingly central to the devotions of the parish. By the mid-fifteenth century, the number of chapels of ease within the parish had more or less halved, as outlined earlier. Where there had once been at least five chapels within the parish, by the early 1450s St Peter's and St Mary's were both probably defunct as places of worship. Less is known about the other three chapels, but St Catherine's appears to have been in serious difficulty by the mid-fifteenth century too, and may have changed use also; then or later. When it was sold in 1550, it was referred to as 'the Armitage', which could mean that it had become a reclusory rather than an active chapel, or that a reclusory had simply become attached to it.[137] A hermit was buried in the Minster in 1533-4.[138] Nor did the process of reduction end with the dissolution of the college: in the early 1570s, the use of St Stephen's was also discontinued, apparently due to lack of attendance; was this an effect of the dissolution, or much longer in the making?[139]

[135] R. Whiting, 'Abominable Idols: Images and Image-Breaking under Henry VIII', *JEH* 33:1 (1982), 30-47.
[136] Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'. Brown notes the lack of new saints' days at Wimborne. Brown, *Piety*, pp.85-6.
[137] *CPR, Edward VI,* iii, pp.255-257. 'Chantries', vol. 31, 93-4.
[138] CWA, 40, fo.95.
[139] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.

iv Graphs and tables

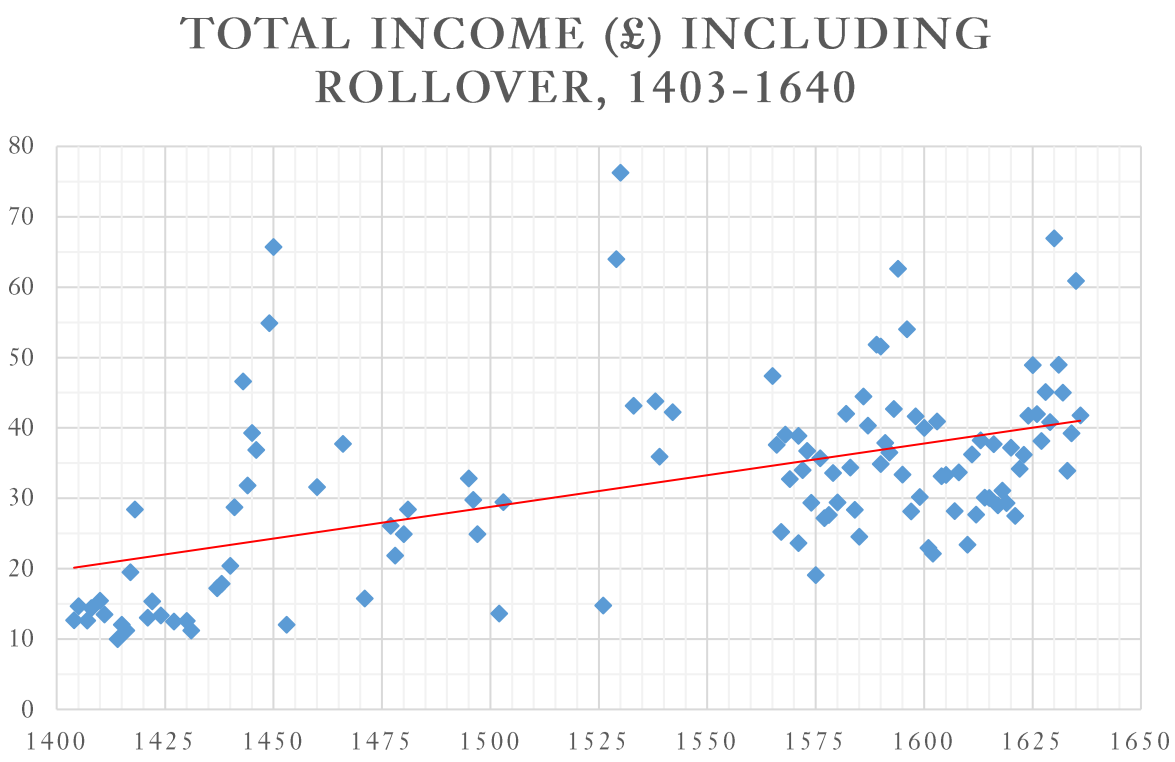


Fig. 1

This graph shows the total income listed in the churchwardens' accounts, including any rollover or surplus from the previous year or years, for the total length of this study.

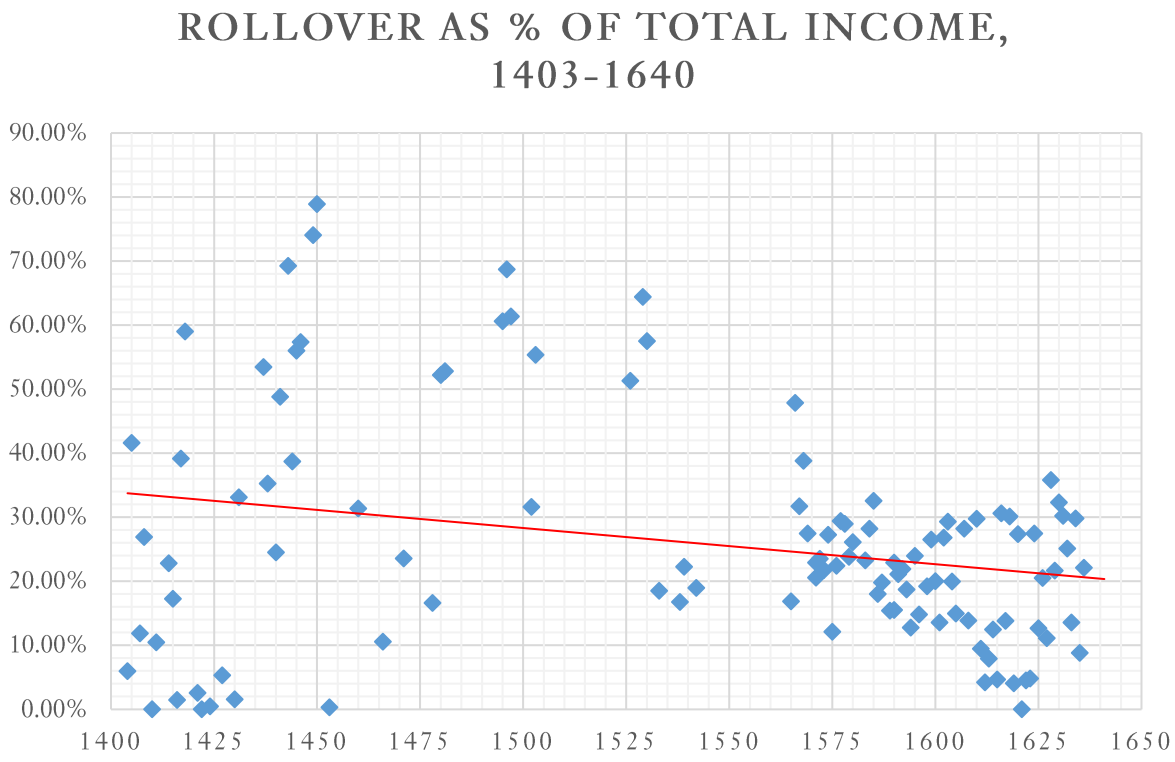


Fig. 2

This graph shows the total surplus each year as a percentage of total income. As a percentage of total income, it could vary considerably from year to year, especially if extraordinary expenditure had been required.

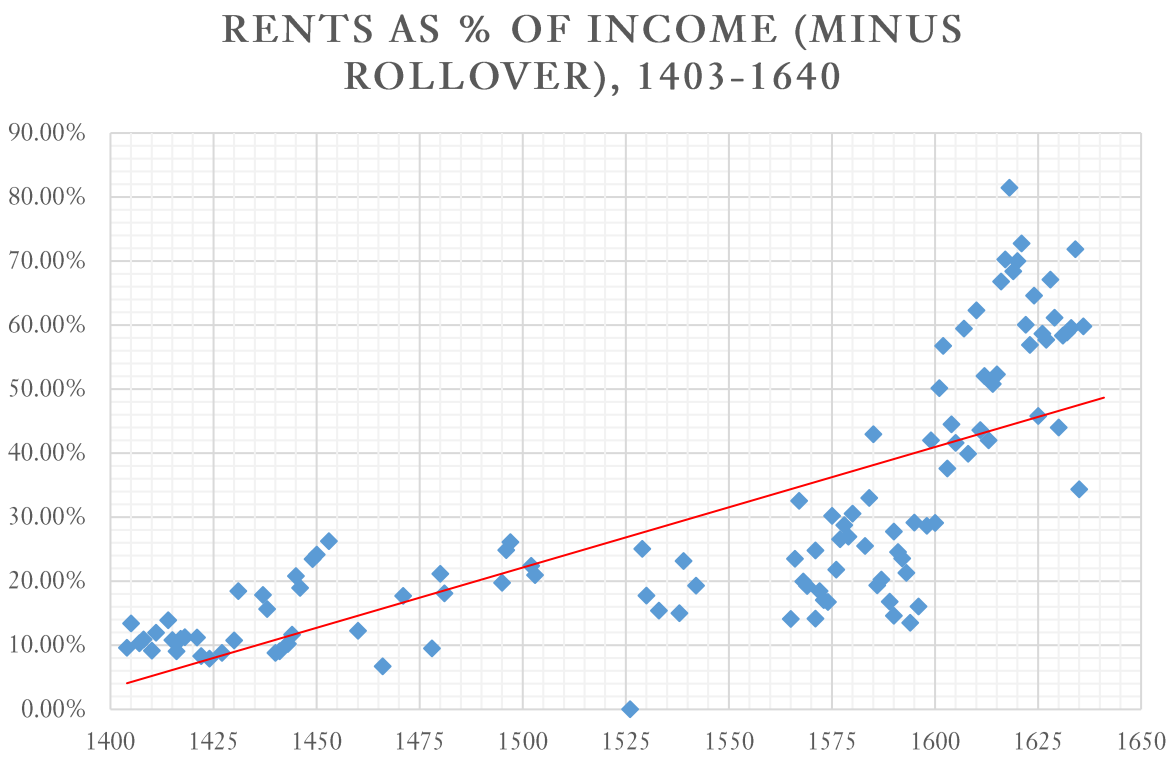


Fig. 3

Here is the income derived from the properties managed by the churchwardens on behalf of the parish. Properties are listed individually in the accounts, so additions to the portfolio and modifications to existing properties are visible, as well as the identities of the renters themselves and the rent they each paid.

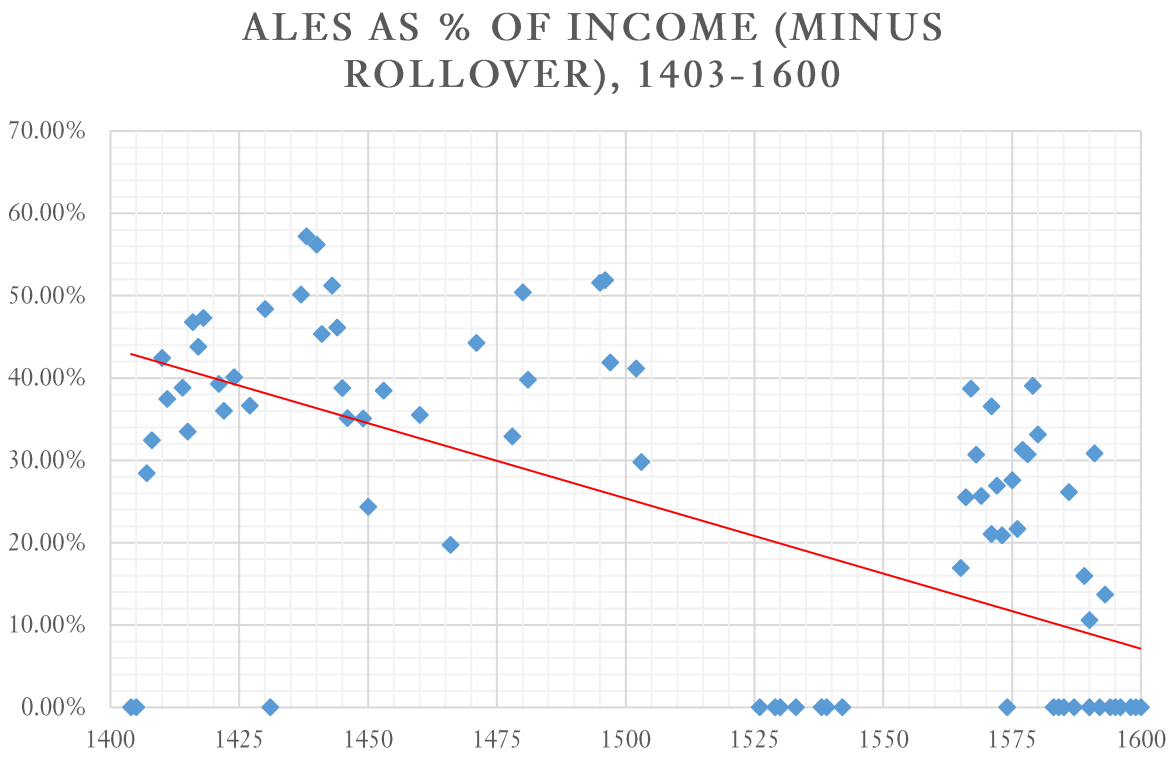


Fig. 4

An important voluntary source of funding for most the period before the dissolution of the college, in 1548, the brewing and selling of ale (at 'ales') became less a feature of the parish regime after 1548. References to ales disappear in the 1590s.

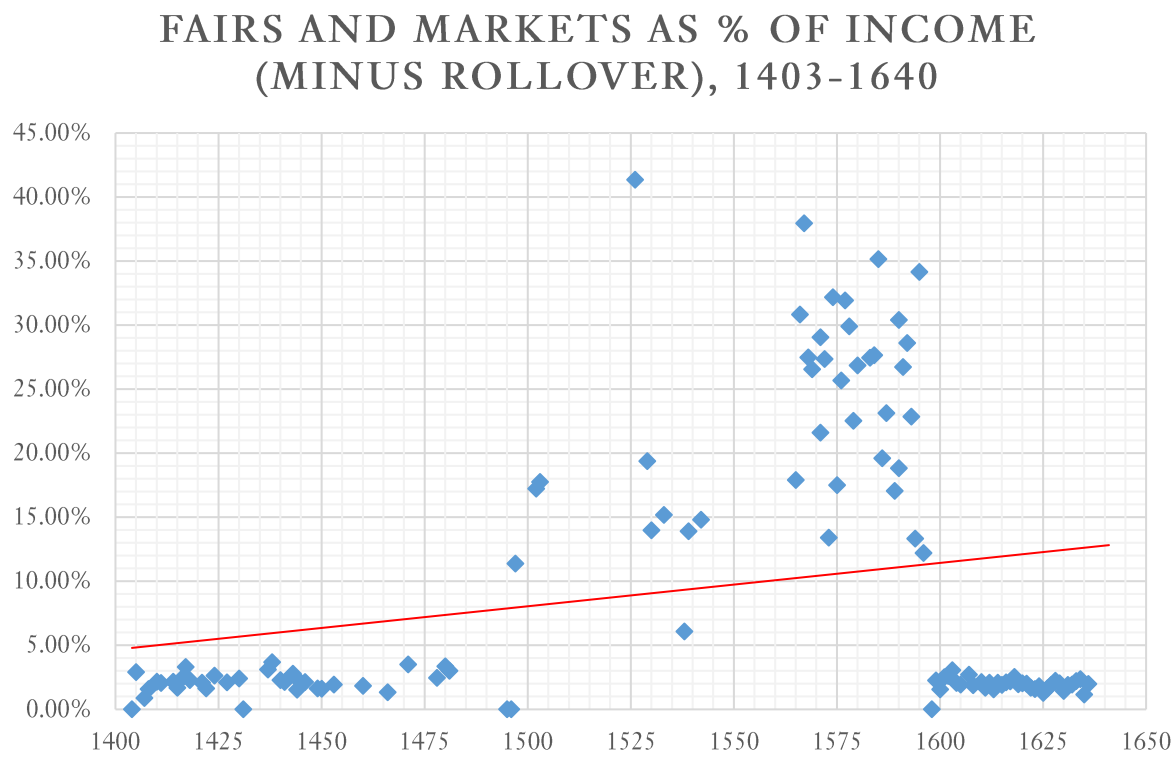


Fig. 5

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, annual fairs and weekly markets constituted around 10% of the parish's funding. Individual market 'standings' are listed by the churchwardens, as well as the name and sometimes occupation – tanner, for instance – of the vendor or tradesman who paid for it. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, this funding-source had collapsed.

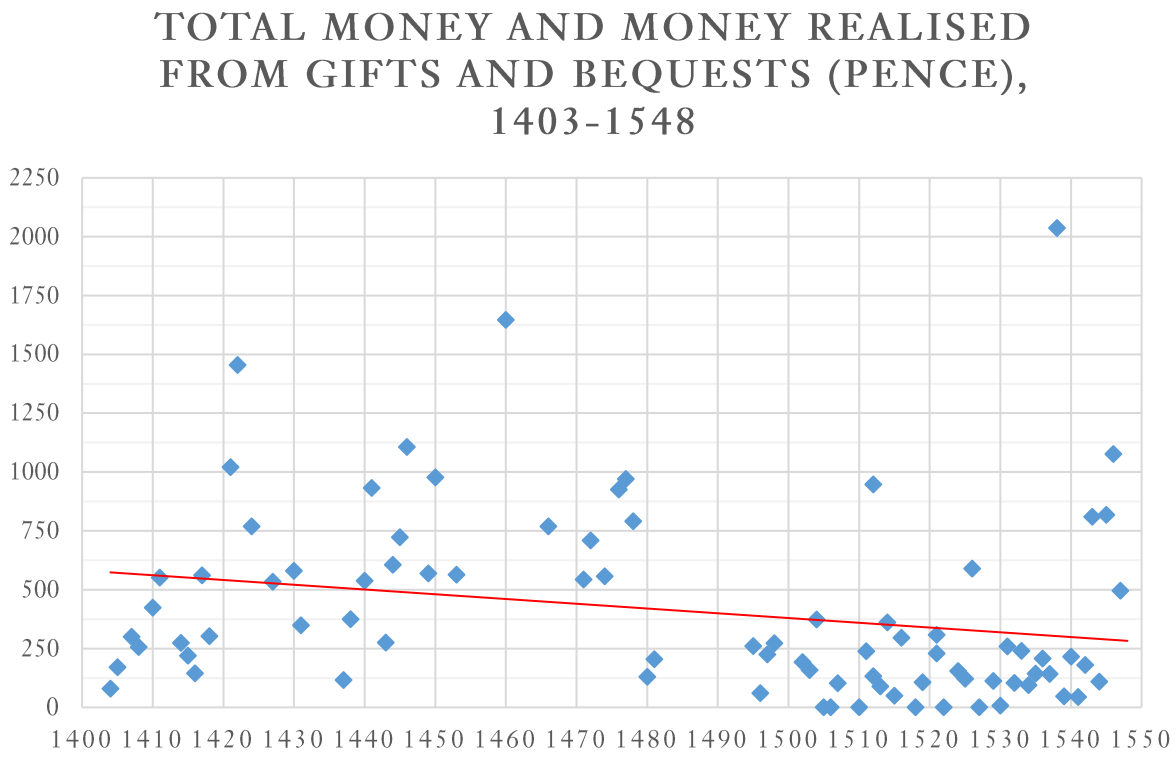

TOTAL MONEY AND MONEY REALISED FROM GIFTS AND BEQUESTS (PENCE), 1403-1548
2250
2000
1750
1500
1250
1000
750
500
250
0
1400 1410 1420 1430 1440 1450 1460 1470 1480 1490 1500 1510 1520 1530 1540 1550

Fig. 6

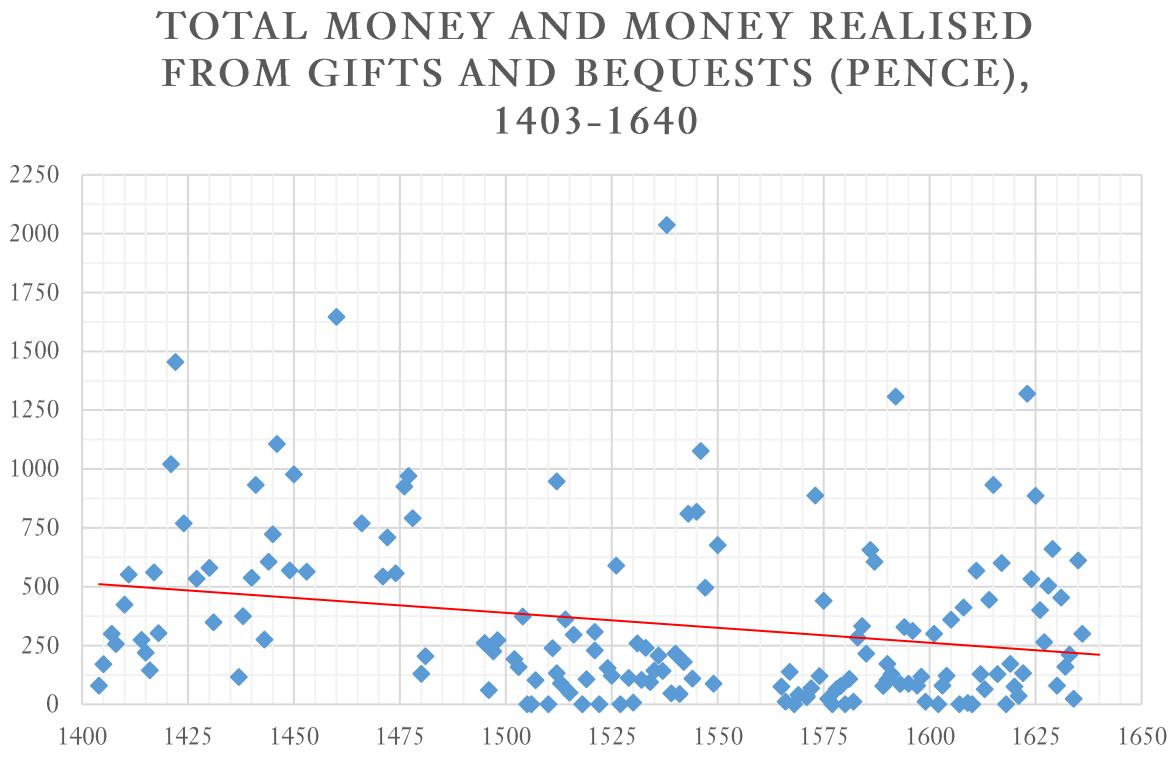

TOTAL MONEY AND MONEY REALISED FROM GIFTS AND BEQUESTS (PENCE), 1403-1640
2250
2000
1750
1500
1250
1000
750
500
250
0
1400
1425
1450
1475
1500
1525
1550
1575
1600
1625
1650

Fig. 7

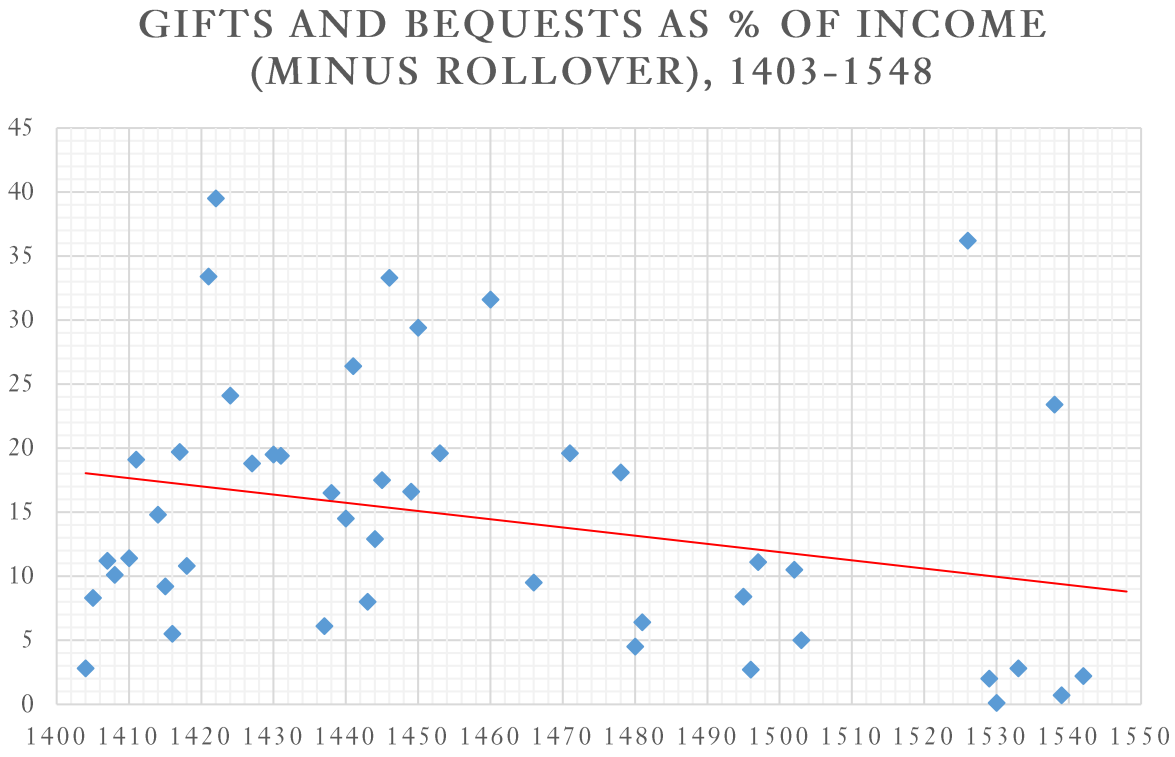

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS AS % OF INCOME
(MINUS ROLLOVER), 1403-1548
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1400 1410 1420 1430 1440 1450 1460 1470 1480 1490 1500 1510 1520 1530 1540 1550

Fig. 8

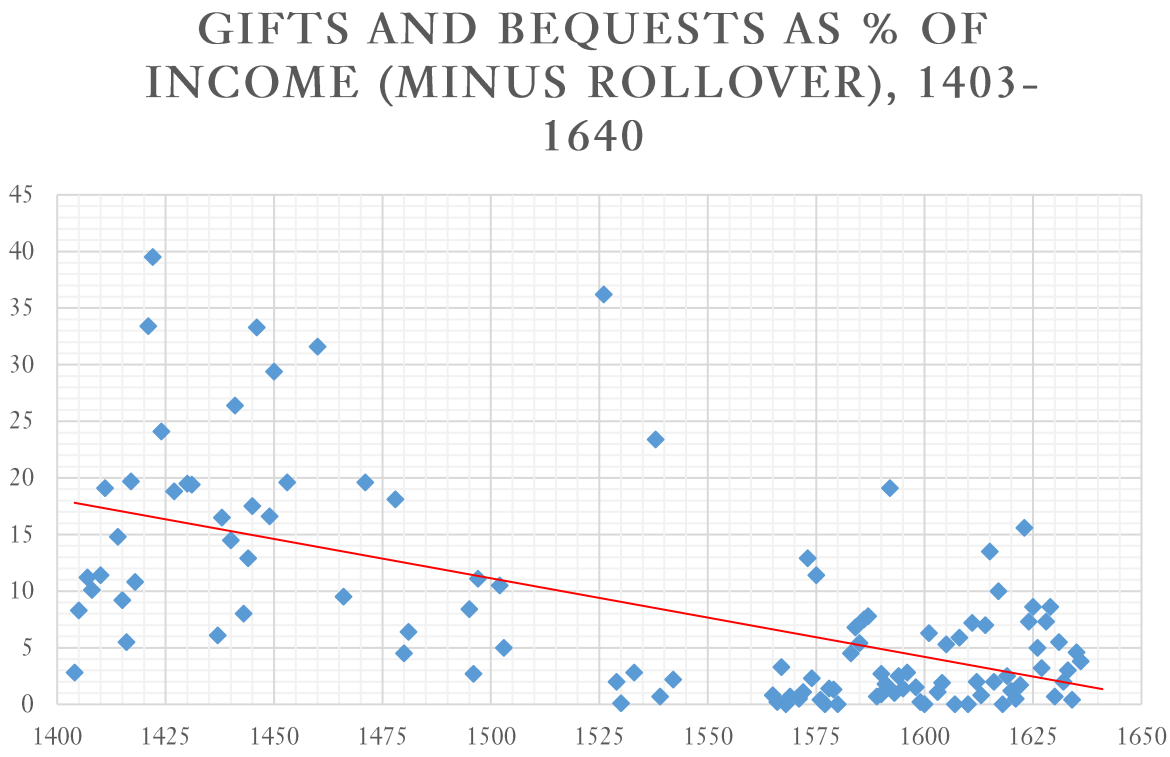

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS AS % OF INCOME (MINUS ROLLOVER), 1403-1640
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1400
1425
1450
1475
1500
1525
1550
1575
1600
1625
1650

Fig. 9

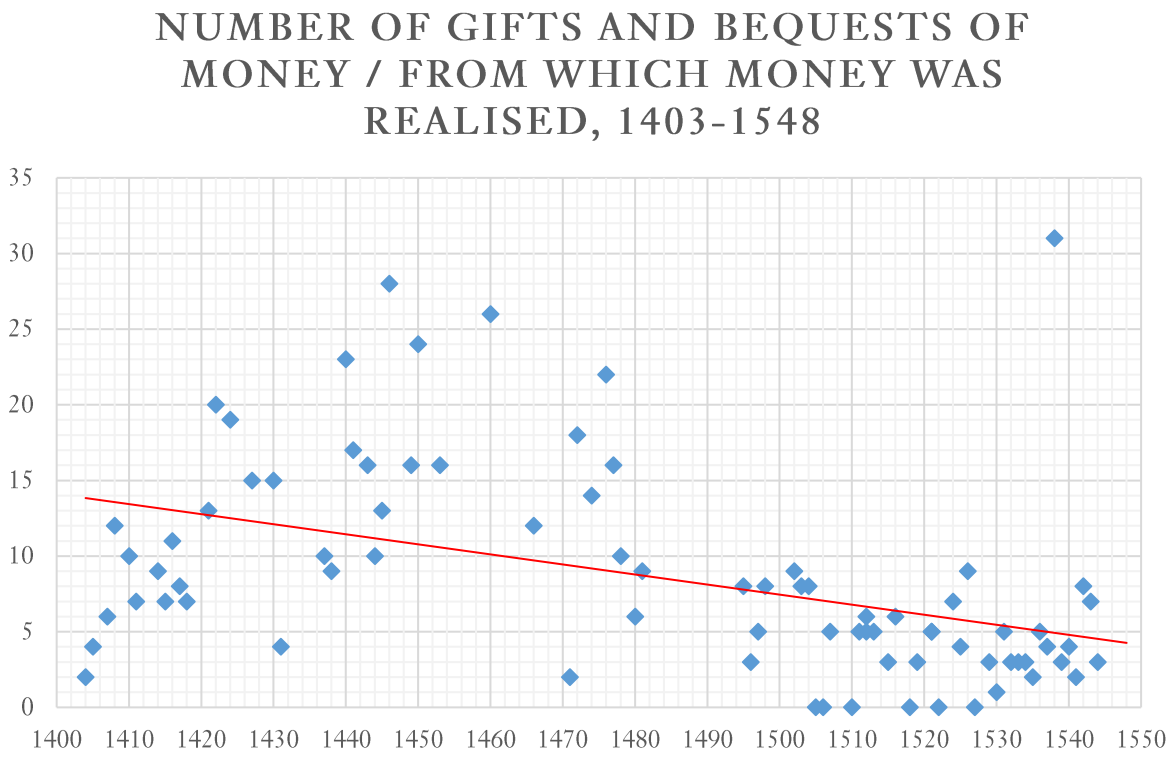

NUMBER OF GIFTS AND BEQUESTS OF MONEY / FROM WHICH MONEY WAS REALISED, 1403-1548
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1400
1410
1420
1430
1440
1450
1460
1470
1480
1490
1500
1510
1520
1530
1540
1550

Fig. 10

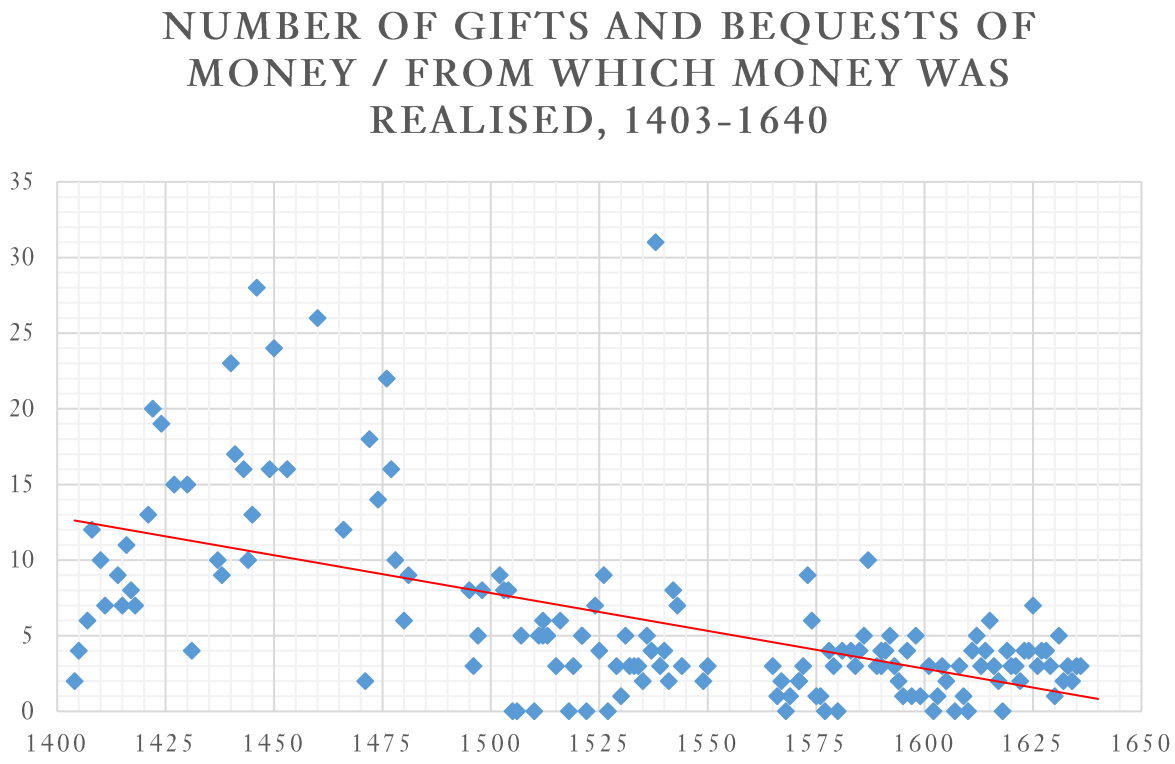

NUMBER OF GIFTS AND BEQUESTS OF MONEY / FROM WHICH MONEY WAS REALISED, 1403-1640
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1400
1425
1450
1475
1500
1525
1550
1575
1600
1625
1650

Fig. 11

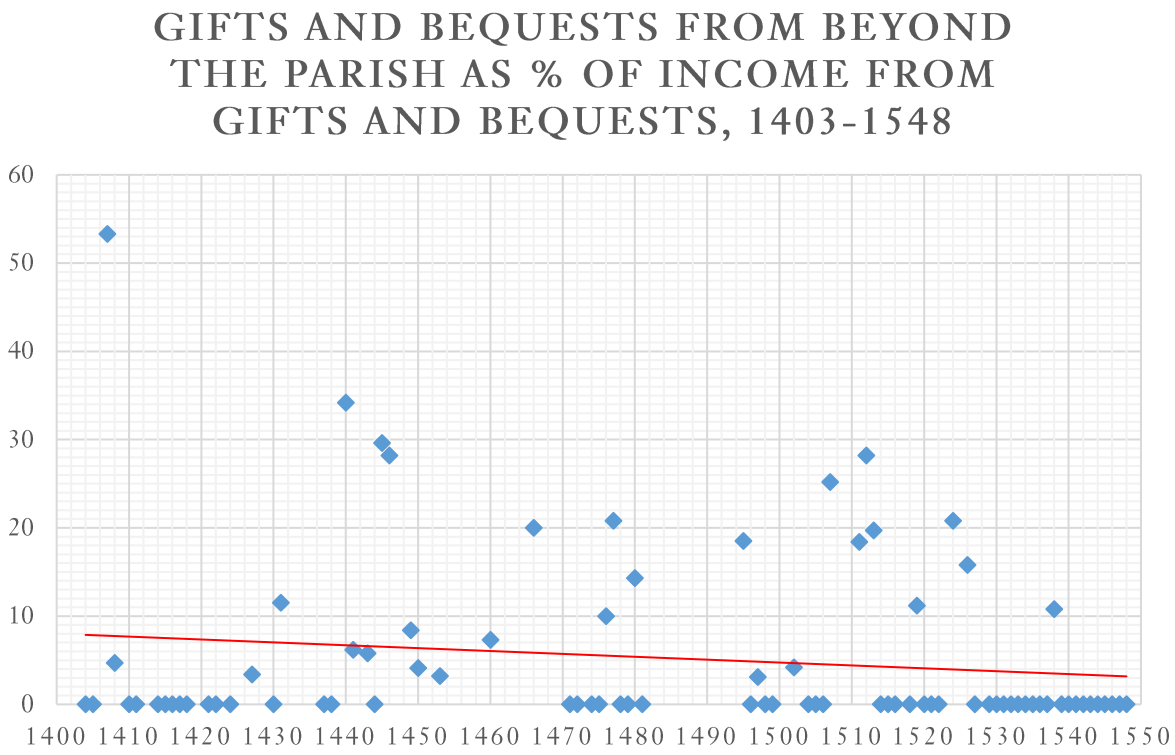

GIFTS AND BEQUESTS FROM BEYOND THE PARISH AS % OF INCOME FROM GIFTS AND BEQUESTS, 1403-1548
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1400 1410 1420 1430 1440 1450 1460 1470 1480 1490 1500 1510 1520 1530 1540 1550

Fig. 12

Location of giver	Number of gifts before 1548	Number of gifts after 1548	**Total**
Unknown	2		2
Almer	2		2
Ashington		1	1
Blandford	1		1
Branksea	1		1
Brelington	1		1
Canford	2		2
Corfe	2	1	3
Corfe Mullen	1		1
Curnborn	1		1
?Doublebridge?	1		1
Fordingbridge	1		1
Gussage	3		3
Ham	4		4
Hampreston	10		10
Hampton		1	1
Hinton	1		1
Hinton Martin	1		1
Hinton Parva / Stanbridge	3	1	4
Hybist	1		1
Little Canford	1		1
Morden	1		1
Parley	1		1
(Ham-?) Preston	1		1
Ranston		1	1
Ringwood	1		1
Salisbury	1		1
Shaftesbury	1		1
Shapwick	1		1
Spetisbury	2		2
Sturminster Marshall	3		3
Tarrant		1	1
Tarrant Gunville	1		1
Tarrant Monkton	1		1
Winterbourne Anderson		1	1
Total	53	7	60

Fig. 13

Gifts from outside the parish are listed by the location of the giver, with frequencies before and after the dissolution of the college, in 1548.

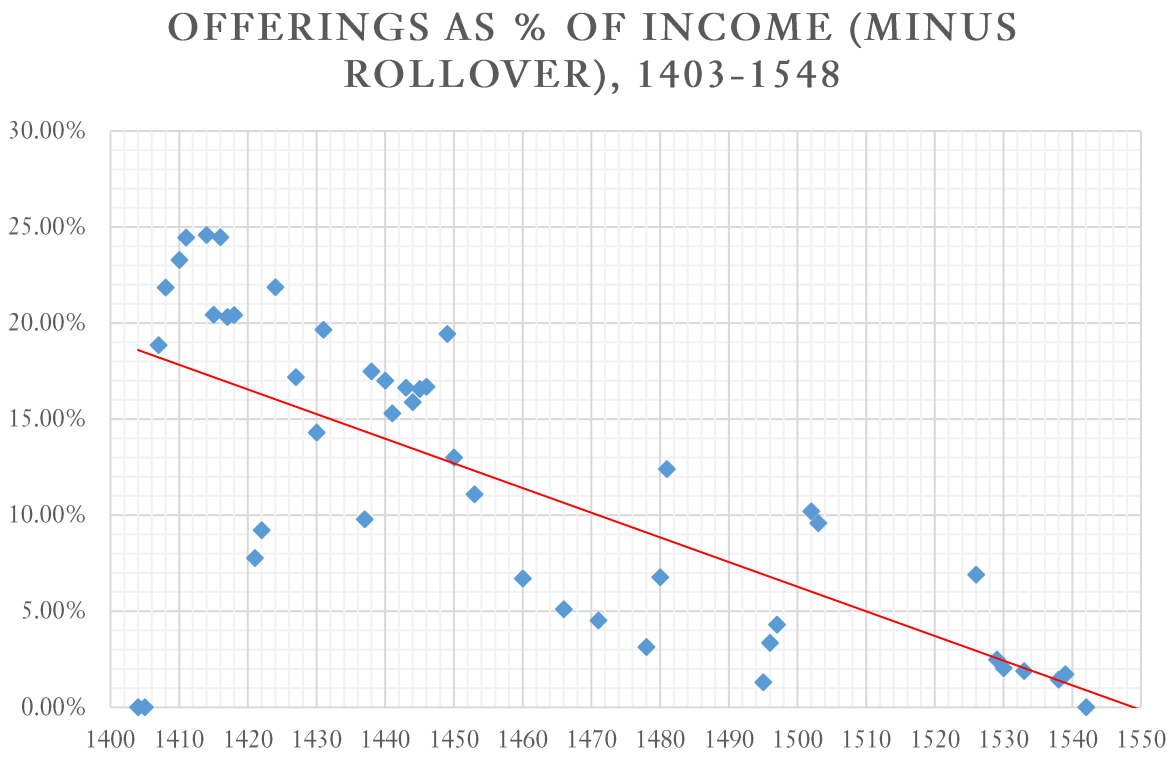


Fig. 14

Another form of voluntary funding, offerings to saints on saints' days and throughout the year were more important to the parish at the beginning than the end of the fifteenth century. However, it should be noted that offerings were left to the Minster's native saint Cuthburga in forms other than money, as is illustrated in the next chapter, when the parish's response to the royal injunctions of 1538 is discussed.

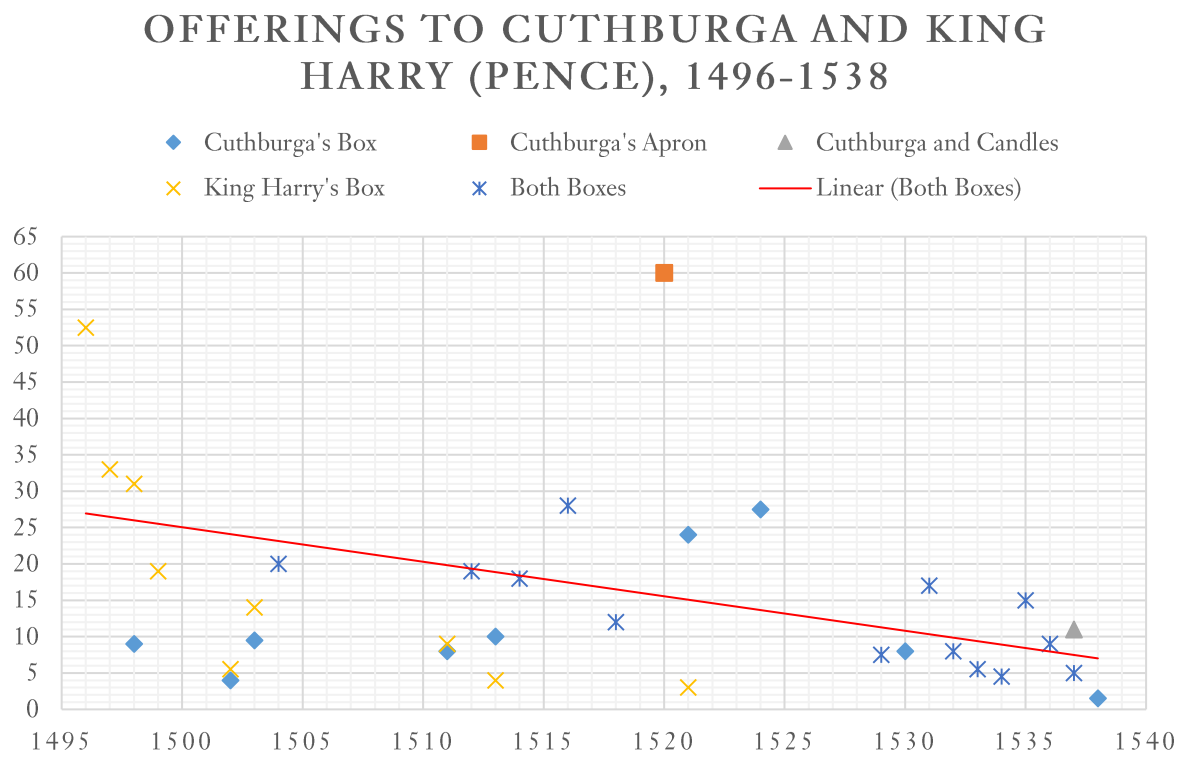


Fig. 15

Another problem is that even the money totals for offerings are recorded in a number of different ways; in the case of St Cuthburga, for instance, money might be left in her box, around her head or in her apron, and the total might also be amalgamated with other items, such as candles. A comparison of the popularity of Cuthburga's cult and that of King Henry VI, a later imposition, is complicated by the fact that the money left in their two separate boxes is as often as not recorded as a combined total; although the combined trend, in line with the individual totals, is clearly a downward one.

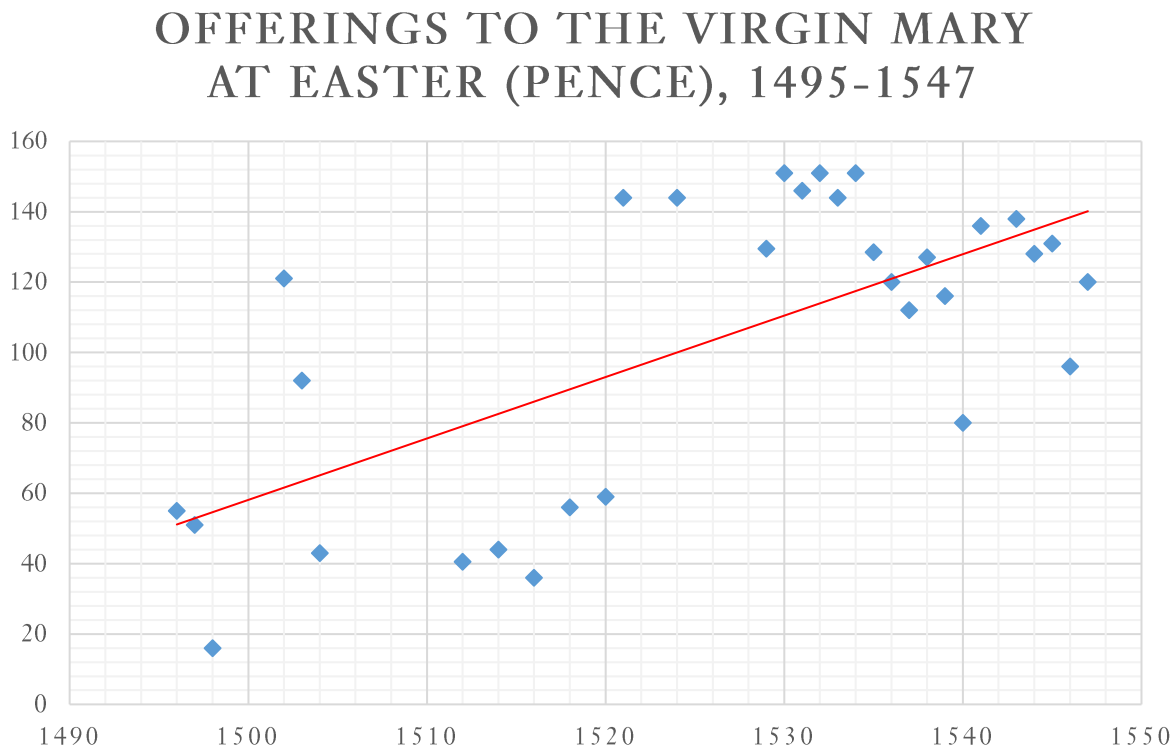


Fig. 16

On the basis of the money given at Easter, the cult of the Virgin Mary experienced a dramatic revival through the 1530s and 1540s, at a time of great uncertainty about the future of the cult of the saints.

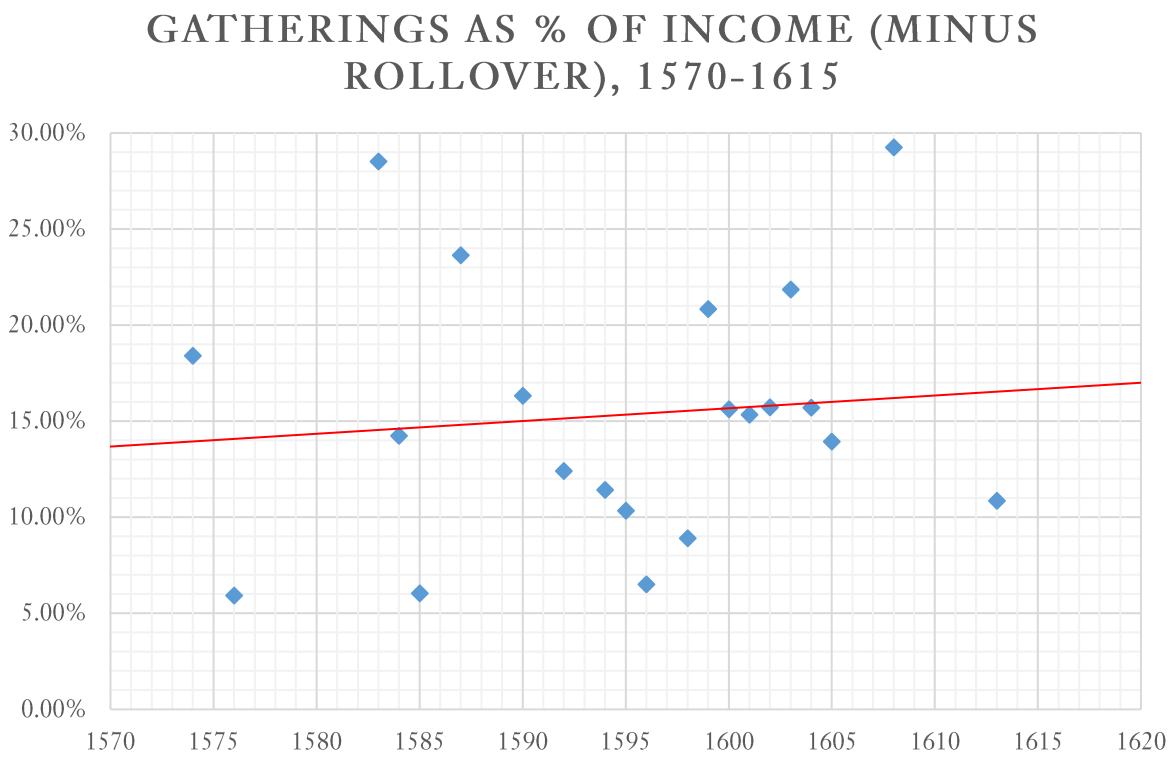


Fig. 17

Gatherings, voluntary collections of money, are first recorded in the accounts from the mid-1570s, and for a time came to supplant church ales, raising similarly large proportions of the annual income.

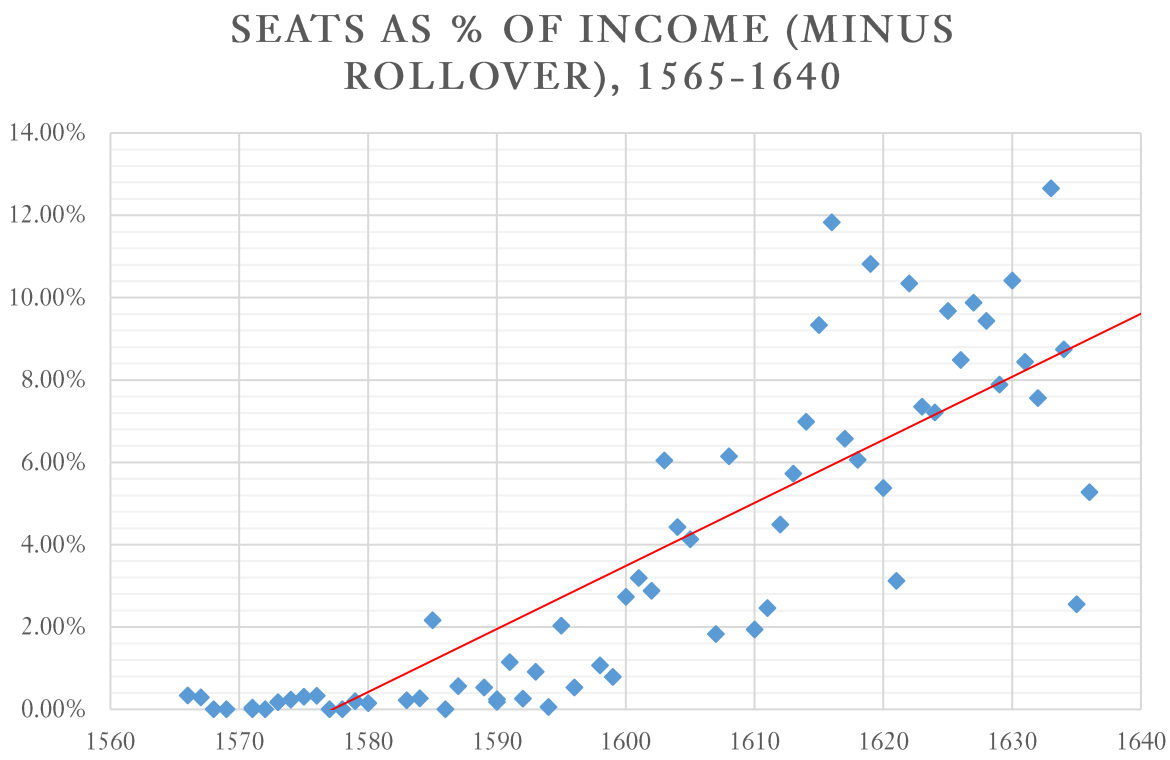


Fig. 18

Church seating first appears in the accounts from the mid-1560s and quickly became popular with the parishioners, producing regular income as a result. The churchwardens took pains to record the purchaser, cost of the seat and its location, including its proximity to other seats and their owners, and to important features within the church, such as the pulpit, chancel screen, organs and reading desk.

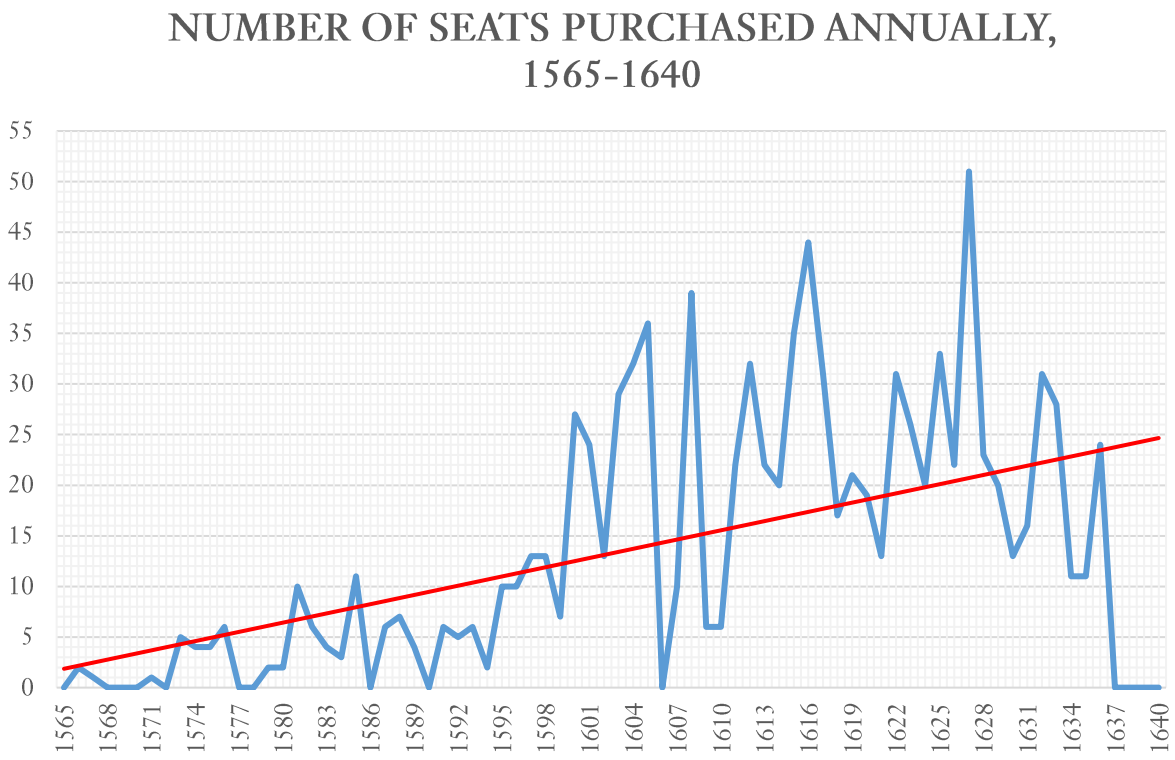

NUMBER OF SEATS PURCHASED ANNUALLY, 1565-1640
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
1565
1568
1571
1574
1577
1580
1583
1586
1589
1592
1595
1598
1601
1604
1607
1610
1613
1616
1619
1622
1625
1628
1631
1634
1637
1640

Fig. 19

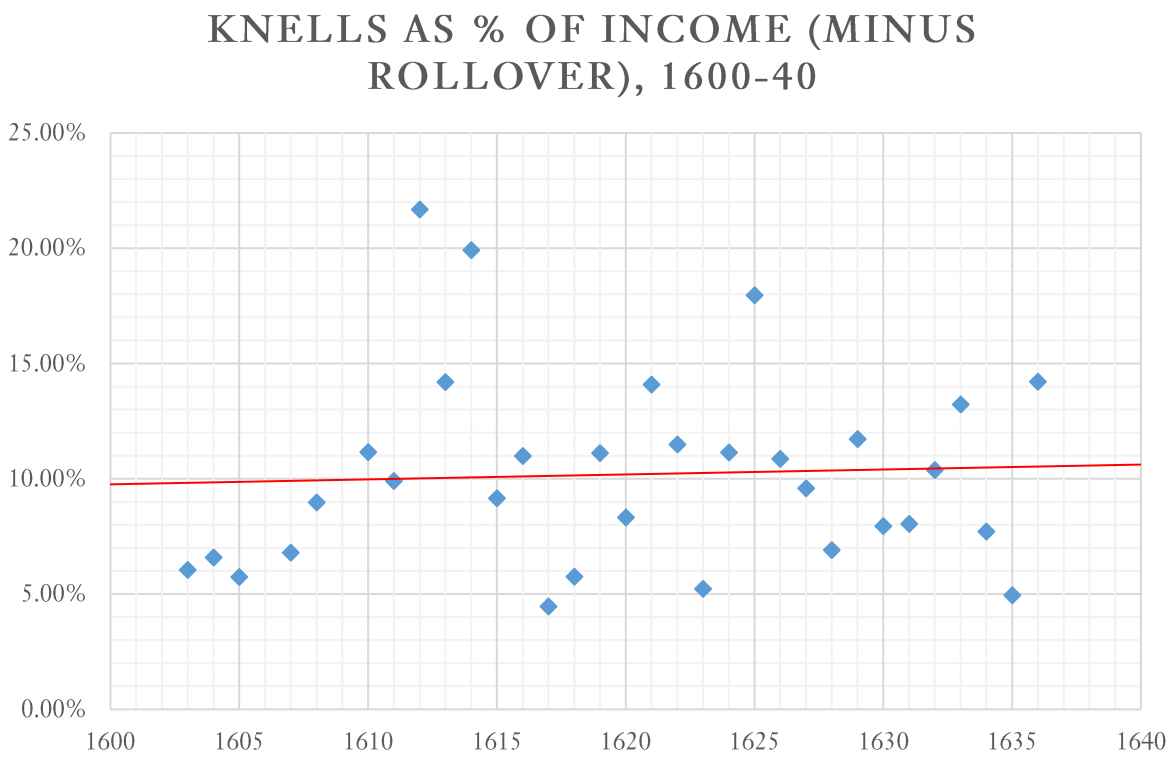


Fig. 20

In 1602, the governors decided that any parishioner who wished to have the great bell rung for a dead person would have to pay 2s 6d. The frequent ringing of the bells was almost certainly aggravating the deterioration of the new bell tower, and some money to defray the inevitable damage was deemed necessary. It is probable that the parishioners were simply now paying for a service that had once been given for free, and not for something extra. Thereafter, knells for the dead constituted another steady source of income, raising a similar amount each year as the church seating; in years of great affliction much more would be raised.

v Some initial conclusions

Although 'the system of minsters was… declining long before the Conquest', writes Denton, 'the situation as it existed after the Conquest was essentially residual. To study the royal minsters in the twelfth century is to see the process of disintegration continuing yet slowing down.' Some royal chapels and their constituencies, such as Pevensey, with its dependent churches, had already disintegrated completely by the end of the twelfth century, while others, such as St Oswald's, Gloucester, and Bosham, had lost significant landed wealth but retained largely undiminished parishes.[140] Even by the fourteenth century, 'the process whereby the older minsters with their dependent chapels were replaced by parish churches with their single priests was less complete than has been supposed'.[141]

In the case of Wimborne, these statements can be further substantiated and further extended in time, right up to 1548. To observe the Minster from the fourteenth century to the dissolution of the college is also unmistakeably to observe a residue of the Anglo-Saxon Church, even as its long disintegration continued. The Minster was able to retain its ancient place within the local devotional landscape until 1548, receiving gifts as well as customary payments from former dependent churches and other parishes in the surrounding area. Even so, the importance of extra-parochial benefaction was clearly on the wane long before 1548, when that ancient place would be lost, at a stroke; the parishioners of Hampreston, once part of the Anglo-Saxon minster parish, also sought to distance themselves from their former mother church, by claiming burial rights in their own churchyard.

Within the late medieval parish itself, there was no demand for fission or autonomy. Wimborne had its local sub-parochial guilds – the Bothenwood light, the Wives of the Country – but these centred their activities on the Minster and its devotional life, rather than the chapelries. Such a demand might well have arisen under different conditions, in a more prosperous economic environment in which local communities wished to assert their independence for reasons of prestige. And if the late medieval period was one of spectacular growth or revival for collegiate churches on the whole, nevertheless Wimborne did not benefit. The attention of Dorset's gentry was, with a few exceptions, directed elsewhere, to the more substantial, older, foundations of the

[140] Denton, *Chapels*, p.23.
[141] Ibid, p.152. See also Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp.505-12.

north and west of the county; the most prestigious burials, benefactions and commemorations, products of chance.

The precise relation of these trends to the internal organisation of the college and its place within the royal administration is unclear; but this chapter has shown, at the very least, that the problems that dogged the royal free chapels during the period of Denton's study remained in the later period, despite some attempts at reform, most notably the Great Chantry of four priests. It should not be difficult to imagine, in general terms, a relation between mismanagement or neglect on one level, and decline on another. Specifically, the case of the parish chapels may be easiest to imagine. Before the dissolution of the college, the four vicars employed by the prebendaries had each apparently served a single church within the parish.[142] If this was the case, a personnel shortage, especially an extended shortage, could easily have contributed to the growing disuse or even loss of one or more of the chapels. And if a shortage had coincided with the tenure of an especially neglectful dean – the damage could have been greatly compounded. The same would also be true in the case of the Minster's obits.

The loss of parochial chapels at Wimborne is in marked contrast to the tendency in similar parishes elsewhere. To return again to Crediton, with its nine subordinate chapels, parishioners from the far reaches of the parish were actively engaged for some time in attempts to secure greater autonomy for at least two of the chapels. Although they did not succeed in securing full parochial status for the chapels of Sandford and Kennerleigh, significant concessions were granted to the former. In turn, 'this led to the withdrawal of many people from the services at Crediton', and so in 1437 the bishop of Exeter revoked the concession. The people of Sandford were undeterred, and for the next century sought to reclaim their rights. Finally, in 1524, a qualified restoration of the original concessions was made, with the approval of the bishop and college.[143]

There may, therefore, be a substantial truth to the Leland's observation about the town's decline before the dissolution, later echoed by Gerard: 'it hath beene a very large thing'.[144] Leland was referring, in all probability, to the remains of the Leaze development, abandoned after the Black Death, but he also noted the number of chapels in the town and parish. If he saw St Peter's, just to the north of the Minster, while walking through the town, he cannot have missed the signs of

[142] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[143] Orme, 'Crediton', pp.119-20.
[144] Leland, *Itinerary*, p.256.

long-term decay and repurposing – the buildings in the churchyard, the boarded-up windows paid for by the churchwardens in the early 1530s.

The Minster itself, whose monuments Leland described in detail, was also apparently 'in great ruyn and decay' when he passed through. In 1538, the churchwardens petitioned the new dean, Nicholas Wilson, for the right to take the silver offerings around St Cuthburga's head before they were confiscated; why not use them to repair the fabric – and especially the spire, which was 'foundered and lyke to fall'?[145] They probably received no response, and the cult disappeared that year; just one episode in the much larger drama that began with the king's 'Great Matter'.

[145] See Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.

IV: The road to dissolution, and beyond

> …a greate parte of Superstition and Errours in Christian religion hath byn brought into the myndes and estimacion of men by reasone of the Ignoraunce of their verie trewe and perfecte salvacion through the deathe of Jesus Christ, and by devising and phantasinge vayne opynions of Purgatorye and Masses satisfactorye to be done for them which be departed, the which doctryne and vayn opynion by nothing more is mayntayned and upholden then by the abuse of Trentalles, Chauntries and other provisions made for the contynuance of the saide blyndness and ignoraunce…[1]

[1] From the preamble to the Chantry Act of 1547 (1EdVI, c.14), in *Statutes of the Realm*, iv:i (1810), p.24.

i The Compliance Conundrum; popular support for change

'An external conformity was by no means invariably – or even usually – the consequence of an internal religious conversion', according to Robert Whiting; the parishes of Tudor Devon and Cornwall, and their responses to the Reformation, his subject.[2]

That is just one re-statement of what has come to be known as the Compliance Conundrum: why was the English Reformation accepted if it was largely unasked for? In the widespread absence of a new spiritual commitment, what else might explain the sudden turning away from a form of life that still apparently sustained and satisfied the needs of ordinary people?[3] Perhaps it was simply the coercive power of the Tudor state, the violence it could levy on its disobedient subjects; death on the gallows or in the field. Then there was the active cooperation and example of local gentry, as commissioners for the dissolutions and for the confiscation of church goods, and of local officials and middling people such as the churchwardens, too; whether for the prospect of economic and political gain, or simply because obedience to the crown was a superordinate virtue.[4] Devon's most venerated cults were destroyed with little or no resistance, largely under the direction of the local gentry; Our Lady of Pilton, for instance, whose destruction was coordinated by Hugh and Richard Pollard. Elsewhere, the local gentry quelled protests against the suppression of saints' days, as at St Keverne, on the Lizard; and in 1549 they helped to lead the forces that bloodily squashed the Prayer Book Rebellion outside Exeter.[5] And perhaps it just was not the place of the ordinary Christian man or woman to second-guess their monarch – whose actions were in any case part of God's plan: 'you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes'.[6]

In this chapter, the focus will be on the religious changes of the period from Henry VIII's break with Rome until the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth I; on a period that was once considered to be the entire span of the English Reformation, and might now instead be called the 'short'

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[2] Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, p.170.
[3] As argued by Eamon Duffy, for instance.
[4] Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, pp.211-59 and R.L. Greaves, 'Concepts of Political Obedience in Late Tudor England: Conflicting Perspectives', *JBS* 22: 1 (1982), 23-34.
[5] Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, pp.221-3. See also his 'Abominable Idols'.
[6] Thomas More's *Utopia*, quoted in Duffy, *Stripping*, p.592.

English Reformation.[7] The question of the popular response to the religious changes of those decades will be foremost, especially how the parishioners of Wimborne mobilised to cope with them. Did the governing structures of the parish, including the soon-to-be-defunct royal free chapel, impede or aid them in their response? At Wimborne, there is little evidence of spiritual commitment to change, apart from an anonymous denunciation of a chantry priest and, more crucially, the actions of John Hanham, the local gentleman whose family was to be the chief beneficiary of the college's dissolution. Present were many, if not all, of the factors outlined in my brief discussion of the Compliance Conundrum: violence, gentry cooperation and leadership, the obedience of ordinary men and women. But then there are episodes that reveal a complexity best captured in Ethan Shagan's work on the 'popular politics' of the English Reformation; the Reformation, not as a Compliance Conundum, but a situated dialogue between state and people, in which official discourse and policy were appropriated by ordinary people and put to their own uses.[8]

This chapter will also consider the effects of that dissolution on the governance of the parish and town, including the establishment of a parish corporation by royal letters patent, in 1563, and the sale of college and chantry property, which continued into the 1590s. Unlike other towns under ecclesiastical lordship such as Cerne, previously controlled by an abbey, Wimborne did not collapse into purposelessness; but even so, the redistribution of power was hardly less significant.

A narrative structure must be adopted to describe the changes as they took place and the responses they elicited. Once the period from 1538 until 1563 has been described, the broader redistribution of power and property within the community will be considered.

[7] A.G. Dicken's first edition of *The English Reformation*, published in 1964, ended with the Settlement of 1559 and the re-establishment of a reformed faith. The second edition (1989) was updated with an epilogue that framed the Reformation in a longer perspective.
[8] Shagan, *Popular Politics*.

ii Ten years: from the royal injunctions of 1538 to the Second Chantry Act

In Ronald Hutton's view, the royal articles and injunctions of September 1538 introduced the 'first major alteration' into local worship.[9] Every parish was told to purchase a new English Bible; all lights within the church were to be extinguished, except those of altar, rood loft and Easter sepulchre; images 'abused with pilgrimages or offerings' were to be removed, and those that remained were to be regarded as nothing more than memorials, for removal at some unspecified date in the future; the worship of holy relics was also to be abandoned.[10] While there had already been momentous changes since 1529, including the Royal Supremacy, the dissolution of most of the religious houses, and the first statement of the faith of the new Church of England (the Ten Articles of 1536), the main effects on the worship of the parishes outside the areas embroiled in the Pilgrimage of Grace had simply been a reduction in the number of saints' days, in line with complaints made in Parliament about the spur to ill behaviour and idleness the ritual calendar had allegedly become.[11]

The evidence for Wimborne bears out Hutton's claim. Before 1538, there had been some changes owing to the king's reformation, but their effects on parish worship are unlikely to have been significant. Between 1536 and 1537, four members of the college left or were removed in quick succession. In October 1536, one of the priests of the Great Chantry was apprehended in the town for preaching in opposition to '*evangelica veritas*'. Information was sent to Cromwell from an unknown individual; whether this was a case of enthusiasm for the newly established doctrines of the Church of England, or simple adherence to the law, is therefore unclear.

> Edmundus Thorpe presbiter, declamabat palam in suggesto esse purgatorium id quod ille non semel, sed bis, ter, quater, assertabat animas que inde hominum, posteaque ab hac luce imigrarint posse pecunia extricari.[12]

Nothing less than sequestration can have been Thorpe's fate. His mistake was not to preach about Purgatory per se, but to give it that name and to assert that souls could be lifted from it by money, in contravention of the Ten Articles. Without denying that the dead needed to be prayed for, the

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[9] Hutton, *Merry England*, p.74.
[10] *VAI*, ii, pp.34-43.
[11] Hutton, *Merry England*, p.73. Although in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the abrogated St Wilfrid and St Luke's days were used as rallying points for the uprisings of 1536. Shagan, *Popular Politics*, pp.55-6.
[12] TNA, SP 1 / 109, fo.94; *L&P*, xi, no.876.

tenth Article stated that there was and could be no certainty about the name or location of the place dead souls went to, nor about their sufferings there. Thus far, the statement was vague enough that Reginald Pole could claim that it treated Purgatory 'much after the old manner'. But the final note was minatory and prophetic: the Purgatory taught and upheld by Rome was a lie – and let the people know that there was no reason to believe in the pope's pardon, nor any other means to rescue the departed from their suffering.[13]

The next year, after the publication of his *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*, which had led to his final break with the king, Pole was replaced as dean of Wimborne by Nicholas Wilson. Two close followers appear to have left their positions at the Minster with him (**Fig. 23**). One was Edward Laborne, the chantry priest and schoolmaster encountered in the previous chapter, who owed his appointment to Pole.[14] Less than a year after Pole's deposition, Laborne was in London, as the curate of St Benet, Gracechurch; and soon in trouble for a sermon he gave against predestination.[15] The chantry he had left – Lady Margaret's chantry – probably got a new priest and schoolmaster; but was vacant in 1548 'by reason that yt is in the Kyngs hands by the deth of the late [incumbent]'.[16] The other follower of Pole's was George Lily, who had entered his service in 1529 and must also have owed him his appointment to a prebend at Wimborne, in 1535.[17] There is no reason to believe Lily ever went to Wimborne: at the time of that appointment, Lily was studying in Padua, and in 1539, after a year's stay in the English Hospice in Rome, went to Pole in Viterbo. He continued to serve Pole in various important capacities, and eventually became his household chaplain once he returned to England, in Mary's reign.

The first concrete change to parish worship at Wimborne, then, was the destruction of the cult of St Cuthburga, in 1538.[18] In the previous chapter, it was noted that the general trend in offerings from 1403 to 1548 was negative, in contrast to Devon, where offerings only began to decline in the 1530s; although when they did decline, they did so precipitously. Nor was Wimborne home to much of the cultic innovation that took place in other similar-sized and larger towns in the diocese; the introduction of the image of Henry VI, most notably, seems to have been unsought by the parishioners, and for that reason found little success. Lady Margaret saw the Minster as a

[13] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p.122.
[14] He thanks Pole's mother for the preferment in his letter of complaint. TNA, SP 1 / 18, fo.281; *L&P*, iii:i, no.411.
[15] Brigden, *London*, pp.281-2.
[16] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 20.
[17] T.F. Mayer, 'Lily, George (d.1559)', *ODNB*, accessed 24 March 2016.
[18] This discussion of St Cuthburga draws on my 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.

proprietary church when it suited her, with at least two deans being important members of her household (Hugh Oldham and Henry Hornby, who was also an executor of her will, and probably oversaw the establishment of her chantry in the Minster); but not even her considerable influence and charisma were able to sway Wimborne's parishioners in her still-unsainted half-brother-in-law's favour. After a peak of interest in the cult's first year at the Minster, 1495-6, it was downhill all the way to 1538.

The evidence for the popularity of the cult of St Cuthburga is more equivocal. Pilgrims continued to visit the cult until at least the end of the fifteenth century; and while the amounts left in Cuthburga's box were as small as those left in the box next to the image of Henry VI, money was not the only, or indeed the principal, form of offering given to her; rings, beads, daggers and bits of silver were also placed in a green silk and worsted apron that adorned her image, and around her head (**Fig. 15**). Furthermore, there is evidence for sophisticated literate devotions to her cult within the parish and surrounding area. The most spectacular instance is a later fifteenth-century book of hours that contains a set of special lessons for her proper worship and was owned by one Richard Follett, probably a relation of one of the Minster's churchwardens.[19] Whether there was a gendered element to the parishioners' worship of St Cuthburga is unclear; but at Thelsford Priory, in Warwickshire, the only other known medieval cult of St Cuthburga, her aid was sought for head ache and 'slottiche wydowes locks', a form of badly matted ('sluttish') hair that was until recently common among very old, especially poor, women ('widows'). [20]

None of the changes pre-1538 appear to have affected the cult. The accounts record payments 'for makyng of the lyght of our lady chapell at Cuthborow tyd' from 1532 until 1537, and the yearly offerings continued; Cuthburga fair continued to be held on the Sunday closest to her feast (*in dominica Sancte Cuthburge*), and the Cuthburga bell was still referred to as such. In the account for 1538, however, these payments for lights disappear, and with them the offerings in the box at Cuthburga's feet. The churchwardens' account for that year is the last in which St Cuthburga is

[19] University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, MS 140. Another book of hours, MS 560 at Lambeth Palace Library, contains a prayer to St Cuthburga.

[20] The cult at Thelsford is described in a letter to Cromwell from John London, one of the commissioners for the dissolution of the monasteries in the Midlands. The appearance of the cult at Thelsford is more likely to be a product of the spread of the Sarum Use than of any ties between Wimborne and Thelsford. See C. Cornish-Dale, '"A Pint of These Maiden Cuthburga Oats": the Cult of St Cuthburga at Thelsford Priory, October 1538', *Midland History* 42:2 (2017), 183-93; and also '"Sluttish Widow's Locks": the Depilatory Powers of St Cuthburga', *SDNQ* (forthcoming), which can be accessed on my Academia.edu page (www.oxford.academia.edu/charlescornishdale).

named as the Minster's patron saint.[21] The next year's churchwardens became simply the 'kepars of the goodes And Recyvours of the Rentts quyt rents lands and tenements Belongyng to the Coledge church and kyngs Fre chapell'.[22]

So was Cuthburga's demise not anticipated? Although the earlier injunctions had been less vehement in their attack on the cult of the saints, the off-the-page attack, and the backlash against it, had grown increasingly violent by the start of that year, in places like Exeter, Worcester and Walsingham, and with showpiece events such as the public burning of the Boxley Rood. 'Pilgrimage saints go down apace', wrote John Hussey to Lady Lisle, that March; he warned her to forego her normal devotions and not even to keep private observance of the outlawed saints' days, but to 'have only mass, matins and evensong of the day'. Still, many continued to venerate the saints as they had before, and much disobedience was far from silent.[23] Some within the parish seem to have been caught unaware; apparently 1538's sole churchwarden, John Jenkins, at least, who used the parish funds to buy a printed saint's life, 'a Nu legend of the store of seynt Cuthborow', for 6s 8d.[24] If the purchase came after the royal injunctions of 1538, it might be interpreted as wishful thinking or even as a gesture of defiance; but the receipt, like almost all the receipts in the churchwarden's accounts, is undated.

Other middling people, however, knew full well what was going to happen. One notable document, no longer extant, reveals determined mobilisation months before the injunctions were issued, not so much to resist as to mitigate the effects – and perhaps to turn them to the petitioners' own advantage. In July 1538 a letter was sent to Nicholas Wilson, the new dean of the college. He was not present in Wimborne, but in London, where the letter was given to him by one of the Minster's priests.[25]

> Worshypfull master, our duty done, we recommend us to your mastership. and we be informed that seynt Cuthborow's hed shall be takyn ffro our chyrch, and the sylver that ys about the same hed ys the parysheners, for yt was made by the charety of the parysheners in tymes past. And we know by our composycion that yt ys the parysheners goods, and our chyrch ys in gret ruyn and decay, and our toure ys foundered and lyke to fall, and ther ys no money left in our chyrch box, and by reason of great infyrmyty and deth ther hath byn thys yere in our parysh no chyrch aele, the whych hath hyndred our chyrch of xx^{ti} nobles and above, and well it is knowen that we have no land, but onely the charyty of good people, wherfor nyed constraynyth us to sell the sylver that is about the said hed. Besechynge your

[21] CWA, 40, fo.112.
[22] Ibid, fo.118.
[23] Duffy, *Stripping*, pp.402-4.
[24] CWA, 40, fo.116.
[25] The delivery is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. Ibid.

> mastership to sertefy us by your lettre wher we may sell the said sylver to repayr our chyrch, and not offend our prynce. And through Jesus preserve you long in honour. Wryttyn at Wymborn Mynster, the ffirst day of Julyy, anno 1538. By yours to thar pouars, J. Ryckman, J. Watman, constable, P. Macham, James Wever, W. Wyn and many other.
>
> To the ryght worshypfull master doctor Wylson, dean of Wymborn Mynstr, at London, thys lettre be delivered.[26]

I have discussed the letter and the circumstances of its sending in more detail elsewhere; the most pertinent thing here is the identity of the signatories.[27] Their identity greatly complicates any attempt to portray their request as one of simple collaboration or even enthusiasm, so Ethan Shagan's work is important. None of the signatories were evangelical; but by requesting to put the silver to another use, even as traditionally pious a use as the maintenance of the church fabric, these men were 'acting in [a way] that would have been unthinkable only a few years before'.[28] All were drawn from among the parish betters: a priest, parish officers, including a constable, and three men who had been or would be churchwardens, as well as other men of good standing. And Peter Macham, who had been a churchwarden, would later go on to become one of the first members of the new parish corporation. Now the better sort in every parish were among those who stood especially to gain from aligning themselves with reform, and two of the signatories stand out as having something very particular to gain on the local stage at least. In 1519, John Ryckman and John Watman had been the subject of a complaint made by Edward Laborne, the chantry priest, to the countess of Salisbury; Ryckman especially – 'a maliciosus parson' and the ringleader of the unspecified trouble.[29] The dispute stemmed, as far as can be told, from a payment Ryckman had made in 1518 to have the Lady chapel re-gilded, in exchange for a dispensation from being elected churchwarden.[30] The sacristan, whose bad behaviour and ill-temper Laborne also complained of, was the principal witness to the payment. Instead of taking place publicly in the Minster, at the tomb of John de Barwick, the payment was made in the house of Thomas Herbert; as a result, it was probably rejected by the rest of the parish.[31] Perhaps a kind of popular redemption was at stake, then, for Ryckman and Watman; and with Edward Laborne gone after Pole's

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[26] Hutchins, iii, p.188. The letter is no longer extant.
[27] Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.
[28] Shagan, *Politics*, p.6.
[29] TNA, SP 1 / 18, fo.281; *L&P*, iii:i, no.411.
[30] The transaction is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts. CWA, 40, fo.54.
[31] Such payments were not uncommon, however. See J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (1913), p.7; and also J.S. Craig, 'Co-operation and Initiatives: Elizabethan Churchwardens and the Parish Accounts of Mildenhall', *Social History* 18: 3 (1993), 357-80, especially pp.362-7.

departure from Wimborne, the fate of St Cuthburga might have been an opportunity for them to assert a claim to moral leadership by taking the matter – and her silver – in hand.

No reply from Wilson survives. The churchwardens' accounts record a small number of transactions involving silver at around the same time, but none seem individually or in total to match the amount suggested in the letter; would a few scraps have justified the effort involved in writing and delivering the letter, not to mention the risk? In the accounts for 1547-9, there are references to the conveyance – but not the sale – of large amounts of silver; although these were probably church plate and ornaments.[32]

Nor is there any reason to suppose that Wilson responded.[33] While one might at least expect a measure of sympathy for the petitioners, on the basis of his very vocal opposition to the Royal Supremacy in 1534, and his continued scheming despite his formal submission to the king, the circumstances of his appointment to the deanery, in preference to an evangelical friend of Cromwell's, suggest that he was never intended to play a direct role at Wimborne; and his involvement in national and indeed international politics meant that he had far more pressing matters to attend to than the fate of an obscure Wessex saint and her silver.[34]

What Alan Kreider calls 'anticipatory dissolutions' were already happening in the later 1530s, as private individuals and corporations looked to protect or acquire endowments for intercession and put them to other uses before they could be seized by the crown. For the most part, though, it was chantries that were subject to such measures before 1540.[35] Bullying and trickery of the kind that attended the dissolution of the monasteries, especially, are not evident at Wimborne before 1548, no doubt because the college was a royal college.[36] The absence or presence of a powerful patron could make all the difference between dissolution and survival, at least in the short-to-medium term; again, the monasteries were especially prey, with many lacking a committed defender.[37] Colleges, for a time, enjoyed more royal favour than other communities; and in May 1539, for instance, a bill would be pushed through Parliament giving the king the power to establish new

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[32] CWA, 40, fo.145 and 148.
[33] Details of Wilson's life and career, unless otherwise stated, are taken from K. Carleton, 'Wilson, Nicholas (d.1548)', *ODNB*, accessed 15 March 2016.
[34] At around the same time, some of his London parishioners petitioned against him for his 'blatant' negligence. Brigden, *London*, p.52.
[35] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.154-64.
[36] See R.W. Hoyle, 'The Origins of the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *HJ* 38:2 (1995), 275-305, especially 299-301.
[37] B. Thompson, 'Monasteries and Their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution', *TRHS* 6th ser. 4 (1994), 103-25.

bishoprics, cathedrals and colleges.[38] (But even the king's patronage might be seen as a double-edged sword, offering protection as long as the king wished, and then an absolute guarantee of dissolution when that protection was withdrawn and time called.) So as a royal college and one of the smallest of its kind, Wimborne would have been a perverse target for those seeking easy self-enrichment; and the more powerful predators were indeed to be found in other waters, circling larger and more vulnerable prey. But a lesser predator might still see an opportunity for naked gain in, say, the voidance of the deanery after Reginald Pole's departure. The evangelical and printer William Marshall, a client of Cromwell's, wrote to his master in December 1536.[39] Upon the king's order, he had been arrested, and only a timely intervention from Cranmer had saved him. Now he was down on his luck and again experiencing money problems; but he had heard it 'saide… that such promotions as Mr Reignold Poole, sonne to the Countesse of Sarum, nowe being with the bysshop of Rome shall be taken from hym, & given to others in englonde'. Remember me 'with one of Mr Poole's promotions'! Or if not me then my brother, Thomas – even his son, my nephew Richard. What about that prebend at Salisbury? And if not that, why not 'the litle deanery' of Wimborne, 'not of above the yerly value of xl markes sterlinge'?

Marshall might have been an ideal choice for 'the litle deanery'. When installing heads of religious houses, Cromwell's policy was often to choose fellow reformers.[40] Such appointments might even prolong the existence of the houses in question – if only because their dissolution was now a fait accompli. But Cromwell chose not to reward Marshall with the deanery, perhaps because he already had Wilson earmarked for it; and if not in December 1536, at the time of Marshall's letter, then definitely by May of the next year, when he noted 'Mr Wilson for Wymburn' among that month's remembrances.[41] In his religion, Wilson could not have been less like Marshall, and this fact alone suggests that the securing of the college for dissolution was not a priority. The appointment was probably just a gesture of goodwill or favour, much like all other appointments to the deanery in the Middle Ages; and also part of Wilson's rehabilitation after his imprisonment in the Tower with More and Fisher – a spur to enhanced loyalty and further service on Cromwell's behalf and the king's.

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[38] Orme and Cannon, *Westbury*, p.102.
[39] TNA, SP 1 / 113, fo.20-1; *L&P*, xi, no.1355. The date of the letter is evident from the mention William makes of a privy seal sent to his brother Thomas Marshall on 16 December. For the seal itself, see TNA, SP 1/ 112 fo.204; *L&P*, xi, no. 1316. Cromwell and Marshall's relationship is discussed in W. Underwood, 'Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books', *HJ* 47: 3 (2004), 517-39.
[40] D. Loades, *Thomas Cromwell: Servant to Henry VIII* (Stroud, 2013), p.179.
[41] TNA, SP 1 / 120, fo.257; *L&P*, xii:i, no. 1315. I owe this reference to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch.

There is no evidence that Wilson visited Wimborne more than once, nor of any dealings with the Minster from afar. At the time of his appointment, in August 1537, he was being readied by Cromwell to go to the Low Countries, to negotiate with Reginald Pole. After a flying visit to his new benefice, for which he tried to procure 'venyson to make merry withall', Wilson may or may not have travelled on to the Continent; Pole, however, had departed Speyer in advance of him, and the negotiation never took place.[42] (Cromwell would then attempt to have Pole assassinated in Italy.[43]) Wilson spent most of the following year in debate with a team of Lutheran theologians sent from the Empire. By 1540, he was again under suspicion, and returned to the Tower for a second time. It was not until at least 1543 that his place at the centre of the king's reformation came to an end, when he retired to his benefice in London and lived, according to Kenneth Carleton, 'without drawing attention to himself', although still in touch with other conservatives. He died in June 1548.

So if the parishioners of Wimborne Minster were now in need of a hero, Wilson was not their man. But *did* they need one, or think they did? Cuthburga's silver may have seemed a special case. Cultic life was not totally destroyed in 1538, as shown by the continuing resurgence in offerings to the Blessed Virgin at Easter, through the 1530s and into the 1540s (**Fig. 16**); perhaps a final blooming of one of medieval Christianity's great devotions.[44] It is unclear, furthermore, when the future of the college itself first began to seem in doubt. As early as the Ten Articles of 1536, some could see the end for Purgatory and the elaborate system of mutuality between living and dead that it presupposed; a process of 'extinguishing the fires of Purgatory' was already taking place – a redefinition of its terrors and whether they could even be known or mitigated at all – and by the King's Book of 1543, 'the ground had been effectively cut from beneath the chantry system', making a full dissolution thinkable and thus doable.[45] From 1540, the process of dissolving

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[42] See Wilson's letter of 3 August 1537 to Thomas Wriothesley. TNA, SP 7 / 1, fo.87-8; *L&P*, xii:ii, no. 425. The request for game is repeated in a letter of Wilson's to Cromwell written three weeks later. BL, Cotton Titus B/I, fo.353; *L&P*, xii:ii, no.579. That Wilson did visit can be inferred from the churchwardens' account for 1536-7, which records an agreement made with 'Doctor Wylson dean' for a new lease of the market and fair for 40 years from the next Feast of St Michael the Archangel (29 September 1538, presumably). The agreement was made in the chapter-house, and 33s 4d was paid to Wilson. CWA, 40, fo.109. For a full account of the build-up to and fall-out from the failed negotiation with Pole, see, in the following order TNA SP 1 / 116, fo.34, and SP 1 / 124, fo.80; BL, Cotton Cleopatra E/VI, fo.386; and TNA SP 1 / 125, fo.3, SP 1 / 127, fo.137, and SP 1 / 125, fo.71 (*L&P*, xii:i, no. 429, and *L&P*, xii:ii, nos. 553, 552(2), 635, 619, 620, 725, 795 and 1303). See also T. F. Mayer, 'A Diet for Henry VIII: The Failure of Reginald Pole's 1537 Legation', *JBS* 26: 3 (1987), 305-31.

[43] T.F. Mayer, *Thomas Starkey and the Commonweal: Humanist Politics and Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1989), p.276.

[44] Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.

[45] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.93-153.

intercessory institutions really began to gain momentum, with the number of dissolutions initiated by the king increasing year-on-year, from six in 1540 to 27 in 1545: 11 colleges, three hospitals, five free chapels and eight chantries and fraternities. The king was often responding to requests for chantry and college lands from members of his personal circle and, in turn, from their own associates and retainers. The dissolution of Tong college, Shropshire, for instance, was sought by Sir Richard Manners, in 1546, who made a petition to the king via Sir Anthony Denny, a reformist and gentleman of the privy chamber. The king's death prevented the sale from going through, but Manners went on to acquire the college in the first year of Edward's reign.[46] Despite the quickening pace of change, it is clear enough that in 1545, when the first Chantry Act was passed,

> Henry VIII and his advisers had no intention of dissolving all of the colleges, chantries and other intercessory foundations of England and Wales. Their intention was more diffuse, more opportunistic than that. They wanted only to penalize those individuals who had been dissolving chantries on the sly, to suppress a few selected foundations for quick income, and to reward impatient courtiers with the lands they had coveted.[47]

The desire for commemorations, and the willingness of the churchwardens to maintain them, does not appear to have been completely shaken, either by the earlier arrest and removal of Edmund Thorpe, or by the increasingly hostile atmosphere towards intercessory foundations from 1540. Diriges, obits and other forms of commemoration continued to be kept until 1548 (**Fig. 21**). The long-standing but erratically celebrated obit for John Heryng and other benefactors of the church was kept for the last time either in 1541-2 or in 1543-4, on 20 March as was the custom.[48] A new obit, for John Bracy, the churchwarden who died in 1537-8, was added in 1539 and celebrated annually until 1541-2.[49] In 1542-3, a month's mind was paid for on behalf of 'Master Compton', a local gentleman, and a dirige was celebrated for him in 1547-8.[50] In the later accounts until 1546-7 there is also an amalgamated entry for money 'Receyvyd by the proffyt of the belles… as knylles and obytes with the best cros and paule'. The bede roll continued to be recited until 1548; for three readings a year, the cost was always 12d, so the 4d given to 'Sir William for the bede roll' in 1547-8 probably represents just a single reading – but a reading nonetheless.[51] Since

[46] Ibid, pp.183-4. On Denny, see P. Sil Narasingha, 'Denny, Sir Anthony (1501-1549)', *ODNB*, accessed 17 February 2016.
[47] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.177-8.
[48] CWA, 40, fo.137. If it was the 'obyt that is kept'.
[49] Ibid, fo.121, 123, 127 and 131, respectively.
[50] Ibid, fo.133 and 144, respectively. His will is TNA, PROB 11 / 30 / 49.
[51] CWA, 40, fo.144.

commemoration had never been central to the parish regime, implicit and even explicit threats to the theology underpinning the practice may not have registered with as much force as elsewhere.

Notwithstanding the above, there is a compelling suggestion of uncertainty, even disarray, in the form of the churchwardens' accounts themselves. It begins in 1544-5, the year of the first Chantry Act. The previous year's account is a model account, neatly bifurcated and then subdivided; business as usual, more or less.[52] The account for 1544-5, by contrast, is scrawling and written in an unpleasant yellow ink that has faded considerably.[53] More suggestive than this general impression of lack of care, the account is redacted to just a short and very squashed list of sum totals, no more than 20 lines. Redaction was and is a tool of concealment; and in the next section it will be shown that concealment of parish property did take place ahead of the confiscations of Edward's reign. The next year's account is almost identical, the year after too: the same ink and handwriting, the same redaction.[54] That third redacted account took in the first ten months of the reign of Edward VI, ending on 8 December 1547, not long before the second Chantry Act made its way through Parliament.

'By the end of 1546 and the beginning of 1547, despite all previous hazards to the cause of reformation, the king had left evangelical politicians in an unassailable position to take over at his death'.[55] Significantly, the first Chantry Act, which licensed dissolutions at the king's order, now lapsed. 'That Edward's government would sooner or later replace it with chantry legislation of its own was almost inevitable'.[56] The government had already given 'public indication of its theological predispositions' in July 1547, with its book of homilies, and the parish clergy were now ordered to denounce Purgatory from the pulpit.[57] Apart from Thorpe's ill-advised defence of Purgatory, there is no evidence for pre-Reformation preaching at Wimborne; and, without a breakdown of expenses in that year's churchwardens' account, it is unclear whether a copy of the homilies was bought. The post-mortem commemorations continued.

Not for long. A 'religious revolution' was already underway, one the new 'evangelical establishment' was determined to align with the changes taking place on the Continent, in places

[52] Ibid, fo.135-40.
[53] Ibis, fo.140.
[54] Ibid, fo.141-2.
[55] D. MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (1999), p.7.
[56] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p.186.
[57] Ibid.

like Strassburg and Zurich; one that would finally 'destroy the old world of devotion of the English Church, which… now lay helpless before them'.[58]

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
c.1470-80			X										
1470-1	X												
1471-2	X												
1477-8	X												
1479-80	X												
1494-5				X									
1495-6				X									
1496-7				X									
1501-2					X			X	X				
1509-10						X							
1511-12						X							
1525-6			X										
1526-7						X							
1528-9		X											
1529-30		X											
1530-1		X											
1531-2		X											
1532-3		X											
1533-4		X											
1534-5			X										
1535-6			X										
1536-7			X										
1537-8			X										
1538-9			X							X	X		
1539-40			X							X		X	
1540-1			X										X
1541-2			X									X	
1542-3							X					X	
1543-4										X		X	
1544-5												X	
1545-6												X	
1547-8		X					X						

A = Obit for Nicholas Manstich

B = Obit for John Heryng

C = Obit for John Heryng and others

D = Obit '*pro defunctis*'

E = Month's mind for Lawrence Weaver

F = 'An obyt that is kept'

G = Obit for Mr Compton

H = Month's mind for Roger Bylard

I = Month's mind for John Harris

J = Obit for John Bracy

K = The bells for burials and obits

L = The best cross and pall, and knells and obits

M = The bells for obits and knells

Fig. 21 Commemorations recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, 1470-1548

[58] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p.8.

iii Fifteen years: from the Second Chantry Act to the parish corporation

The account for 22 December 1547 to 25 December 1548 appears to mark a return to administrative normality at the time of greatest change for the parish: a year taking in the passing of the second Chantry Act and the dissolution of the college the following Easter.[59] While still not beautifully neat, the account is not redacted significantly. This may be due, somehow, to the rare presence of a gentleman among the churchwardens.[60] John Lovell is the first gentleman to be named as such in the preamble to an account; although substantial men had preceded him as churchwardens. The parish may have been looking to him for his social leadership. In a series of memoranda at the end of the account, it was noted that some money remained in the church box, while other amounts were in the hands of various people, including £14 in the custody of John Ryckman junior and £8 with John Foster, the other churchwarden that year, and Walter Jennings. John Lovell was entrusted with 'certeine parcelles of plate and other of the churche goodes':

> In primis one oyle box of sylver, Item one chullyse of coper & gylt, Item ij cruettes of silver, Item ij paxes, Item one roode coper & gilt lacking one arme, Item iij ringes of silver, Item ij vices of the silver candelstickes & a ringe on the same vyces, Item xxiiij coysonns, Item the knape off the grete pexke[61]

Further items now in his possession are listed at the end of the account, in a section which inconveniently disappears into the central crease of the account book; but it is still possible to identify a chalice, a silver pax, 'a yolle bokxe' and 'iij renges of sellver', among other things. In many cases, church goods that were marked for confiscation or sale were stolen before they could be confiscated or sold, and it may be against this possibility that the parishioners were attempting to guard.[62] But even if the parishioners were attempting to dispose of the goods before they were confiscated, the fact that some were broken suggests, at the very least, a measure of outward conformity with that year's royal injunctions.

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[59] CWA, 40, fo.143-5.
[60] In the lay subsidy of 1545, Lovell was rated for goods worth £2. *Dorset Tudor Subsidies*, p.109.
[61] CWA, 40, fo.145.
[62] See for instance, E. Duffy, 'The End of It All: the Material Culture of the Late Medieval English Parish and the 1552 Inventories of Church Goods', in *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (2012), pp.109-29.

Lovell was also involved in entertaining the chantry commissioners that year. Costs associated with their visit to Wimborne are recorded in the account for 1548-9.[63] There was a dinner for the 'comyssenors' at the home of one of the parish clerks, and perhaps a second dinner 'for alle… that dyde helppe them to make the ynvytory', including one Master Phillips, whom the churchwardens had petitioned separately to help them, at a cost of 20s. Lovell himself bought five quarts of wine and other provisions for the commissioners.

In Gloucestershire, among the county's chantry commissioners there is 'fragmentary evidence of a possible alignment of the county gentry based in part on religious preference'.[64] The same is true of the ten commissioners for Dorset and Somerset: Thomas Speke, Hugh Paulet, John St Loe, Thomas Dyer, William Morris, George de la Lynde, Robert Kelway, Robert Metcalf, William Hartgill and John Hanham.[65] More work needs to be done, but it is clear enough that Speke, St Loe, Dyer, Kelway, Hartgill and Hanham all enjoyed preference and patronage on account of their religion during Edward's short reign; and some would either voice resistance against the Marian regime in Parliament, or come under suspicion of supporting rebellion against the new queen.[66] Of all the commissioners for Dorset and Somerset, John Hanham will be most important to this chapter and to the rest of the thesis.

A resident gentleman of the parish, Hanham was one of the two men who surveyed the college and its chantries (**Figs. 22-24**). Before 1548, he had already benefitted from the dissolution of Sherborne Abbey, buying land at Abbotstreet in Wimborne parish; and he and his descendants would go on to benefit the most of all Wimborne's parishioners from the dissolution of the royal free chapel and its chantries, economically and socially.[67] His patrimony, as the younger son of Richard Hanham of Horsington, on the Dorset-Somerset border, is unknown; but he seems to have arrived in Wimborne in the 1540s, having married Alice, the daughter of John Orenge, who held land in Wimborne and was MP, variously, for Exeter (twice), Plymouth, and Wareham, as

[63] CWA, 40, fo.147-8.
[64] Litzenberger, *Reformation*, p.63.
[65] The Dorset chantry certificates, as well as records of subsequent purchases of chantry land that were enrolled, are very helpfully reproduced in 'Chantries'.
[66] The best accounts of these individuals and their careers are their entries in the *History of Parliament* series. 'Speke, Sir Thomas (1508-51), of White Lackington, Som. and London', 'St. Loe, Sir John (1500/1-59), of Sutton Court, Bishops Sutton, Som. and Tormarton, Glos.', 'Dyer, Thomas (by 1504-65), of Sharpham and Weston, Som.', 'Keilway, Robert II (by 1517-81), of the Inner Temple, London; Stepney, Mdx. and Coombe, Warws.', and 'Hartgill (Hargyll), William (by 1493-1557), of Kilmington, Wilts.'. Hanham is discussed below in detail.
[67] For Abbotstreet, see Hutchins, iii, p.235.

well as a justice of the peace for both Devon and Dorset, and a lawyer of some eminence.[68] The Middle Temple may have been where Hanham and Orenge met. In the 1545 subsidy, Hanham was assessed at £20 for lands, fees and annuities, and in 1547, for goods to the value of £40.[69] His first appearance in the churchwardens' accounts comes in the year of that second subsidy, when he rented 'a cloce in lytyll canvard' from the parish.[70]

Like the commissioners Robert Kelway, William Hartgill and Thomas Speke, Hanham had a close link to Edward Seymour, now Protector Somerset, whom he served in various capacities; and to whom he probably owed his return as MP for Poole, in 1547, and his appointment as chantry commissioner. The clearest evidence of Hanham's religion was his purchase in 1547 of the impropriate rectory of Poole and his installation there of Thomas Hancock, a formidable evangelical.[71] Hancock was already a controversial figure before he came to Poole, censured heavily for his preaching in Henry's reign by Bishop Gardiner and the bishop of Salisbury. He later wrote an 'autobiographical narrative' taking in his time at Poole, which he describes as the first place in Dorset to have evangelicals; 'every port of any significance around the coast between Hull and Exeter offers early reformers', and the fact that the area around Poole became a Seymour stronghold was probably not coincidental.[72] Hancock was immediately involved in an acrimonious dispute with a local conservative faction, and in foiling a potential conspiracy against Seymour that was announced in the market-place at Wimborne by 'Woodcock's wyfe', a well-known trouble-maker, and reported back to Hancock by two merchants from Poole. Later, during Mary's reign, he and his family went into exile in Geneva via Rouen.

Despite his evangelical tendencies and his connections to the Somerset regime, Hanham appears to have dealt sympathetically with his fellow parishioners. As Beat Kümin has shown, a parish's treatment depended on the attitude and energy of the official involved, as well as the credibility of

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[68] 'Hannam (Hammond), John (by 1519-59), of Wimborne Minster, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 7 March 2016. 'Orenge, John (by 1480-1538 or later), of London, Exeter and Plymouth, Devon and Wimborne Minster, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 7 March 2016.
[69] 'Hannam (Hammond), John'. *Dorset Tudor Subsidies*, p.109.
[70] CWA, 40, fo.143.
[71] J. Sydenham, *The History of the Town and County of Poole* (Poole, 1986 [1839]), pp.294 and 302. On Hancock, see C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), pp.175-6.
[72] 'The Autobiographical Narrative of Thomas Hancock, Minister of Poole', in *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J.G. Nicholas (Camden Society, volume 77; 1859), p.77. The quotation is from MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p.114. Seymour obtained the manors of Wimborne, Kingston Lacy, Canford and Poole. At his downfall, Thomas Palmer alleged that he planned to flee to Poole or the Isle of Wight with the apprentices of London. Brigden, *London*, p.507.

the parish's representatives, usually the churchwardens; John Prideaux, for instance, churchwarden of Ashburton, Devon, was able to convince his official that 'the only claim the Crown had on the parish church was in respect of a number of rent charges given to maintain obits and lamps'.[73] Hanham may simply have turned a blind eye to concealment and anticipatory sales; or he may actively have helped the parish to protect as much of its property as possible, regardless of the use it had originally been intended for.

Two circumstances suggest sympathy on his part. First, the certificates state that only the Great Chantry had any 'Ornamentes, Jewelles, plate or other goodes'; Redcott's chantry and Lady Margaret's chantry, which was vacant owing to the death of the incumbent, had nothing, and likewise the college's four prebends. Hanham recorded the Great Chantry's possessions as

> Jewelles iij challices, pez lv onz. Ornamentes, iij payre of old vestments, vjs., ij table bordes, j ladder, ijs. Item j challice belonginge to Seint James, pez v onz, ij basons of sylver & gilt gyven to the kinges majestie by the parishoners of wimborne aforesaid, pez 1 onzes = viij s. Cx onzes.[74]

This was hardly a valuable haul for a chantry of four priests. Wimborne's other chantries were far from alone in utterly lacking goods – a number of other Dorset chantries, fraternities and institutions lacked any – but it is noticeable that even some of the smallest chantries in the county had inventories similar to or matching that of the Great Chantry. Colleges such as Ottery St Mary, Devon, by contrast, handed in significant amounts of goods when they were dissolved.[75] The large amounts of gold, silver and plate that had been either sold or placed in the hands of individuals like John Lovell may have been from the college and the chantries, as well as the parish stock, which had been valued at £12 in the 1545 subsidy.[76] A survey of church goods was not returned for Wimborne in 1552, on account of a severe outbreak of contagion in the area, so even the roughest of comparisons with the subsidy figure is impossible.[77]

Secondly, it would appear that just one scrap of parish land was discovered that had been put to superstitious purposes, '*pro sustentatione unius lampadis in ecclesia parochiali ibidem ardentis in Wymborne Mynstre*'.[78] This flies in the face of the churchwardens' accounts, which reveal that the

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[73] Kümin, *Community*, p.208.
[74] 'Chantries', vol. 27, 221-2.
[75] *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary, Being the Ordinacio et Statuta Ecclesie Sancte Marie De Otery Exon. Diocesis, A.D. 1338, 1339*, ed. J.N. Dalton (Cambridge, 1917), pp.294-6.
[76] *Dorset Tudor Subsidies*, p.109.
[77] Barnes, 'Church Goods', 158.
[78] The land was sold in 1553. Chantries, vol. 30, 54.

parish owed far more of its income to land and property given for the purposes of commemoration; the property that supported Nicholas Manstiche's obit, for instance, or the tenement given in 1538 by John Bracy. Other land was also concealed, but later identified: in 1578, St James's chapel at Holt was discovered as concealed property and granted away, but soon came back into the hands of the parish; and in 1578, St Peter's chapel, now a disused church house, was granted as concealed property to William Tipper, the notorious 'caterpillar of the commonwealth'.[79]

The churchwardens' accounts otherwise show total outward conformity to the changes required. In 1547-8, payments for 'takyne downne the rode', for 'takene done the alebaster' – perhaps the figures around the high and other altars – and 'for castyn downe leddes'.[80] Some of the alabaster images were probably hidden, though: 19 portions of fifteenth-century alabaster are held in the Minster's chained library, and may have been part of a large retable around the high altar.[81] The churchwardens purchased a new Bible, as well as a 'manuell book' – possibly the Order for Communion of 1548.[82] In 1548-9, payments were made for taking down three crosses; and for buying three new Books of Common Prayer, two psalters, and a copy of Erasmus's *Paraphrases*, another prescribed book, with 'a chayne to make hem faste'.[83] Wimborne was one of just 42 parishes known to have bought the *Paraphrases* by the end of 1548.[84] In 1549-50, it cost the parish 4s for 'takyng doune the auters' and then 14s 8d for clearing 'the robell of the awters'.[85] Carvings appear to have been taken down as well. The next year, scaffolding was put up and the images on the rood-loft painted over; they may have been replaced with the king's arms, or scriptural text.[86] The loft itself remained, supporting the parish's great organs, which had been installed in 1533, and would remain intact until the collapse of the spire in 1600. Although no returns of church goods were made in 1552 for Wimborne and the Isle of Purbeck, the churchwardens appear to

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[79] The grant of St James's is recorded in *CPR, Elizabeth I*, vii, pp.405-7. The case of St Peter's is discussed in the chapter on music. On Tipper specifically, see J. Thirsk, 'The Crown as Projector on Its Own Estates, from Elizabeth I to Charles I', in R.W. Hoyle ed., *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558-1640* (Cambridge, 1992), p.322, and H.H. Lockwood, 'Those Greedy Hunters after Concealed Lands', in K. Neale ed., *An Essex Tribute: Essays Presented to Frederick G. Emmison* (1987), p.157. He is described as a 'caterpillar of the commonwealth' in a letter from Sir William Pelham to Secretary Conway: TNA SP 15 / 159 fo.166; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I, 1623-1625, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Record Office*, ed. M. Anne Everett Green, IV (1859), no.80

[80] CWA, 40, fo.144.

[81] E.T. Long, 'English Alabaster Tables in Dorset', *PDNHAS* 49 (1928), 112.

[82] Hutton, *Merry England*, p.85.

[83] CWA, 40, fo.145.

[84] Hutton, *Merry England*, p.86.

[85] CWA, 40, fo.152.

[86] Ibid, fo.154.

have complied with the survey of church bells that was included with the survey of goods and plate.[87]

The churchwardens' accounts also provide the only contemporary evidence for whether or not the chantry commissioners' recommendations were implemented. A preacher had been recommended, because there were, by the commissioners' reckoning, 1700 communicants in the parish. In making provision for a parish, the commissioners generally tried to maintain a ratio of one priest to every 400 communicants, and this was the recommendation at Wimborne: the four existing parish priests, and the parish clerks, were to remain.[88] The size of the parish and number of chapels was an added consideration.

> Memorandum to have iiij priests to Serve the Cure in the pish of wymbourne bicause ther be iij chappells wherein ther is devyn service bycause the Said Chappells be distante from the Churche of Wymbourne iij myles And is for the ease of the people…[89]

Ensuring the continuity of education at Wimborne, as elsewhere, was one of the highest priorities for the commissioners: three memoranda elaborate on the need for there to remain a grammar school in the town.[90] The first memorandum includes a note that 'Mr Cheke' has recommended 'Edmund Smith, master of arts' to be appointed, '*quousque*'. Mr Cheke can only have been Sir John Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.[91] The school probably needed a new grammar master because of the vacancy in Lady Margaret's chantry: no priest, no schoolmaster. The second memorandum adds that

> yt ys very requisite & necessary to have sayd Scole maynteyned for the towne of Wymborne ys a greate market towne & a thoroughfare & hath many children therin & ther ys no Gramar Scole kept within xij myles… at which place the poore men dwellyng in Wymbourne & nere thereabout are not able to kep ther Children…[92]

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[87] Ibid, 40, fo.159. See J.J. Raven and W.M. Barnes, 'Church Bells of Dorset', *PDNHAS* 27 (1907), 93-137.
[88] In some parishes the ratio could be much greater. Kreider, *English Chantries*, p.51.
[89] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 23.
[90] Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp.205-6.
[91] 'Chantries', vol.28, 20. On Cheke, see J. Strype, *Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt* (Oxford, 1821) and D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume I: The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.300 and 342-3.
[92] 'Chantries'. vol. 28, 20.

The school had previously taught 100 scholars. Finally, the commissioners note that there should be a hospital and a school at both Sherborne and Wimborne, those being 'the places most mete for the purpose'.[93]

At least one of the priests, Sir John Ace, definitely remained; but without wills or other suitable evidence, the fate of the other priests and the parish clerks is unclear, as is the appointment of the recommended preacher. Unclear too was the fate of the school, despite the commissioners' insistence that it should continue to be maintained. In 1549-50, Christopher Macham and John Foster travelled to London 'for the Schute of skowle to the councell', at a cost of £7 11s 9d. The 'Schute of skowle' probably concerned non-payment of the schoolmaster's wages. The financial arrangements for many grammar schools remained precarious enough in 1550 for Thomas Lever, a Protestant divine, to preach on the subject in his Lenten sermon to the king.[94] The churchwardens seem to have been paying the schoolmaster's wages – £3 6s 8d, perhaps a single term's wages – and also for his costs to accompany them to London, £5 2d; this money was distributed by a number of men including John Lovell, and for supporting the schoolmaster during his time in London, John Barne received 10s. Work, to a cost of £3 19s 5d, was done on the schoolhouse in that year, too.[95] Other payments may relate to the school, or instead to the Minster's new status as simply a parish church. In 1547-8 there is a cryptic payment 'to the Surver clarkes for copy owt The charter', and also a payment to 'the clarke for the retorne of our byll'.[96] The account for 1549-50 records a payment of £5 6s 8d to John Forrest for 'the charter setyng att london', suggesting further wrangles or technicalities.[97] There is also a payment of 10s for a series of 'Soplycacyons to my lord of bedforde' – surely John Russell, the first earl of Bedford.[98] As lord lieutenant of the western counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, Russell would have been a natural candidate to approach in the matter of the school or the new charter. But coming as they did in 1549-50, the supplications could very easily have been associated with the Prayer Book Rebellion, which left Dorset far from untouched, despite its centre and very bloody denouement being further west. Protector Somerset's government was sufficiently worried about

[93] Ibid.
[94] N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973), pp.282-3.
[95] CWA, 40 f.152. The schoolmaster was not the Edmund Smith recommended by Sir John Cheke, but rather a 'Master Willcher': Smith may never have taken up his post at Wimborne, or he may simply have been a temporary candidate.
[96] Ibid, fo.144.
[97] Ibid, fo.151.
[98] Ibid.

conditions on the Isle of Purbeck – a short distance from Wimborne – to call for the removal of ordnance from there to either Corfe or Poole.[99]

From the end of Edward's reign until 1563, and the founding of Wimborne's corporation, there is no contemporary evidence from within the parish, apart from a few wills; the churchwardens' accounts do not resume until 1564. Wimborne's experience of the reintroduction of papal authority and doctrine under Mary is therefore a complete mystery. On what scale did the refurbishment of the Minster take place?[100] Some former collegiate churches were refounded; Crediton, for example, enjoyed such re-foundation, under the direction of Cardinal Pole, who wished to restore the church's former dignity and resources, wresting back control from the lay corporation that was now governing the parish.[101] It seems difficult to imagine anybody, even Pole, re-founding a college in the Minster. Later material, including the important narrative written in 1657, says nothing of Mary's reign specifically, but reveals that the uncertainty about the school's future did continue, and that it contributed directly to the founding of the parish corporation.[102] The narrative describes the period between 1547 and 1563 as follows:

> the sayde Colledge Chauntery [Lady Margaret's] & Free chappell [St Peter's] were all disolved by the statute 2[0] Ed: 6: & the said Tythes Lands & Hereditaments [the endowment of the college, chantries and chapels] by the same statute came to the Crown & were sometimes afterward occupyed as a farme of the Crowne there being then allowed to the schoole master of the sayde schoole ten pounds twoe shillings & eleven pence & to the fower ministers & fower Clerkes aforesaide forty pounds by the yeare; But there beeing noe certaintye for the Continuance thereof & the sayde church & chappell being then but meanely served, & the inheritance of the sayde Lands & some of the Tythes alsoe being solde away to particular persons, certaine of the cheife of the said parish with the consent of the rest of the parishioners, out of a Godly Zeal did by the meanes of the Lord Mountjoy the then Lord of Canford the next adioyning parish to wimborne, procure of the late Queene Eliz in the fifth yeare of her Raigne a patent…[103]

For his help, Lord Mountjoy was given £100, and a lease of all the corporation's tithes for a period of 21 years. Material from an Exchequer case of 1598 also reveals that at least £200 was raised by the parishioners toward the cost of obtaining the patents; whether Mountjoy's sweetener was taken

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[99] A. C. Jones, '"Commotion Time": The English Risings of 1549' (Ph.D thesis, University of Warwick, 2003), p.74. On Russell, see D. Willen, 'Russell, John, first earl of Bedford (c.1485-1555), courtier and magnate', *ODNB*, accessed 17 February 2016.
[100] Financing the revival was a serious consideration. See for instance, R.H. Pogson, 'Revival and Reform in Mary Tudor's Church: A Question of Money' in C. Haigh ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.114-38.
[101] Orme, 'Crediton', pp.97-131 and *The Church in Devon: 400-1560* (Exeter, 2013), p.125.
[102] Cornish-Dale, 'A History'.
[103] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.

from this amount is unclear.[104] Within ten years, the parishioners would club together to raise another £100 for Mountjoy, for the surrender of his lease; like many lay impropriators, he may have proved an aggressive master.

The corporation's mandate was to support three priests and three clerks in the Minster, as well as a grammar school taught by a single grammar master.[105] Its endowment was to come entirely from the parish tithes, including tithes that had been leased to laymen after the dissolution of the royal free chapel, and various small customary payments once owed to the deans of the college; the yearly value of these possessions was estimated to be £89 18s. The corporation was also granted all the ecclesiastical powers that had belonged to the college. In a break with the medieval past, however, the bishop (now the bishop of Bristol) was to be given limited oversight of the school: this was in keeping with Queen Mary's order that all schoolmasters should be examined and licensed by bishops, which her successor kept in force.[106] In return, the corporation must pay a rent of £40 a year to the crown.

The corporation was to be self-selecting, a closed corporation, with election for life, unless a member left the parish or resigned his place. There were to be twelve governors. Thirteen were named in the letters patent, however, which must be the best evidence that they were the 'certaine of the chiefe of the… parish' who had led the petition. Among them were Richard Hanham, the heir of John Hanham, and three other gentlemen, and a number of substantial yeomen.[107] This initial composition reflects the further stipulation that members were to be drawn from the 'more discreet and honest' of the parishioners.

So why a parish corporation, and not some other form of governance? The arrangements at Wimborne were very rare, although not without precedent. The parishes of Crediton and Ottery

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[104] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 4 / 2.

[105] The grant is recorded in *CPR, Elizabeth I*, ii, pp.577-9. Copies of the foundation charter are also held under DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2.

[106] N. Orme, 'The Later Middle Ages and the Reformation' in N. Orme ed., *Unity and Variety: A History of the Church in Devon and Cornwall* (Exeter, 1991), p.78. It is unclear whether Wimborne had fallen under the jurisdiction of the ordinary as a result of the dissolution.

[107] The four gentlemen were Edward Twynyho, Richard Hanham, Clement Hyett and John Welsted. Hyett had been MP for Wareham, and would be on two further occasions. Phillip Gibbs, John Starr and Robert Pitman all disposed of significant amounts of money and goods in their wills, and John Foster and William Ettrick were both assessed for goods in the 1545 subsidy. For Hyett, 'Hyett, Clement (by 1534-72/74) of Wimborne Minster, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 16 March 2016. The wills of Gibbs and Starr are DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 43 and 72; the will of Pitman is TNA, PROB 11 / 69 / 56. For the subsidy assessments, see *Dorset Tudor Subsidies*, pp.109-10.

St Mary, both in Devon, also came to be governed by lay corporations.[108] Ottery St Mary's corporation had been founded by letters patent on 24 December 1545, and at first consisted of just four governors; in 1552 it was augmented by a further eight governors. Crediton's corporation was established in 1547, when a group of parishioners paid Henry VIII £200 to purchase the church, then threatened with demolition. The payment was then acknowledged by Edward VI and led directly to the establishment of a corporation of 12 governors. It may be no coincidence that all three parishes had been home to a collegiate church in the Middle Ages; and the collegiate church of Crediton was a peculiar, like Wimborne, although an episcopal peculiar. The three parishes were also abnormally large, centring on a town and a rural hinterland, and the parish tithes valuable.[109]

In Wimborne's case, Lord Mountjoy's influence may have been a decisive factor. Mountjoy was very careful to protect his interests in the local area at this time, and was very sensitive to the problems incorporation might present. For many years he frustrated the attempts of the townsmen of Poole for incorporation, seeing in them a threat to his lordship of the manor of Canford, of which the town was a part. Finally, the townsmen approached the second earl of Bedford, who was able to obtain the desired charter; Mountjoy's cost had been £100.[110] Perhaps, then, Mountjoy wished to protect a particular interest of his in Wimborne too by limiting the extent of incorporation. But what interest? Nor is there any evidence for a move towards fuller civic incorporation that he might have wished to frustrate or limit. In one sense, this is surprising, because Wimborne was precisely the sort of town whose inhabitants might seize upon the dissolutions to increase their rights and jurisdictions. A particular vehicle to do so was often a powerful local guild, one which had grown into a kind of shadow government, especially if the local seigneur was an absentee, like the dean and the lords of Kingston Lacy; this happened in Bury St Edmunds, Wisbech and Saffron Walden, for instance.[111] Regime-changes of this sort were often the culmination of previously frustrated efforts to acquire greater jurisdiction and rights by

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[108] On Ottery St Mary, see *Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary*, especially pp.292-302, for the dissolution of the college and the establishment of the parish corporation; see also G.H. Cook, *English Collegiate Churches of the Middle Ages* (1959), pp.79-83. On Crediton, L. Snell, *The Suppression of the Religious Foundations of Devon and Cornwall* (Penzance, 1967), pp.90, 95-6 and 132, Orme, 'Crediton', pp.169 and 180.

[109] The foundation charter of Wimborne's corporation notes the size and populousness of the parish. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2

[110] Tittler, *Towns*, pp.166-70.

[111] See M.K. McIntosh, 'Local Change and Community Control in England, 1465-1500', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 49:3 (1986), 226, and R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), pp.91-3. On Bury St Edmunds, see the introduction to *Accounts of the Town Lands of Bury St Edmunds, 1569-1622*, ed. M. Statham (Woodbridge, 2003).

townspeople, for townspeople. For medieval Wimborne, by contrast, there is no clear evidence of a master guild; although there was a guildhall and a number of guilds.[112] Nor is there much evidence of conflict over rights and control of assets within the medieval town: the only evidence comes from the thirteenth century, when the lords of Kingston Lacy were involved in a dispute with the dean over markets.[113]

So the establishment of Wimborne's corporation was both a response to the dispersal of the property of the college and its chantries (causing a threat to pastoral provision and education in the parish), and a part of that ongoing process. The better to understand how economic and religious power were redistributed after 1548, that longer process, which continued into the 1590s, must now be considered.

	Gross total	Rents resolute	Fees	Net total	Ornaments
Deanery	£51 5s 6d	£6 13s 4d	£6 6s 8d	£38 5s	None
Sacristan	£8 17s 2d	£3 14s 10d		52s 4d	None
Redcott's chantry	£5 13s 4d	5d ob		£5 12s 10d ob	None
Brembre's chantry	£34 7s 5d	£10 2s 4d		£24 5s 1d	Listed in detail above
Lady Margaret's chantry	£11 17s 4d	15s 2d ob		£11 2s ob	None
1st Stall	£18 10s	£10		£8 8s	None
2nd Stall	£18	£10 4s 10d		£7 15s 2d	None
3rd Stall	£23	£10 4s 10d		£12 15s 2d	None
4th Stall	£17 5s 10d	£10 4s 10d		£7 13d	None
Chantry of St Jacob's, Holt	£5 6s 8d	None		£5 6s 8d	None

Fig. 22 Values of positions in the Minster and its chantries, 1548

[112] CWA, 40, fo.22. On the guilds, see Hutchins, iii, p.202 and the will of Peter Pope, husbandman, from 1530, in which a number of payments to guild lights in the church are made: TNA, PROB 11 / 27 / 296.
[113] *CCR, Henry III*, iii, p.359. On the markets within the town and parish, see Reeve, 'Wimborne Minster and Holt Markets and Fairs'.

	1535	1548
Lady Margaret's chantry	Edward Laborne	Empty
Redcott's Chantry	Thomas Yeroth	Simon Benson
Sacristan	Thomas Yeroth	Simon Benson
de Brembre's chantry	John Ace, Edmund Thorpe, Walter Gardner	John Ace, Walter Matthew, John Stone
Dean	Reginald Pole	Nicholas Wilson
1st Stall	Richard Sparkford	Richard Sparkford (John Ace vicar, John Clifford secondary)
2nd Stall	John Starkey	Thomas Mills (John Clark vicar, Richard Clement secondary)
3rd Stall	Thomas Mills	John Walker (Walter Matthew vicar, Richard Hart secondary)
4th Stall	George Lilly	John Kulles (John Godding vicar, John Morris secondary)
Chantry of St Jacob's, Holt	William Shart	John Reynolds

Fig. 23 Incumbents 1535 (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*) and 1548

	Stipend / money left after all deductions
Lady Margaret's Chantry (empty)	£10 2s 10d
Simon Benson (Redcott's)	£5 2s 2d ob
Simon Benson (sacristan)	£4 15s 8d
John Ace (de Brembre's chantry)	£6 14s 4d
Walter Matthew (de Brembre's chantry)	£6 14s 4d
John Stone (de Brembre's chantry)	£6 14s 4d
Nicholas Wilson	£34 6s 7d
Richard Sparkford	£6 19s 5d
John Ace (vicar)	£6 13s 4d
Thomas Mills	£6 6s 5d
John Clark (vicar)	£6 13s 4d
John Walker	£11 8s 8d
Walter Matthew (vicar)	£6 13s 4d
John Kulles	£5 16s 8d
John Godding (vicar)	£6 13s 4d
John Reynolds	£4 16s

Fig. 24 Stipends 1548

iv The dispersal of college and chantry property, 1549-90

The chronology and number of sales and leases after 1547 can be ascertained, as far as possible, from a range of sources: the records of the Court of Augmentations, many of which were catalogued and reproduced by the Dorset antiquarian E.A. Fry; entries on the patent rolls; and other documents such as the corporation's letters patent.[114] Although the main part of the college's endowment was tithes, the sales and leases show that the college and chantries had other significant possessions, and that the Great Chantry, at least, had acquired other possessions since its foundation in 1355. These sources vindicate, yet again, Robert Tittler's call to consider the dissolutions, especially the dissolution of the chantries, as events whose effects were played out over a longer period than most historians had previously allowed.[115] At Wimborne, the grants and leases of land, tithes and rights continued until the end of the century. One of the most important grants for the future of the town and parish did not come until July 1590, when members of the Hanham family acquired significant possessions and rights within the parish, including control of its markets and fairs.

All the college's former possessions, including the right to the advowson, first came into the possession of the crown at Easter 1548, before the right to the advowson passed to Protector Somerset.[116] On 11 July 1548, he also acquired the manor of Wimborne and other possessions in the town.[117] The first recorded purchase of college and chantry land was in February 1549, when Richard Ware and Bartholomew Gibbs purchased the farm of the mansion house of the Great Chantry.[118] There were four other sales of college and chantry land that year, three from the lands of the Great Chantry and one from the office of the sacrist, and a lease of a portion of the parish tithes, to William and John Aubrey.[119] In 1550, there were three separate purchases of land or buildings, including the chapel of St Catherine, otherwise known as the 'Armitage'.[120] Having been removed from the protectorship in October 1549, on 4 June 1550 Somerset was granted, or re-

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[114] Many purchases, especially tertiary and quaternary purchases, were 'seldom enrolled so that the modern researcher might systematically track them down'. Tittler, *Towns*, p.113.
[115] Ibid, p.52.
[116] *CPR, Edward VI,* i, pp.124-33.
[117] *CPR, Edward VI,* ii, pp.27-9.
[118] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 71.
[119] Ibid, 68 and 70. *CPR, Edward VI,* ii, pp.199-203 and 429-31. The lease is recorded in the corporation's letters patent. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2.
[120] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 60. *CPR, Edward VI,* iii, pp.255-7 and 374-86.

granted, the lordship and manor of Wimborne, as well as Canford, Kingston Lacy and other possessions in Dorset.[121] In 1551 the college itself, 'the site of the free chapel', was granted to Lord Clinton and Saye; this must mean where the dean and prebendaries had had their lodgings, to the south of the Minster, on the present-day site of Dean's Court.[122] In 1552, Clinton and Saye was also granted the farm of the college mansion-house; and Somerset's holdings, including the manor of Wimborne, were taken back into the hands of the crown, after his trial and execution.[123] 1553 was a busy year for redistribution, with 13 purchases of land, buildings and rights.[124] One of the most important purchases that year, at least for worship in the parish, was a 21-year lease of a large portion of the parish tithes to Thomas Boxley, a local gentleman.[125] On top of an annual rent to the crown, Boxley had to pay the salary of one of the ministers of the church, £6 13s 4d, and a further £3 6s 8d to one of the clerks. This arrangement might well have been one cause of there 'beeing noe certaintye for the Continuance' of worship: perhaps Boxley was unforthcoming in his payment of the minister and the clerk's wages.[126] In his will, at least, dated 5 October 1561, Boxley was generous to the parish: he gave a meadow called Rushley, with one half of the profits going to the poor and the other to good works in the town, and an acre of land which was to be put to the use of St Margaret's almshouse in perpetuity. As administrators of these gifts, he appointed Christopher Macham and John Welsted, who were both among the first members of the parish corporation.[127]

Busier still was the first year of Mary's reign, with 14 purchases.[128] The next grants came in 1560: two grants of college and chantry property.[129] In 1561, a small amount of land was leased.[130] The

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[121] *CPR, Edward VI,* iii, pp.430-2.
[122] *CPR, Edward VI,* iv, pp.203-12.
[123]'Chantries', vol. 29, 61-2.
[124] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 60-3, 68, 70, 74 and 76, and vol. 30, 54. *CPR, Edward VI*, v, pp.153-6 and 295-7. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2
[125] This lease is also contained in the corporation's charter. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2. Boxley is referred to as 'Thomas Boxley of Wimborne Minster' in a lease of a messuage and curtilage in Wimborne from 25 November 1560. DHC, PE-WM / CH / 11 / 1 / 1. The lease was from Thomas Chyffe of West Lulworth. Boxley was also involved in a Court of Requests case against one William Lovell, over rent belonging to a late chantry in Shaftesbury; TNA, REQ 2 / 6 / 36.
[126] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[127] On Boxley's charity, as it became, see DHC, PE-WM / CH / 17 / 1. The churchwardens' account for 1564-5 records the rent from Rushley's, 15s, as does the next year's account, which describes the land as 'a meade Called Rusheleye whiche was geven by Thomas boxleye deceassed to the Church and the poore people of the hole paryshe'; CWA, 40, fo.162 and 166.
[128] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 63-4, 68-9, 71 and 75-7. *CPR, Philip and Mary*, i, pp.122-7, 130-2, 152-4, 339-42 and 469-72.
[129] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 73. *CPR, Elizabeth I*, i, pp.248 and 276-7.
[130] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 65.

sales and leases continued over the next three decades, but their number and pace decreased significantly: between 1562 and 1590, 13 other grants are recorded in the patent rolls or as sales certificates.[131] Among those grants were the grants of concealed land mentioned in the previous section.[132]

1590 was an especially important year for the town and parish, with Thomas, the second son of John Hanham, and James Hanham, Thomas's cousin, purchasing a significant amount of former properties and rights of the college and its chantries, including the manors of Wimborne, Leigh and Wilkesworth and the rights to the town's markets, as well as rents and other rights once belonging to the monastery of Abbotsbury and priories in Somerset and Wiltshire.[133] The rectory and church of Shapwick, once part of the Great Chantry, was leased and then re-leased twice in the 1590s – in 1594, then 1597 and 1599, in each case with the right of advowson reserved to the crown.[134]

It is a difficulty of all the records of chantry and college sales, and not just Wimborne's, that many of the ultimate recipients of the land and possessions sold cannot be identified. It is quite noticeable that, apart from the Hanhams, Thomas Boxley, Thomas Hall, and the Turbervilles of Winterborne Whitechurch (including George Turberville, the minor poet), none of the recorded purchases or leases were made by residents of Wimborne or the immediate local area, either directly or inferably.[135] Of course, the use of agents may have masked such acquisitions. Frequently, purchasers employed agents to conceal their activities: a grant of land would be secured and paid for by the agents on their employer's behalf, and then a licence obtained to convey

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[131] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 65-7, 69 and 72. *CPR, Elizabeth I*, v, pp.485-7 and vii, pp.223 and 405-7. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 26 Elizabeth I, 1583-1584 (C 66 / 1237-1253)*, ed. S.R. Neal (L&ISP, Volume 287; 2001), p.61. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 27 Elizabeth I, 1548-1585 (C 66 / 1254-1270)*, ed. L. J. Wilkinson (L&ISP, Volume 293; 2002), p.179. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 29 Elizabeth I, 1586-1587 (C 66 / 1286-1303)*, ed. L. J. Wilkinson (L&ISP, Volume 295; 2003), pp.44-5. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 30 Elizabeth I, 1587-1588 (C 66 / 1304-1321)*, ed. S.R. Neal (L&ISP, Volume 297; 2003), pp.154-9. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 31 Elizabeth I, 1587-1588 (C 66 / 1322-1336)*, ed. S.R. Neal (L&ISP, Volume 300; 2004), pp.27-30.

[132] The grants of concealed lands are in *CPR, Elizabeth I*, vii, pp. 405-7; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 30 Elizabeth I, 1587-1588 (C 66 / 1304-1321)*, ed. S.R. Neal (L&ISP, Volume 297; 2003), pp.154-159; and *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 31 Elizabeth I, 1587-1588 (C 66 / 1322-1336)*, ed. S.R. Neal (L&ISP, Volume 300; 2004), pp.27-30

[133] DHC, D-HNM / A / 1 / 2.

[134] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 36 Elizabeth I, 1593-1594 (C 66 / 1405-1424)*, ed. S.R. Neale (L&ISP, Volume 309; 2005), p.184; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 39 Elizabeth I, 1596-1597 (C 66 / 1458-1476)*, ed. S.R. Neale and C. Leighton (L&ISP, Volume 322; 2005), p.129; and *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 42 Elizabeth I, 1599-1600 (C 66 / 1517-1547)*, ed. C. Smith, S.R. Neal and C. Leighton (L&ISP, Volume 332; 2010), pp.50-1.

[135] Hall, a local gentleman, was appointed one of the parish governors in 1593, as recorded in the governors' minute book. MB. A Thomas Hall purchased a 21-year lease of lands of the Great Chantry, on 4 July 1587. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 29 Elizabeth I*, pp.44-5.

the purchases to the employer. The emergence of an identifiable class of agents is quite marked. It appears to have happened around 1542, in response to and on behalf of an increasing number of individuals who had unsuccessfully sought grants in person. These agents bought scattered estates and properties all over England and 'sold them almost at once in bulk or in parcels… at little or no increase in the purchase price'.[136]

John Hanham definitely used agents on more than one occasion to purchase monastic and chantry land. Before the dissolution of the royal free chapel, he used Walter Hodges to purchase property that had belonged to Sherborne Abbey, and in 1550, three men, Thomas Reve, John Johnson and Henry Herdson, to make a large purchase of the royal free chapel's property.[137]

Thomas Reve also acted as an agent for Thomas Boxley, purchasing Rushley Mead, which Boxley would later bequeath to the parish.[138] Reve must be the Thomas Reves with whom Boxley made a number of purchases of chantry and chapel land elsewhere in Dorset: the free chapel of Little Mayne; various possessions of the chantry of St Anne de la Gore, in Shaftesbury; the possessions of Gulden's chantry in Langton Long, Blandford; a parcel of land in Melcombe Regis, formerly of the college of St Stephen's, Westminster.[139] Reve was the most prolific purchaser of ecclesiastical land in Wimborne. For the most part, his activities were localised between February 1553 and the end of July 1554. He made a single purchase on his own, on 7 June 1553; ten with George Cotton, another gentleman from London, between 10 February 1553 and 21 June 1554; three with Giles Isham, two of which were made on 15 July 1554, the third eight days later; and three with John Johnson and Henry Herdson – a single grant on 1 February 1550, and two on 2 May 1550. At this time Reve and Cotton were purchasing land elsewhere in Dorset and in Wiltshire, including pasture in Pewisham Forest, and a prebend in the late royal free chapel of St Mary Magdalene in Bridgnorth Castle, Shropshire.[140] In the second year of Mary's reign, Reve and Isham bought land together at Frampton, Dorset, formerly of St Stephen's College,

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[136] Snell, *Suppression*, p.115. See also R.B. Outhwaite, 'Who Bought Crown Lands? The Pattern of Purchases, 1589-1603', *HR* 44:109 (1971), 18-33.
[137] For Abbotstreet, Hutchins, iii, p.235. *CPR, Edward VI*, iii, pp. 168 and 374-86.
[138] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 76.
[139] Respectively, 'Chantries', vol. 29, 41, 55 and 58, and vol. 31, 94-5.
[140] The Dorset purchase is in 'Chantries', vol. 31, 100. The Wiltshire purchase is TNA SP 11 / 4, fo.28; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Mary I, 1553-1558*, ed. C.S. Knighton (1998), no.118.

Westminster.[141] All of Reve's co-purchasers were probably agents too. Giles Isham, also of London, certainly was.[142]

v A town diminished but not destroyed?

Travelling through Cerne in the 1620s, Thomas Gerard presented a sorry image of the town, some 80 years after the dissolution of its once-great abbey, founded by Æthelmaer Cild, ealdorman of the western shires, in 987.

> The Abbie Church is nowe whollie ruinated, and onlie a smalle Parte of the House standing… Adjoineing to the Abbie stands the Towne, which by Suppression of it lost its Livelihoode, and nowe remaines (as most Abbie Townes) but poore, having noe certaine Trade for the Releefe; onlie still they enjoye a Weeklie Markett and some Faires, procured longe sithence by their antient Lordes, then Abbots.[143]

So too Milton, 'which surelie is not the richest, having lost the chiefe Help, the Abbot, by whose Procurements they still enjoye a Weeklie Markett, and some Faires'.[144]

Gerard described Wimborne as 'surelie… much more commendable for what it hath beene than for what it is'. But the town had never depended so utterly, as Cerne and Milton had, upon the existence of its religious community; the college had never dominated social or economic life in the same way at Wimborne. While pilgrims had visited the Minster, it never proved as popular as Dorset's venerable abbeys; rather than stacks of pilgrim money, there was the wool trade and Wimborne's position on the inland trade route from Poole. Nor did the town ever rely so totally on the leadership of the deans, who had always been absentees; the governance of the town was also the prerogative of the lords of Kingston Lacy. The parishioners had well-established and effective mechanisms of self-organisation, the churchwardenship in particular, that allowed them to complete projects as ambitious as the construction of a new bell tower, at their own expense;

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[141] 'Chantries', vol. 31, 100.
[142] Snell, *Suppression*, pp.120, 172.
[143] Coker, pp.66-7. On Cerne, J.H. Bettey, 'The Dissolution and After at Cerne Abbas', in K. Barker ed., *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures* (Cerne Abbas, 1988), pp.43-54.
[144] Coker, pp.83-4.

and they used those mechanisms to mobilise themselves against religious change, and to represent their own interests, close to home and in the capital.

Still, much had changed, not least the distribution of wealth in the parish and ultimate control over worship. It could hardly be disputed that the dispersal of the college and chantries' possessions was a great transfer of power into lay hands. Where the overwhelming majority of impropriations had been vested in religious communities during the medieval period, the dissolutions brought about a massive transfer of impropriated tithes to lay ownership; and the vesting of the parish tithes in the hands of Wimborne's new corporation is just one example of that broader process.[145] And of another important process: a tendency towards oligarchy seen in many other towns, such as Beverley, whose new corporation was also closed like Wimborne's and drawn from the upper strata of local society.[146]

Some things remained – substantial things. Most obviously, perhaps, there was the Minster itself, made all the more imposing by the destruction of the county's abbeys and most of the monastic churches. Over the coming decades, the fabric of the church and its remnants of the medieval past would provide a fit setting for an unusually rich liturgy, thoroughly Protestant, which restored some of the Minster's aura and dignity; not so much a parish church, like all the others, as a 'parish great church', according to one Dorset gentleman of the 1640s.[147]

More enigmatic things, too. Take Cuthburga, whose official worship had disappeared from the parish in 1538. Her roots in local identity – not just in objects and architecture, but also in the landscape, physical and aural, even the rhythms of life – were deep; although that depth cannot fully be measured.[148] Her day continued to order life and business in the parish for decades after 1538. A fair was still held on the Sunday closest to her feast, and still called 'Cudberye feyer' as it had been until at least 1596-7, when its control passed out of the hands of the churchwardens.[149] The official business of the consistory court still took note of that day: a churchwardens' presentment for 1595 begins on 'Cuthburga's even last' and details an attempt on 'Cuthburga's day' to drug a woman with spiked prunes.[150] Places: 'Catborough acre' in a grant of 1550,

[145] See, for instance, L. Kaufman, 'Ecclesiastical Improvements, Lay Impropriations, and the Building of a Post-Reformation Church in England, 1560-1600', *HJ* 58:1 (2015), 1-23.
[146] Tittler, *Towns*, pp.140, 186-9.
[147] TNA, PROB 11 / 196 / 442.
[148] On the enduring popular attachment to pre-Reformation holy sites and saints, see A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape* (Oxford, 2011), especially chapters one and two.
[149] CWA, 41, fo.63. For Wimborne's markets and fairs, see Reeve, 'Markets and Fairs'.
[150] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 18.

'Cudborough feilde' in a grant of 1585, 'Cutborough Poole' in an inquisition post-mortem of 1626.[151] The Cuthburga bell was still the Cuthburga bell in the churchwardens' accounts until 1566-7, and then, simply, "the great bell".[152] But those who knew where to look – on the bell itself – would still have seen its original dedication until 1629, when the bell was re-cast.[153] The new inscription, paid for by the parish, notes that original dedication, preserving it to this day: '*Mr Wilhelmus Loringe Me Primo Fecit in Honorem Stae Cuthburgae*'.

But when is a wink no longer a wink? Which is to say, the meaning of actions and things – symbols – can change dramatically from one context to another.[154] By the mid-1570s, the corporation was already proceeding with the establishment of a market-day lectureship, one of the main vehicles for further reformation after 1558.

[151] 'Chantries', vol. 29, 60, 65-6. *Dorset IQPM*, no.24.
[152] CWA, 40, fo.173. On the survival of traditional bell inscriptions more generally, see R. Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.178-80.
[153] CWA, 41, fo.225-6.
[154] The wink reference is to Clifford Geertz's essay 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp.3-32.

PART TWO

V: 'Long Inquire for a Precher': preaching and reformation at Wimborne, 1563-94

> …when you have any preaching neere you absent not yourselfe upon any occasion and bee an instrument, as you meete with opportunity of procuring sermons from your frendes and acquintance [sic].[1]

[1] Advice given by Sir Richard Grosvenor to his son. Quoted in R. Cust, 'Sir Richard Grosvenor and the Rhetoric of Magistracy', *HR* 54: 129 (1981), 42.

i Magistracy and ministry; the godly

The corporation's establishment was described in a later account, written in 1657, as a product of 'Godly zeal'.[2] Little evidence survives to substantiate the religion of the early members of the corporation, beyond a few wills giving no indication of any kind of fervour, or of the parishioners who contributed as much as £200 towards the costs of the letters patent; but there is certainly no reason to assume that 'Godly zeal' – that is, Protestant zeal – had not been one of the chief motivations.[3] First, there is the presence of a member of the Hanham family, Richard Hanham, among the first governors and, presumably, among the 'certaine of the cheife of the… parish' who had led the efforts to obtain incorporation.[4] Little is known about him, and the evidence for his religion can only be inferred by looking backwards and forwards: backwards, to his father's role in the Edwardian Reformation in Wimborne, Poole and the wider county; and forwards to the role in parish life that would be played by his brother and subsequent generations of the Hanham family, such that a family tradition of leading religious reform in the parish can be established, and Richard placed within it.[5] His brother Thomas will be central to this part of the thesis, and Thomas's children, John and Thomas, too. As a result of the dissolution of the royal free chapel, the Hanhams became the wealthiest and most influential family in the parish, and a member of the family was usually to be found at the head of the corporation before 1640.

Secondly, there is the role played by Mountjoy Blount in obtaining the corporation's letters patent. Although he was an obvious candidate for a group of local townspeople to approach when seeking a charter of incorporation, and received a sweetener in the form of a lease of the parish tithes, there is good reason to believe he would have been sympathetic to a godly enterprise. In 1561, he had been the recipient of dedications in two thoroughly reformist tracts: Henry Bennet's *Lyves of M. Luther, J. Ecolompadius & H. Zuinglius*, and Jean Veron's *The Ouer Throw of the Iustification of Workes*. Bennet, in particular, attributed Mountjoy a 'zeal towards good religion', placing him beside his father, Charles Blount, as the inheritor of a tradition of humanistic learning;

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[2] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8. See also DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 4 / 2.
[3] Of the first governors, wills survive for Phillip Gibbs, John Starr, Robert Pitman, William Ettrick and Richard Hanham. They are, respectively, DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 43 and 72; and TNA, PROB 11 / 69 / 56, 11 / 58 / 178 and 11 / 54 / 519.
[4] That phrase is used in DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[5] Richard Hanham's will is no real help; although it is definitely austere, and contains not one bequest that could be labelled 'traditional'. TNA, PROB 11 / 54 / 519.

at his own father's choosing, Charles had been tutored by an associate of Erasmus, and received printed dedications from Juan Luis Vives and also Erasmus himself.[6]

The first definite evidence for 'Godly zeal', that the corporation was at the hotter end of the Protestant spectrum, where hopes were entertained of further reformation in the Church of England, comes from the early-to-mid 1570s, when the corporation began a determined attempt to establish a lectureship.[7] That attempt finally came to fruition in the early 1580s, and forms the subject of this chapter. This chapter also forms a counterpart to the next chapter, describing the parish's musical regime after 1558. The separation of sermon and music into discrete chapters is not intended to reinforce what has long been presented as a major antagonism in English Protestantism after 1558: the separation is merely to aid comprehension.[8] In fact, the corporation saw the preaching and music they provided as complementary aspects of an unusual 'cathedral order of service' which has implications for a broader understanding of Protestant culture, in England and abroad.

Between 1550 and 1662 lectureships were 'not the only manifestation of the Puritan laity's zeal for reformation… [but] undoubtedly the most conspicuous evidence of the Puritan laity's driving determination to obtain a godly, "painful", preaching ministry'.[9] Such were the hopes invested in an educated and godly preaching ministry by those who have more often than not been labelled 'Puritans', that some came to doubt whether a non-preaching minister was even a minister at all.[10] The suppression of lectureships and attempts to disrupt the funding of preachers, including the dissolution of groups like the Feoffees for Impropriations, were among the most grievous and heavily felt blows struck against the 'Puritans' in the 1630s. The governors showed great determination to ensure their lectureship would be occupied by a university-educated preacher with good experience.[11] They were willing to experiment for a period of years, testing candidates for suitability, seeking diverse recommendations and leveraging a network of local and national contacts. That network can only be adumbrated in the early period of the corporation's existence;

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[6] J. P. Carley, 'Blount, Charles, Fifth Baron Mountjoy (1516-1544)', *ODNB*, accessed 8 March 2016.
[7] The phrase 'hotter sort' of Protestant is Patrick Collinson's. P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967), pp.26-7.
[8] P. McCullough, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?' in A. Ryrie, N. Mears and E. Cameron eds., *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham, 2013), p.109.
[9] P. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: the Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (1970), p.54.
[10] Collinson, *Bancroft*, pp.101-2.
[11] On the importance of raising the standards of the ministry, especially to those who wished to see further reformation, P. Collinson, 'Clerus Britannicus Stupor Mundi', in *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), 92-140.

but its later membership and extent will be more clearly revealed, as well as the factors that sustained it – affinity, kinship, patronage, friendship, occupation and shared political service. The evidence of wills in particular reveals that network to be just as William Hunt described the 'Puritans' of Jacobean Essex: 'a mutual aid society, sharing both material and spiritual resources'.[12] This chapter will end in 1594, with the first of the corporation's 'star-signings', Thomas Norman, who was brought to Wimborne from the employ of the second earl of Pembroke; his fractious ministry will be treated in detail. By that time, the corporation was paying its lecturer more than double the average wage of a London lecturer.[13]

Wimborne's lecture took place every Friday, when the market was in full swing.[14] The fact that the lectureship was also a market-day lectureship, in 'a greate market towne & a throughfare' (the chantry commissioners), also reveals more of the corporation's intention in founding it.

> It is widely recognised that towns were vital to the advancement and dissemination of Protestantism under the Tudors: both as centres where official religious policies were showcased, and as obvious platforms for the spread of evangelical ideas through both print and preaching. Market day lectures and combination exercises… came to be focused in towns under the patronage of borough elites.[15]

Who attended the lectures? What did they hear? How did they respond? None of these questions can really be answered; the best evidence for actual preaching at Wimborne at this time is for Sunday preaching. There is at least circumstantial evidence to show the presence in Wimborne of traders from outside the town; men such as John Pitt of Blandford had their own regular standings in the market, for instance, and materials for the fabric of the Minster were regularly sourced from places like Poole, especially.[16] People might have come to Wimborne specifically for the sermon too, and not just because they were already there for the market. Although the Minster's ancient constituencies, as evidenced in gifts and bequests, had all-but vanished at a stroke in 1548, a few

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[12] W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an England County* (1983), p.232. The importance of networks is also manifest in work on Stratford-upon-Avon, Shrewsbury, Coventry and London. R. Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience in Warwickshire Market Town: Stratford-upon-Avon, 1530-1580', *Midland History* 32 (2007), 68-109; B. Coulton, 'The Establishment of Protestantism in a Provincial Town: A Study of Shrewsbury in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:2 (1996), 307-35 and 'Implementing the Reformation in the Urban Community: Coventry and Shrewsbury, 1559-1603', *Midland History* 25 (2000), 43-60; D. Hickman, 'Religious Belief and Pious Practice among London's Elizabethan Elite', *HJ* 42:4 (1999), 941-60.

[13] In 1600, the average value of a London lectureship was only £16 4s, compared to the £40 Wimborne's lecturer was paid. Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, p.150.

[14] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.

[15] M. Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich c.1560-1643* (Woodbridge, 2005), p.16.

[16] CWA, 41, f.64.

gifts and bequests continued to come from outside the parish in this later period; the Minster retained a pull, and the lectureship could well have increased it. The governors themselves had important links within the wider area, to godly gentlemen in places like Blandford, Poole, and even as far away as Exeter and south Devon. Joseph Collett, for instance, governor between 1611 and 1621, made a generous donation of £4 to the poor of Torbay in his will, probably because of some personal or business connection to the town.[17]

The notion of 'magistracy and ministry' has been a key tool of exposition for historians of English Protestantism after 1558, and especially historians of the hotter sort, desirous to continue the work of reformation.

> The equal and reciprocal value of civil office and ecclesiastical office was a matter on which John Calvin was insistent, and the magistrates and ministers of Elizabethan and Jacobean Suffolk were never more Calvinist than in their understanding that these roles stood in equal need of each other, and the christian commonwealth of both.[18]

Even those ministers who were either too impatient for further reformation or believed that a unilateral movement was needed, paid lip-service to this ideal by claiming that they and their associates should not – and would not – 'tarry for the magistrate'.[19]

Wimborne's parish corporation was, by its very nature, a strong vehicle for this reciprocal ideal; and a fulfilment of the persistent demand for discipline on the Genevan model, with a local court providing for spiritual correction.[20] Its range of powers and independence perhaps bear closer resemblances to the congregational model (independent congregations providing their own constitutions and appointments) than the presbyterian model (government based on an equality of ministers, with the help of lay elders) advanced by separatists of the time. The corporation had considerable powers to set the tone and content of local religious life, and the means of their delivery: to collect the parish tithes; to appoint three ministers and three clerks; to maintain a parish consistory court for trying and punishing moral and spiritual offences, and to appoint the official of the court; to govern the parish grammar school, appointing a schoolmaster and

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[17] TNA, PROB 11 / 139 / 138.
[18] P. Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature', in his *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (1983), p.446.
[19] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p.14. Also K. Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525-1590* (Cambridge, 2014), pp.131-57.
[20] M. Ingram, 'Puritans and the Church Courts' in C. Durston and J. Eales eds., *The Culture of English Puritanism* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.63-8, and *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987), p.5.

determining the curriculum, including religious teaching. And all of this could be done without or with an absolute minimum of episcopal involvement.

Parishes with their own peculiar jurisdictions came quickly to be seen as 'nurseries of nonconformity'. One such parish was the Minories in London, which claimed a time-hallowed exemption from the local bishop and from civic authority; there, the parishioners appointed curates totally of their own choosing and protected ejected ministers.[21] The absence of ecclesiastical oversight in places like the Minories was a boon; but it was not always necessary. Many if not most such experiments took place under the local bishop's nose; although it helped the less that was literally true. Witness, for instance, the effects of the Scottish Presbyterian David Black on the Cornish parish of Kilkhampton, at a distance from the bishop's seat in Exeter; or the 'Geneva-style reformation… pioneered' by Percival Wiburn in Northampton.[22] Generally, however, these 'novel combinations… that smacked of presbyterianism… soon fell foul of the existing hierarchy', especially after the death of the Earl of Leicester and the new freedom this allowed Archbishop Whitgift and his allies, including the tenacious Richard Bancroft, later archbishop of Canterbury himself.[23] In 1602, Dorset's half-dozen peculiars were described as 'the common seats of schismatics' in a list among various diocesan papers now in the Bodleian.[24] But there is no explicit evidence for presbyterian or congregational tendencies at Wimborne between 1558 and 1640, nor – despite the alarmism of the 'seats of schismatics' epithet – of unsought ecclesiastical intervention; not until the 1630s, that is. Membership of an unreformed Church of England may have seemed a milder yoke for a parish to bear when it could essentially choose its dealings with the local bishop, and administer its own discipline; and, in fact, the governors chose to maintain reciprocal relations not only with the bishop of Bristol, but also the bishops of Salisbury and of Bath and Wells.

Elizabethan and early Jacobean Dorset might easily be dismissed as a backward-looking, recidivist county; a place where only a fire so devastating as to seem nothing else but a divine judgement,

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[21] For differences among the early separatists of Elizabeth's reign, and the different models of a truly reformed church that they advanced, P. Collinson, *Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2013), pp.83-5. H. Gareth Owen, 'The Liberty of the Minories: A Study in Elizabethan Religious Radicalism', *East London Papers* 8 (1965), 81-97, and 'A Nursery of Elizabethan Nonconformity, 1567-72', *JEH* 17 (1966), 65-76.

[22] Collinson, *Bancroft*, pp.49-50 and 96.

[23] Ingram, 'Puritans and the Church Courts', p.68. Collinson, *Bancroft*, pp.83-102.

[24] Bodleian, Tanner MS. 129, no.19. R. Lloyd, *Dorset Elizabethans at Home and Abroad* (1967), p.67. On schism during this period, see J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England 1558-1689* (2000), chapter two, 'The Protestant Theory of Persecution', especially pp.28-9.

could drive people towards reform. That scenario, of course, is familiar from David Underdown's book, *Fire from Heaven*, which has exerted perhaps a disproportionate influence, given the general lack of work on the county's religious history at this time. Before its Great Fire of 1613, the county town, Dorchester, 'had no great reputation as a centre for reformation', and was part of a wider county in which recusancy flourished, especially in the rural areas.[25] Underdown gives considerable weight to the diary of Thomas Hancock, the evangelical minister brought to Dorset by John Hanham at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI: Poole, Hancock wrote, was the only part of the county that contained Protestants at that time – and then an embattled minority.[26] Underdown also mentions William Kethe, who preached an incendiary sermon at the assizes at Blandford, in 1571.[27] An uncompromising minister and writer of polemics, Kethe had spent most of Mary's reign first in Frankfurt and then in Geneva, as his attitude hardened yet further. After his return to England, he was appointed to the rectory of Child Okeford, Dorset, in 1561, and also preached for a time at the Minories in London. In his assize sermon, he warned Dorset's magistrates that 'there are in this country many thynges farre out of frame': 'shamefull and trayterous libels cast abroad, or set up in the chief Townes… by seditious and wicked papists'; 'the poore Ministers… misused', surrounded by 'dissembling Papistes'; but most of all the 'inconstancy of the multitude' and the 'great disorders' caused by 'Papist' customs such as church ales – 'abuse of the Sabbath daye, bulbeatings, beare-beatings, bowlings, dicying, cardying, daunsynges, drunkeness, whoredome'.

Actually, Elizabethan Dorchester was not quite the sink, the lost cause for reform, Underdown has claimed.[28] Circumstances there look much more like those of, say, Elizabethan Suffolk than he allowed.[29] Contrary to his claim that by 1600 'few, if any, of the governors of late Elizabethan Dorchester seem to have had any vision of an alternative to the way their community, and its problems, was run', there is good evidence of an 'embryo alliance' of magistracy and ministry within the town and beyond it.[30] From the early 1580s, a network can be traced that takes in the

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[25] Underdown, *Fire*, p.17.
[26] Ibid.
[27] The biographical details about Kethe are taken from J. Fielding, 'Kethe, William (d.1594), religious polemicist and translator', *ODNB*, accessed 2 May 2017. Quotations from the sermon itself are taken from the printed edition, *A Sermon made at Blanford Forum in the countie of Dorset on Wensday the 17. of Ianuarij last past at the session holden there, before the honorable and the worshyppefull of that shyre, by William Kethe minister and preacher of Gods word* (1571).
[28] C. Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling the Fire from Heaven: Protestantism in Dorchester before the Great Fire', *PDNHAS* 138 (2017), 34-43.
[29] D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986).
[30] Underdown, *Fire*, p.23. Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling', 35.

godly minister William Chubb, a native of the town and rector of Frome Zelwood, Somerset; the JP and MP George Trenchard, also a native of Dorchester; Sir William Paulet, the third marquess of Winchester and a patron of various charitable causes in the town with Trenchard, including the grammar school; and the Thynne family of Longleat. As in Elizabethan Bury St Edmunds and Norwich, and in John White's Dorchester 30 years later, preaching was a fundamental concern, and Trenchard in particular was 'such a furtherer and favourer of true Christian religion, and of the preachers and ministers thereof' that a number of printed editions of sermons were dedicated to him; these include a compilation of two sermons given by Chubb in Dorchester in 1584 or 1585, probably at Trenchard's insistence.[31] In the preface to his two sermons, Chubb likened Trenchard to the Biblical Josiah, the archetypal godly ruler, because 'in him was first found lyberality, in disbursing money toward the building of [the temple of God], then wisedom in appointing godly overseers to see it well doone, and last of all care, in having skilfull workmen to doo it'. In the sermons themselves, while seeking to educate his audience on the nature and meaning of Christ's redeeming Passion, Chubb issued an exhortation to the magistrates. 'I am perswaded the small care & great ease that our cheefe builders have, is the cause that the worke [the building of the temple of God] goeth not forwarde': nobody, however great or humble, is above this work, and must submit themselves to fulfilling their designated role, 'in unity of spyrite', like the limbs of a body.

If Elizabethan Dorchester was not as 'farre out of frame' as Kethe or Underdown would have it, neither was Wimborne. Unlike Elizabethan Dorchester, many of whose records perished in the Great Fire of 1613, Wimborne has good evidence of popular support for the governors' early efforts to establish a skilled preaching ministry. But whether these efforts were part of a grand 'moral crusade', a spiritual rebirth for the parish, in this early period is unclear. For one thing, the consistory court material is too fragmentary and too late for comparison across the mid- to late sixteenth century, surviving only from the end of the 1580s; and the parish register also begins too late (1635) to allow trends in bastardy rates to be charted as an index of immorality. The town's grammar school would also, potentially, have been a means to make the town a node of Protestant instruction in the area. The chantry commissioners had noted that the school was the only one within a 12-mile radius, and that children attended it from the town and 'nere thereabout'.

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[31] The quotation is from the preface to John Mayo's tract, *The Popes Parliament* (1591). Mayo, who was probably the rector of Cattistock, Dorset, dedicated the work to Trenchard, singling him out as especially worthy for his support of preachers and for the service he had done during the Armada crisis. Chubb's sermons were printed as W. Chub [sic], *Two fruitfull and godly sermons preached at Dorchester in Dorsetshyre, the one touching the building of Gods temple, the other what the temple is* (1585).

Although the evidence is again slim (no curricula, no list of pupils), the grammar school does appear to have been used for godly instruction in combination with the lectureship, especially after the appointment of Thomas Norman as lecturer, in 1594.

Norman's arrival appears to signal a hardening of attitudes among the corporation. By that point, the most important members of Wimborne's corporation were all definitely lawyers, a profession with an elective affinity for reform throughout the later medieval period and beyond. The Middle Temple, home of many of Wimborne's lawyers, began employing lecturers by the start of the 1570s, and the Inns of Court as a whole were later identified by Archbishop Bancroft as a den of Puritan 'seducers'.[32] Of Wimborne's governors, the Hanhams, the Halls, the Humfreys and Henry Dackombe were all definitely Middle Temple lawyers, as were two of the corporation's most important associates, Richard Swayne and Walter Vaughan.[33] The exact influence of this commonality, and how much of the corporation's business was determined at Wimborne and not, say, in London, is a mystery. But certain of the more powerful members were clearly in far more intimate confidence with one another than they were with the rest, and must have discussed matters outside the corporation's regular official meetings. Much went unrecorded, as an ordinance of 25 October 1647 confirms: 'It is ordered at this Conference that whatsoever agreement or election or order shall be made by the sayd Governors shall be entered in this booke'.[34] Thomas Hanham, for instance, appears only once as present in the minutes of the corporation, in 1579, and yet his influence and contacts can be detected again and again in the corporation's decisions. The earlier minutes are, however, much fewer and farther between than the later, and when Thomas's son and namesake, also a lawyer, came to occupy his father's place atop the corporation, he headed almost every list of members. On occasion, when he was not present at an official meeting, he was consulted separately, as if – no doubt because it was the case – his approval was crucial, especially for new appointments. Other lawyers, such as John Gundry and Nicholas Humfrey, were present far more regularly.

The same is true of the influence of the humbler members of the corporation. In a dispute of 1594-5 that reached Privy Council, the schoolmaster referred to them as 'rurall persons of small capacitie… verie simple persons and of no capacitie fit for the government [of the parish and school]'. While that was probably the prejudice of a university graduate talking – of godly

[32] On lawyers and reform, A.G. Dickens, 'The Protestant Reformation in England and France', in *Reformation Studies* (1982), p.463. Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, pp.64-5.
[33] Their names feature throughout *Middle Temple Records*, ed. C.H. Hopwood (1904), i and ii.
[34] MB.

Magdalen Hall – it is still true that a gulf of wealth, contacts and influence separated the Hanhams from the governors drawn from the parish's yeomanry.[35] That said, there is no evidence of dissent in the surviving papers of the corporation, or indeed of un-godly beliefs in the wills of the corporation's lesser members – no traditionalist preambles or bequests, for instance. If men like Thomas Hanham took the lead, there is no reason to believe the rest were not prepared to follow.

A final, terminological, note, concerning the validity of the term 'Puritan' and its derivations. The story of Thomas Norman's ministry, as told in chapter three, could easily be taken as an archetypal story of specifically 'Puritan' division. Norman, of course, would never have described himself as a 'Puritan', which by the seventeenth century was already a capacious pejorative; nor would he necessarily have seen the disruptions of his ministry as an undesired or unintended – 'it was the preacher's job to cause a stir'.[36] He would instead have preferred a term such as 'godly', a 'gospeller' or 'hot gospeller', a 'professor of true religion' or even a 'saint'; although these preferred terms, like 'Puritan' and 'precisian', could also be used as terms of abuse – especially 'saint', so redolent of hypocrisy and self-aggrandisement.[37] While the basic premise of the hostile notion of 'Puritanism' is quite sound – that there was within English society a group or groups of people identifiable by the quality of, and most of all the commitment to, their Protestantism – the use of a term like 'godly', to be used throughout, instead avoids the almost unavoidable association of 'Puritanism' with social control, humourless killjoy behaviour and especially a desire for separation from the structures of the parish and, ultimately, the Church of England.[38] Intensity is perhaps the key attribute of godliness – hence 'the hotter sort' – but any definition is better seen as one of

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[35] The schoolmaster was Giles Lawrence. See J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, iii (1891), p.887. The dispute is TNA, SP 12/253, fo.83. On Magdalen Hall, S. Porter, 'University and Society', in N. Tyacke ed., *The History of the University of Oxford, IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), p.64.

[36] C. Haigh, *The Plain Man's Pathways to Heaven: Kinds of Christianity in Post-Reformation England* (Oxford, 2007), pp.40-1. A kind of shock and awe was an essential part of many godly preachers' repertoire. Robert Bruce, for example, 'made alwayes ane earthquake upon his hearers', as was his intention – even apparently reducing King James I to tears on one occasion. A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford, 2013), p.354. Disruption of the parish structure was also essential to the creation of gathered churches, before and after the 1640s.

[37] See P. Collinson, 'The Godly: Aspects of Popular Protestantism' in *Godly People*, pp.1-18, and P. Lake, 'Anti-Puritanism: the Structure of a Prejudice' in K. Fincham and P. Lake eds., *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.80-97.

[38] P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982). The introduction to J. Coffey and P. Lim eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, 2008), pp.1-15 contains a useful summary of the issue of definition.

familial resemblance, on the lines of one of Wittgenstein's games, rather than a fixed essence.[39] Close self-scrutiny resulting from the Calvinist doctrine of predestination; an emphasis, sometimes overwhelming, on the importance of preaching; a desire for further reformation within the Church of England, especially on matters such as clerical attire but also perhaps episcopacy – these are some of the necessary, but not necessarily sufficient, elements.[40]

Interpretive space not just for variance but also divergence among the godly must also be maintained. Michael Winship has seen in the development of 'Puritan practical divinity' in the 1580s, 'not an Elizabethan Calvinist consensus, but a Calvinist dissensus, a superficial unity under which significant fault lines were forming, a dissensus that would lurch along under increasing strain until it fell apart in the 1630s and 1640s'.[41] This point will be important when considering some of the practices followed by the godly at Wimborne, whether a fondness for choral music, requests for funeral sermons or the exchange of *memento mori* jewellery: they could always be objected to by a John Knox or Thomas Cartwright, or approved of by a John Hooper or William Perkins. The governors were certainly godly in their emphasis on regular, high-quality preaching. What they were as a result of the elaborate music they provided may be less certain; perhaps they were an anomaly – but one that can still enrich our understanding of English Protestantism and its possibilities.

ii Establishing a lectureship

The religion and character of the local bishop, like local gentry culture and politics, and popular desire for reform, were crucial in the reception and securing of the Elizabethan Reformation. In Suffolk, for instance, the see was occupied between 1560 and 1575 by John Parkhurst, a Marian exile who was deeply reluctant to discipline Protestant enthusiasts.[42] And there were many of them in the county, whose enthusiasm was cultivated and sustained by the local gentry and JPs. More

[39] Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp.26-7. Ryrie's *Being Protestant* is a very convincing argument for a broad-based Protestant culture during this later period, one that could accommodate both the godly and the less ardent.
[40] See the introduction and first six essays in Durston and Eales eds., *Culture of Puritanism*.
[41] M. Winship, 'Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospelers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s', *Church History* 70: 3 (2001), 481.
[42] MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, pp.184-91.

than in other parts of the kingdom, this 'vigorous grass-roots Protestantism' drew on clear continuities of dissent 'on the basis of earlier Lollardy'.[43] By the 1580s, in Suffolk towns like Bury St Edmunds, and across the border in the regional capital of Norwich, the Biblical ideal of the 'city on the hill' was being brought close to fruition. William Burton, a preacher in Norwich during that decade, later wrote of his time there, 'Oh the heavenly harmony and sweet amitie that then was amongst you from the highest to the lowest! The magistrates and the ministers imbracing and seconding one another, and the common people affording due reverence and obedience unto them both'.[44] Burton had been forced to leave the city in 1589, apparently on account of a sermon that had made him an 'enemy to Caesar'.[45]

In Gloucestershire, by comparison, the Elizabethan Reformation proceeded in marked contrast to Suffolk, and indeed to Gloucestershire's own progress between 1535 and 1553. After 1558, progress in the diocese of Gloucester was set back by an 'absence of effective episcopal leadership', and by the 'ineffectiveness and corruption' of the diocese's consistory court; so that by 1580 the work of making Gloucester 'a predominantly Protestant county and diocese… had only just begun'.[46] The county had once had an effective and aggressive bishop-led system.[47] In 1535, Hugh Latimer had been made bishop of Worcester diocese, of which Gloucestershire remained a part until its elevation to diocese status in 1541. He 'immediately began to promote his beliefs throughout the diocese', standing out 'as one of the most vigorous proponents of the new religion in England'.[48] A change of intensity followed under the diocese of Gloucester's first bishop, the traditionalist John Wakeman; but white heat was restored with the appointment of John Hooper in 1550, who issued 'what may have been the most detailed set of visitation articles, injunctions and inquiries issued during the sixteenth century'.[49] Those efforts found some popular support, especially in areas like the Forest of Dean, which had a history of absenteeism from worship.[50]

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[43] Ibid, pp.157, 167 and 285.
[44] The quotation is taken from Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry', p.445. For Norwich, see Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, especially pp.63-85.
[45] Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, p.63.
[46] Ibid, pp.126-31, 167. See also F.D. Price, 'The Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes for the Dioceses of Bristol and Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 59 (1937), 61-184 and R.B. Manning, 'The Crisis of Episcopal Authority during the Reign of Elizabeth I', *JBS* 11:1 (1971), 1-25.
[47] Like that of Richard Cox, in Elizabethan Ely, for instance. S. Wenig, 'The Reformation in the Diocese of Ely during the Episcopate of Richard Cox, 1559-77', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33:1 (2002), 151-80.
[48] Litzenberger, *Reformation*, pp.32 and 35.
[49] Ibid, p.68.
[50] Ibid, p.28

Viewed from above, the situation in Dorset after 1558 was as unpromising for reform as in Gloucester diocese, largely because the administration of the two was intimately tied. In 1542, most of Dorset had been transferred to the newly created diocese of Bristol, apart from 30 or so parishes that remained part of the dean of Salisbury's peculiar.[51] The new administrative arrangements did not make themselves well known even in time, and as late as 1577 the Privy Council was still unaware of their exact workings. In that year, the Council wrote to the bishop of Bath and Wells to ask for a list of all the known recusants in the archdeaconry of Dorset. The bishop replied that he had never administered it, forwarding the Council's letter to Dorset's deputy-lieutenants, who pleaded in turn that the situation was such that no list could easily or quickly be produced.[52] If ever an effective leader was needed in a bishop's palace, Elizabethan Bristol did not have one: the see was either occupied *in commendam* by the bishop of Gloucester, or vacant and under the distant custody of the archbishop of Canterbury.[53] The destruction of the early records of the bishopric during the Chartist riots makes detailed investigation of the bishopric's administration at this time difficult, apart from the character and reputation of the bishops themselves.

For the first four years of Elizabeth's reign, the archdeaconry of Dorset was administered by the archdeacon, John Cotterell, who had remained in place since the reign of Edward VI: the Marian bishop, John Holyman, had not been replaced. So in 1561 the mayor and corporation of Bristol petitioned the Privy Council to ask either for a bishop of their own, or else that the bishopric should be joined to Bath and Wells.[54] Their request was only half-granted, or perhaps not granted at all, in 1562, when Richard Cheney, bishop of Gloucester, was given Bristol *in commendam*. Worst of all for the mayor and corporation of godly Bristol, Cheney was considered by many Protestants to be 'an Infidill of his Religion'. Caroline Litzenberger has contrasted his 'articulate' and 'energetic' defence of his conservative beliefs with his 'lethargy' in adminstering both of the dioceses under his control, especially Gloucester, arguing that one followed from the other: his administrative style allowed him to 'conceal his support for those of similar piety'.[55] The mayor and corporation of Bristol soon complained about him, after a sermon he preached in the city, and

[51] This exclave is considered in Ingram, *Church Courts*.
[52] Lloyd, *Dorset Elizabethans*, pp.69-70. TNA, SP 12 / 116, fo.21.
[53] This following discussion of the archdeaconry of Dorset's administration depends especially on Lloyd, *Dorset Elizabethans*, pp.67-70, as well as other sources, where specified.
[54] TNA, SP 12 / 22, fo.8.
[55] C. Litzenberger, 'Richard Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester: An Infidel in Religion?', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25:3 (1994), 567-84. See also, J. R. Ladley, 'Cheyney, Richard (d.1579), bishop of Gloucester', *ODNB*, accessed 3 May 2017.

in 1571 he was excommunicated for failing to appear at Convocation and subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Later absolved, Cheyney never administered Bristol diocese again. The archdeaconry of Dorset continued to be administered by John Cotterell until 1579, when it passed into the direct authority of Canterbury for two years; and then, with Gloucester *in commendam* again, to John Bullingham.[56] While Bullingham's conformity to the Elizabethan Settlement was less doubtful than Cheyney's, his capability was another matter; in the Marprelate Tracts, for instance, he was singled out for ridicule among the bench, with an absurd mock St John's Day sermon.[57] Only the final Elizabethan bishop of Bristol, Richard Fletcher, was a prelate of both unquestionable orthodoxy and ability; but he was appointed primarily, it would seem, to secure the renewal of episcopal leases that were about to lapse, and as chief almoner spent most of his time in Chelsea.[58] After his translation to Worcester in 1593, Bristol lay vacant for ten years.

Aloof from this administrative mire, the governors of Wimborne were able to pursue a course of reformation along lines of their own choosing. Once the surviving records of the receivers of their income begin, in 1574, there is evidence that the governors were seeking to expand the amount of preaching available to the parishioners, by means of visiting preachers.[59] The corporation, sensibly, tested the waters first, before it established a permanent lectureship, increasing yearly the number of occasions on which visiting preachers came. Before this point, it is unclear how much the resident ministers preached. As in the late Middle Ages, when a 'quarterly exposition in English on the basics of the faith' had been prescribed by canon law, Elizabethan rectors were obliged to provide quarterly sermons.[60] The capabilities of the resident ministers at Wimborne between 1558 and the early 1570s are likewise obscure; but Sir John Ace, who remained at Wimborne from 1530 to 1569, was a learned man with serious intellectual interests – those Latin books, that alembic and still.

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[56] This paragraph is drawn from C. Litzenberger, 'Bullingham, John (d.1598), bishop of Gloucester', *ODNB*, accessed 3 May 2017.
[57] Collinson, *Bancroft*, p.62.
[58] B. Usher, 'Fletcher, Richard (1544/5-1596), bishop of London', *ODNB*, accessed 3 May 2017.
[59] These records begin in the year after Lord Mountjoy's lease of the parish tithes was redeemed. It may be that the governors had kept much less detailed or even informal records for the rent they received from him; although their expenditure would still have needed to be documented.
[60] It should not be assumed that ritual was emphasised to the near-exclusion of preaching in the medieval Church. On this point, L. Wooding, 'From Tudor Humanism to Reformation Preaching' in H. Adlington, P. McCullough and E. Rhatigan eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2012), pp.329-47. Marshall, *Pastoral Ministry*, p.15 and B. Usher, 'New Wine into Old Bottles: the Doctrine and Structure of the Elizabethan Church', in S. Doran and N. Jones eds., *The Elizabethan World* (Abingdon, 2011), p.207.

Payments for visiting preachers begin in the second of the extant accounts of the corporation's receivers, from 1576-7. All the visiting preachers, as far as they can be identified, came from parishes in the surrounding area and region. In 1576-7, a 'preacher from Piddle' came: probably Thomas Genge or Gouge, rector of Puddletown.[61] Gouge had been appointed to the rectory by Lord Mountjoy, who may have recommended him to the corporation; no hard feelings, then, about the early redemption of Mountjoy's lease of the parish tithes, four years earlier. In 1577-8, a Mr Coke preached: perhaps Thomas Coke of Gillingham.[62] In 1578-9, two preachers came: an unnamed preacher from Salisbury and a Mr Hill.[63] The former was probably John Barkley; the latter, Adam Hill, rector of Gussage St Michael and Studland, both in Dorset, and vicar of other benefices in the diocese of Salisbury.[64]

The governors' intention to found a permanent lectureship was well established by 1579; and they were in contact not only with local gentlemen but also seeking recommendations from the Church hierarchy. The criteria were set: a university education and preaching experience. The governors apparently wished to combine the role of preacher and schoolmaster at this stage. In May and again in June of 1579, the bishop of Salisbury's chancellor Thomas White sent them a candidate with his personal recommendation: 'After longe inquire for a precher for whome yow have a long time thirsted and longed for y have sent yow this bearer a man to me but latelye knowne and to me for his learnyngs and honest conditions well commended'.[65] This was John Barkley, a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford who had preaching experience at Wells Cathedral. On his second visit, in June, he brought with him further testimony to his abilities from Thomas Bayley, a canon residentiary of Wells.[66] White provided further assurances: 'the man hathe a benefice in Somer sette shire and will be content to forsake yt to service in your churche, the causes of these his meanynge he will declare unto yow as yow hathe but me in trust to provide an apte man for yow so i pray yow accepte him with your goodle favor'.[67] Barkley was fit to be both preacher and

[61] RA, 2. CCED, 69575.
[62] RA, 2. CCED, 68299.
[63] RA, 3.
[64] CCED, 70193.
[65] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 2.
[66] Ibid. CCED, 40282. Bayley was also a canon of Bristol.
[67] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 2.

schoolmaster, White claimed.[68] The corporation agreed; but 'long sootes in law' with a Mr Bowyer – the reason for Barkley's eagerness to quit his benefice in Somerset? – prevented him.[69]

The governors seem to have preferred consulting with Salisbury rather than Bristol at this time. In 1573, when negotiating a tithe increase with the parishioners, the governors had sought the mediation of the bishop of Bristol, probably as a matter of course, given the terms of their letters patent. But since the establishment of a lectureship was completely optional, the governors had freedom to choose. On another occasion in 1579, regarding clerical discipline (optional?), the governors again looked to Salisbury, not Bristol, for advice. In September of that year, a few months after Barkley's second visit to Wimborne, John Craddock and John Gundry rode to 'Duckton' to speak with the bishop of Salisbury and Thomas White 'concerninge the disorder and disobedience of Robert Fosse clerk'.[70] Fosse's misdemeanours were serious enough for him to have been dismissed by the following January.[71] Why Salisbury and not Bristol? Administrative conditions in the diocese of Bristol were surely an influence. After Richard Cheyney's death, in April 1579, the vacant diocese had passed directly into the control of the archbishop of Canterbury, and would remain there for two years. Cheyney's well-known heterodoxy may also have left a lasting taint, and was in marked contrast not only to the spirit of the governors' undertaking but also to the religion of the then-bishop of Salisbury, John Piers, and of his predecessors Edmund Guest and especially John Jewel.[72] Salisbury was also closer, and the parish had centuries of cooperation with the medieval bishops behind it, which included the interchange of personnel and devotional materials, the apprehension of excommunicates and the administration of the parish's three perpetual chantries.[73]

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[68] Ibid.

[69] At the end of 1579 he wrote to the corporation to explain his difficulties. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 2. The progress of the governors' unsuccessful attempts to bring him to Wimborne can be followed in their minute book.

[70] MB. Various expenses accrued during the consultations over Fosse are listed in the receiver's account for that year. RA, 3. Correspondence about Fosse is contained in DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 2. Fosse may be Robert Forsey, who was rector of Stanbridge (also known as Hinton Parva), a church which owed a customary due to the corporation. CCED, 91549. RA, 1.

[71] Ibid.

[72] C. Cross, 'Piers, John (1522/3-1594), archbishop of York'; J. Freeman, 'Guest, Edmund (1514-1577, bishop of Salisbury'; and J. Craig, 'Jewel, John (1522-1571), bishop of Salisbury', *ODNB*, accessed 10 May 2017.

[73] Martin de Patteshull, dean of Wimborne in the early thirteenth century, probably took the cult of St Cuthburga to Salisbury from Wimborne, and from there into the Sarum Use. Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry' and R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p.383. See also appendices I, II and V in Coulstock.

After their failure with John Barkley, the corporation settled instead on Adam Hill and appointed him to the dual role on a stipend of £30; but he too was unable to take up the position, apparently by the need to acquire a license of dispensation.[74] The corporation was again leveraging its local gentry contracts. In Hill's case, Charles Vaughan of Shapwick, who had presented Hill to Gussage St Michael: he was a close friend of Thomas Hanham's and a co-servant of the 2nd earl of Pembroke, Henry Herbert.[75] The shared Pembroke connection is an important one for the Hanhams and for Wimborne. John Hanham, Thomas's father, had been a client of the first earl, and father and son were both returned as MP for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis by means of Herbert patronage. Vaughan, meanwhile, served both the first and the second earl, and owed to the first earl his return as MP for Shaftesbury in 1572. With Thomas Hanham he also witnessed the second earl's sale of the Dorset manor of Cranborne to Thomas's cousin James Hanham.[76]

The search for a permanent lecturer continued into the early 1580s. In 1580-1, four or five preachers visited: Mr Lancaster at Christmas and on 22 May; a preacher from Blandford, who came with a Mr Keynell – perhaps Thomas Keynell of nearby Spettisbury – on 15 May; a Mr Middleton, who came once on 10 August and again at an unspecified time; and a Mr Lockett, on August 28th.[77] Lancaster and Lockett both held rectories in Dorset: the former, Rampisham and Combe Keynes, as well as Donyatt in Somerset; the latter, Warmwell and Corscombe.[78] Both men were graduates. Lancaster was also a canon of Wells Cathedral, which suggests the governors had remained in contact with Thomas Bayley. Until 1581, the visiting preachers had only been paid between 3 and 10s for individual visits, but the following year Lockett was retained for a wage of £5.[79] His preaching may have impressed the corporation enough that he was given a regular or semi-regular position; if up to 10s was paid for a single visit, he could have preached as regularly as once a month.

At last, in 1582-3, the corporation settled on William Smith as its first lecturer, having already found a replacement schoolmaster. The corporation paid Smith £19 in his first year and £20 annually thereafter.[80] Smith may also have preached in the Minster on a Sunday as well, as his

[74] MB. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 2.
[75] CCED, 70193.
[76] 'Vaughan, Charles (d.1597), of Shapwick, Dorset; later of Falstone, Wilts.', *HOPO*, accessed 14 May 2017.
[77] RA, 4. For Thomas Keynell, 'Keynell, Thomas (by 1534-76 or later), of Hinton St Mary and Spettisbury, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 9 May 2017.
[78] CCED, 71162 and 71557 respectively.
[79] RA, 5.
[80] RA, 6-9.

successors did. At the time of his appointment, he was the rector of Sturminster Marshall and had once been the schoolmaster at Eton College, to whom he owed his appointment to Sturminster.[81] Eton may have recommended Smith: Wimborne's grammar school was supposed to follow the curriculum of either Eton or Winchester, and this implies established contact with the schools. But as just three or four miles separate Wimborne and Sturminster – no greater distance than separates the Minster from its chapel at Holt – and the two places had long-standing links, it is just as likely that Smith was already known locally. When he died on 15 September 1587 he was buried in the Minster, and commemorated with a brass memorial.[82]

iii Popularity and Protestantisation I

Who among the corporation is likely to have provided the impetus for the lectureship? The first full record of the corporation's membership after 1563, is given in a minute of 24 September 1579, written as follows: Thomas Hanham, *armiger*; John Studley, gentleman; John Gundry, gentleman; Robert Pitman; Thomas Habgood; James Macham; Simon Welsted; William Goddard; Richard Russell; Thomas Rolle; William Mackerell; and Nicholas Cox.[83] The next full list dates to 1594, just after the death of Thomas Hanham. Of the twelve listed in 1579, there is only good evidence for the religion of two men: John Gundry and Thomas Hanham.[84] Gundry and his wife would be intimates of Thomas Norman, and part of an extended godly network in the county and wider region. With regard to Thomas Hanham, one of the early candidates, Adam Hill, was probably a recommendee of Charles Vaughan, Hanham's friend and fellow servant of the 2nd earl of Pembroke; and the Hanham-Vaughan-Pembroke connection was definitely at work in the appointment of Thomas Norman. Gundry and Hanham, then, must have been among the prime movers.

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[81] CCED, 90931.
[82] Hutchins, iii, p.213.
[83] MB.
[84] Wills may survive for Robert Pitman, Thomas Habgood and Richard Russell, but they give no indication of anything other than mere orthodoxy. Studley was clearly an important member of the corporation, contributing substantially to ease its cash-flow problems, described below. He may also later have been a member of the parish vestry or select vestry with Thomas Norman and Gundry.

So many accounts of the Reformation in towns tell of governors moving out of step with the governed, whether by advancing too far, too fast, or by dragging their heels or digging them in. In Beverley, for instance, the ruling elite was more conservative than the rest, and thwarted efforts for further reformation; the opposite was true of St Mary's Shrewsbury, where the administrative pre-conditions were favourable for a Geneva-style reformation, but the parishioners refused to follow the local preacher.[85] The evidence suggests that this was not necessarily the case at Wimborne – at least not in the first three decades of the corporation's existence.

First, the use of a chapel within the parish was apparently discontinued in order to fund the lectureship. St Stephen's at Pamphill was one of only two medieval chapels to survive into Elizabeth's reign. Details about its use are all but non-existent; but by the 1570s, unlike St James's chapel at Holt, it appears to have been rarely frequented, if at all. The parish history from 1657 states:

> And shortly after the graunting of the saide patent the Inhabitants of Kingston solely frequenting the parish church in Wimborne, the Chappell at Kingston was by the Consent of the saide Inhabitants likewise discontinued & the Bells thereof Brought to the Church of Wimborne, which with the chappell of Holt were afterwards only used for divine Service in the saide parish, And then the saide Governors insteade of finding a minister to serve at Kingston did sett up a Lecture in wimborne the Frydayes being theire Markett day, & procured a learned & able preaching minister…[86]

The account is not entirely clear whether the inhabitants consented for the chapel simply to be disbanded; or for it to be disbanded *and* for its funding to be used to the lectureship. Whatever the case, it was an unusual change of use for a medieval chapel.

Secondly, the churchwardens' accounts contain some telling payments. In 1581-2, when Mr Lockett was retained to preach, the parish paid £2 12s for a new wooden pulpit, which was much later transferred to the chapel at Holt, where it remains (**Images 16 and** 17).[87] So there was support among the householders of the parish, at the very least, for the governors' preaching agenda: they were the ones who audited and approved the accounts, and from among whom the churchwardens

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[85] D. Lamburn, 'Politics and Religion in Early Modern Beverley', in Collinson and Craig, *Reformation in English Towns*, pp.63-78 and P. Collinson, 'The Shearmen's Tree and the Preacher: the Strange Death of Merry England in Shrewsbury and Beyond', in ibid., pp.205-20.
[86] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[87] CWA, 41, fo.3. There are no references in the churchwardens' accounts to a medieval pulpit at Wimborne, but other, smaller, churches in Dorset had pulpits during the late Middle Ages, and some have survived; stone pulpits at Frampton-on-the-Frome, for instance, and Okeford Fitzpaine, and the old wooden pulpit from the parish church of Milton Abbas, which is now at Winterborne Whitechurch. J. Charles Cox, *Pulpits, Lecterns and Organs in English Churches* (1915), pp.42 and 60.

were drawn. While such groups consisted of 'an inner group of trustees… endowed with all the legal powers of the parish as a whole', they were still directly responsible to the rest of the parish.[88] The exact composition and number of the group who audited the accounts is, as in so many parishes, unclear. Hutchins, deriving his information from Nicholas Russell, stated that there existed a vestry book from 1629, but it now no longer survives.[89] Usually, agreements in the churchwardens' accounts were witnessed by 'the prishonears' or 'the parish'; but that did not necessary mean all the adult members of the parish, or even just all the men.[90] An agreement recorded at the end of the churchwardens' account for 1604-5 suggests the potential membership of a vestry.[91] At a 'conference & tawlke' about a lease of parish land were Thomas Norman, the preacher; John Studley, Allen Bell and John Gundry, all of whom were members of the corporation; Roger Trender, a local gentleman; Robert Pitman, a local merchant; William White and John Redman, that year's churchwardens; James Dale, one of the parish clerks; & 'maynie others'.[92]

The fact that the new pulpit was paid for by the parish, and not the governors – who had responsibility for the upkeep of the chancel – strongly suggests that it was placed in the nave; probably at the east end, before the entrance to the chancel, where it stood when Nicholas Whittock drew the interior of the Minster, in 1839 (**Images 1-2**). In that position, in front of the screen, the pulpit would have stood centre-stage, as it were; like at St John, Leeds, 'one realises that preaching was the main business of the church, for all the congregation can see the preacher, whereas few could see into the chancel'.[93] Actually, this is too strong a statement for Wimborne. Unlike at St John, an elaborate musical liturgy, performed by a choir with the support of a great organ positioned above the chancel screen, complemented the preacher's sermons from the pulpit. Standing just behind the pulpit, organ, screen and choir could hardly be described as less central to the physical space of the Minster. In this regard, it is worth noting that when organs began to be re-used in Reformed worship in Amsterdam, from the early seventeenth century, the organs were moved to stand close by to the pulpit, as at St Bavokerk; previously, they had remained where

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[88] A quotation from Sidney and Beatrice Webb given in S. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2002), p.210.
[89] Hutchins, iii, p.204.
[90] Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp.209-10 and 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort in English Rural Communities, c.1550-1700' in T. Harris ed. *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp.125-52.
[91] For example, CWA, 40, fo.116.
[92] CWA, 41, fo.103.
[93] G. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.36.

they would have been used as part of medieval choral practice.[94] The Jacobean screen at Wimborne would also have been much more open than the medieval screen it replaced after the collapse of the spire (**Image 1**): the intention was not to make the chancel and choir a separate, enclosed space, but to allow the action that took place there to be seen and, just as importantly, heard as best possible.[95] Organ and screens will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

But the position of the pulpit at Wimborne would still have been a statement about the importance of the spoken word to salvation. Later, during the 1620s and 1630s, pulpits, especially cathedral pulpits, would be removed to the chancel, in an attempt to re-assert its primacy as a holy space, and correspondingly, the elevated role of the priest over his flock. Lay access to these newly moved pulpits was further reduced by the removal or reallocation of seating in the chancel; at Durham, York and Salisbury, for instance, the corporation's seating was removed from the choir at the order of Laud himself, and Chester's 'great pulpit controversy' was stirred by the bishop's order to move the pulpit to the choir and give the prebendaries the best seating around it.[96]

The form of the pulpit is also interesting in a number of regards. Like many surviving early modern pulpits, including Abbotsbury's Jacobean pulpit, the soundboard or tester has clearly been removed: 'Many a foolish parson has pulled down a sounding-board to use it as a vestry table'.[97] The pulpit is large and the carving very fine, but – importantly – aniconic. It looks nothing like surviving medieval pulpits, nor does it have any of the iconography that adorns some late Elizabethan and Jacobean, and especially Caroline, pulpits; no haughty, Falstaffian, St George, as on the pulpit of St Thomas Newport, on the Isle of Wight, which was made in 1636.[98] Images and idols in church, so the Homilies of 1563 warned, could speak louder even than an eloquent preacher, and so it was the solemn duty of godly men to expunge such images; a richly adorned pulpit could be self-defeating for the godly.

> Well, if preaching and writing could not keep men from worshipping of images and idolatry, if pen and words could not do it, you would think that penalty and sword might do it; I mean, that princes by severe laws and punishments might stay this unbridled affection of all men to

[94] C.R. Joby, *Calvinisma and the Arts: A Re-assessment* (Leuven, 2007), pp.98-9.
[95] On screens, F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (1908).
[96] S.E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Pennsylvania, 1996), pp.14-15, 208.
[97] Cox, *Pulpits*, p.94.
[98] For apt comparisons, see for instance the medieval pulpit from Brancepeth, Devon, and the later pulpits from Fowey, Cornwall, and Chedzoy, Somerset. Cox, *Pulpits*, pp.55 and 103. For St Thomas Newport, Parry, *Glory*, image 14.

> idolatry, though images were set up and suffered. But experience proveth, that this can no more help against idolatry, than writing and preaching.[99]

Wimborne's elegant yet plain pulpit would not have been out of keeping with the appearance of the interior as it then was. In the previous chapter, the destruction of much or most of the Minster's medieval ornaments and architecture was described. The stained glass, including John Beaufort's commemorative window, had been removed, and none survives; nor is there any evidence that stained or painted glass was reintroduced before 1640. There is only a small fragment of medieval glass in the Minster, but it is Flemish: a depiction of the Tree of Jesse that was brought from Belgium by John Bankes of Kingston Lacy and fitted in the nineteenth century.[100] By the 1570s, the walls, once covered with murals, had been whitewashed (**Image 11**).[101] Later they would be painted with scriptural references.[102] A few medieval adornments, including imagery, did survive. Apart from the funeral monuments of the Beauforts and others, that imagery was small and only to be found in out-of-the-way or hard-to-reach places; a thirteenth-century hoodmould stop of Moses in the roof of the choir, for instance (**Image 12**).[103] The appearance of the medieval chancel screen, and the damage done to it during the Edwardian Reformation or after, is unclear.

In tandem with the new preaching regime also came the appearance of the first seating in the Minster, paid for entirely by individual parishioners (**Figs. 18-19**). The importance of seating to sermon-hearing is now well established.[104] 'The emphasis on the sermon, which imposed long periods of silent and passive attention, all but necessitated the universal provision of seating': if the auditory was to remain receptive for a sermon of an hour (or more) in length, some comfort, however rough, was essential.[105] There had been seating in some churches, especially town churches, in the medieval diocese of Salisbury, but not Wimborne, where until probably the early seventeenth century the majority of the parishioners would still have either stood or kneeled, as described by John Mirk 200 years before.[106] The first two seats were bought in 1565-6, and one of the purchasers was, unsurprisingly, either Richard or Thomas Hanham – 'Mr Hanham' – who paid

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[99] 'Against Peril of Idolatry' in *Sermons or Homilies Appointed*, p.265.
[100] J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Dorset* (2002), p.465.
[101] Ibid.
[102] For instance, CWA, 41, fo.141.
[103] Newman and Pevsner, *Buildings of England*, p.465.
[104] For example, E. Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories' and J. Craig, 'Sermon Reception' in *Early Modern Sermon*, pp.87-119 and 178-197 respectively.
[105] R. Tittler, 'Seats of Honor, Seats of Power: The Symbolism of Public Seating in the English Urban Community, c.1560-1620', *Albion* 24: 2 (1992), 218.
[106] Brown, *Piety*, p.83. Tittler, 'Seats of Honor', 218.

12 d.[107] This payment may be an indication that the governors 'long inquire for a precher' had already begun, just two years after the corporation's establishment. The position of Hanham's seat is not stated, but is likely to have been close to the pulpit; Thomas Hanham's son – Richard Hanham's nephew – is later recorded purchasing a seat 'against his seate going into the Quire for his man to sitt on'.[108] Purchases of seats did not increase to more than 5 a year until the mid-1570s; and then there is a noticeable spike to 10 seats in 1581-2, when Lockett was retained to preach and the new pulpit was bought.

Church seating was, however, also a forum for the display of status, and the number and incidence of purchases, while suggestive, cannot reveal for certain the motivations of the purchasers.[109] As befits any status marker, seating was a source of much local conflict during the period, including at Wimborne. Aggressive jockeying for seats brought greater regulation by the parish. In 1601-2, a large number of payments for seats, totalling 7s 4d, were disallowed at the auditing of the account, and a special order about seating was made and entered into the account book:

> First yf anye purches Anye ground to buylde any seat, or agree for any seat he shall enioye ~~it~~ the same during his ~~lyfe~~ abode within the parishe (Except he become aRecusant / When he shall dye or departe the parishe / the church wardens shall graunt the same for the benefit of the church / no seat shalbe graunted in Reversion[110]

The corrections suggest that the order was drafted aloud and written while the account was being audited. Conflict persisted: the next year, for instance, Richard Fransham was presented for pushing a woman out of her seat, and three men were presented in 1610-11 for removing seats 'the churchwardens had placed'.[111]

Seating would become increasingly lucrative for the parish across the decades, with the number of seats and the average price increasing, as well as the share of total income. In a few cases, however, the purchaser's enthusiasm for sermons is unequivocal. In 1591-2, Nicholas Humfrey, another lawyer and gentleman and soon to be an important member of the corporation, paid 2s for a seat

[107] CWA, 40, fo.167.
[108] CWA, 41, fo.216.
[109] See Tittler, 'Seats of Honor'. J. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005), pp.215-21.
[110] CWA, 41, fo.81 and 85.
[111] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 62 and 102.

directly beneath the pulpit, a price well above the average at the time; that seat may have been next to Thomas Hanham, his close friend.[112] Humfrey would also pay for a seat for his wife there too.[113]

There are other, more general, signs that by the end of the 1570s Wimborne was somewhere a preaching ministry would not, at a minimum, be bound to fail. The wills show that the parish was a place where respectable people – those who owned enough to leave a will – would not make, or be allowed to make, a final statement of Catholic faith.[114] Of the nearly 250 wills from Wimborne that survive for the period after Elizabeth's accession until the Civil War, only two contain Catholic or traditional preambles ('blessed Virgin Mary and all the heavenly company of saints'). In the will of Margery Baron, an old widow, written in 1584, the traditional invocation has been crossed out, apparently by the scribe, who was not one of the ministers.[115] Perhaps the will had been written as dictated on the death bed, and then the invocation had been effaced straight away or soon after. In the will of Henry Abbott, written in 1603, there is no mention of the Virgin Mary, but only the heavenly company.[116] The scribe of the will was a minister from outside the parish, Thomas Gomon or Gomen, the rector of Tarrant Keyneston, in whose care Abbott lay at the time of his death.[117] Abbott had never been presented as a recusant in the parish court. Otherwise, the vast majority of wills adopt either a neutral formula ('soul to almighty God, body to the ground') or a definitely Protestant statement mentioning reliance on the redemptive power of Christ's bloodshedding alone. Between 1558 and the foundation of the lectureship in 1583, however, there are only eight definitely Protestant preambles among the 115 surviving wills: the rest use a neutral formula.

Sole emphasis should not be placed on preambles to map religious change: they must be used in conjunction with the evidence of the accompanying bequests as well. Along with the disappearance of traditional preamble formulae, traditional bequests, such as prayers for the dead or commemorations, also disappeared completely from Wimborne in Elizabeth's reign: there are no such requests in the surviving wills, as there were into the 1570s in the northern province of the bishop of Durham, for instance, or even in Canterbury in 1569.[118] Another important change was

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[112] CWA, 41, fo.48.
[113] Ibid, fo.171.
[114] Litzenberger's approach to wills has been adopted here and elsewhere in this thesis. It is by far the most subtle approach and is described in detail as Appendix A in *Reformation*, pp.168-78.
[115] DHC, CP / 2 / 1 / 118.
[116] DHC, PJ-WM / W / A / 1.
[117] CCED, 69646.
[118] F. Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp.456-7.

the significant decrease in gifts and bequests received by the Minster across the entire period of this study. In places like Gloucestershire and Devon, such a trend has been noted in the shorter term, between 1540 and 1580, and linked to the changes of the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformations.[119] Gifts to the poor increased substantially at the same time, a development that may be explained as part of the march of 'secularisation', as Robert Whiting has done, or because gifts to the poor, as Litzenberger states, 'were also one of the few acts of charity from pre-Reformation Catholicism to be condoned and even encouraged under Protestantism'.[120] Bequests to the poor also received scriptural sanction, 'which meant that the hotter sort of Protestants would have opted for them as well'.[121] With so few medieval wills, and also because of the scarcity of evidence for St Margaret's almshouses before 1567, there is no way of knowing for certain whether bequests to the poor increased across either the sixteenth century, or a longer period of time.[122] Nevertheless, there are strong indications that gifts and bequests to the poor remained a continuity, and could well have increased as gifts and bequests to the Minster decreased (**Figs. 25-26**). After 1548, gifts to the poor may have increased as a means of compensating for the loss of the accustomed charity of the dean and college: the chantry commissioners noted that the dean 'dyd yerelye dystrybute iiij li at the lest', and the sacristan 'to the powre people' 20s; 'In which sayd Towne of wymborne', they added, 'be very many poore people'.[123] The commissioners also noted that the eight inhabitants of St Margaret's, having virtually no endowment, 'not onlye lyve by the profytts of the sayd howse but by the devocon of the people and [inhabitants] of the sayd towne of Wymborne'.[124] Thirty-one individuals gave bequests to the almshouses between 1558 and 1640, 20 of them in the period up to the foundation of Wimborne's lectureship. By contrast, only 13 gave bequests to the Courtenay almshouses between 1558 and 1640; of those bequests, six came before 1583. General bequests, usually to the poor of the town and parish, but sometimes with stipulations of worthiness or greatest need, appear in the wills of 101 individuals between 1558 and 1640. At least four of the wealthier parishioners established a charity stock, or made the establishment of one provisional

[119] Litzenberger, *Reformation*, p.165.
[120] Whiting, *Blind Devotion*, pp.181-2, 186-7. Litzenberger, *Reformation*, pp.165-6.
[121] Litzenberger, *Reformation*, p.166.
[122] The St Margaret's account book is DHC, D-SMS / 3 / 1. Unfortunately, the accounts are far less clear than the churchwardens' accounts, and it is often hard or impossible to decipher whether a payment listed in the book was a gift or bequest. Parishioners also made bequests to individual residents of the almshouses, and these gifts do not appear to have been recorded in the accounts, just as gifts to individual priests or ministers were not recorded in the churchwardens' accounts.
[123] 'Chantries', vol. 28, 21-2.
[124] Ibid, 24-5.

upon the failure of their offspring to produce their own.[125] Joseph Collett bequeathed £40 for the 'poor tradesmen' of the town, and William Warham chose, if his son died without issue, to establish an almshouse 'for the relief and keeping of six of the most well disposed and godly poor', to be chosen by the churchwardens.

None of the foregoing is intended to deny the persistence of elements of the old 'festive' culture railed against by William Kethe and studied in detail by David Underdown; or that active recusancy was not a problem – or at least perceived as such. Two problems with the evidence for Wimborne are that churchwardens' presentments do not survive from earlier than 1589, and that the coverage of the surviving presentments is inconsistent. As well as preventing investigation of moral and spiritual offences in the crucial first years and decades after Elizabeth's accession, this lack also prevents reliable investigation of whether there was an intensification of prosecutions for particular offences in the longer term (i.e. from the medieval period) or in the shorter term – a crusade against immorality of the sort that took place in Dorchester under the guidance of John White. Historians such as Margaret Spufford have cautioned against assuming that such crusades were the exclusive province of 'Puritans' or the godly, or indeed of the early modern period.[126]

Some impressions can still be gained about the state of festive culture, broadly conceived, up to the 1580s and 1590s. Church ales, certainly, were on the wane, becoming more intermittent at Wimborne during the 1580s, before finally disappearing after 1593 (**Fig. 4**). For a time, they were replaced by gatherings, which could prove just as lucrative (**Fig. 17**). Ales remained a source of income for St Margaret's almshouses until 1625, but they were tiny by comparison to the parish ales that had now disappeared, often raising less than 3s.[127] There is an isolated reference to 'players that played in the church house', in the churchwardens' account for 1589-90.[128] A remnant of the competitive cake-making of the Wives of the Town and the Wives of the Land appears to have made a re-appearance in 1599-1600. The churchwardens presented that 'on Sownday Last the great cake was brought throwe the churche accordynge unto the old custum after devyne servyce

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[125] Richard Habgood, William Warham, Joseph Collett and John Mackerell. See TNA, PROB 11 / 111 / 169; 11 / 125 / 368; 11 / 139 / 138; and 11 / 140 / 264, respectively.
[126] Such cautions, mainly directed towards earlier work by Keith Wrightson and David Underdown, are well summarised in K. Jones, *Gender and Petty Crime in Late Medieval England: the Local Courts in Kent, 1460-1560* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp.9-11. See also M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and Social Control?' in A. Fletcher and J. Stevens eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.41-57 and M. McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England, 1370-1600* (Cambridge, 2002).
[127] That final ale raised just 2s 6 d. DHC, D-SMS / 3 / 1, fo.129. The final parish ale, by contrast, raised £4 15s, in conjunction with a gathering. CWA, 41, fo.47.
[128] CWA, 41, fo.31.

by Steven hapgood at which tyme ther was an infaunt a chrystenynge un knowen unto us whereof we crave favor of the court'.[129] On another occasion that year, Robert Allen was presented for the same offence.[130] The churchwardens' presentments also show that Pike the Minstrel's fiddle remained a call to the fields at time of service on Midsummer's Eve, just as games of cards, coits and especially bowls also drew parishioners away from the church; an early parish map from 1613 includes a little illustration of 'the bowlynge plas' near some woodland in Colehill.[131]

As regards Catholic recusancy, there was apparently some sympathy within the parish; and the peculiar jurisdiction may have been seen from the outside as a bar to adequate persecution – 'the common seats of schismatics'. In 1590, during a meeting of the quarter sessions in Wimborne, a 'secrett warning and intelligence' was apparently given to the magistrates not to meddle with the local recusants, and some 'principall person' in the parish came under suspicion of harbouring and protecting them.[132] But the general impression from within is of a determined attempt to continue presenting the parish recusants as much as possible. As time passed, 'church papists' also began to be singled out: the phrase '*frequentat divina*' appears next to the names of certain individuals presented as recusants from the 1620s.[133] Recusants, so presumably church papists in particular, were barred from owning seats, after 1602.

Recusancy does not appear to have spread. The centrality of kinship to the parish's recusant community is immediately apparent from the extant citations: between five and ten different members of the Cornish, Dewey, Downton, Hayter, Jay, Loope, Painter and Pinson families were cited between 1590 and 1641, and 13 members of the Siler family. One family in particular, the Trims or Trems, were described in a letter to Robert Cecil, the earl of Salisbury, in 1605 as 'the worst recusants in Dorsetshire', and members of that family were presented the most of all the recusant families within the parish – perhaps as many as 18 members.[134]

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[129] DHC, CP / 2 / 10 / 39.
[130] DHC, CP / 2 / 10 / 28.
[131] Pike was cited for his fiddle-playing a number of times, as well as his recusancy. DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 51, 68, 76, 79 and 99; CP / 2 / 12 / 25 and 49. The map is DHC, D.1504 / 1.
[132] The account of the meeting of the quarter sessions is TNA, PC / 2 / 18, fo.170; also in *Acts of the Privy Council of England: A.D. 1542-June 1631,* xx, ed. J. R. Dasent (1900), p.353.
[133] The first use of the formula '*frequentat divina*' comes in 1624 in DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 37. On 'church papists', A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 1993).
[134] HMC, xvii, p.591

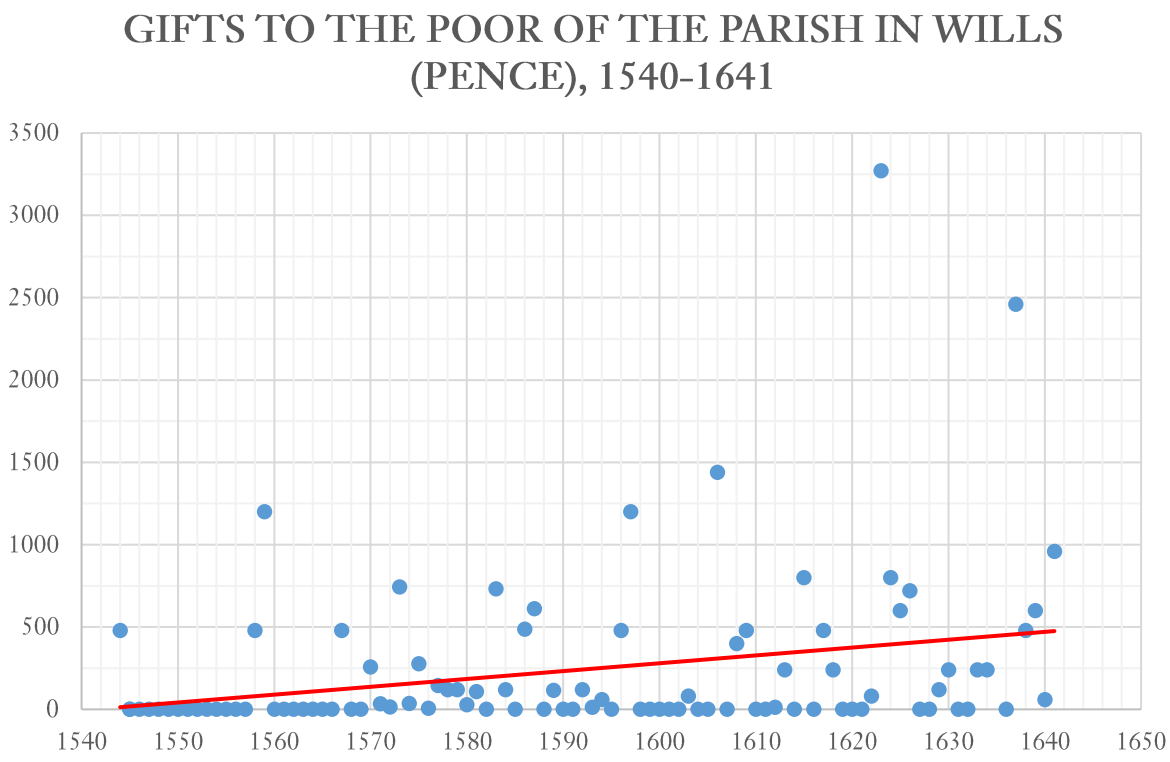

GIFTS TO THE POOR OF THE PARISH IN WILLS (PENCE), 1540-1641
3500
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
1540
1550
1560
1570
1580
1590
1600
1610
1620
1630
1640
1650

Fig. 25

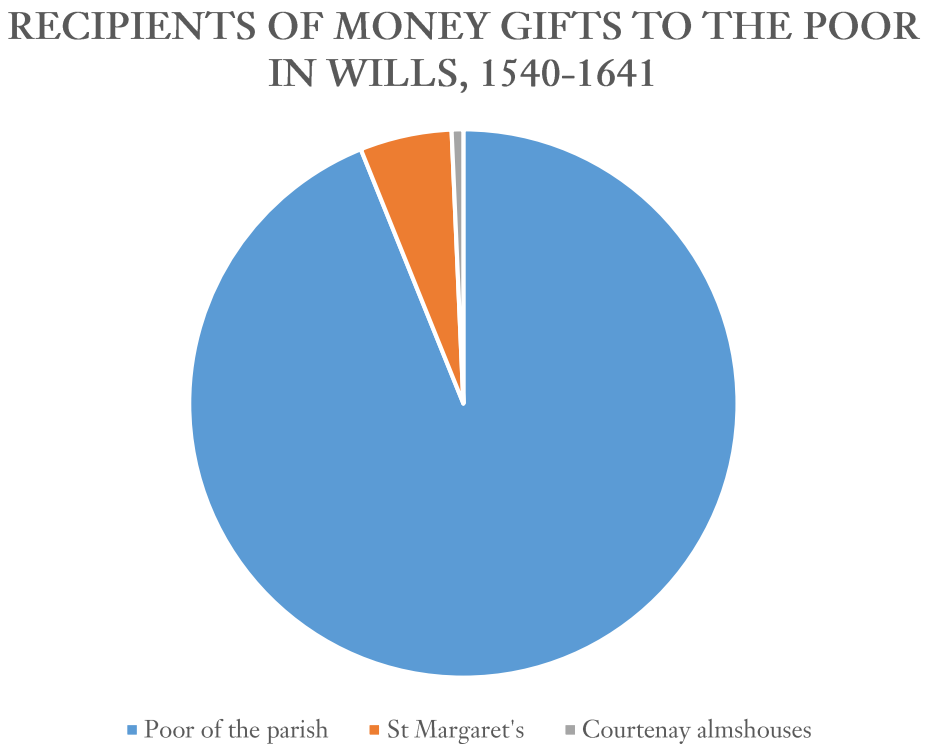

RECIPIENTS OF MONEY GIFTS TO THE POOR IN WILLS, 1540-1641
Poor of the parish
St Margaret's
Courtenay almshouses

Fig. 26

The two figures above show bequests to the poor after 1540. Fig. 25 shows total amounts given to the poor each year by parishioners in their wills. Fig. 26 shows the relative proportion of those gifts that were directed to different recipients. Overwhelmingly, the parishioners favoured bequests to the poor of the parish as a group; although they might sometimes specify only the poor of the town or the poor of the borough. Of the two almshouses, St Margaret's was a more popular destination for bequests than the Courtenay almshouses. These figures do not include targeted charity to named individuals, which can often be hard to identify.

iv The appointment of Thomas Norman

After the death of William Smith in 1587, the lectureship fell vacant and the governors began employing visiting preachers again. In 1587-8, four preachers preached: Mr Middleton, who had preached in 1580-81; then Mr Bull, probably the William Bull who was instituted as rector of nearby Studland in 1593; Mr John; and Mr Watkins, who then remained.[135] Mr Bull's visit suggests the governors were continuing to leverage their local network: in that case, Sir John Williams of Herringston. Williams, Bull's patron at Studland, was also a patron of William Kethe, and although he was less 'unequivocally zealous' than Kethe's other important local backer, Sir George Trenchard, he nevertheless helped Kethe to escape censure in the church courts.[136] When Watkins was appointed as lecturer, in 1588-9, his salary was doubled to £40, four times what the other two ministers were each being paid. He continued to preach for two years at least.[137] Then, in 1594-5, Thomas Norman was appointed.[138]

The account that describes the disbanding of St Stephen's chapel continues, 'after [Mr Smith] succeeded mr Norman, a learned able & zealous preacher, chaplaine to the then Earle of Pembrooke'.[139] This is the only surviving reference to Norman's former employment; the space of two generations had barely dulled its lustre. How long Norman had served the second earl, is

[135] RA, 10. For William Bull, CCED, 94818 and 68022.
[136] Fielding, 'Kethe, William'. Also Underdown, *Fire*, p.157.
[137] RA, 11-12.
[138] RA, 17.
[139] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.

unknown, nor how he came into his employ. A move straight from college to a godly household, and from there to a lectureship was, in many respects, the ideal trajectory for a godly minister.

> [W]e can trace something of a life-cycle, from college to preaching post… Starting with the university, we can follow young clergymen into the country, to household seminaries and to meetings for further education, and then on into the mature ministry…[140]

Patrons, quite obviously, tended to choose chaplains 'whose interests and priorities, whether theological or secular, were similar or complementary to their own'.[141] Herbert was the famous 'son' to Robert Dudley's 'father', the 'patron general of Puritans' during Elizabeth's reign.[142] Walter Sweeper, who had been one of the second earl's chaplains, later remembered that his household at Wilton 'somewhat resembled Salomons Court… [and] was a more excellent nurcerie for learning and pietie, than ever it was in former times'.[143] 'He honoured God, and God honoured him', Sweeper added; for among his many godly chaplains – the 'trophees' of his house – were Henry Parry and Gervase Babington. Parry and Babington were both Calvinist predestinarians, and both would go on to distinguished episcopal careers, including the bishopric of Worcester, with Parry doing so via a chaplaincy to Elizabeth I. The quality and intensity of their preaching, in particular, were legendary; Babington's first sermon at Paul's Cross, for instance, 'must rank among the harshest of Elizabethan statements on predestination'.[144]

If Norman's godliness grew, as Sweeper's did, during his time at the 'litle universitie' Henry Herbert maintained at Wilton, it must already have been well nourished during his time at St Alban Hall, Oxford, where he was a contemporary of John Penry: the two graduated MA there within a month of each other.[145] Other godly contemporaries included Jeremy Corderoy and, albeit briefly, the Dorset-born Matthew Slade.[146] Norman was himself a Dorset man, probably from Sherborne, and his will reveals important contacts among the godly, as well as property,

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[140] T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement, c.1620-1643* (Cambridge, 1997), p.13.
[141] H. Adlington, T. Lockwood and G. Wright, 'Introduction' in H. Adlington, T. Lockwood and G. Wright eds., *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion* (Manchester, 2013), p.7.
[142] Collinson, *Bancroft*, p.96. P. Williams, 'Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke (b. in or after 1538, d.1601), nobleman and administrator', *ODNB*, accessed 14 May 2017.
[143] The quotations from Sweeper are from D. Crankshaw, 'Chaplains to the Elizabethan Nobility: Activities, Categories and Patterns', in *Chaplains in Early Modern England*, pp.37-8.
[144] N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism, c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), p.253.
[145] A Thomas Norman of Dorset matriculated as a commoner at St Alban Hall, Oxford, on 1 December 1581, aged 19, receiving his BA on 6 July 1583 and his MA on 11 June 1586. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, iii, p.1075. C. Cross, 'Penry, John (1562/3-1593), religious controversialist', *ODNB*, accessed 6 June 2017.
[146] A. Vian and N. Cranfield, 'Corderoy, Jeremy (b.1562-/3), religious writer', and S. Wright, 'Slade, Matthew (1569-1628), religious controversialist and college head', *ODNB*, accessed 6 June 2017.

there.[147] Perhaps a county network led him to St Alban Hall, as such county networks led godly young men to other colleges at the two universities – most notably, Emmanuel College, Cambridge.[148] Another of Herbert's chaplains, Clemens Walford, had also been at St Alban Hall, which suggests that the second earl may have kept an eye on that college in particular.[149]

Thomas Hanham was dead by the time Norman was appointed, dying in August 1593; but the appointment is unlikely to have taken place without his input or influence. There is no evidence of other connections to the second earl of Pembroke from within the corporation. After the death of William Smith in 1587, the lectureship was in flux again, and in 1593-4 the parish appears to have gone without a resident or visiting preacher at all. The sort of protracted negotiations that had anticipated Smith's appointment may well have been taking place. Perhaps a longstanding offer to Norman was finally met, or perhaps one of Hanham's last actions was to extend such an offer; the second earl could even have suggested Norman to Hanham, in an effort to ensure his placement. Charles Vaughan, another contact of the second earl's, may also have been involved. The corporation were still in contact with him at the time of Norman's appointment, re-paying him sums of money he had lent towards the re-building of the schoolhouse in 1592: first a repayment of £20 in 1593-4 and then £10 the next year.[150] By 1596 at the latest he had moved away from Shapwick to Falstone, in Wiltshire.

Norman's appointment seems to mark a threshold for the corporation. If Thomas Hanham and his intimates within the corporation believed that an intensification was needed not only of the godly medium but also the godly message they had spent over twenty years cultivating, they had found their man: 'learned, able & zealous'; Calvinist, uncompromising. Before the effects of Norman's ministry are considered in more detail, it remains to describe the other half of that regime – a liturgy of some splendour that puts the governors in a special position among English Protestants, and especially the godly, after 1558.

[147] TNA, PROB 11 / 133 / 711. These contacts are discussed later.
[148] Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.13-17.
[149] Crankshaw, 'Chaplains', p.56, n.19.
[150] RA, 16-17.

VI: 'The cathedral order of service': the continuity of religious music at Wimborne, 1403-1640

> And now all faces were visible, for all were standing up – the little children on the seats peeping over the edge of the grey pews, while good Bishop Ken's evening hymn was being sung to one of those lively psalm-tunes which died out with the last generation of rectors and choral parish clerks. Melodies die out, like the pipe of Pan, with the ears that love them and listen for them.[1]

[1] G. Eliot, *Adam Bede*, ch.18. I should like to thank Michael Thorne for reminding me of this passage.

i Hammond does Wimborne

For seven weeks beginning in August 1634, Lieutenant Hammond made a leisurely circuit from Norwich through Kent and into the western counties, including Dorset, before returning back to his starting-point.[2] This was one of two circuits he undertook that year, the other being a more extensive tour of 26 counties, in the company of a captain and 'an Ancient' (ensign).[3]

The Lieutenant quickly reveals himself as a saucy lay counterpart to the much studied high-churchmen of the 1610s, 1620s and 1630s; a lay Laudian. 'Nothing here savours of the Puritan', according to L.G. Wickham-Legg: Hammond's religion was one with his love for sack and ale with 'merry blades', wine and oysters, portents and omens, strange and salacious customs – and with his dislike for the Celts. 'If he were still alive in 1642, his sword would have been drawn for the King, and not for his more bigoted opponents'.[4] Cavalier or not – bigot or not – Hammond definitely looked for 'stateliness' in architecture, fittings and liturgy; he approved of it all. At Rochester Cathedral, an early stop, he noted that despite its relative modesty, the organs were 'rich and neat', the choristers 'orderly and decent', the choir of the church itself 'neatly adorn'd with many small Pillers of Marble'.[5] Singled out for especial praise was his next cathedral, Canterbury, where he 'saw and heard a fayre Organ sweet and tunable, and a deep and ravishing consort of Quirsters, and a snowy crowd of the Kings Schollers, which were fifty in number'.[6] Chichester proved a disappointment: 'not very large, but reasonable faire; her Organs small, and voyces but indifferent'.[7] At Winchester, on the roof of the cathedral and in the choir, 'artificiall, and rare Postures, ravishing the eyes of the beholders' – a series of wooden carvings of Biblical scenes, recently commissioned. The organs were 'not exceeding fair nor rich', but still 'sweet and tunable', and better yet 'sweetly playd on, by one of the rarist Organists that this Land affoords, who is now of His Maiesties Chappell'. The choristers 'were skilfull, and the voices good, where they sing sweet and heavenly Anthems'.[8] Walking the short distance from the cathedral to Winchester College, he was similarly impressed by the performance of the scholars, fellows and

[2] *Short Survey*.
[3] *26 Counties*.
[4] *Short Survey*, iv-v.
[5] Ibid, p.9.
[6] Ibid, p.11.
[7] Ibid, p.34.
[8] Ibid, pp.44-6.

choristers in their 'spacious and lofty, neat Chappell'.[9] Salisbury Cathedral, like Canterbury, transported him from his senses – far enough to make an unusually damp pun on the founder's name: 'Although the Cathedrall here was begun by a poore Bishop, yet doth his Bounty and Charity manifestly appeare, for it is as magnificent and beautifull a Structure as any Cathedrall in this whole Kingdom'.[10] In each of the city's four parish churches were 'neat Organs and a sweet ring of tunable Bells, equally exceeding each other, 6. 7. 8. a peece'.[11] Hammond noted the 'fayre painted Windowes' of one of these churches, St Edmund's, which had recently been the cause of a suit in Star Chamber. Henry Sherfield, the city's recorder, had so objected to a newly introduced depiction of God the Father – 'out of a precise, conceited, tender conscience', says Hammond – that he had shattered the glass. The legal proceedings 'so stretch'd his strings, and gave such sound Damages, as distun'd him, and put him quite out of breath'.[12] Sherfield had been committed to the Fleet and fined £500.[13]

As he made his way through Dorset, Hammond, like Gerard before him, entered Wimborne from Badbury Rings, 'which was', he wrote, 'in times past a place of great force and strength, and was sometimes the Court of the West Saxon King'.[14]

> A little on my left before I came there, I left an ancient old Place, which formerly was a Cathedrall, where a Saxon King 800. yeeres since was buried; which still retaines some Quiristers and Boyes, with a faire Organ; there is in her an ascent of 4. Steps to the Quire, and 12. to the High Altar and some few old Monuments in her: the spire (not farre short of that at Salisbury) fell downe in a Tempest when the people were at Church…[15]

Immediately after the fall, a hare had been seen to run across the ruins – a sign. 'A terrible Wat to cause such a Clap', he adds, quickly moving on to Poole.

The Minster, of course, had never been a cathedral; nor, in fact, had Dorset had its own native cathedral for over half a millennium, since the translation of the bishop's see from Sherborne to Salisbury, in 1075. Even so, Hammond can be forgiven his mistake. There were plenty of indicators that this was no ordinary parish church. The sheer size of the Minster (although it is

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[9] Ibid, pp.49-50.
[10] Ibid, p.61.
[11] Ibid, pp.64-5.
[12] Ibid, p.65.
[13] On the Sherfield case, S. Guinn-Chipman, *Religious Space in Reformation England: Contesting the Past* (Abingdon, 2015) pp.98-100, and N. Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c.1530-1700* (Manchester, 2001), p.195, for instance.
[14] *Short Survey*, pp.68-9.
[15] Ibid, p.69.

still 100 feet shorter than Rochester, the smallest of the medieval cathedrals), and the recent presence of a spire to rival Salisbury's, or so he was told. Inside, a Saxon royal burial, Æthelred I, whose monument and brass memorial were still visible in the choir, and 'a few old monuments', like the Beaufort and Blount tombs, and a crusader's tomb (**Image 13**); the stately ascent to the choir and 'High Altar'.[16] Yes, perhaps these things were more redolent of past than present glories; but that choir of men and boys supported by an organ was much more curious. That kind of musical establishment was one of the defining features of cathedral worship after 1558, and 'cathedrals were not a model for parochial worship', certainly not during the reign of Elizabeth.[17]

Except, that is, at Wimborne, where the governors actually chose to emulate what they called 'the cathedral order of service', by employing a professional choir and organist. While the first explicit statement of their intention to follow the order of service 'as is usuallye observed in Cathedrall Churches' appears in an indenture of 1610 signed with William Emes, the organist of Winchester Cathedral, it is clear that the regime he was being brought into was an already-existing one, reaching back into the 1560s.[18] Only two other parish churches, Ludlow in Shropshire, and Newark, in Nottinghamshire, explicitly modelled themselves on cathedrals at this time, and both will serve as comparisons with Wimborne.

A little before his arrival in Wimborne, Lieutenant Hammond had visited the abbey church at Romsey, in Hampshire, and described it in similar terms, but with important differences. His eye tends in the same directions: to the 'loftie, and most statelie Ile', the high altar, the 'hansome Monuments', which he 'tooke paines to observe'. Having described in detail a handful of monuments, he turns to the organs, which elicit yet another, orotund, joke:

> To add to the beauty of this Church, and which she worthily deserveth, there was then setting up a New Organ, given by a Old and rich Snudge yet living, who got most of his

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[16] For Æthelred's monument, J.M.J. Fletcher, 'The Tomb of King Ethelred in Wimborne Minster', *PDNHAS* 40 (1920), 24-34.

[17] See N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2nd edn., (2 volumes, Cambridge, 2005-6), I; P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (Cambridge, 1967). J. Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England: Discourses, Sites and Identities* (Farnham, 2010), p.158.

[18] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 5. Emes may have been the organist Hammond heard at Winchester in 1634 – 'one of the rarist Organists that this Land affoords, who is now of His Maiesties Chappell': after ten years at Wimborne, he had returned to Winchester, before joining the Chapel Royal in 1624. *Short Survey*, p.46. W. Shaw, *The Succession of Organists of the Chapel Royal and the Cathedrals of England and Wales from c.1538* (Oxford, 1991), p.75. Shaw was unaware of Emes's tenure at Wimborne. There is a curt monument to Emes at Winchester. *The History and Antiquities of Winchester*, i (1773), p.136.

> Estate by her, to acknowledge his thankfullnesse this he doth, to blow and trumpett forth his Liberality.[19]

The absence of a choir was one good reason to distinguish Romsey from Wimborne – Romsey was just a 'Cathedrall like Church', he noted. And like much of what most arrested Hammond's attention in the churches and cathedrals he visited (the carvings in Winchester Cathedral, the Trinity window at St Edmund's), Romsey's organ was a late introduction, a product of a ceremonial trend that was now spreading across the kingdom. The new ceremonial trend is usually referred to, in high contrast to 'Puritanism', as one or all of the following: ceremonialism; Laudianism; Arminianism; or high-church Anglicanism. Recently, Graham Parry has added another label: the 'Anglican Counter-Reformation'.[20] This counter-movement is traced, in its early stages, to bishops such as Lancelot Andrewes, Thomas Dove and John Overall, and then via Richard Neile, who was made bishop of Durham in 1617, to the so-called Durham House Group, comprised of a number of future bishops including Matthew Wren and William Laud, as well as other important churchmen like John Cosin.[21] Although the movement began to gain followers and momentum during the reign of James I, it was not until the reign of Charles I, and Laud's archiepiscopate from 1633 in particular, that it had more widespread effects in the parishes of England. It was 'largely responsible', according to Parry, 'for the visual transformation that so many churches and chapels underwent in the 1620s and 1630s', not to mention transformations in liturgical and sacramental practices.[22]

Much of the historical focus on cathedrals in the period between Elizabeth's accession and the Civil War has been on their abnormal status within the reformed churches of Europe and, as a result, on the opposition they drew from the 'Puritans' or godly. Where cathedrals elsewhere were demoted to mere 'cathedral-like' churches – just extremely grand parish churches – in England's idiosyncratic Reformations the cathedrals, with all their elaborate liturgical apparatus, survived; like the church courts and the threefold ordination, part of a surviving Catholic 'nest' for the new Protestant 'cuckoo'.[23] In the *Admonition to Parliament* of 1572, the cathedrals were famously referred to as 'dens of loitering lubbers', and were a constant focus of criticism not only because of the uncertain scriptural warrant for religious music and its dubious value as a method of

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[19] Ibid, pp.59-60.
[20] Parry, *Glory*.
[21] Ibid, pp.8-11.
[22] Ibid, p.9.
[23] For the phrase 'cuckoo in the nest', MacCulloch, *Later Reformation*, p.29. On the cathedrals more generally, S.E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (Princeton, NJ, 1989) and *Cathedrals under Siege*.

instruction, but also for the resources 'wasted' on singing clergy – resources that might more usefully have been put towards the establishment of a skilled preaching ministry.[24] Doctrinal opposition, which had roots as deep as the early Church Fathers, also united with popular iconoclasm and a ruder distrust of apparently 'Popish' survivals; the 'tooting' of an organ might be likened to the noise of a horse farting – and attributed little more sense, and none of the humour.[25]

The language of historians can often seem a polite echo of the cathedrals' early-modern opponents: cuckoo and nest; a 'liturgical fifth column' within the Church of England.[26] The broader nature of English Protestantism is at issue. Peter McCullough notes that the relationship between music and preaching, in particular, has 'since the period itself, usually been cast in terms of antagonistic opposition'.[27] At the beginning of the reign of James I, however, he sees 'a window of opportunity… to effect a rapprochement between pulpit and choir', and shows how some individuals, such as the 'resolute Calvinist' William Parker, a London merchant, provided generously for both music and preaching.[28] But it is, McCullough claims, in certain of Lancelot Andrewes' sermons that 'we find most fully expressed the integration of music, liturgy and sermon in a brief period of pre-Civil War English church history when it seemed that the three might coexist rather than be conceived of as mutually exclusive'.[29]

The reign of James I may have been an especially propitious moment, but such a rapprochment was possible right from the start – from 1558. Wimborne's governors effected one much earlier, funding their musical regime in tandem with preaching from the 1570s at least, and without any apparent sense of mutual exclusivity. Cathedrals had long been places where high ritual and high-quality preaching met, so Wimborne's 'cathedral order of service' was still an apt moniker, at least until the 1630s, when another vision of cathedral worship was given the full backing of the new archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud.[30] Although evidence for the patronage and preferences of individual governors is thinner than might be hoped, at least two of Wimborne's governors

[24] For instance, C. Cross, '"Dens of Loitering Lubbers": Protestant Protest against Cathedral Foundations, 1540-1640', *SCH* 9 (1972), 231-7.
[25] Haigh, *Pathways*, p.116. Also M. Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2015), pp.488-542.
[26] D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *JBS* 30: 1 (1991), 8.
[27] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled', p.109.
[28] Ibid, pp.111-13.
[29] Ibid, p.113.
[30] For instance D. Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995), pp.138-9.

were enthusiastic patrons of both aspects of the regime, and they and their patronage will be considered in detail.

In an important continuity with the medieval past, the parish also continued to fund the Minster's music, paying for liturgical materials, including sheet music, and the maintenance of at least one of two sets of medieval organs. By describing the genesis, form and popularity of Wimborne's musical regime, this chapter should further substantiate Jonathan Willis's claim that music was one of the prime 'discourses' and 'sites' in the formation of English religious identity after 1558.[31] His work is a significant corrective to the accounts of Nicholas Temperley and Peter Le Huray, both of which have provided the basis for most subsequent accounts of the Reformation's effects on religious music in England. The Reformation can no longer be seen as a complete parting of the ways between parish church and cathedral; although, as has already been noted, in only a few cases did cathedral worship serves as a precise model for parish worship.[32] Far from being a time of universal decline – of the destruction of parish organs, the silencing of parish choirs and their replacement with drab and discordant congregational psalm-singing – the reign of Elizabeth was a dynamic period for religious music, with potentially as many musical trajectories and regimes as there were parishes. Organs, pricksong, psalms, singers – any number of admixtures of these elements might be created according to local circumstances and tastes, through a process of 'accommodation' and 'negotiation' – two key post-revisionist terms. In large part, this flexibility was owed to music's effective status in Reformed thinking as *adiaphora*, 'a thing indifferent', and to the 1559 Injunctions, which authorised, without making compulsory, a musical element in the established service of the Church.[33] Elizabethan church music represented, then, 'a significant concession to human aesthetics in the worship of the divine'; 'in a religious landscape shorn of opulent shrines, glittering relics, candlelit images and pungent incense', it had great power if not to win converts then to ease a more gradual transition to Protestantism.[34]

The governors' experiment of combining a cathedral-style liturgy and godly preaching may not have had any direct parallels in England between 1558 and 1640; at Newark and Ludlow, two other parish churches that attempted to be cathedrals in miniature, there is no evidence for a similar drive to establish a skilled preaching ministry. But that is not to say that such an experiment was illegitimate or unfounded, contradictory or beyond the pale of godly culture. If Calvinism is

[31] Willis, *Music*.
[32] Temperley, *Music* and Le Huray, *Music*.
[33] Willis, *Music*, pp.62-4.
[34] Ibid, p.240.

associated with any form of music, it is with vernacular metrical settings of the Psalms of David, which were sung by congregations. William Kethe, the Marian exile whose sermon against 'festive culture' so inflamed the assizes at Blandford in 1571, had produced 25 metrical psalms for the Anglo-Genevan Psalter during his time in Geneva.[35] True, Calvin was more suspicious of medieval-style polyphony than Martin Luther was, even in the vernacular. As part of his anti-Augustinian stance on music, Luther rejected little of the Latin ordinary in his own order for service, and also encouraged the singing of metrical psalms in German, adapting popular tunes to fit religious lyrics.[36] And yet there is a real danger of oversimplifying Calvin's rich and highly developed theology of music. 'It is always worth recalling', writes Jeremy Begbie, 'that Calvin's (albeit overplayed) caution about music arises from his vigorous respect for its particular eloquencies – he has a *high*, not a low, view of music'.[37] Like many early modern thinkers about music, Calvin distinguished between vocal and instrumental music, with only the voice providing obvious signification; but even so the question, fundamentally, was one of idolatry and not genre: with powers denied to other media, including the spoken word, music should not separate man from God's 'opulent' creation, but bring him into the proper relationship with it.[38]

It should not be surprising, then, to find Calvinist accommodations with more elaborate forms of music; although most that were produced before the mid-seventeenth century appear to have been intended to be performed in domestic spaces, rather than in church. In France, Germany and the Low Countries, the Genevan psalter was given 'extended polyphonic settings', sometimes for as many as eight voices. 'Almost all this music has been lost'.[39] Among the composers of such settings were Claude Goudimel and Claude Le Jeune, both of whom were 'Calvinist musicians with a Catholic polyphonic training'. In the Low Countries, despite the Synod of Dordrecht's (1573) ban on musical accompaniment for psalmody during worship, one of the most notable composers of polyphonic psalm settings was Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621), organist of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam. The Oude Kerk retained its medieval organs, but in Sweelinck's time they were

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[35] Fielding, 'Kethe, William'. On psalm-singing, Marsh, *Music*, pp.437-49; and B. Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Abingdon, 2008) and 'The Psalm Book', in A. Kesson and E. Smith eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham, 2013), pp.203-11.
[36] Ibid, pp.46-7.
[37] J. Begbie, 'Calvin and Music' in *Music, Modernity, and God: Essays in Listening* (Oxford, 2013), p.38.
[38] Ibid, pp.36-40.
[39] L.P. Grijp, 'Psalms for the Lute in the Dutch Republic and Elsewhere' in J. Burgers, T. Crawford and M. Spring eds., *The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century* (Newcastle, 2016), pp.7-8. Also C. Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Boston, MA, 2017), pp.312-14.

only used outside services. But debate about the proper use of organs never ceased, and 'by the middle of the seventeenth century, those who supported [their] use seem to have made their case sufficiently strongly for organs to be used in worship'.[40]

How much of the real force behind English campaigns against church music came by way of Zurich – and the austerity of Zwingli and his protégé Bullinger – rather than Geneva, remains to be seen.[41] The influence on English Protestantism of men like Zwingli, Bullinger and Jan Łaski can easily be overlooked; and certainly was during the long debate on whether a 'Calvinist consensus' existed in England before the rise of Laudianism.[42]

ii Music at Wimborne, 1403-1563

According to David Skinner, most collegiate churches in England maintained a choir of four singing-men and six boys.[43] These choirs were made up of or supplemented in many cases by chantry priests and clerks.[44] There is no direct evidence for the composition of Wimborne's choir; but as one of the smaller royal free chapels, the Minster's choir may not have compared unfavourably with the average college. Music at Wimborne was the beneficiary of long-term investment, mobilisation and enthusiasm from the parish, as well as generous gifts from more powerful figures, most notably Lady Margaret Beaufort. There can be no doubt, however, that Wimborne could not have competed with a college like Fotheringay, with its establishment of a master, precentor, 11 fellows, eight singing men and 13 choristers.[45] It would also have faced competition from some of the more lavishly endowed parish churches, such as St Botolph's in Boston, which had the 'most splendid parish church choir in early Tudor England', and other churches such as Walsall, Holy Trinity in Hull, St Laurence in Ipswich, and Louth. There were

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[40] Joby, *Calvinism and the Arts*, pp.73-4.
[41] While Zwingli also had a high estimation of music, like Calvin, and was in fact a skilled musician, he was able to separate completely his attitudes to music and worship. C. Garside Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts* (1966), pp.7-26, for instance.
[42] MacCulloch, 'Putting the English Reformation', 92-3.
[43] D. Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringay', in Burgess and Heale, *College*, p.255.
[44] On clerks and singing, Temperley, *Music*, i, pp.8 and 14-15 and N. Orme, *Medieval Children* (2003), pp.229-30.
[45] Skinner, 'Music', p.255.

at least 11 chantry priests employed at St Botolph's, and Louth had a choir of eight men and six boys.[46]

As soon as Wimborne's churchwardens' accounts begin, there is evidence for musical provision by the parishioners, as there is for other collegiate parish churches like St Edmund's, Salisbury.[47] The churchwardens' accounts and other sources provide good evidence for organ music, the presence of a choir, and the performance of music both inside and outside the precincts of the Minster. Because of the lack of surviving evidence for the college itself, little can be said about the corresponding role of the clerical community; although that role can be approached obliquely via the churchwardens' accounts and a few other sources. Clive Burgess has cautioned historians not to assume that a medieval church's liturgical activities can be studied exhaustively through its churchwardens' accounts: in many cases, 'more flamboyant provision' was in the hands of 'the masters', a shadowy group of local worthies who had previously served as churchwardens.[48] Burgess knows this to be the case for the Bristol parishes he has studied; but such a group, if it existed at Wimborne, has left no record of itself. One might wonder, too, whether 'flamboyant provision' is more likely to have been left to the college than a group of lay elders.

The first musical entry in the churchwardens' accounts comes in 1406-7, when the churchwardens paid 2d '*in la horgyns emend*'; 13s 5d was paid the next year for more extensive repairs.[49] Although there is only one other mention of organs in the loose rolls (1403-75), the vast majority of musical entries in the churchwardens' accounts concern the organs. If there was just a single set at the beginning of the fifteenth century, a second set had been added by the end of the century at the latest: in 1494-5, the churchwardens paid Thomas Green and Richard Gilbert '*pro emend' le organys infra capella sancte marie*' and Green again '*pro le organys in rodloft & for glyw & lether*'.[50] It was not unusual for churches to have two or more pairs of organs, usually a large or 'great' organ and a 'little' organ; by 1540, the college at Ottery St Mary, for instance, had three.[51] The epithets 'little' and 'great' denoted a size difference owing to each set's liturgical function: specialised organs could be much smaller than multi-purpose instruments, and as a result more

[46] M. Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: A Provisional List and Commentary', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 38 (2005), 1-43.
[47] Ibid, 39.
[48] C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music History* 19 (2000), 29-31 and Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts'.
[49] CWA, 2-3.
[50] CWA, 40, fo.37.
[51] T. Huitson, *Stairways to Heaven: The Functions of Medieval Upper Spaces* (Oxford, 2014), p.82.

easily fitted in parish churches.[52] Great organs were placed in roodlofts because of their proximity to 'centres of liturgical activity', and singers often mounted the roodloft to perform next to the organ, as well as other upper spaces within the church.[53] The little organs in the Minster's Lady chapel, by contrast, were probably at ground level and used for the regular or daily performance of lady masses by the priests and choir, in the chapel itself.[54] From 1495, payments for the maintenance of the organs become more regular; this may be an indication of growing lay responsibility and enthusiasm for the musical regime. In 1511-12 an organ player appears in the accounts; he was paid 40d annually by the churchwardens until 1526, and from then on 80d a year.[55] He is likely to have been one of the parish clerks.[56] In 1531-2, a new set of great organs was installed by John Vaucks.[57] The cost of the installation is not recorded in the surviving account for that year, despite a separate entry having been made for them. Two years later, a gathering for the organs was made.[58] In 1538-9 a new organist, John Clifford, was appointed on a greatly enhanced salary of 50s, again paid by the churchwardens.[59] He was later named as a parish clerk in the chantry certificates. From 1540-1, his salary was increased again, to £3 6s 8d.[60] In a few instances, the parish also contributed vestments, including two surplices for choristers in 1531-2, both of whom were sons of a local gentleman, and a surplice for a clerk two years later.[61]

Other musical provision by the parish included three annual processions on holy days.[62] On such occasions polyphonic music might be taken outside the precincts of urban parish churches, into 'the urban environment at large'.[63] At Wimborne, payments were made by the churchwardens '*ad chorum*', and in the early loose rolls at least, payments to individual clerics were listed: on the Feast of St Stephen in 1409 a payment was made, '*ex consueto*' to the sacrist, two sub-sacrists, four chaplains, four clerks, six other clerks and another chaplain.[64] Priests and clerks from nearby towns

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[52] S. Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1998), p.46.
[53] Huitson, *Stairways*, pp.82-5.
[54] On lady masses, M. Williamson, 'The Will of John Boraston: Musicians within Collegiate and Parochial Communities' in Burgess and Heale, *College*, p.190 and 'Polyphony', 1-43, and also D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England, Volume III: The Tudor Age* (Cambridge, 1979 [1959]) pp.16-17.
[55] The account for 1511-12 is CWA, 40, fo.45. See fo.73 for the wage increase.
[56] For organ-playing clerks, Williams, 'Polyphony', 10-12.
[57] Ibid, fo.87. The installation is also noted in one of a number of memoranda inserted after the account for 1663, in CWA, 42.
[58] CWA, 40, fo.101.
[59] Ibid, fo.120.
[60] Ibid, fo.127.
[61] Ibid, fo.86 and 97.
[62] See the account for 1409-10, for instance. CWA, 5.
[63] Burgess and Wathey, 'Soundscape' and C. M. Barron, 'Church Music in English Towns 1450-1550: An Interim Report', *Urban History* 29:1 (2002), 83-91.
[64] CWA, 5.

and parishes may also have been in attendance, because the number listed is larger than the Minster's clerical community at that time. Medieval churches have been treated by historians as 'islands', unrelated to each other in musical terms, when in fact they regularly exchanged not only liturgical materials but also personnel for feasts and other special occasions.[65] As the only ancient foundation in the area, Wimborne may have been a particular draw for local clerics on special occasions.

These customary payments do not tell us how many members of the college were actually present, nor who sang and who did not: it is possible that some of the payments were made regardless of whether the cleric (i.e. a prebendary) was in attendance. Nor do the payments reveal which or how many of the Minster's priests and clerks were present regularly to sing in the church. Burgess and Wathey make a number of remarks on pluralism that are suggestive in this regard. 'Plurality of function… made a radical difference' to musical performance, and while 'the statutes of a church might prescribe a [particular] complement', absences, vacancies, and the presence or otherwise of supernumeraries could either boost or dramatically decrease the numbers available to perform music on any given occasion.[66] Pluralism affected the Minster in significant ways, as the first three chapters showed, and so if the ideal number of available priests was ten before the foundation of Lady Margaret Beaufort's chantry, in reality fewer would or could usually have been present for the performance of divine service. The musical training, and thus the competence, of the parish priests and clerks is unknown; but, as local men for the most part (except the few chaplains who occupied Lady Margaret's chantry), they probably had no first-hand experience of conditions or practices in greater foundations.[67]

Post-mortem arrangements were one way to augment musical provision in the late medieval period, and the statutes of Lady Margaret's chantry demonstrate clearly that 'the increase of divine service' in the Minster, including choral performance, was central to her wishes.[68] Her chaplain was, health permitting, to be present in the choir, in surplice and amice, to sing matins, the mass of the day and vespers. And he was to provide the other priests with incentives to sing: on Lady Margaret's anniversary, he was to share 20s among the sacrist, priests and clerks if they had attended the exsequies and mass, 'singing devoutly'. The chaplain being a trained singer, the grammar school he taught may also have been a place of musical instruction for the children of

[65] Burgess and Wathey, 'Soundscape'.
[66] Ibid, 10.
[67] See C. Cornish-Dale, 'Early Traces'.
[68] Appendix V, Document 6 in Coulstock.

the parish and local area. Both Eton and Winchester, the models for Wimborne's curriculum, had fine early choral traditions; and after 1563 musical instruction almost certainly took place in Wimborne's re-founded school, probably as a means to provide a supply of choristers for the Minster.[69]

The royal free chapel's musical regime would have remained unchanged, for the most part, until Easter 1548, when the college and its three chantries were dissolved. The available personnel for musical performance were now reduced to just the parish priests and clerks – four of each, if the chantry commissioners' recommendations were followed. A little over a year later, on Whitsunday 1549, came another serious change, when Cranmer's experiments with a fully English liturgy came to fruition at last, in the first Book of Common Prayer. Those experiments had previously resulted only in an English litany, introduced in 1544. Now 'the switch from Latin to English immediately rendered obsolete the entire musical repertoire of cathedral, chapel and parish church'.[70] 'Most of the new liturgy had never been set to music at all', and so 'church musicians were confronted with the task of providing new music for singing, just at a time when the musical resources of the church were drastically weakened'.[71] That first Whitsunday, with a few exceptions, the liturgy was '[reduced]… to a monotone dialogue between curate and clerk'.[72] In many cases, the old music was probably just adapted to the new words.[73]

Yet the music continued at Wimborne after Whitsunday 1549. The churchwardens kept paying not only for repairs to the organs but also for the organ-player, John Clifford, who received 15s for playing the Christmas quarter of 1549, and 20s for playing up to the following Lady Day.[74] For the remaining two quarters of the accounting year, however, there are no more payments to him; and thereafter no musical payments of any sort in the final two accounts of Edward's reign, which are, admittedly, very scrappy and brief. There is no evidence that the organs were removed, but it is possible that they now fell silent. Attitudes to music were hardening within the Edwardian regime, which moved in its final days towards a total ban on organs, of the kind that had already

[69] I. Fenlon, *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.331 and Williamson, 'Boraston', pp. 180-185. Much schooling in music, it would appear, went on informally and has thus left no evidence. Williamson, 'Polyphony', 13-14. Musical instruction in the school after 1563 is discussed in the next section of this chapter.
[70] Duffy, *Stripping*, p.465.
[71] Temperley, *Music*, i, pp.14-15.
[72] Duffy, *Stripping*, p.465.
[73] Temperley, *Music*, i, p.15.
[74] CWA, 40, fo.147 and 150.

spread across the 'churches belonging to the Strassburg-St Gall axis'.[75] Such a ban was only prevented by Edward's death. There are no payments towards the choir during Edward's reign, but this does not necessarily mean that it had been disbanded: the parish's role in its maintenance had always been irregular. With the college gone, however, one would expect the opposite: for the parish's burden of musical payments to have increased. Unless, that is, another group or individual was now paying the choir.

If a more substantial restoration was attempted under Mary, as for instance at Crediton, no evidence survives. Crediton's restoration under Reginald Pole included the replacement of the old furnishings and, importantly, the revival of the choir.[76] During the period 1548-63, the Minster and its chapel at Holt were, as far as can be told, 'but meanely served' and there was 'noe certaintye for the continuance' of the school and four ministers and clerks; this claim is corroborated up to 1552, at least, by the surviving churchwardens' accounts, and until 1563 by the important narrative account of 1657.[77]

Music's place in the first seven years of worship after 1558 are also a mystery for Wimborne. The return to the reformed religion may not have caused quite as much disruption as its introduction, because there was now some familiarity with the English liturgy, unlike in 1549. Musical payments resume with the extant churchwardens' accounts: in 1566-7, two payments for the blowing and mending of the organs, and in the following year over £8 was spent by the parish on repairs to the organs, including scouring the pipes and, importantly, 'dressynge of the Roodlofte'.[78] The roodloft was probably the medieval original. Entries in the Edwardian churchwardens' accounts list costs associated with removing altars, images and roods, but not the roodloft itself or the organs; and even with the rood gone, the loft still served the important function of supporting the great organs. A new screen was built in 1610, as a result of the collapse of the spire, which must have wrecked the medieval screen directly below it, and the medieval organs were later removed and sold as scrap during the Civil Wars.[79]

The amount spent on the repairs in 1567-8 may indicate that the organs had until recently been neglected, or that the repairs were simply for the sort of wear that decades-old instruments – the

[75] K. Fincham and N. Tyacke, *Altars Restored: the Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547-c.1700* (Oxford, 2007), p.66.
[76] Orme, 'Crediton', p.125.
[77] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[78] CWA, 40, fo.173 and 178-9.
[79] On the Minster in the Civil Wars, Cornish-Dale, 'A History of the Collegiate Church'.

little organs were even older, perhaps a century or more – would inevitably have accumulated. The presence of a choir is shown by a payment made by the churchwardens in 1568-9: 13s 4d for 'books to the quere to John Forest'.[80] The next year, two parishioners bequeathed small amounts of money 'to the children in the church' – the choristers.[81]

iii Music at Wimborne after 1563

So the musical regime at Wimborne, choir and organs, may have experienced only a brief hiatus at the end of Edward's reign, perhaps for two or three years; and it had probably not suffered as drastic a diminution as in churches that had relied more heavily on chantry priests. Wimborne's losses cannot have have been greater than those of Ludlow or Newark, the two parish churches that also followed a cathedral model for worship after 1558. Ludlow suffered especially with the dissolution of the local Society of Palmers, a religious confraternity of pilgrims to the Holy Land. They had not only maintained ten chantry priests at one point, but also contributed generously towards the maintenance and edification of the church, including the building of its tower, begun in 1470.[82] By 1546, Ludlow had four lay clerks, seven chaplains, an organist and six choristers; and at Newark in the early-to-mid-1530s, there had been an organist, six choristers and fifteen chaplains.[83]

Of course, the music Wimborne's choir sang, and the number of occasions on which it was sung, would have differed greatly after 1548; but it remains no less true that the effects of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Reformations had not been disastrous for music at Wimborne. This accords with unpublished research by Roger Bowers which shows that up until 1560 in 'towns with a single collegiate church', including Boston, Walsall, Coventry and Launceston, 'choral singing was socially and financially entrenched enough to withstand reforming assault'.[84] Unlike Wimborne, neither Ludlow nor Newark had been collegiate churches *stricto sensu*, but were quasi-collegiate: unusually large, well-funded and well-stocked with chantry priests. The social and financial

[80] CWA, 40, fo.183.
[81] John Goby and Avis Spinach. DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 26 and 29.
[82] A. Smith, 'Elizabethan Church Music at Ludlow', *Music and Letters* 49:2 (1968), 108-21.
[83] Williamson, 'Polyphony', 36.
[84] The work is cited in McCullough, 'Music Reconciled', p.109. The quotations are McCullough's.

entrenchment of music at Ludlow owed much to the town's status as the principal seat of the Council in the Marches of Wales, which was essentially the royal court in provincial miniature.[85] From 1559 until his death in 1586, Sir Henry Sidney, the lord president, paid close attention to the form of service at Ludlow, and was instrumental in regulating and formalising it with the help of the bishop of Hereford. His personal enthusiasm for choral music must have been given further impetus by the queen's own, expressed in the form of service of the Chapel Royal.[86] At Newark, the best indication of the long-term importance of music was the foundation in 1531 of a parish song-school, by Thomas Magnus, archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, but a Newark man by birth. The school continued after the Reformation under the direction of the schoolmaster, who was also organist in the church, and the trustees.[87]

Finance was one advantage for Wimborne: the parish regime, its economic base, was strong, firmly grounded in property and rent, as well as voluntary activities such as church ales, which continued to raise serious money for the parish each year (**Figs. 1-20**). Many other parishes, by contrast, found the cost of maintaining organs and polyphonic performance an increasingly onerous burden, especially with the loss of chantry endowments and the massive inflation of the later sixteenth century; although, a surprising number of even quite humble churches still managed to maintain an organ and / or small numbers of singing men (but not choristers) across the first three or four decades of Elizabeth's reign.[88] Nor were Wimborne's churchwardens left to finance the musical regime alone after 1563: the wages of the organist, singing-men and choristers were all paid for by the corporation, as were the costs of necessary materials, training, and repairs to the chancel and choir. The same arrangement also obtained at Ludlow, with the town corporation footing most of the bill.

Wimborne's post-1558 musical establishment is described in full in a governors' minute for 26 October 1602 concerning discipline within the choir, as well as Sunday preaching.[89] On Sundays and holy days the two sung services were to begin at 8 'in the forenoon' and then 'at ij of the

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[85] P. Jones, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958) and *VHC Shropshire*, ii, ed. A. T. Gaydon and R.B. Pugh (1973), pp.134-40.
[86] See for instance R. Bowers, 'The Chapel Royal, the First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559', *HJ* 43:2 (2000), 317-44.
[87] See A. Smith, 'Parish Church Musicians in England in the Reign of Elizabeth I (1588-1603): An Annotated Register', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 4 (1964), 88, and Le Huray, *Music*, p.17.
[88] Willis, *Music*, pp.128-31.
[89] MB. The minute was discussed by J.M.J. Fletcher in a short note in *SDNQ* 20 (1931), 165-6. Temperley used this note as the basis for his brief entry on Wimborne in *Music*, i, p.352. The entry is wrong in a number of points of fact, as well as emphasis.

clocke'; every clerk must wear his surplice, and those who did not must pay a fine to the master of the choir, who would then put the money to the choir's use. The routine of sung services was similar to Ludlow's, which was formalised in an agreement in 1581 among Sir Henry Sidney, the bishop of Hereford and the church itself. At Ludlow, a choral service was to be performed whenever Sidney was in his stall, at the choir door, and the performance of anthems, psalms, prick- and plain-song and the use of the two church organs were all regulated closely.[90] Choral services may sometimes have taken place more regularly at Wimborne than at Ludlow. In a minute of 29 December 1579, one of the parish clerks was set a yearly wage to 'attend' the choir every Sunday, holiday, half-holiday and on Wednesdays and Fridays; alternatively, if not occasions for musical services, the Wednesdays and Fridays could have been practice days.[91] No further details of the content of Wimborne's choral services is given, either in the governors' minute book or anywhere else; but they might have included 'chanted renditions of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Litany, as well as various responses, antiphonal psalms and contrapuntal anthems'.[92] How might the organs have been used? At Ludlow, which also retained two sets of medieval organs, it has been suggested that the large organs were used for 'main services', the little organs for 'weekday or non-festal services only'.[93] It is clear, at least, that Wimborne's churchwardens and the corporation maintained both sets diligently; while the generic term 'organs' is used more often than not, there are a handful of references from 1570s onwards to payments by the churchwardens for the cleaning – 'blowing' – of the 'lytell organnce', and the making of locks and keys for them.[94]

In 1602, the Minster's choir comprised Thomas Noble, the organist; Thomas Toogood and Robert Adams, the bass singers; William Fishmore and another man (name illegible), the counter-tenors; John Dale and Thomas Noble, the two tenors; and four choristers. By contrast, the average cathedral maintained a larger choir of an organist, eight singers and eight choristers; Ludlow and Newark both had two more choristers than Wimborne, but Newark kept only two rather than six adult singers.[95] At times, the number of choristers at Wimborne may have been greater; in 1592-3, for instance, the churchwardens paid for the making of a surplice for the organist and six surplices for 'boyes', which could mean that there were currently six choristers, or that two spare vestments were made.[96] The number of adult singers may also have varied from time to time. Not

[90] Smith, 'Ludlow', 113. The agreement is reproduced by Smith in full.
[91] MB.
[92] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p.113.
[93] Smith, 'Ludlow', 112-13.
[94] In 1573-4 and 1578-9, for instance. CWA, 40, fo.214 and 237.
[95] Smith, 'Ludlow', 110 and Le Huray, *Music*, p.17.
[96] CWA, 41, fo.49.

all of those who received wages from the governors have been consistently labelled with an occupation, and a good few individuals of unknown occupation received wages or payments consistent with the wages of the singers. It is worth noting that the voices at Wimborne matched, as was the ideal of the time: in his visitation of Salisbury Cathedral, which paid great attention to the cathedral choir, Archbishop Laud inquired whether the choir was well balanced – i.e. no one range should dominate the others.[97] Wimborne's organist, who was probably the choir-master at the time, also sang with the choir, an arrangement that can only be inferred at Ludlow.[98]

Parish clerks were essential to the manning and maintenance of the choir. This is likely to have been another continuity with medieval practice. Toogood, Adams, Fishmore and Dale – four of the six singing-men listed above – were all parish clerks, and so, as far as can be told, were most of the other singing men at Wimborne during this period. That quadrumvirate had long careers: Toogood was paid as a clerk from 1576 to 1597, when he became a minister; Adams, from 1576 to 1602; Fishmore, with the longest career, from 1576 to 1626; and Dale from 1597 to 1623.[99] Their annual wages could fluctuate quite dramatically: Toogood was paid as little as 20s and as much as £10; Adams between 40s and £8; Fishmore between 40s and £6; and Dale between 30s and £4. These wages were no less than the notoriously stingy wages of the typical cathedral musician, and more generous in some cases; at Carlisle, for instance, the average annual wage was £2 19s 2d until 1680.[100] Those who were singing-men at Wimborne but not clerks, were paid less: usually between £2 and £3.

Wage fluctuations are likely to have reflected varying attendance, as they did at Ludlow, and also the performance of various other tasks about the choir and church.[101] Toogood played the essential role of choir master, and his consistently higher wages must be a reflection of this. In a minute of 24 September 1579, the governors noted a payment to him of 3s 4d for pricking books for the choir – for writing out music – and again two months later a payment of 20s for 'teaching the Queristors boyes and prycking of bookes'; he must have been the 'tutore of the Queristors boyes' who had been mentioned, but not named, in the minute of 24 September.[102] Supplementary payments for services continued even when the organist took over as tutor of the choristers: in

[97] *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Part I: Report and Appendix* (1874), pp.127-8.
[98] Smith, 'Ludlow', 111.
[99] For Toogood, RA, 2-29; for Adams, 2-25; for Fishmore, 2-48; and for Dale, 20-45.
[100] Le Huray, *Music*, pp.40-1.
[101] Smith, 'Ludlow', 10-11.
[102] MB.

1625, for instance, the organist was paid 10s for pricking 'every service' and 20s for teaching Carter – a remedial case maybe or a new chorister who required bringing up to speed.[103]

Choristers as well as clerks are named in the Wimborne records. At least 26 can be identified for the period before 1640, of whom a minimum of ten were children of parish clerks: John Barnes, Nicholas Pope Junior, Richard Pope, Robert Pope, William Pope, Thomas Rogers, 'Dale's two boys', and 'Toogood's children'.[104] Again, this may be a continuity with the medieval period. Kinship, construed more widely, played an essential role: three children from the Loope family were choristers, two from the Morris family, four Popes, two Cases, two Dales and at least two Toogoods. As at Ludlow, choristers went on to become clerks and singing-men, a well-established career-path in colleges and cathedrals, where clerks were able to progress yet further and become vicars choral.[105] Nicholas Pope and Nicholas Pope Junior, his son, both went from chorister to clerk.

Musical instruction took place in many schools during this period, and some of the choristers may have come from the parish grammar school, and also been instructed in music there, possibly for the very purpose of singing in the choir.[106] At Newark, Thomas Magnus's song-school continued into Elizabeth's reign, and the grammar school at Ludlow is likely to have provided choristers for the church. No definitive evidence for Wimborne – no list of pupils for comparison, say – is extant. The governors' minute book does, however, record what appears to be a telling appointment: on 20 January 1597, Arthur Maynard was made both organist and usher of the school.[107] As usher he would have been well placed to teach and assess the pupils for musical potential. The scholars were also given a special place in the church by the governors: rows of seating were paid for in 1615-16, and again the next year.[108]

William Emes was clearly another 'star signing' for the corporation, and his recruitment is one of the surest indications that the corporation took its music just as seriously as its preaching. A genuine coup: when cathedral establishments were at risk from predation, it was from greater

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[103] Ibid. In the indenture with Emes, one of his stated duties was to teach the choristers. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 5.
[104] 'Arthur's boy', 'Dales's two boys' and 'Case's two boys', John Barnes, George Edmunds, Richard Leeves, John Loope, Thomas Loope, William Loope, Edmund Lovell, William Mills, John Morris, William Morris, Andrew Nash, Nicholas Pope, Nicholas Pope Junior, Richard Pope, Robert Pope, William Pope, Thomas Rogers, Richard Thedam, 'Toogood's children', and Thomas Strong.
[105] Lehmberg, 'Reformation of Choirs', p.49.
[106] Willis, *Music*, pp.164-80.
[107] MB.
[108] RA, 38-9.

cathedrals and especially the Chapel Royal; there are no obvious parallels for the appointment of a cathedral musician in a parish church, especially not a musician who would then go on to join the Chapel Royal, as Emes did. The master of the Chapel Royal had the right to tour cathedrals and collegiate churches and poach the very best of the best – although he might sometimes be encouraged not to by what look suspiciously like bribes, to the modern eye.[109] Emes's salary must have reflected his skill: £4 a year more than that of his predecessor, Arthur Maynard, who also served at various points as usher of the school.

The governors had first been in contact with Emes in 1602-3, when they had purchased music books at his approval.[110] It is unclear quite why they looked to Winchester, and not either to Bristol, in which diocese Wimborne had lain since 1542, or to Salisbury, with which close links were retained; Wells Cathedral also provided recommendations for personnel, specifically preachers and schoolmasters. Winchester's choir appears to have particularly impressed Lieutenant Hammond, at least, when he visited some 30 years later; by comparison, despite his raptures about the fabric of Salisbury Cathedral, he makes no mention of the choir or organs.[111] The governors' point of contact with the cathedral may have come from Winchester College. A stone's throw apart, college and cathedral had maintained close links since the Middle Ages, and the statutes of Wimborne's grammar school specified that the curriculum was to follow either that of Winchester or Eton, implying that channels of communication with one or other or both schools must have been kept open.[112] Distance may have been another factor.

Emes' appointment is also noteworthy because it coincides, perhaps intentionally, with the full restoration of the choir and chancel after the massively damaging collapse of the spire in 1600. A proper response was delayed for ten years by serious cash-flow problems, tithe suits and a challenge to the corportion's letters patent, a disastrous series of events that is discussed in the next chapter. In 1609-10, the governors spent their entire year's budget, £120, on repairing the chancel and constructing a new chancel screen and new returning choir stalls.[113] Over £20 had already been spent repairing the organs and apparently constructing a makeshift loft for the great organs, in

[109] Smith, 'Ludlow', 110-11 and 'The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: An Annotated Register', *R.M.E. Research Chronicle* 5 (1965), 13-46; Le Huray, *Music*, pp.57-89.
[110] RA, 26.
[111] *Short Survey*, pp.61-4.
[112] K. Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), pp.37-8. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 2.
[113] RA, 32.

1601-2.[114] The new screen and stalls were similar to those in the chapel of Wadham College, Oxford, constructed in 1613. John Newman describes the screen at Wadham as 'lavishly crested', and Graham Parry writes that it is a 'slender Jacobean screen embellished with inventive carvings and crested with perforated strapwork designs and obelisks'.[115] The lavish quality and embellishment of Wimborne's stalls, at least, is still visible, although less than was intended: they were shortened and reduced in number during the Minster's Victorian restoration (compare **Images 2 and 3** with **Images 18 and 19)**. The screen, however, suffered complete destruction, as did many other Jacobean and even medieval screens in the nineteenth century; it was the belief of many Anglicans, especially of the high church, that such screens merely obscured the parishioners' view of the drama at the altar.[116] The antiquarian Nicholas Whittock was of a similar belief, and claimed that due to its size and lack of 'connexion to the building', it 'materially injure[d] the appearance of this part of the church'; still, he described it as 'elaborately carved', and this is clear from the drawings he took of the interior of the Minster, in 1839.[117] The screen needed to be massive to support the great organs that sat atop it (in Wadham chapel, which is far smaller by comparison than the Minster, the organ is in the ante-chapel); but clearly the Jacobean screen at Wimborne was not designed to sit in the way between chancel and nave – to act as a barrier or break between the two. With its large open archways, it is different from the sort of screen installed by lay Laudians like Sir John Scudamore, in the 1620s and 1630s; there, in Scudamore's refurbished church of Abbey Dore, the screen really was a screen 'dividing the public space of the nave from the sacred space of the chancel', where the body and blood of Christ were consumed.[118] Instead, the new screen at Wimborne would probably have enhanced the parishioners' enjoyment of the choral liturgy, by making it more audible and more visible than it had been before, while the medieval screen was still intact. What better time, then, to employ 'one of the rarist Organists that this Land affoords'?[119]

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[114] RA, 25.
[115] J. Newman, 'The Architectural Setting' in Tyacke ed., *History of Oxford*, p.157. Parry, *Glory*, p.59.
[116] For the Victorian restoration, Mayo, pp.44-6, and A.C. Almack, 'Notes on Dorset "Restored" Churches', *PDNHAS* 39 (1918), 113-14. Various documents associated with the restoration, including architect's plans, are held under DHC, PE-WM / CW / 10 / 15. A far greater number of medieval screens were destroyed during the nineteenth than the sixteenth century. M. A. Williams, 'Medieval English Roodscreens, with Special Reference to Devon', (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2008), especially pp.66-100 and 247-52. See also D. MacCulloch, 'Changing Perspectives on the Reformation: the Last Fifty Years', in P. Clark and C. Methuen eds., *The Church on Its Past* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp.282-302
[117] Whittock, p.6. Such an opinion was responsible for its removal from the Minster, some 15 years later.
[118] Parry, *Glory*, p.37.
[119] *Short Survey*, p.46.

iv Wimborne's musical regime: popularity and Protestantisation II

Even as hostile a document as the Homilies of 1563 could acknowledge the power of choral music – if only sideways – and the continuing popular demand for it.

> …a woman said to her neighbour, "Alas Gossip, what shall we do now at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting and playing upon the organs, that we could before? But dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God thanks, that our churches are delivered out of all those things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his Holy House and his place of prayer…[120]

This hostility stood in marked contrast to the official terms of the Elizabethan Settlement; in particular, to article 49 of the royal injunctions of 1559, which prevented existing endowments for church music from being put to other uses, and allowed an anthem or hymn to be sung at certain points in the official service.[121] Article 49 had the benefit of being vague; it provided latitude, and Jonathan Willis has shown how that latitude was used by parishioners to produce a wide variety of musical regimes, to suit varying musical tastes and means. Music, from being peripheral to the history of the English Reformation – receiving but a single reference in the index to *The Stripping of the Altars* ('music: silenced in 1549') – now appears to be of central importance to the questions of how and why the Reformation, ultimately, was accepted; to the Compliance Conundrum, outlined earlier.

The parish conformed with the Henrician reformation, disposing of its beloved Cuthburga quickly and without resistance.[122] There is, however, no evidence that this was done enthusiastically, nor is there evidence that these changes were being anticipated or prefigured in the late medieval period, apart from the literate devotions of a minority of parishioners: no Lollardy or early evangelicalism; the new royal cult of King Henry VI was a resounding failure. It is entirely possible, in line with Willis's claims, that the continuity of the musical regime was an important refuge for the parishioners in troubled times. It is possible too, that it helped towards the acceptance of the governors' preaching regime; it may well have maintained attendance and the good mood of the parishioners, making them receptive to preaching – or at the very least ensuring they were present

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[120] 'Of the Place and Time of Prayer' in *Sermons or Homilies Appointed To Be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory* (1839), p.378.
[121] *VAI*, iii, pp.22-3.
[122] C. Cornish-Dale, 'Cuthburga and Saint King Harry'.

to hear it. The manner in which the governors introduced regular preaching suggests that they knew they had to be careful not to rock the boat too much: they introduced preaching incrementally, over a period of years. And the gains of the first three decades of Elizabeth's reign were not so secure that they could not be imperilled or even reversed, as will be shown.

Unfortunately, there is little direct evidence to show the process of acculturation at work at Wimborne, apart from the ongoing commitment of the churchwardens. The churchwardens of 1403 would not have had any problems recognising the musical duties and responsibilities of their counterparts in 1603; this implies the long-term support of the middling sort. The corporation as a whole continued to pay for both the lectureship and the choir throughout the period of this study. No signs of internal dissent about either are evident until the mid-1630s; the specific pressures of Laudianism would then be to blame. What can be shown directly is the enthusiasm of two important governors for the Minster's musical regime. These two were men whose place among the godly could be in little doubt; and so, on the face of things, they might be expected to have been patrons of the pulpit, but not the choir. And yet both men embody one of Jonathan Willis's most important claims about religious music in Elizabethan England; and they show, as far as is possible, that the governors' support of both a lectureship and choral regime did not arise out of opposing tendencies or even factions within the corporation.

What Peter McCullough has written about the London merchant William Parker could equally be written of Wimborne's governors Thomas Hanham and Joseph Collett: both were 'keen to be patrons of… singing and preaching'. The grandson of John Hanham, who brought evangelisation to Edwardian Poole, and the younger brother of Richard Hanham, one of the first governors, Thomas Hanham seems to have been instrumental in the foundation of Wimborne's lectureship and in the recruitment of the non-conformist preacher Thomas Norman. His love for choral music is perhaps evident in the placing of his seat in the church, if it was indeed next to the entrance to the choir; and, more substantially, in his effort to maintain the choir with a permanent endowment of its own.[123] On 14 October 1589, Hanham purchased from William Tipper and his associate Robert Daw the ruined church of St Peter's in the town, which had been granted to them by the crown after its apparent concealment from the chantry commissioners.[124] On 17 January the

[123] Hanham's namesake and second son was to be found sat next to the entrace to the choir in 1628. CWA, 41, fo.216. John Gundry and his wife Mary were both sermon enthusiasts like Thomas Hanham, and became close intimates of the preacher Thomas Norman; and they too had their seats 'next the Quier dore', for which they paid 2 s. CWA, 41, fo.74.

[124] The deed of purchase and various other documents, including the enfeoffment document, are held DHC, PE-WM / GN / 7 / 1.

following year, Hanham enfeoffed the church to Nicholas Humfrey and Thomas Jay: the corporation was to turn it into a new town hall, and to put the profits of its use towards the maintenance of four choristers in the Minster. The new town hall is mentioned for the first time in the receiver's account for 1599-1600, when 20s was earned from the renting of the building.[125] Hanham's choice of Humfrey and Jay as feoffees is unlikely to have been accidental. Humfrey was a Middle Temple lawyer like Hanham and would later join the corporation. On the one hand, his enthusiasm for sermons is apparent from his purchase of expensive seats directly beneath the Minster's pulpit, one for himself and one for his wife.[126] On the other, his enthusiasm for the choral regime can be inferred at least: if he puritanically disapproved of it, why help to ensure its survival? Humfrey also played an important role in another of Thomas Hanham's godly schemes: the rebuilding of the schoolhouse, in 1592; and further property transactions solidified his connections to the Hanham family after Thomas's death.[127] There is little evidence about the other feoffee, Thomas Jay. He does not appear to have been a Middle Temple lawyer, nor was he a member of the corporation; but he did contribute a small gift towards the rebuilding of the schoolhouse.[128]

Joseph Collett's tenure as governor began some sixteen years after Thomas Hanham's death. He had first been churchwarden, in 1596-7, and was appointed to the corporation in 1610, in place of John Studley. Collett's close similarity to Thomas Hanham is revealed in his will, written in 1621.[129] After various generous and characteristically godly provisions, including the foundation of a charity stock, Collett asked for a gown to be made for Wimborne's preacher, Miles Bownes, and a new pulpit cloth, both of which were to be used at his funeral, at which Bownes was to preach a sermon. Collet's relationship with Bownes, who would later be one of the godly clergy to subscribe to the Reverend John White's Dorchester Company, was close: Bownes was an overseer of the will, and Collett was godfather to one of Bownes' daughters.[130] Preaching, check; now music. Having given away his Bible, Collett gave his wife a 'hymn book', which was surely Sternhold and Hopkin's *Whole Book of Psalms*. So Collett practised 'extra-ecclesiastical psalm-singing' – he sang at home; this was something only the godly considered a 'matter of duty', said Nicholas Bownde, the prominent Sabbatarian.[131] Beyond an orthodox Genevan enthusiasm for metrical psalms, Collett then reveals his enthusiasm for the parish's fuller musical regime, with a payment to 'those

[125] RA, 23.
[126] CWA, 41, fo.48 and 170.
[127] As detailed in TNA, C 78 / 565 / 7.
[128] RA, 14.
[129] TNA, PROB 11 / 138 / 139.
[130] TNA, PROB 11 / 158 / 429. The Dorchester Company features centrally in the final chapter.
[131] Marsh, *Music*, pp.437-49, especially 439.

of the choir that sing at his funeral': 10s each to Mr Paine and Mr Selly, 5s each to Mr Fishmore and Mr Pope, and 20s to be divided among the rest. Perhaps they sang metrical psalms, or a more elaborate polyphonic anthem. As requested, Collett was buried in a frugal tomb in the chancel, its location marked by the presence of his charity's strongbox above it (**Image 22**), so the choir must have performed indoors, in the Minster.

v Choir and pulpit: a brief conclusion

This chapter and the last show the benefit of an experiential or phenomenological approach to worship in early modern England: attitudes to music and preaching at Wimborne were not simply *a priori* – not templates to which worship was made to conform – but developed in situ as a response both to the terms of the Elizabethan Settlement and to the parish's own history and traditions. So Judith Maltby's reflection on a sermon of John Donne's might be extended to choir and pulpit too: 'Donne… failed to see an antithesis between altar and pulpit. It may be that the antithesis exists more in the mind of the modern ecclesiastical historian than it did in the mind of the early modern parishioner or even divine'.[132]

It was the employment of Thomas Norman, the star-signing for Wimborne's lectureship, that compromised the balanced regime of preaching and music created over the first 30 years of the corporation's existence. The preacher suddenly became a divisive figure, setting 'the profane' and the Prayer-Book Protestants against the godly members of the corporation and their supporters in the local area. At the same time, the parish tithes became a flashpoint for conflict, as the governors' attempts to raise greater revenue were frustrated by evasion, legal challenges, and a catastrophic act of God.

[132] J. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p.68.

VII: 'Such a knave as Mr Norman': troubles with the preacher, troubles with tithes

> I grant indeed for them that are idle, and have little to doe, it is not amisse now and then to heare a Sermon, and reade the Scriptures: but we have no leasure, we must followe our businesse, wee cannot live by the Scriptures: they are not for plaine folk, they are too high for us, we wil not meddle with them, they belong to Preachers and Ministers… Christ saith, My sheep heare my voyce, and I give unto them eternall life. If therefore you refuse to heare the voice of Christ, you are none of his sheepe, neither can you have eternall life. And in another place our Lord Jesus saith, He that is of God, heareth Gods word: Yee therefore heare it not, because ye are not of God.[1]

[1] A dialogue between Theologus, a minister, and Asunetus, an ignorant man, in A. Dent, *The plaine mans path-way to heaven wherein every man may clearly see, whether he shall be saved or damned: set forth dialogue wise, for the better understanding of the simple* (1601), p.26.

i A year of 'great fires' (some greater and more providential than others)

1613 was a year of 'great fires'; a parched summer that made so much ready fuel of the kingdom's buildings. On 29 June, during a performance of *All Is True* (later, *Henry VIII*), an accident with a stage cannon caused the thatch roof of the Globe Theatre to ignite: 'the thatch took fire, and the wind sodainly disperst the flame round about, and in a very short space the whole building was quite consumed, and no man hurt'.[2] Then on the afternoon of 6 August a chandler's tallow erupted in his shop in Dorchester, Dorset; carelessness the cause. A pamphlet written soon after describes how 'this then flourishing Towne… was covered with a garment of redde flaming fier, and all [the townspeople's] Jolity turned into lamentation'.[3] As at the Globe, the conflagration had been whipped up by 'the winde blowing very stronge'; and when the townspeople had returned from the fields – it was harvest-time – 'the tyranous fier had taken too great a head, and likewise there was too much want of water'. Mercifully, the powder store was evacuated quickly, 'otherwise taking fier it had bene sufficient, with one blast to have blowne up the whole towne'. Except 'a few dwelling houses' and one of the town's three parish churches, 'All the rest of the towne was consumed and converted into a heap of ashes… like never to reobtaine the former estate, but continue like ruinated Troy, or decayed Carthage'. The total cost of the damage was perhaps as much as £80,000.[4]

Wimborne Minster suffered a 'great fire' in 1613, too; although its effects are unlikely to have evoked holocausts of ancient repute. The only contemporary notice is in the account of the governors' receiver for 1613-14: 'paid Bragge for his travell about the schoole house when the great fire was there by the appointmente of mr Stroud & William Wareham x s'.[5] The fire is more fully described in a narrative source of 1657:

> after by a causelty of fire happening in the Towne (wch burned downe many houses in the Towne) kiching of the schoole house & some part of the ministers houses were allsoe burnt downe & the rest much hurt & hardly saved; And thereupon the saide Governors built a

[2] A quotation from *Stowe's Annales*, in 'Documents of the Elizabethan Playhouse' in J.R. Mulryne and M. Shewring eds., *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt* (Cambridge, 1997), p.187.
[3] J. Hilliard, *Fire from heaven… with the fearefull burning of the towne of Dorchester upon Friday the 6. of August last 1613* (1613).
[4] Underdown, *Fire*, p.4.
[5] RA, 36.

> new kitching to the schoole house with twoe storyes over head fayre chambers & a Buttery, beesides some new buildings to the ministers howses all wch cost about 100 li.[6]

No mention of the number of houses destroyed, or the cost to replace them.

Dorchester's devastating fire, like those of Tiverton in 1598 and again in 1612, was immediately seen as providential.[7] The description of the fire quoted above was a more dramatic addendum to an earlier tract by John Hilliard, 'preacher of the word of life' at Sopley, Hampshire, in which he hailed 'a trumpet sounding to iudgement, calling us to repentance' in the death-by-lightning of a carpenter in nearby Christchurch, and the birth in that same town of a monstrous child lacking lips and anus.[8] Among Dorchester's residents, the fire caused a 'spiritual mass conversion', which owed much of its impetus to the 'eloquent preaching' of John White, who had arrived in the town nearly eight years before.[9]

Providence might also have been used to explain Wimborne's 'great fire', considering the mere sparks with which Hilliard would attempt to kindle the town of Christchurch; but no record of such a call to repentance remains. In any case, who would have made it? Wimborne's counterpart to Hilliard and White was in the first year of a four-year suspension from preaching.[10] In Michaelmas 1612, Thomas Norman had been suspended by George Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury. Case material, from the Court of Arches or High Commission, is lacking. Abbot was generally loath to silence preachers, preferring to address the 'scandalous living' of certain ministers rather than to enforce strict conformity, at least if the fundamental integrity of the Church was not at issue.[11] Without evidence of separatism, Norman's suspension must be considered unusual, although the circumstances remain opaque.

Even if he had been able to mount the pulpit in the aftermath of Wimborne's 'great fire', few would probably have believed it was also 'fire from heaven'; or he the one to tell them so. His

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[6] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[7] A. Walsham, 'Deciphering Divine Wrath and Displaying Godly Sorrow: Providentialism and Emotion in Early Modern England' in J. Spinks and C. Zika eds., *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400-1700* (2016), p.28.
[8] Hilliard, *Fire from heaven.*
[9] Underdown, *Fire*, p.5.
[10] The only reference to the case is in a churchwardens' presentment from Michaelmas 1616. DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 115.
[11] See P. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (Stanford, CA, 1972), pp.228-40, K. Fincham, 'Prelacy and Politics: Archbishop Abbot's Defence of Protestant Orthodoxy', *HR* 61:144 (1988), 36-64 and S. Holland, 'Archbishop Abbot and the Problem of "Puritanism"', *HJ* 37:1 (1994), 23-43.

ministry, entering its eighteenth year in 1613, had rent deep cleavages through the parish, separating governors from governed, clergy from laity. The middling sort he angered with his ritual nonconformity; the 'profane', including the parish's church papists, with the harshness of his doctrine and probably also vigorous tongue-lashings during sermon-time. The governors, meanwhile, placed great faith in him, and remained steadfast in their support, even during his suspension. He stayed in the close confidence of the Hanham family after Thomas Hanham's death, and was given a leading role in what looks like a more thorough programme of reformation, with the governors allowing him to oversee the parish grammar school in a manner of his own choosing. The local grammar school in Halifax, for instance, was also 'revitalised' by a godly preacher, who did so as part of a wide-ranging scheme of social reform, and Dorchester's grammar school was a similar focus under John White.[12]

Norman's polarising ministry is revealing in a number of respects. First of all, of the prerequisites for godly reformation. Although he had the support of the corporation atop the parish hierarchy, he lacked the support of the group directly below it. In Essex, William Hunt has shown their support to have been indispensable to attempts to impose 'the culture of discipline'.[13] Norman's failure to win that support can also be counted a success – that is, for the rituals of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which could already command significant loyalty in the parish by the early 1590s. Maltby's 'Prayer-Book Protestants' are easily overlooked – as moderates and conformists seem to be in all times and places.[14]

The opposition between preacher and pastor advanced by Christopher Haigh is clearly exaggerated: many ordinary people, and indeed the Church itself, expected a minister to be both, not either.[15] In Thomas Norman's case, some confusion is evident. The lectureship had been substituted for the position of minister to a chapelry, but like all lectureships Wimborne's did not come with a cure of souls: the entry recording Norman's appointment states that he was 'retained by patente for the terme of his leffe to preach in the Church of Wimborne soe often as he may' – and no more.[16] A later preacher, appointed in 1630, was also to 'celebrate divine service', but the

[12] W. Sheils and S. Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform: Halifax and Its Hinterland' in Collinson and Craig, *Reformation in English Towns*, pp.134-43; Underdown, *Fire*, pp.46-7.
[13] Hunt, *Puritan Moment*, pp.152-5.
[14] Maltby, *Prayer Book*.
[15] E. Carlson, 'Good Pastors or Careless Shepherds? Parish Ministers and the English Reformation', *History* 88: 291 (2003), 423-36; compare with C. Haigh, 'The Taming of Reformation: Preachers, Pastors and Parishioners in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *History* 85: 280 (2000), 572-88.
[16] Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*. MB.

other ministers appointed at around that time were 'to administer the sacraments and discharge the cure of souls'.[17] Even so, the churchwardens and many of the parishioners expected him to do more than just preach; and the evidence shows that he did, albeit not very much to their liking.

This chapter begins with Norman's detractors and their reasons, and then a consideration of his supporters, a network of godly laymen and –women, and clerics, in the parish and beyond it. A few words on the method followed. Tracing godly networks is often a case of 'degrees of preacher or layperson X', a less tangled application of the method behind the recent 'Six Degrees of Francis Bacon' project.[18] Norman himself, and the projects he was most closely involved in during his time at Wimborne, will function as that 'X' here, allowing the direct identification of his supporters in the parish and, by proliferating connections, other godly or candidates for godliness. Intra-marriage is a noticeable feature of these networks, as is the witnessing and overseeing of one another's wills; wider support for preaching, precisely targeted charity, the specification of burial 'without pomp', obviously Calvinist will preambles (mentioning election) and the exchange of mourning gifts, especially *memento mori* or death's head rings, will be used as further indicators.[19] Some of these things, notably payments for funeral sermons and the exchange of religious jewellery and mourning garb, could of course be criticised by ultras, usually for their supposed Catholic or even pagan resonances or roots; but this is merely to say that the godly were not all of one voice.[20] Solemn mourning garb, for instance, might be seen as a legitimate gesture of sorrow and humility; as at the funeral of Sir Thomas Thynne, where Daniel Featley noted during his sermon that so many eminent men in black was a sign of great respect and loss.[21] The aim here is to build a composite picture, with identifications the result of as much evidence as possible.

The final part of this chapter situates Norman's ministry within a broader crisis of income and, ultimately, legitimacy for the corporation; he could hardly have arrived at a less opportune moment. A poorly handled attempt to raise extra revenue, in part to counter the rising costs of the

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[17] MB. Compare the appointments of John More, the preacher, and Robert Ward.
[18] A digital reconstruction of Francis Bacon's social network (www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com).
[19] On targeted charity, Reynolds, *Godly Reformers*, pp.59-60; S. Hindle, 'Dependency, Shame, and Belonging: Badging the Deserving Poor, c.1550-1750', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), 6-35 and *On the Parish? The Micro-Politics of Poor Relief in Rural England, c.1550-1750* (Oxford, 2004); M.K. McIntosh, *Poor Relief in England, 1350-1600* (Cambridge, 2012).
[20] R.A. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 252, 270-1, 276 and 297. D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1999), pp.403-9. For rings and the godly *ars moriendi*, C. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1982), pp.219, 229 and 234.
[21] Houlbrooke, *Death*, pp.270-1.

lectureship, led to mass tithe-evasion and expensive and time-consuming lawsuits. Coupled with the freak collapse of the spire in 1600 and a challenge to the governors' letters patent, tithe-evasion effectively crippled the corporation, preventing it from paying its wage bill or from repairing quickly the enormous damage to the body of the Minster. Even after defeating the various legal challenges, whose costs included a payment of nearly £1000 to purchase the corporation's annual rent to the Crown, a heightened level of tithe-evasion became endemic.

The overlap with Norman's ministry is clear, and some links between non-attendance at his sermons and tithe-evasion can be shown; but the governors' problems with tithes illustrate a much greater complexity of lay responses to impropriation during this period. Many factors might influence parishioners' attitudes to tithes and their decision to pay or withhold. In contrast to the positive re-evaluation of lay impropriations given in a recent article by Lucy Kaufman, who claims that most parishioners were happy so long as the rector maintained the chancel properly, a range of other factors were also at work: many felt just as strongly, if not more so, about the sub-rental of parish tithes to a notorious land speculator and then, after his imprisonment for debt, to his creditor; and the governors' use of the parish court in a way that was seen as self-serving and corrupt.[22] Their failure to enforce tithe-payment was also a failure of the parish's instruments of ecclesiastical justice, and in particular of excommunication as an effective sanction – a 'rusty sword' indeed.[23]

ii Norman's detractors

Thomas Norman's return from suspension in Michaelmas 1616 was greeted with incredulity by the churchwardens, John Dackombe and Nicholas Fowler, who swiftly presented him to the parish court. On 19 September 1616, they stated that 'being silenced by the order of the Court of my Lordes grace of Canterburie [Thomas Norman] doth notwithstanding preach with us, but by what

[22] Kaufman, 'Ecclesiastical Improvements'. Her account is written in explicit opposition to Christopher Hill's classic account in *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (Oxford, 1956).
[23] C. Hill, 'The Rusty Sword of the Church' in *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1964), pp.354-81.

authoritye we know not'.[24] There was no doubt a hope in this presentment – that Norman would continue to remain silent – and Dackomb and Fowler cannot have been alone in hoping as much; for suspension had not tempered Norman's behaviour one bit, as would quickly become clear. Dackombe and Fowler presented him again the following June: '[Thomas Norman] hath not according to the Cannon administered the communion, nor reade divine service in his Surplisse twice this yeare for ought that we know; & this we present according to our articles'.[25] It was his ritual nonconformity, more than his preaching, that the churchwardens were concerned about, and had been since his arrival in the parish, 22 years before. Why?

The place of vestments in reformed worship had provoked sharp debate since the reign of Edward VI, when the Zwinglian John Hooper had refused to be consecrated bishop of Gloucester in cope and surplice. He registered his objections in a series of notes based on Romans 10 and 14: '*Quod ex verbo Dei probari non potest, non est ex fide, fides enim ex auditu verbi Dei… quod vero ex fide non est non potest Medium quiddam esse et Indifferens, sed quemadmodum Scriptura loquitur, vere peccatum*'.[26] Hooper could find no scriptural warrant for any of the medieval vestments, nor could they be seen as a *res indifferens – adiaphora*. This *sola scriptura* objection followed the Marian exiles abroad and returned home with them, resurfacing loudly during the Vestiarian Controversy, which came to a head at Convocation in 1563, and the *Admonition to Parliament*, in 1572.[27] 'If we forsake popery as wicked', asked the Elizabethan earl of Leicester, 'how shall we say their apparel becomes saints and professors of true holiness?' – a rhetorical question later quoted with great approval by John Davenport, a Laudian exile and founding father of the colony of New Haven, Connecticut.[28]

And a surplice may have precipitated Norman's suspension; the final straw. In 1611-12, the churchwardens John Habgood and William Barnes had paid 29s to 'make Mr Norman a surplishe'.[29] The purchase may have come after Habgood and Barnes presented him, on 2 October 1611, for failing to 'minister the sacramentes nor [reading] divine service and prayers nor [wearing]

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[24] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 115.
[25] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 117.
[26] C. Hopf, 'Bishop Hooper's "Notes" to the King's Council', *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1943), 194-9.
[27] For instance, B. Usher, 'The Deanery of Bocking and the Demise of the Vestiarian Controversy', *JEH* 52:3 (2001), 434-55. The *Admonition to Parliament* is reprinted in *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt*, ed. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (1907), 1-39.
[28] F. J. Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan in Three Worlds* (2012), p.70. See also, Haigh, *Pathways*, pp.30-1.
[29] CWA, 41, f.137.

a surpless as he ought to doe'.[30] Wimborne's churchwardens occasionally had surplices made or mended for the ministers, clerks or parish choir; but the purchase for Norman looks like a final, exasperated, test of his will to refuse. A personal test, too; for John Habgood had also been churchwarden the year before, with William Willis, and so had presented Norman a total of four times over his two-years – more than any other churchwarden.[31] Perhaps Habgood, alone or in concert with others, had brought Norman's behaviour to the attention of the archbishop.

Norman's refusal to conform to the articles and injunctions of the Church extended well beyond the vestments he chose to leave unworn. With regard to communion, the exact nature of his nonconformity is never stated. At stake for the parishioners in the matter of surplice-wearing was adherence to the letter of the law; but with communion access to grace and one of the two surviving medieval sacraments might be lost. Norman may have refused to administer communion to those he considered unfit to receive – a practice that some especially hard-line ministers might extend to their entire congregation. Or he may have refused to administer the sacrament to kneeling parishioners, an offence that was formalised in the canons of 1604.[32] Francis Foster, the rector of Whiston, was presented to the local consistory in 1592 because, among other things, he 'denyeth communion to him that kneeled', probably for the reason given in 1622 by Richard Hall of Chippenham, Wiltshire, cited for refusing to kneel and receive: 'that to kneel at the communion is idolatry and directly against the second commandment'.[33] Norman probably refused to administer deathbed communion too: in a presentment from 1599 that no longer survives, he was presented, among other things, for refusing 'to visite the sicke'.[34] Again, Norman would have detected only idolatry – an empty remnant of the medieval deathbed drama.[35]

More than preventing undue reverence, the general concerns when administering communion, common 'across the Protestant spectrum', were to 'prevent damnation of unworthy recipients, and to prevent profanation of the sacrament'.[36] Three basic reasons for exclusion were established in

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[30] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 16 / 2.
[31] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 99, 101 and 103.
[32] See A. Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in Early Modern England', *P&P* 161 (1998), 39-83 and C. Haigh, 'Communion and Community: Exclusion from Communion in Post-Reformation England', *JEH* 51 (2000), 721-40. William Benn, the most radical of Dorchester's ministers, did not administer communion once during the 1650s, at least not officially within the parish church. Underdown, *Fire*, p.218. On lay refusals to take communion kneeling, R.C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester, 1972), pp.76-80.
[33] Haigh, *Pathways*, pp.34 and 108.
[34] Hutchins, iii, p.265.
[35] Houlbrooke, *Death*, pp.181 and 377.
[36] C. Haigh, 'Communion', 726.

the Prayer Book of 1559 – sin, malice and ignorance – and allowed for significant latitude in their definition. By around 1600 the emphasis had shifted somewhat, and also to be excluded were schismatics, communicants from outside the parish and churchwardens lax in presenting offenders.[37] Exclusion might have the support of the parish, but without it 'often produced new troubles and fractured communities, especially if… the reasons were not made clear'.[38] With its spiritual deficits, exclusion also brought shame and heightened existing conflicts or even created new ones – perhaps with the excluding minister himself; and it could easily discourage the more and the less regenerate alike from receiving, the former expecting themselves to be judged unworthy, the latter needing little or no encouragement to shirk their religious obligations.[39]

The effects appear to have been immediate. In 1594-5, the year of Norman's appointment, an ominous payment is recorded in the governors' expenditure, when 'Gawpin' was paid for 'making a list of everybody that should have come to communion'.[40] A few years earlier, when the first such list was compiled, it had been a list of 'the names of the households and communicants who received at Easter', a much more innocuous phrasing.[41] The first surviving presentment of non-communicants at Easter comes from two years into Norman's tenure: 268 parishioners, perhaps 15% of those eligible to, did not receive.[42] But that was still a better rate than the 25% who did not attend communion in 1603 in the parishes of Lincoln diocese, although not quite as good as the rates in certain parishes in London, where a monitoring system involving tokens was used.[43]

Ensuring access to proper baptism, the other surviving medieval sacrament, was another serious concern for Wimborne's churchwardens: was baptism not 'crucial to salvation'? 'After all, the Prayer Book did say that in the christening a child was made "regenerate" by Christ'.[44] The reality of Protestant, especially predestinarian, theology was much more complicated; but the death of a child unbaptised and therefore 'unredeemed' in the eyes of its parents and the wider community could be a source of added grief, as well as acrimony if the minister had been negligent or refused to baptise the child.[45] On top of general presentments for failing to administer the sacraments,

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[37] Ibid, 722-4.
[38] Ibid, 736.
[39] Ibid, 736-40.
[40] RA, 17.
[41] RA, 10.
[42] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 31.
[43] Maltby, *Prayer Book*, p.32. J. Boulton, 'The Limits of Formal Religion: the Administration of Holy Communion in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *The London Journal* 10: 2 (1984), 135-54 and *Neighbourhood and Society: a London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.279-84.
[44] Haigh, *Pathways* pp.69-70.
[45] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp.329-36.

baptism is mentioned specifically twice in the surviving presentments against Norman.[46] He may have been refusing to baptise full stop; or simply omitting to sprinkle the child with water and make the sign of the cross. The site of baptism – at the font or the front of the church? – and the presence of godparents could also be matters of contention.[47] If Norman utterly refused to baptise, in specific instances perhaps he questioned the faith of the parents: as his ministry developed, John Davenport would insist on tests of understanding for new parents before baptism; although in unsatisfactory cases he seems only to have delegated the baptism to another priest.[48]

Churching, the ritual of post-partum cleansing and reintegration, was not a source of grace; but it was for many an important rite of passage, and its role as a form of 'purification' was sought both by mothers themselves and their kin on the one hand, and by their fellow parishioners on the other, who did not wish to share their church with polluting influences.[49] Clergy and laypeople of Norman's kind of course execrated this ritual; just one more superstitious hangover – '*ex verbo Dei probari non potest*', to return to Hooper's words.[50] The first extant presentment against Norman, from 1595-6, was made on the grounds that he had refused to 'purify' the wives of Thomas Fuller and Mr Adams.[51] He refused another purification in 1599.[52]

The final act of ritual nonconformity for which the churchwardens regularly presented Norman was for refusing to read the prescribed litany. In 1596-7, a general complaint was made that 'the littan is left out and at evening prayer there is none at all', followed by a specific complaint about Norman two years later.[53] In 1610-11 he was presented three times as either refusing to read 'devine service' or neglecting to read 'prayers'; likewise in the 'perambulation weeke last past oure ministers did not doe according to the Cannon neythe reed the letany accordinge to the booke of comon prayer'.[54] The importance attached to collective prayer, and the belief that it was qualitatively different from individual prayer, appears to have grown towards the end of the sixteenth century; at issue, rather, was not its value but authenticity.[55] Ministers like Norman did not object to prayer per se, as their critics, especially their Laudian critics in the 1620s and 1630s,

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[46] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 99, 101 and 103; CP / 2 / 16 / 2.
[47] Haigh, *Pathways*, pp.105-6. Durston and Eales, 'Introduction: the Puritan Ethos', in *Culture of Puritanism*, p18.
[48] Bremer, *Jerusalem*, p.77.
[49] Haigh, *Pathways*, pp.69-70.
[50] Haigh, *Pathways*, pp.40, 69, 106-7 and 109-10. Durston and Eales, 'Introduction', p.18.
[51] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 23.
[52] Hutchins, iii, p.265.
[53] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 25. Hutchins, iii, p.265.
[54] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 99, 101 and 103.
[55] Ryrie, *Being Protestant*, pp.325-9.

would claim, but to set formulae: public as well as private prayer should come from the heart and be given extempore, rather than read verbatim from a book.[56] Elnathan Parr, rector of Palgrave, Suffolk, spoke not just for himself when he warned that 'the noyse of our lips, without the voice of the heart, is no more a true prayer, then ringing of belles, or babling of a Parrot'.[57] And perambulation? Well, that was just a pagan custom.

As if Norman's refusal to perform the rituals of the *Book of Common Prayer* as prescribed was not bad enough for the churchwardens, he appears to have emboldened his fellow ministers. It is hardly surprising that a figure with Norman's pedigree, connections and sheer implacable force of will should inspire emulation.[58] Less is known about the other clergy at this time, despite the better evidence for appointments and salaries after 1563; and without earlier parish court material, it is unclear whether nonconformity among the ministers was already present before Norman's arrival, or how it was received if indeed it was. Still, on top of a number of general presentments for nonconformity spanning all of Norman's 22 years at Wimborne, two ministers, Mr Withington and John Payne, were both cited individually for failing to wear the surplice.[59]

In 1600-1, when Thomas Hanson preached one Sunday, Mavis Brewer was heard to remark that 'she did see a divell in the pulpit' – words that might easily have been uttered about Thomas Norman himself; and an indication of his influence on this junior minister?[60] Such words were frequently uttered about Norman, and recorded in faithful detail by the churchwardens. What was said, and just as importantly who said it, reveal other constituencies who were discontented with his behaviour, and in particular the content of his sermons.

'A divell in the pulpit'; another parishioner, a church papist, called Norman a preacher of 'false doctrine', providing the only clue that the subject matter that so rankled was predestination – false as against the medieval doctrine of good works, most probably. Although the godly tried to loosen the rigidity of the predestinarian chain and to lay out the doctrine in ways comprehensible and tending to the preservation of community, preaching on the subject appears to have remained 'complicated and comfortless' on the whole, and divisive all the same.[61] Indeed, fitting content and

[56] Ibid, pp.99-107 and 324-5.
[57] Ibid, p.104.
[58] On collegiality among clerics more generally, Webster, *Godly Clergy*, especially pp.15-59.
[59] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 21, 25, 85, 93, 99, 110 and 117.
[60] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 54.
[61] The quotations are from K. Bruhn, '"Sinne Unfoulded": Time, Election, and Disbelief among the Godly in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth Century England', *Church History* 77: 3 (2008), 595. See also L.

style to audience was no stroll, especially for preachers whose experience lay only in the elevated setting of the two universities and godly households. Unmodified, what delighted the second earl of Pembroke – who also counted among his chaplains the intense and uncompromising predestinarians Babington and Parry – would surely have proved less pleasing to the average parish congregation; both content and tone may have displeased. But it must remain moot whether Norman ever cared to simplify his message; the effects of his preaching may have been intended. William Chubb, at least, curbed himself carefully when preaching to parish congregations in Dorchester: to explain *sola fide*, justification by faith alone, he used homely metaphors and simple language. In a sermon delivered in the household of the third marquess of Winchester, by contrast, he was decidedly more graceful and at times playful, displaying courteous gestures and fulsome classicism.[62] As Chubb had already been a parish minister for some years, it is worth comparing his sermons with those of a less experienced minister. A collection of manuscript sermons were written in 1632-3 by Francis Frampton, a Dorset-born minister, while he was serving his first cure, at East Holme in Dorset, after leaving godly Magdalen Hall.[63] His efforts to explain Calvin's virtualism, for instance, and to distinguish it from Lutheran and Catholic doctrines of the Eucharist, are laboured – forgivably perhaps, given the complexity of the task; but the exposition in general is laboured too and often muddled, and nearly every sermon heavily over-seasoned for popular consumption with Greek and Latin, at least if compared with Chubb's Dorchester sermons. Young Frampton was out to impress as much as to educate; again, forgivably perhaps. And he did at least impress Thomas Hanham, the second son of the man who had probably brought Thomas Norman to Wimborne: Thomas junior had appointed Frampton to East Holme in the first place, and soon after may have brought him to Wimborne, where he remained for four years.[64]

There is only very limited evidence of attempts to disrupt Norman's sermons while they were taking place, in fact just a single presentment: John Dale and Henry Allen, for sitting in the choir and talking during a sermon.[65] Henry Allen was also the subject of a slander charge brought by Norman.[66] Otherwise, there is more evidence of parishioners simply refusing to attend Norman's

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Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c.1590-1640* (Farnham, 2013) and A. Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: Sermons and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), especially 229-91 and 343-89.

[62] Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling', 39.

[63] Washington DC, Folger-Shakespeare Library, STC 2608. For Frampton, see CCED, 12742 and Coker, *Survey*, p.33 for his branch of the Dorset Framptons.

[64] Frampton's appointment is discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

[65] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 93.

[66] AB, fo.6.

sermons and, in some cases, voicing their refusal in the pungent language of the time. Only presentments specifically for non-attendance at sermon-time have been considered. Those presented just for being 'absent' must have missed the sermon or sermons too, but many probably objected to being in church, full stop. In Norman's first year as preacher, 1594-5, 17 of a total of 38 surviving presentments for non-attendance were specifically for non-attendance at sermon-time.[67] While the majority simply state the fact of non-attendance, three individuals made special comment: Richard Sargent swore he would not listen to Norman; Thomas Fuller said 'he wold not go to heare of rotts and myss to the chearch', which was presumably a dismissal of the content of Norman's sermons (rot?), as well as a malediction; and, most substantially, Alexander Fowler was cited because, if he did come to church, he would make a point of leaving specifically for the sermon, saying

> that he would not goe to the Church to heare such a knave to preach as Mr Norman was and that Mr Norman was hunted from other places and could not be suffred to preach any where in dorset sheere but heere And that he never heard mr norman to preach more then once sythence his [arrival]

The number of non-attenders at sermon-time rose to 21 individuals in 1595-6, before falling and rising across the years, reaching highs of 21 individuals again in 1601-2, and 17 in 1608-9.[68] Seventeen people were each cited more than once for absenting themselves from sermons, among them Alexander Fowler, and of those 17 five were cited either three or four times.

Fowler was not the only one with choice words. In 1611-12, Thomas Budden was presented for non-attendance and saying that he 'will make as good a sermone as master norman', and Thomas Davidge was presented 'for his usuall going foorth of the Church at the beginning of Sermons or before & saying that he will not be compelled to stay longer for no mans pleasure & for his unreverent speeches against mr norman the Preacher'.[69] Similarly 'unreverent speeches' no doubt brought on Norman's slander case against Henry Allen.[70] The actual words of the three individuals who were cited in 1608-9 as 'refusing to listen to Mr Norman', including two more members of the Fowler clan, are not recorded.[71]

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[67]DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 14, 19 and 20.
[68] All presentments are taken from the surviving act book, AB, and court papers, DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10, 12 and 16.
[69] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 104 and 105.
[70] AB, fo.6.
[71] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 85.

Kinship was one thing that united resistors to Norman's preaching, then. Church papists also offered resistance. Their kind were said to have sat through Protestant sermons with their ears stuffed with wool, but perhaps Norman found a way even to penetrate that defence.[72] Robert Dennis, for instance, was the one cited 'for going away at Sermon time & refuseth to hear gods word and syth that our preacher doth preach false doctrine further more he confesseth that he keepth beads in his house and alsoe a Crose'.[73] Five other individuals who were absent at sermon-time had also been or would be presented for recusancy.

So far as can be told, those who avoided Norman's sermons were 'ordinary' people or 'the multitude'; the sort William Kethe had railed against at the assizes, and might have referred to as 'the profane' – 'lukewarm fellows whom the Lord would spew out', Antilegon of the *Plain Man's Pathways*.[74] The very worst of them Keith Wrightson has called 'the dark parish'.[75] Confrontational preaching against the profane was one way godly preachers created division, and had Kethe preached at Wimborne, no doubt those who avoided Norman's sermons would also have been absent; harsh words were as much a reason to be elsewhere as doctrinal convolution. Just less than 40% of the 107 individuals presented for non-attendance at Norman's sermons were known to the parish court or would be, for the whole range of presentable offences: recusancy, bastardy, incontinence, slander, violence within the church, abusing the sidesmen, drunkenness, debts to the parish, befouling the churchyard, non-communication. Not all, though, were as incorrigible as Christopher Delacourt, who was presented at least nine times for everything from withholding money owed to the church, to allowing his children to disturb the congregation and 'living incontinently' with his servant; or as joyously destructive as Richard Mitchell, presented eight times, mainly for abuse of the fabric and grounds of the church, either with his pigs or his children.

Also revealing is what many of the presentees were doing instead of attending sermon: Nicholas Adams was hunting, as was Thomas Morris; Henry Allen's wife, keeping 'disorder in her house'; Richard Barnes, bowling; Thomas Craddock, walking in the field; Martin Crouter, John Tucker's servant, playing coits; Urban Evans, playing on Green Hill Lane with Henry Forest and Richard Sargent; John Jay, sitting with John Painter in the marketplace; 'Sweet's other man', drinking in an alehouse in Leigh – the same alehouse where Francis Frost was also found. Some of the men

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[72] L. Gallagher, *Medusa's Gaze: Casuistry and Conscience in the Renaissance* (Stanford, CA, 1991), p.88.
[73] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 93.
[74] The 'lukewarm fellows' epithet is from Haigh, *Pathways*, p.41.
[75] Quoted in Hunt, *Puritan Moment*, p.149.

were ordinary tradesmen, and were in their shops, like George English and Thomas Brown, or seen to have slipped away before sermon's end to resume working; nine individuals were presented under those terms. Economic pressures may have forced some of them to work almost every hour God sent; but as hard-pressed as he was, the London artisan Nehemiah Wallington could still find enough time to attend as many as 19 sermons in a single week.[76] Perhaps the drudgery of turning more chair-legs or the bloody business of slaughtering another sheep was just considered preferable to another hour of Thomas Norman.

But this is only one half of the story. An account of Norman's ministry would be incomplete without an account of his supporters – those who enabled him to continue as he did, unchanged, unbowed, for 22 years.

iii Norman's supporters: the godly of Wimborne, Dorset and beyond

Norman could not have persisted in his nonconformity and his divisive preaching if he had not had support within the parish, and the corporation especially. Of course, some of the reason it took 18 years and the intervention of the archbishop of Canterbury for Norman to receive serious censure, was because Wimborne was a peculiar. Conspiracies of silence, whether the *omnia bene* delivered by churchwardens before the archdeacon or attempts to cover up the burial of recusants in hallowed ground, could very easily unravel, and given the broad social basis of the discontent he generated, Norman would surely have been brought to the attention of the episcopal authorities far sooner than he was, had the parish been within the authority of a visiting bishop.[77] 'Mr Norman was hunted from other places and could not be suffred to preach any where in dorset sheere but heere', or so said Alexander Fowler.[78]

The specific circumstances of Norman's employment reveal much about the corporation's general attitude towards him. Most lecturers were employed on an annual basis, to provide the funders

[76] P. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford CA, 1985), p.37.
[77] Maltby, *Prayer Book*, p.33. P. Marshall, 'Confessionalisation and Community in the Burial of English Catholics, c.1570-1700' in N. Lewycky and A Morton eds., *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils* (2016), p.62.
[78] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 14.

with greater flexibility and security, should the lecturer prove unsatisfactory.[79] In general, Wimborne's corporation seems to have used probationary terms as a means of retaining a certain amount of control. Having satisfied their probationary terms, most of Wimborne's lecturers were employed for a period of years. Miles Bownes, for instance, would later be employed for a term of seven years after he had completed his probation.[80] With Norman, however, who had made his character and beliefs abundantly clear during his three-year probation, the corporation made it all-but impossible to get rid of him, by signing a patent of employment not for a period of years but for life.

Nor is there any evidence of the corporation's ever attempting to discipline Norman, either by means of a decree at one of their meetings or through the parish court, to which they themselves regularly presented tithe evaders.[81] Their sole act of limitation was to restrict the length of his two Sunday sermons to an hour each, some eight years after his employment; but even Nehemiah Wallington could fall asleep during a sermon, 'looking on the houre glasse wishing it were runne out'.[82] At the same time, the governors decreed that the litany should be read in full – but not necessarily by Norman himself, and with the proviso that it could be omitted on 'especial occasion'. They never expected him, or the other ministers, to wear a surplice, only the choristers and clerks.

With regard to discipline, the character of the official of the parish court was important too. For most of Norman's tenure, that was William Stone. Stone was intimately involved with both the parish court and the school when it was directly under Norman's sway. He had apparently first been usher of the school before replacing the schoolmaster in 1600; at the same time he was made official of the parish court, and then a member of the corporation in 1610, continuing as official, schoolmaster and governor until his death in 1639.[83] It can only have been with his connivance that Norman escaped censure in the parish court. A note of exasperation was sounded by William Willis and John Habgood in 1611-12, who entered one of their three presentments against Norman that year with a plea: 'we praie Mr Stone the Judge of this Court to admonishe him accordinge as he ought to doe by the Cannons'.[84]

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[79] Seaver, *Puritan Lectureships*, p.53.
[80] His probation ended in 1622. MB.
[81] AB.
[82] For the decree, made on 26 October 1602, MB. See Hunt, *Art of Hearing*, pp.71.
[83] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 4. MB.
[84] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 101.

More can be said about Stone's religion. His will, proved on 14 June 1639, is an equivocal document, containing a preamble that mentions only heavenly angels, and a payment for a funeral sermon.[85] Better evidence is the support he received early in his career from Robert Cecil. In 1600, Cecil wrote to the corporation to ensure Stone got the position of schoolmaster.[86] The corporation had promised Cecil he would; but now one of its members, unnamed, was preventing the appointment, for reasons unstated. This may well have been Cecil acting in one 'hereditary role' he gained from his father, Lord Burghley: as 'supporter of godly ministers against episcopal discipline'.[87] Before the accession of James I, 'when Cecil's influence with the queen went virtually unchallenged', doing so was not 'too dangerous'. It was only after the Hampton Court Conference and a change in the political climate, that Cecil's patronage of nonconformists all but ended; in the later years of his life he appears to have moved towards a more richly aesthetic form of Protestantism, as witnessed by his links with Richard Neile and Samuel Harsnett, and visible still somewhat in his private chapel at Hatfield House.[88] Dangerous it may be to extrapolate religious attitudes forwards to or backwards from the Caroline Church, under whose pressures the attitudes of more moderate 'Puritans' such as John Davenport hardened into separatism and nonconformity, but in 1634 Stone was brought before High Commission, apparently for 'Puritan' opposition to Laudian policies. At least two of the charges are familiar: one was of tolerating 'factious' preaching, another of corruption as official of the court by taking bribes and absolving offenders who should have been punished.[89]

Norman remained in the confidence of the parish's most important family, even after Thomas Hanham's death; although it would not be until the mid-1620s that another Hanham would lead the corporation. In January 1599, Norman was chief among the witnesses when important manorial-court rolls held by the corporation were transferred to Penelope, Thomas Hanham's widow; these documents, as the minute book records, were 'belonging to suche manors & landes as are the heritament of the sayd mres hanam & her sonnes'.[90]

Thomas Hanham had been instrumental in leading a physical renovation of the parish grammar school, and soon after his appointment, Norman appears to have been tasked with leading a

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[85] TNA, PROB 11 / 180 / 393. On the uncertain place of angels in reformed thought, see the essays in P. Marshall and A. Walsham eds., *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge, 2006).
[86] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 2 / 4.
[87] P. Croft, 'The Religion of Robert Cecil', *HJ* 34: 4 (1991), 775.
[88] Ibid, 787-96.
[89] TNA, SP 16 / 536, fo.16; *CSP*, *Charles*, xxiii, p.525. This incident is discussed in the final chapter.
[90] MB.

spiritual renovation. In 1597, when he was appointed lecturer for life, the governors and the schoolmaster agreed that 'Mr Norman at his pleasure shall have recourse unto the Schole as often as he will And there to examine howe the children do profett and there of to certifie the Corporation'.[91] A common complaint among the godly was that English students did not receive the sort of systematic religious education given in confessional schools on the Continent: 'some, mainly among the godly and some recusants, thought it was never too soon to press children to a full understanding of their faith and its consequences for their spiritual development'.[92] Norman's appointment as overseer may have been the culmination of a long-held desire to use the school as a means of systematic godly education: the governors had wished the first lecturer to be schoolmaster as well, some 20 years earlier.

Little is known about the school before 1640, apart from its funding, personnel and some details of its construction: nothing about the curriculum, nor the precise number of pupils.[93] There are no further references to Norman's involvement with the school; although with William Stone as schoolmaster, his oversight is unlikely to have ended after 1600. While it is unclear whether his effect on the school was considered a success by the corporation, they had reason to bemoan his effect on religious instruction in the parish more broadly. Many of the parishioners now refused to bring their children to be catechised, as the churchwardens presented in 1599-1600, 1600-1 and 1603-4.[94] This was almost certainly because the ministers were catechising 'not as they ought', not 'according to the prescribed form' – the Prayer Book catechism.[95] There was a 'massive growth' in catechisms in Elizabethan and Stuart England, and while most were overwhelmingly orthodox and uncontroversial, some were not.[96] If Norman had produced a catechism to his own liking, containing the doctrine he preached, it would be understandable that those who disliked his preaching refused to send their children to be taught.[97]

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[91] Ibid.
[92] I. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Eduation* (Aldershot, 2009), p.307.
[93] At around the turn of the seventeenth century there must have been more than 50 scholars: the governors decreed in 1597 that if the number should exceed 50, the schoolmaster should employ an usher, which shortly thereafter he did. MB. In 1596-7, the corporation bought unspecified books for the school, and in 1617-18 a Bible. RA, 19 and 39.
[94] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 44, 48 and 68.
[95] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 68 and 85.
[96] Maltby, *Prayer Book*, pp.69-70.
[97] For the uncompromising catechism of Stephen Denison, the minister of St Katherine Cree, London, see P. Lake, *The Boxmaker's Revenge: 'Orthodox', 'Heterodoxy', and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London* (Manchester, 2001), pp.16-17.

An examination of the school's patronage reveals more godly connections. In Dorchester, it is clear the grammar school was a focus for early reformers, such as George Trenchard and the third Marquess of Winchester; and its importance increased after the arrival of John White and the Great Fire of 1613. 'It was well respected', with pupils drawn from among the Dorset gentry and from 'further afield, some of whom boarded at Rector White's'.[98] When the school was rebuilt in 1618, at significant cost, contributions were received from 'well disposed gentlemen of the county', as well as former scholars and townspeople.[99] So it was with Wimborne's grammar school too, whose patrons are most clearly revealed in the rebuilding of the school in 1592, not long before Norman's arrival. Thomas Hanham coordinated the building and made the largest individual contribution, of at least £50 cash and various generous gifts of materials; almost a third of the total cost of £180.[100] Two other governors also donated, Walter Goddard and John Studley; as did four soon-to-be governors, Henry Dackombe, Anthony Ettrick, Nicholas Humfrey and Thomas Hall, all of them gentlemen of the parish. Humfrey's contribution of £42 was especially generous, as was Hall's £10. Wimborne's ministers were also involved: William Palmer, one of the resident ministers, gave £10; the preacher, Mr Watkinson, 40s; William Fishmore, one of the clerks, 2s 6d; Mr Lockett, the visiting preacher, £4 6s 8d.

Of the governors who contributed, neither Walter Goddard nor John Studley have left wills; but Studley at least is recorded as purchasing a seat in the Minster directly 'under the Poolpyte' – a godly proximity.[101] The wills of Henry Dackombe and Anthony Ettrick, both of whom became members of the corporation not long after their contributions, are plain and concise, and contain only the most basic indicators: squarely reformed preambles, and gifts to the poor, including Dackombe's bequest of a charity stock of £10 for the poor of nearby West Parley.[102] With Nicholas Humfrey and Thomas Hall, the two other future members who donated, there are clearer indications of godliness. Humfrey has already been considered in connection with the lectureship and with Thomas Hanham's endowment of the parish choir. Hall was also a lawyer, as were his sons Thomas and Bartholomew – the latter at the Middle Temple.[103] Hall senior had been a servant

[98] Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling', p.36. Underdown, *Fire*, pp.46-7.
[99] Underdown, *Fire*, p.47.
[100] The school, replaced in the nineteenth century, had this inscription on one of the windows: '*hoc perfecit opus sua cura Thomas Hanham serviens ad legem – ut quae fortunae –* '. Hutchins, iii, p.193.
[101] CWA, 41, f.40.
[102] Their wills are, respectively, TNA, PROB 11 / 121 / 277 and 11 / 122 / 686.
[103] *Middle Temple Records*, I, p.603. Bartholomew represented the corporation in the 1636 case against the corporation. Thomas, however, appears to have been on the side of those prosecuting the case, although not in an official legal capacity. Both were members of the corporation at that time.

of Thomas Seckford, master of the Court of Requests and an important godly figure at court and in the affairs of his native Suffolk.[104] When Hall died, in 1595, he asked for a 'godlie preacher' to give sermons in the parish of his burial.[105] He expected it to be Wimborne, so the preacher would almost certainly have been Thomas Norman; 10s for a funeral sermon, and then 10s for each sermon thereafter. He also charged his wife to 'fynde, mainteyne and bringe upp in vertuous and godlie educacion' his younger children – Edward, Bartholomew, Elizabeth, Katherine and Frances.

Among the other identifiable contributors were a handful from outside the parish who had close links to Thomas Hanham, either through kinship and affinity or via the Middle Temple. James Hanham, Thomas's cousin from Purse Caundle, Somerset, contributed. He was a Middle Temple lawyer; and part of godly society in Somerset, if the later marriage of his widow to Sir Francis Hastings – famously denounced by the Jesuit Robert Parsons as maintaining a 'presbytery of puritan ministers at Cadbury' – is anything to go by.[106] Thomas's brother-in-law, John Skerne, and Walter Vaughan, husband of Thomas's niece Anne and great-nephew of Charles Vaughan, were both contributors; both Middle Temple lawyers.[107]

Sir Edmund Uvedale is by far the most interesting contributor. The nature of his relationship with the Hanhams is unclear, and may have come via the broader circle of the earl of Leicester, with whom Uvedale served in the Netherlands; or via the Middle Temple, to which his brother's son, William, was admitted in 1594; or, most likely, through the Uvedales' membership of the Dorset gentry.[108] Whatever the case, the relationship was close, because Sir Edmund would later remember James Hanham in his will, with a gift of harness.[109] There was also a pre-existing family connection with the Minster: his grandfather Sir William Uvedale had left a gift of 80d to the

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[104] In Seckford's will, Hall is described as his 'oulde' servant and given a house in Clerkenwell; according to Hall's own will, his master's final gift to him had been 'in Consideracion of Thirtie yeares service att the least'. See E. Griffith, *A Jacobean Company and Its Playhouse: The Queen's Servants at the Red Bull Theatre (c.1605-1619)* (Cambridge, 2013), pp.39-41. Hall's will is TNA, PROB 11 / 87 / 93. MacCulloch, *Suffolk*, pp.94 and 340. J.H. Baker, 'Seckford, Thomas (1515/16-1587), lawyer and administrator', *ODNB*, accessed 30 May 2017.
[105] TNA, PROB 11 / 87 / 93.
[106] *Middle Temple Records*, i, p.346. 'Hastings, Sir Francis (c.1546-1610), of Holwell, Som.; formerly of Market Bosworth, Leics. and North Cadbury, Som.', *HOPO*, accessed 13 November 2017.
[107] 'Vaughan, Sir Walter (c.1572-1639), of Falstone House, Bishopstone, Wilts.', *HOPO*, accessed 28 May 2017. For Skerne, *Middle Temple Records*, i, pp.112 and 136.
[108] *Middle Temple Records*, i, p.346.
[109] TNA, PROB 11 / 107. Details of Uvedale's life and career are from D.J.B. Trim, 'Uvedale, Sir Edmund (d.1606), soldier', *ODNB*, accessed 29 May 2017.

parish in 1541-2.[110] Sir Edmund himself would come to lie in the Minster under a splendid Italianate monument, against his express will for 'no ceremonies' (**Images 20** and **21**).[111] 'Uvedale's family was notable for its Protestant connections', including a member of the Dudley conspiracy of 1555-6 and the controversialist preacher John Udall. 'It is not surprising that much of Uvedale's career was spent in the Netherlands, fighting against the Spanish', for which he won significant praise, apart from a regrettable duel for honour in which he killed the poet George Whetstone. His bequests, of 1606, which included gifts to Wimborne, are 'perhaps a last indication of godly fervour': he gave a stock of £20 to 'the poor children of Shaston not being bastardes and wanting relief, to be apprentizes accordinge to their wisedomes and discretyons', and smaller stocks to his home parish of Horton, and to Wimborne and Holt, Hinton Martell and Gussage Regis. The stock at Wimborne he directed to be distributed under the guidance of the preacher – Thomas Norman. Uvedale may also have had a connection with another member of the corporation, John Gundry, at the time of his gift to the school: his cousin, also Edmund Uvedale, would later be one of the overseers of Gundry's will, and receive a death's head ring from him.[112]

Uvedale and Gundry shared a connection to Richard Swayne, a local godly gentleman and lawyer; he received a gilt cup worth £6 in Uvedale's will and was asked to help distribute the charity stock for the children of Shaftesbury. Swayne had a very close connection to Thomas Hanham, as shown by their purchase of former property of Cerne Abbey together, in 1580.[113] Both men were Middle Temple lawyers, and followed the same *cursus honorum* on the local political scene, in both cases due to the patronage of the 2nd earl of Pembroke: JP, recorder for Poole, and recorder and then MP for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.[114] Swayne's godliness is clear from the preamble to his will, written in 1636: 'I comend my Soule and bodie to god in hope and faith that through the passion of Jesus Christ he will accept thereof amongst his elect in heaven and that my bodie may be buried in some convenient place without pompe'.[115] He gave generously to the poor of Blandford and Wimborne, and asked the preachers of each place to aid in the distributions.

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[110] CWA, 40, fo.130. See J. Lock, 'Uvedale, Sir William (1454/5-1525), administrator', *ODNB*, accessed 14 November 2017.
[111] The monument was paid for by his wife, daughter of the staunch Catholic Sir William Dormer.
[112] TNA, PROB 11 / 117 / 143.
[113] Bettey, 'The Dissolution and After', p.49. 'Swayne, Richard (c.1556-c.1636), of Blandford Forum, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 2 June 2017.
[114] Swayne would advise and represent Wimborne's corporation over a period of 25 years, in a variety of disputes. These disputes are all dealt with in the next section. RA, 17, 28, 39, 43 and 45.
[115] TNA, PROB 11 / 173 / 287.

Swayne and Wimborne's John Gundry were both executors of the will of Richard Frank, the final contributor of note to the rebuilding of the school. Frank had been mayor of Wareham in 1569-70, and was a draper and merchant.[116] In his own words, Gundry and Swayne were his 'beloved friends', but the link with Gundry was probably also one of affinity: Mary Gundry, John Gundry's wife, was née Biddlecombe, a name shared by Frank's mother-in-law, who received an annuity in his will.[117] Frank's bequests, like Sir Edmund Uvedale's, are definitely 'a last indication of godly fervour'.[118] The tone of the will, written in March 1593, and the bequests themselves, is quite distinctive. Frank asked for the bells at Corfe Castle to be rung, but 'solemply and to the honor of god', and ended his will by asking for his funeral 'to be done and solemnized in decent and comely manner'.[119] The vast majority of his bequests were taken up by gifts to the 'deserving' poor. Frank gave a small dole to all poor people who attended his funeral, and to those who could not, provided they were able to demonstrate to his executors their 'lameness or infirmity' or that they were working or travelling at the time. John Gundry was also to ensure that a £20 dole for the poor of Wareham was distributed 'properly' by the mayor of the town and Frank's nephew, the MP John Frank. Then followed a series of lifetime annuities to specific individuals, all of them either poor or infirm, and a number of whom were parishioners of Wimborne. Other gifts to small-tradesmen, widows and children, look like more 'deserving' charity.

Among Norman's lay supporters outside the corporation, it was John Gundry's wife, Mary, who showed the most concern for his continued well-being and his family's. Her will, written on 23 February 1618, not long before Norman's death, is perhaps the godliest will from pre-Civil War Wimborne; the other candidate for that status would be the will of William Rolles the Elder, a later member of the corporation – and a witness to a codicil to her will.[120] Her will is heavy on targeted charity, including an annual dole of 40s for 'the poor people [of Wimborne] who are

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[116] See 'Frank, John, of Wareham, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 14 November 2017.
[117] Gundry's will is TNA, PROB 11 / 131 / 677; Frank's is TNA, PROB 11 / 85 / 316.
[118] TNA, PROB 11 / 85 / 316.
[119] Only the most radical disapproved of all forms of ringing. Houlbrooke, *Death*, p.156. Ringing never disappeared from godly Dorchester; although the most uncompromising of its ministers, William Benn, did attempt a ban in 1649. Underdown, *Fire*, p.218.
[120] TNA, PROB 11 / 131 / 677 and 11 / 184 / 351 respectively. Rolles' will contains much Biblical caulk, including long quotations justifying his bequests and forgiveness of certain of his debts, as well as bequests of his religious books, including his Bible and his 'Rhenische testament', which is likely to have been William Fulke's confutation of that work. He also gave two books by William Perkins, one of which was probably his *Discourse of Conscience* or *Of the Combat of Flesh and Spirit* – Rolles called it the 'discourse of the soul and spirit of man'.

honest and fear god', 20s of which was to be used for the raising and clothing of Widow Poole's children. Mary also gave a house in perpetual trust for the benefit of the Minster.

Norman features centrally as both a beneficiary and an administrator of the will. He was witness and overseer, for which he and the others received a death's head ring, and he was also probably the scribe; although only a probate copy of the will and a copy among the churchwardens' accounts survive.[121] He and his wife each received a 40s annuity for life, and the term of a lease of land Gundry held from the governors, with the proviso that 2s of its annual proceeds should be used to support old Mother Veek, and the same amount Maud Jacob, 'a poor sick woman'. Jane and Mary Norman, two of his daughters, each received a gift of 40s as well. The Gundries were godparents to both girls. The girls and their parents were also to be provided with black mourning garb for the funeral.

Another cleric, Richard Highmore, 'minister of the word at Hinton Martell', received a bequest of 40s from Mary Gundry.[122] He was one of the overseers of Thomas Norman's will with, among others, Robert Welsted, rector and preacher of Bloxworth, on the Isle of Purbeck.[123] Welsted would be a subscriber to John White's Dorchester Company, a short-lived venture whose importance for godly organisation in the New World and in Dorset itself would ramify through the 1630s; and in 1640 to a petition against the 'et cetera oath' from the 'Ministers, Schoolemasters and Practitioners of Physick' of Bristol and Dorset.[124] His funeral monument at Bloxworth commemorates him as a 'reverend orthodox divine' and 'painfull pastor of this place'.[125]

In a will like Mary Gundry's, all the administrators, overseers and witnesses are likely to have been selected with care. Little is known about Thomas Lyne, overseer and witness, apart from that he served as governor of St Margaret's almshouse in 1607-8, as John Gundry had in 1594-5.[126] The other overseer and witness, Nicholas Anketell, a chandler, was a member of the corporation at the time the will was written, as well as governor of the almshouse, a position he occupied solidly

[121] A copy was entered after the account for 1625-6, presumably because the parish wished to record its right to the house she had bequeathed, and its obligation to distribute an annual dole on her behalf. CWA, 41, fo.203-4.
[122] For Highmore, CCED, 70191.
[123] TNA, PROB 11 / 133 / 711.
[124] F. Rose-Troup, *John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester and the Founder of Massachusetts, 1575-1648* (New York, 1930), p.455. Webster, *Godly Clergy*, pp.231-2.
[125] CCED, 103243.
[126] DHC, PE-WM / D-SMS / 3 / 1.

between 1617 and 1623.[127] His will, from 1639, is unremarkable.[128] He was also witness to the wills of Richard and Mary Habgood, a wealthy merchant and his wife, both of whom displayed godly tendencies in their bequests to the poor.[129] Mary Gundry chose Richard Swayne to administer in trust the house that was to be given to the Minster. To his wife, Margaret, she gave 'her carcanet of gold'. Another item of jewellery, her 'jewel of Adam and Eve', she gave to Mary Lambert, the daughter of Dulcibel Lambert. These women may have been family.

Mary Gundry's most enigmatic connection is with the formidable mayor and alderman of Exeter Ignatius Jurdain. Although he is not referred to by name, he was most definitely the 'Mayor of Exeter for the tyme beinge' she appointed to administer an annuity for her elderly mother, Margaret Barnfield. At the time of writing, Jurdain and his allies were encouraging 'the city officials to launch a sustained assault against drinking, swearing, sabbath-breaking, fornication, and every other form of "prophaneness"'; he was dubbed '*Hospes Schismaticorum*' by some of the many adversaries this campaign for godly reformation inevitably created.[130] He would later answer charges in Star Chamber as a nonconformist, but never ceased his principled support, inside Parliament and out-, for a godly preaching ministry and godly discipline, nor his opposition to 'scandalous clerics', Catholics and the absolutist and Laudian tendencies.

How had Gundry come to know him? Her nephew John Biddlecombe, was an apprentice in Exeter at the time, and she gave him £5 in her will. It was as a young apprentice himself, penniless, on Guernsey, that Jurdain had had his archetypal godly re-birth, probably as a result of the preaching of exiled nonconformists, so perhaps he had taken young John Biddlecombe under his wing. Or as the alleged 'principall patron of all factious and seditious persons in all the Westerne parts', Jurdain may have offered support to Thomas Norman, maybe during his suspension. Despite Jurdain's acquittal in Star Chamber, 'preliminary research has uncovered numerous links between Jurdain and religious radicalism', including deprived ministers and 'confirmed schismatics'.[131] The corporation, at least, continued to support Norman during his suspension, paying nearly £10 to repair his house in the town between 1613 and 1615. Other support may also have come from

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[127] Ibid.
[128] TNA, PROB 11 / 180 / 316.
[129] TNA, PROB 11 / 111 / 69 and 11 / 114 / 388. Richard Habgood, interestingly, may well have been the Richard Habgood who was named as the godson of Sir John Ace in his will. DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 19
[130] M. Stoyle, 'Jurdain, Ignatius (bap. 1561, d.1640), politician and civic reformer', *ODNB*, accessed 2 June 2017; see also 'Jourdain, Ignatius (1561-1640), of Exeter, Devon', *HOPO*, accessed 2 June 2017.
[131] M. Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), p.188. See TNA, STAC 8 / 161 / 10.

Sherborne, Norman's home, where he had connections to the important godly gentlemen Richard Couthe, Lawrence Swetnam and Robert Whetcombe, who all acted as overseers of his will.[132]

So Norman had the ongoing trust of both the corporation and important members of godly society within and without the parish, from the time of his appointment until the time of his death. And the corporation's trust was, in both an economic and a moral sense, well repaid. Owing to the corporation's acute financial difficulties, for a good portion of his career at Wimborne Norman was either paid in dribs and drabs, or received no salary at all; yet he remained in the parish to preach, as witnessed by the surviving presentations for refusal to attend his sermons.[133] Nor is there any evidence that he tried to reclaim the money at law afterwards, even though he may have been owed as much as £140 by the corporation at the time of his death.[134] In 1633-4, however, his widow would bring a suit against the corporation 'for money supposed to be due to her husband'.

iv Some problems with tithes

Uncollected tithes were a problem for the corporation from as early as 1574, as soon as their surviving records begin, a year after the redemption of Lord Mountjoy's lease. Between the late 1570s and early 1590s, 'supers' – uncollected revenue – could amount to as much as a tenth, or on at least one occasion more, of total annual income; in 1581-2, for instance, when the total collected income was £139 9s 8d, the supers amounted to £17 4s 3½d.[135] Supers rolled over and were often reclaimed the next year or even years later. Sometimes they amounted only to shillings rather than pounds.[136]

Was this uncollected revenue the result of deliberate evasion? Without medieval evidence, there is no way to investigate whether tithe evasion was a 'long-term structuring force' in the parish; as for instance in Romney Marsh, where the 'long experience of ecclesiastical lordship' predisposed

[132] See the wills of Swetnam and Whetcombe, with their copious preambles and charitable provisions: TNA, PROB 11 / 145 / 285 and 11 / 261 / 512, respectively. All three feature extensively in *Sherborne Almshouse Register*, ed. A. Clark (Dorchester, 2013).
[133] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 85 and 92.
[134] RA, 56.
[135] RA, 5.
[136] As in the two years 1585-7. RA, 8-9.

ordinary people to evasion.[137] Whatever resistance to the tenth already existed may have been significantly increased by Lord Mountjoy; hence, plausibly, the significant cost (£100) the parishioners were prepared to pay him to surrender his lease early, in 1573. Lay impropriators are generally supposed to have been far more aggressive in pursuit of their rights, and the putting of tithes to openly secular ends was also a cause of widespread anger during this period.[138] By then seeking a rate almost immediately, the governors may have done little to mollify the parishioners. The sources that describe this event claim that the increase was with the approval of the parishioners themselves, but the usually limited reference of the term 'parishioners' has already been noted.[139]

Alternatively, the uncollected revenue may simply have been a result of the difficulties of administering collection across a 'very large spatious and populous' parish, in the governors' own words.[140] As a completely new governing structure for the parish, lacking the depth of administrative experience possessed by the medieval college, the corporation can be expected to have had teething troubles; although monitoring and collection are likely to have been difficult for the medieval deans too. The problems were those of estate management more generally, which could easily be complicated by the quantities involved, local custom, uncertain boundaries, leases and litigation; the character of the receiver, if one was employed, was also important, and embezzlement was difficult to prove, even at law.[141] Another difficult, potentially intractable, problem was arriving at a true value for tithes in the first place, and throughout the period after 1563 opponents of the corporation would allege that the parish tithes had been seriously undervalued.[142] The governors clearly placed a great premium on their receivers, retaining the best in some cases for as long as ten years, and the vast majority were members of the corporation, or

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[137] P Simpson, 'The Continuum of Resistance to Tithe, c.1400-1600' in R. Lutton and E. Salter eds., *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400-1640* (Aldershot, 2007), pp.93-108.
[138] P. Marshall, 'The Dispersal of Monastic Patronage in East Yorkshire, 1520-1590' in B. Kümin ed., *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c.1470-1630* (Aldershot, 1996), p.145, and R. Tittler, 'The End of the Middle Ages in the English Country Town', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 18:4 (1987), 478.
[139] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8 and GN / 9 / 4 / 2.
[140] MB.
[141] The typical difficulties of collecting tithes in the medieval period are discussed in R.C. Palmer, *Selling the Church: The English Parish in Law, Commerce and Religion, 1350-1550* (2002), pp.34-7.
[142] This complaint was raised in the inquiry that is the subject of the final chapter, and in a complaint made by the schoolmaster in 1594. TNA, SP 12 / 253, fo.83-4 and SP 12 / 255, fo.16; also in *CSP, Elizabeth*, liii, pp.83 and 141.

very soon to be.[143] Over time, their records became more sophisticated and detailed: by the 1580s, lump sums were replaced with tithing-by-tithing lists of individual payers.

By the end of the 1580s, this increasing sophistication and detail was almost certainly a response to growing difficulties. A not-entirely clear note attached to the account for 1591-2 appears to state that £120 had gone uncollected over the previous five years, including as much as £70 in the previous year, for which there is no extant account.[144] The corporation had already defaulted at least once on its annual rent of £40 to the crown.[145] In response to its cash-flow problems, the corporation was now borrowing money from its members and their associates, including Charles Vaughan.[146] In 1592, it borrowed £60 from two of its members: £40 from John Studley and £20 from John Gundry.[147] They would resort to borrowing money on a number of occasions in the coming years, as legal cases took hold: an unspecified amount was borrowed on 3 January 1599, and on 26 October 1600, £55 was borrowed from six of the governors.[148]

It was the governors' longer-term strategy that proved disastrous, pushing them into a crisis from which they barely recovered. The crisis coincided with Norman's arrival, in 1594. The two were clearly linked; although not perhaps as tightly as the preceding account of Norman's detractors in the parish might suggest. A direct link between Norman's disruptive behaviour and tithe evasion can only be demonstrated in a handful of cases. Just five individuals who absented themselves from Norman's sermons can be shown to have been prosecuted in the parish court for tithe evasion at around the same time as they were absenting themselves: Urban Evans, Roger Fuller, Richard Gay, Thomas Gill and John Lamb.[149] Rather, it was the cost of the lectureship he now occupied that was proving a more intense strain, as well as the annual rent to the crown, which together cost £80 a year. True, the lecturer's wage had been doubled six years earlier, in 1588, but the arrival of a former chaplain to the 2nd earl of Pembroke, a man who could command as high if not a higher

[143] Nicholas Humfrey, one of the governors, may have served as receiver for a total of ten years, although not concurrently. His access to ready money was invaluable to the corporation, and also his legal expertise; in 1597 he was retained for a yearly fee to follow all the corporation's legal cases: MB. The vast majority of receivers were already governors, or soon went on to become members of the corporation. Of the 64 governors who can be identified between 1563 and 1640, only 38 served as receivers, out of a total of 41 receivers in the extant records.
[144] RA, 13.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Money was paid back to him in 1593-4. RA, 16.
[147] RA, 13.
[148] MB.
[149] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 33 and AB.

price elsewhere, would surely have put paid to the idea of a wage decrease. The governors were going to have to raise more income.

First, they tried to negotiate fixed-term leases of the tithes at an increased rate per acre. The parishioners were unwilling, and then began to refuse to pay their tithes.[150] They believed that the governors had no right to increase the tithes beyond the 5d an acre agreed with the bishop of Bristol in 1573. The tithes had been fixed at that rate 'forever' as a sign of gratitude to the parishioners for their role in obtaining the corporation's letters patent and in the redemption of Mountjoy's lease.[151] In response to the parishioners' refusal, the corporation began to prosecute evaders in the parish court, and to seek legal advice.[152] In 1593-4, £26 of revenue went uncollected, and the corporation ended the financial year 1594-5 having overspent its income by £62 19s 9d.[153] So it was decided instead to rent the tithes of those who had refused leases and the reversions of the leases of those who had not, to Sir Thomas Shirley for a period of 21 years; he was to pay £200 per annum, with an entry fine of £100, paid the next year.[154] At that time, Shirley was guardian of Holt Forest, an office within the manor of Kingston Lacy.[155] He had also been a follower of the earl of Leicester, like the second earl of Pembroke, and may have had pre-existing ties to the corporation through the Hanhams or Vaughans. Well known for his speculation – 'ever both a purchaser and seller of lands', as he said himself – Shirley would be declared bankrupt a year after taking up his lease of Wimborne's tithes. When he took up the lease, he was already being pursued by Giles Simpson, the London goldsmith whose arrest of him during the Parliament of 1604 would produce one of the great debates about Parliamentary privilege in British history.[156]

The reaction from the parishioners to this new arrangement was emphatic. A draft note to an unspecified bishop ('right worshypfull') survives among the governors' papers and details Shirley's problems collecting the parish tithes.[157] The bishopric of Bristol lay vacant, and the note was intended for delivery to London, surely to Lambeth Palace. The author, whose identity is unclear, states that Shirley had been able to claim only £30 10s in the first year, and was now prosecuting

[150] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8 and GN / 9 / 4 / 2.
[151] The parishioners' reasons are given in the two of the cases discussed below. TNA, DL / 4 / 40 / 38 and 62, and DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 4 / 2.
[152] RA, 17.
[153] Ibid.
[154] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8; GN / 9 / 4 / 2; RA, 18.
[155] Warren, 'Story of Holt', 200.
[156] 'Shirley (Sherley), Sir Thomas I (1542-1612), of Wiston, nr. Steyning, Suss. and Blackfriars, London', *HOPO*, accessed 16 May 2017.
[157] RA, 15.

a suit against his own receiver, at whose feet he laid a large portion of the blame.[158] Sixteen parishioners had also forfeited their leases for refusing to pay their tithes. It is not difficult to imagine that Shirley, hard-pressed by his mounting debts, had squeezed the parishioners with unusual force, even for a lay impropriator.

By 1597, Shirley had bigger problems than Wimborne's unwilling parishioners. Charged with misappropriating funds entrusted to him as treasurer-at-war in the Netherlands, bankrupt and imprisoned in the Fleet, he transferred the lease to his creditor Giles Simpson. But Simpson had no success with the parishioners either, and so the corporation initiated further proceedings in the parish court. In response, the parishioners brought multiple suits: one in Chancery, two in the Court of Requests and one in the Exchequer Court.[159] The case in the Duchy court was initiated by a group of copyholders of Kingston Lacy, who managed to obtain a stay against the proceedings in the parish court.[160] Over the next three years, the governors would incur significant costs in fighting the cases, including £27 in 1597-8 and nearly £16 the year after. Simpson's response was to refuse full payment of his annual rent of £200.[161] The governors could not pay their wage bill. Thomas Norman went either completely unpaid or only partially paid between 1597 and 1599. The corporation also defaulted fully on the queen's rent in one year, and had to put over part of the cost of another year's rent.[162]

In response, the governors petitioned the Exchequer Court in 1598, which ruled in their favour: the rate of 5d an acre had not been intended to be 'eternal', and so the parishioners would have to pay their tithes in future; furthermore, they would have to pay Simpson £100 to redeem his lease and £342 14s for arrearages in rent.[163] A new method of administering the tithes was called for. The parishioners were to nominate six of the most substantial parishioners who were not members of the corporation, and the corporation, for its part, was then to lease the parish tithes to these men for a period of five years. Of the tithes leased, £200 was to be reserved for the use of the school and church, and the rest used to pay back the parishioners who had contributed towards redeeming Simpson's lease and paying off his debt. This system was to continue on a quinquennial rotation, with six new lessees each time.

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[158] Shirley wrote to Robert Cecil about the matter. HMC, viii, p.177, no.295.
[159] Only material from the Duchy of Lancaster case survives. TNA, DL / 4 / 40 / 38 and 62.
[160] On stays, see Ingram, *Church Courts*, p.6.
[161] RA, 20-2.
[162] Ibid.
[163] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 4 / 2.

Although this decree ended the suits against the corporation, the governors were unable to fulfil the conditions specified: the six men could not be found.[164] Nor did the decree bring tithe-evasion completely to an end. Having to repay Simpson over £400 can only have generated even more resentment among the parishioners, and the governors' disciplinary apparatus was also proving ineffective. In January 1603, they attempted to increase the harshness of sanctions against evaders by levying a fine of a year's rent against any who did not pay within 16 days of the due date.[165] But even their ultimate sanction, excommunication, was proving a 'rusty sword'.[166] The only surviving act book of the parish court reveals that excommunication could neither deter nor bring offenders quickly to order, if it ever had been able to do such things.[167] The book covers the period from 14 October 1601 to 20 January 1603 – after the Exchequer verdict. In that period the court sat 21 times, for a variety of offences including defamation, non-communication and the typical range of moral offences, in both office and instance (party-to-party) cases. Twenty-nine parishioners were presented for tithe evasion by the governors, of whom 23 were excommunicated. But only one individual, Giles Stagg, submitted himself after excommunication within the period covered by the book. Stagg had been scheduled for excommunication on 5 Jan 1602, and then on 29 May a warrant of *corporis captio* (also known as *excommunicato capiendo*) was ordered to be issued to the sheriff for his apprehension. Such warrants were usually issued if an excommunicate remained so for more than 40 days. Finally, on 21 October, he submitted – over eight months after his excommunication. Thirty-three other excommunicated individuals, including seven tithe-evaders, had to be sought with warrants of *corporis captio*. Of those 33, only five are recorded as having submitted.

Respect for the court is likely to have been diminished by the earlier attempt to prosecute the parishioners who had refused to pay Shirley and then Simpson; and the appointment of William Stone, the schoolmaster, as official at around the same time cannot have helped either.[168] Feelings of rigged justice; and such feelings would have grown yet further after Stone was made a member of the corporation, in 1610. One of the main complaints in a 1620 Chancery case against the

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[164] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[165] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 1 / 2.
[166] C. Hill, 'The Rusty Sword of the Church' in *Society and Puritanism*, pp.354-81.
[167] AB.
[168] He appears to have been appointed official soon after his appointment as schoolmaster, in 1600; although he employed a deputy until August 1604, when the governors decided that he should be the official in person. MB.

governors was that Stone, as governor and official, 'hathe power to determyne theire owne Causes [i.e. the corporation's] and to be favourable to them selves in executinge of Justice'.[169]

Now a concatenation of misfortune. No sooner had the governors defeated the challenges to their right to increase the tithes than the spire collapsed, causing immense damage to the body of the Minster. The ongoing problems with tithes, and the need to repay members of the corporation who had lent money, prevented an effective response. A citation at the assizes in 1602-3 'aboute the repayringe of our Churche' – shaming or not – cannot have had much practical effect.[170] The corporation was forced to alternate among making ad hoc repairs, paying the wage bill and discharging the queen's – and then the king's – rent. When the corporation chose to do the first two, it could not do the second, and if it did the third, it limited its capacity to do much else. By the end of the decade, the governors owed the crown at least £120 and Thomas Norman £140, three-and-a-half years' salary.[171] Anything more than an ad hoc response to the collapse had to be postponed for nearly ten years. In 1608-9, a rate was made for the repairing of the church, raising £429 10s 10d, and the next year the governors spent almost their entire income on repairing the chancel.[172] A new chancel screen and returning choir stalls were built.[173]

With the fabric of the church finally repaired, the governors began to stabilise their finances, recovering unpaid money from previous years and settling on a new method of increasing their annual income. The corporation now began to contract new leases with many of the parishioners. In 1610-11, nearly £40 of their income came from entry fines.[174] In January 1612, 114 leases were contracted, and 19 the next year.[175] These leases were made for periods of 99 years, and came with an entry fine of a year's rent. By reclaiming supers as well, the corporation was able to raise £257 9s 1d in 1611-12, and to pay a full wage bill, including Norman's £40.[176]

But the corporation's misfortune was not at an end. At some point during the year 1611-12, an attempt was made by William Tipper, that 'caterpillar of the commonwealth', to have the

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[169] Only the articles of presentment survive from this case, as well as references in the governors' accounts to expenses incurred to fight it over a period of three years. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 3 / 1.
[170] Costs at the assizes are recorded in both the governors' accounts and the churchwardens' accounts. RA, 26 and CW / 1 / 41, fo.92.
[171] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 3 / 1; RA, 26-33.
[172] Evidence of the rate is recorded after the churchwardens' account for 1663: CWA, 41; as well as in PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8. RA, 32.
[173] Mayo, pp.43-4.
[174] RA, 33.
[175] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 2 / 1.
[176] RA, 34.

corporation dissolved. His intentions are only alluded to in the surviving evidence. Presumably, as in so many other instances, Tipper was looking to profit from the dissolution by being granted some or all of the former possessions of the corporation. The timing of his challenge is unlikely to have been a coincidence.[177] In particular, he is likely to have focused on the corporation's recurrent failure to pay their annual rent (at least three years' rent was outstanding at that time), because the end result was that the governors were forced to purchase the rent from the crown. James I's financial woes are well known, and extracting a large lump sum may have seemed more expedient than continuing with the annual rent, with the prospect of more defaults in the future.[178]

The cost of purchasing the patents, including the outstanding rent and legal fees, was £904 13s 4d.[179] The governors borrowed £190 from a number of individuals, including the under-sheriff of Dorset, and some, but not all, of the parishioners accepted increases to their tithes to raise the rest of the money.[180] Despite all that had happened, faith in the corporation – or, at the very least, in the need for its existence – had not been completely eroded.

v Concluding remarks

In his own will, written just before his death, Thomas Norman offered a conditional gift to the Minster: 6s 8d – 'if they bury me before my seate in the Quire'. A chastened preacher reflecting on his ministry and the alienation it had caused?[181] Perhaps; or maybe just a preacher with an awareness of the limitations of space. The receiver's account for 1618-19 records outgoings of 17s for his burial, and 1s 6d 'to lay [his] grave'; but the location is not recorded. His wife was given £10 by the corporation, either as a gift or in part for the money her husband was still owed.[182]

Despite the constant presentations from the churchwardens and the rough, sometimes defamatory, speech of the profane, Norman did remain a lasting part of the community, even in death. His

[177] There may be a link with an earlier challenge, in 1604, to the governors' title to the town hall, the site of which had been purchased by Thomas Hanham from Tipper. See the minute book entry for 24 August 1604 in MB; and the receiver's account for that year, which contains a payment of 46s for costs at law. RA, 27.
[178] For instance, J. Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI, 1603-1625* (Woodbridge, 2002).
[179] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 3.
[180] RA, 34-5.
[181] TNA, PROB 11 / 133 / 711.
[182] RA, 41.

influence can still be detected years later. The lectureship, and the two Sunday sermons, continued throughout the 1620s and into the 1630s, and parishioners such as Christopher Delacourt still avoided a sermon when it suited them; when they chose to stay at home and drink with their friends instead – 'to keep disorder at home', that familiar phrase.[183] There is continuing evidence for ritual nonconformity among the ministers: in 1620-1, John Paine was presented for destroying his surplice, although his reasons for doing so are not given; and in 1622-3, it was presented that 'the ministers do not read common prayer as it is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer'.[184]

The final and perhaps most poignant statements of allegiance to Norman come in the will of William Gould, written in 1624.[185] Yet another Middle Temple lawyer, Gould was a member of the corporation from 1618, the year in which he witnessed a codicil to Mary Gundry's will, until his death in 1624.[186] Among a number of recognisably godly provisions in his will – payments for a funeral sermon and a new pulpit cloth, doles for the poor and targeted charity to elderly and infirm members of the local community, a gift of a *memento mori* ring to William Stone – he made payments to three of Norman's children: 5 marks to Thomas Norman, 44s to Martha Norman and 20s to the youngest daughter, each gift to be delivered at the age of 21. And, in what can only have been a very personal act of devotion to an inspirational figure – a saint – Gould asked to be buried next to their father, in the chancel. So there Thomas Norman was, perhaps by his seat – and must still be. The childless Gould, however, was buried by his nephew at Bere Regis, which may have been his town of birth.[187]

By the mid-1620s, the corporation was back on a more stable footing financially. At the end of 1623-4, it had amassed a surplus of £27 7s 1d, and smaller surpluses at the end of other years.[188] Revenue would still remain uncollected, but much less: sometimes as much as £10 a year, sometimes as little as £2. By the 1630s, the corporation was raising more than the £200 a year stipulated by the Exchequer Court in 1599.[189]

Serious problems remained, however. The parish was now definitely a place where new religious identities were a source of conflict: the godly; the Prayer-Book Protestants; the multitude or the

[183] As in a citation from 1620-1 of Delacourt, his wife and friends. DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 57.
[184] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 64 and 44.
[185] TNA, PROB 11 / 143 / 615.
[186] *Middle Temple Records*, ii, p.464. TNA, PROB 11 / 131 / 677.
[187] I owe this information to Kim Tilsed, a descendant of James Tilsed, Gould's nephew.
[188] RA, 46.
[189] RA, 53-62.

'profane'; the recusants. It may be no coincidence that, amid the contentions of the middle years of Norman's tenure, the only known objection to Wimborne's musical regime was registered. In 1606-7, one of the churchwardens presented that 'Wm Etheridge sayd unto me that there were xxiiij & twenty handes unto a peticion for to have downe the organs / & that he was Requested to put his hands unto the same'.[190] No names, other than that of William Etheridge, were given.[191] And while the governors invested heavily in both the lectureship and the musical regime, sermons were apparently still a minority taste by the end of this period. Between 1595 and 1639, just four parishioners commissioned sermons, all of them members of the corporation: Thomas Hall, Joseph Collett, William Gould and William Stone.[192]

Precedents, even models, for resistance to the corporation were now well established. Between 1620 and 1623, the governors would be embroiled in a Chancery case involving a familiar roll-call of objections: corrupt tithe-leases at less than their true value; rigged justice in the parish court; violation of the terms of the corporation's letters patent and of the Exchequer decree that had ended the parishioners' suits twenty years before.[193] Again, the governors consulted with the bishop of Salisbury, providing a gift of a fish to his chancellor, James Hussey. The verdict of the case is unclear – apart from that the corporation survived.[194]

These charges would not go away. In the febrile atmosphere of the early-to-mid-1630s, under the pressures of Laudianism, they would be repeated with added religious freight; and the divisions that had been opening up within the parish would at last split the corporation too.

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[190] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 76.
[191] He may later have been one of the sidesmen, or a loose-liver and Sabbath-breaker; or all three. DHC, CP / 2 / 12 / 28 for the one; CP / 2 / 10 / 51 and CP / 2 / 12 / 39a for the other.
[192] TNA, PROB 11 / 87 / 93; 11 / 139 / 138; 11 / 143 / 615; / 11 / 180 / 393.
[193] Only a presentment against the governors from a local inquiry, probably conducted at Blandford, survives as first-hand evidence. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 2 / 3 / 1. Otherwise, costs associated with the case are listed in RA, 42-5.
[194] Nicholas Humfrey, whom the complainants had charged with misappropriating the tithes due to the corporation from the parsonage of Shapwick, was forced to surrender his lease, and refunded £25. RA, 46.

VIII: Archbishop Laud and the corporation, 1634-9

> '…he [King Charles I] could not hold it fit that any lay person or corporation whatsoever should have the power these men would take to themselves, for he would have no priest have any necessity of dependency upon their people;' and commanded me to signify to your Lordship that he would have this remedied. I pray your Lordship, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to take present order that the Mercers either relinquish the grant and submit to the orders of the Church, or else that you admit no Lecturer there, unless your Lordship can think of any better way to remedy this new lay encroachment upon your Church.[1]

[1] Letter of Archbishop Laud to John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, 25 February 1634, in *The Works of Archbishop Laud*, vii:ii, ed. J. Bliss (Oxford, 1858), letter 63, pp.348-50. The letter concerned, among other things, the London Company of Mercers and its funding of a lectureship in Huntingdon.

i William Whiteway observes town, county, king- and Christendom (but not Wimborne)

In the diary of the moderate 'Puritan' and cloth merchant of Dorchester William Whiteway, 1633 begins with events of importance in the gathering storm over Church ritual and government. On 22 January, 'there came out a Commission to collect money of all men of ability towards the repayring of St Pauls Church in London'.[2] Surprisingly, perhaps, the 'most Puritan town in England' gave £10 towards the repairs, which were 'the great example' of Laud's 'ambition to transform the ambience of worship': 'This was the paramount project in his long campaign to advance the honour, dignity and beauty of the Church of England, and it occupied him for ten years'.[3] While Dorchester's gift might seem another point of contact between sermon- and ceremony-loving Protestants in England, the town had sent four times that amount to Exeter and its acting mayor Ignatius Jourdain in 1626, when the city was 'in great distress, many dying for want and many weeke 100 and 150 of the sickenes'. Jourdain, 'of all the Magistrats', had heroically remained in the city as the plague took hold, 'all the rest having forsaken' him.[4]

A week after the collection for St Paul's, 'Mr Prin a Counsellor was sent to the Tower for writing a booke against stage plaies and dancing, which the Queene tooke to hart, because about the same time that his book came forth, she acted her part in a Comedy before the King'.[5] On 6 February, Whiteway noted the Sherfield case, whose recollection so amused Lieutenant Hammond as he passed through Salisbury and saw the Trinity window Sherfield had smashed: for that a £500 fine in Star Chamber. 'The Arch Bishop Neale, and Bishop Lawd spake most bitterly against him, the Earle of Dorsett and Secretary Cooke were for him'. Then three days later, a catastrophe for all who sought the establishment of a skilled preaching ministry: the Feoffees for Impropriations, 'made Feoffees for the purchasing of Impropriations and settling of painfull ministrys where they were most needful', were dissolved, their impropriations transferred to the king's gift.[6]

Amid reports of fires in London and Weymouth, the deaths of local worthies, a superabundance of pilchards, visits to the town by preachers and a French painter, the election of new town officers,

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[2] Whiteway, p.127.
[3] Parry, *Glory*, p.46.
[4] Whiteway, p.76.
[5] Ibid, p.127.
[6] Ibid, p.128.

an earthquake in east Devon of all places, and a further addition to the Whiteway clan, the tide continued to turn against Whiteway and his people, at home and abroad: Long and Prynne sent to the Fleet and then back to the Tower; the king's parliament convened in Scotland, at which 'Lawde Bishop of london was made a Scotish lord and had voice'; Bishop John Williams questioned in Star Chamber; the Prince of Orange checked in the Rhineland by a massive Spanish force.[7] Worst of all, on 4 August, George Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, finally died.[8] 'Dr Lawde Bishop london succeeded him in the Archbishoprick' – no comment.[9] In the next entry, Whiteway merely juxtaposes to critique, placing an observation about 'the stocks, pillory and whipping post' that had until recently stood outside the 'house [in Reading] where Dr Lawde was borne', next to news of a man fined £2000 for asserting that Laud was an Arminian.[10] No comment.

In 1634 came Laud's metropolitical visitation.

> The 15 of [July] Sir Nathaniel Brent the Archbishops Vicar Generall, having visited all the west country, visited here the Deanery of Dorchester, and the next day, the peculiars of this County…The Vicar lay all the Visitation and 3 daies before at Wolton at Sir Thomas Trenchards… He pressed upon the clergy, the observation of the ceremonys very earnestly, as bowing at the name of Jesus, the surplis, and the reading of double services with much more, affirming that the present Archbishop would require no more than hath been required ever since the Reformation.[11]

There was anti-'Puritan' preaching. First by the Seuss-ian 'Mister Moone of Maine', 'who taxed the Justices that punish ministers for going to the Tavernes'. This was almost certainly Walter Moone, rector of Broadmayne.[12] He was also, or had been, chaplain to Henry Nevill, ninth baron Bergavenny, who was 'justly suspected for popery', according to the Commons' presentment of Catholic officeholders in 1626, having married into the openly Catholic Vaux family of Northamptonshire.[13] Then there was a sermon by a Mr Pit, who 'inveighed against the repeating of sermons'; he was probably Christopher Pitt, rector of Langton Long, near Blandford, and chaplain to Henry Ley, second earl of Marlborough.[14] Whiteway notes 'diverse ministers suspended' in Dorset, mainly for refusing to read from the Book of Sports. Dorchester's John

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[7] Ibid, pp.128-30.
[8] Ibid, p.133.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid, p.147.
[12] CCED, 54978.
[13] CCED, 3288 for record of his dispensation to serve as Nevill's chaplain. 'Neville, Sir Henry II (1573-1641), of Birling, Kent and Drury Lane, Westminster', *HOPO*, accessed 25 March 2018.
[14] CCED, 14580 and 3487.

White, the prophetic minister who had led the town's spiritual rebirth from the ashes of its Great Fire, was saved only by means of trickery, a less inflexible minister having read from the Book in his absence one Friday morning. Needless to say, White was 'exceeding angry'.[15] Ignatius Jourdain came to Whiteway's attention again too, after writing to the bishop of Exeter to condemn the newly reissued Book of Sports. His 'indiscreete zeale' left the king 'offended… because it seemed to call his Prerogative in question'.[16]

It was already clear just how high the stakes were. Emigration, as much as edification, was an effect of the 'Anglican Counter-Reformation' described by Graham Parry. In 1633, John White's friend William Davenport, under increasing pressure from Laud, had felt compelled to leave England, as did many more like him; first to the Low Countries, then the New World.[17] In Francis Bremer's words, Laud forced Davenport to reassess 'what he was willing to conform to': 'If the definition of Puritan requires nonconformity, Davenport was at last a Puritan'.[18] Whiteway would die in the second year of Laud's archiepiscopate, in June 1635, aged just 36. In his final days, he also saw conflict and even violence ahead: in the penultimate diary entry, Laud was reputed 'if he had power, would prove more bloody then Boner, and Nero'.[19] And had he lived, Whiteway would have continued to note with growing apprehension, and surely growing anger, the increasing Laudian captivity of the Church. On the national stage, one might expect commentary on events such as the worsening plight of Prynne, the introduction of the new Book of Common Prayer to Scotland, and the national convenant; and on the local, sandwiched among the fripperies and notitiae of provincial life, two worrying cases of Laudian politics in Dorset – both involving Laud himself, both apparently connected to each other.

The first case, beginning in late 1635, was a direct intrusion into Dorchester's godly reformation, still proceeding but still far from secure. John White and William Benn, his more radical colleague in the neighbouring Dorchester parish of All Saints, were summoned before High Commission. At a dinner in nearby Frampton, they and others had apparently met to arrange the distribution of money collected for godly ministers in England and America. White's study was searched, and evidence of a 'seditious Puritan network' uncovered, with contacts in the area, in London and in

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[15] Whiteway, pp.146-7.
[16] Ibid, p.135. Nor for the last time: in 1639, Jurdain kept his hat on when the king's proclamation against the Covenanters was read in Exeter Cathedral; a prompt denunciation followed. Only a plea of illness prevented his appearance before the Privy Council. 'Jourdain, Ignatius', *HOPO*.
[17] Bremer, *Jerusalem*, pp.100-9.
[18] Ibid, pp.128-9 and 107.
[19] Whiteway, p.159.

Massachusetts.[20] One local contact was Sir Walter Erle, a man of whom the Caroline regime was already watchful – and rightly. An inveterate opponent of official religious and economic policy, Erle had been imprisoned for refusing to pay the Forced Loan. He was one of the so-called Five Knights who applied to the Court of King's Bench to challenge their imprisonment; unsuccessfully. Soon after, he stated his position before Parliament:

> Take away my religion and you take away my life, and not only mine but the life of the whole state and kingdom. For I may boldly say never was there a more near conjunction between matter of religion and matter of state in any kingdom of the world than there is in this kingdom at this day.[21]

The case against White and Benn was dropped in May 1636; reasons unknown. 'Perhaps White had benefitted from the old boy network: the lawyer handling the case against him was another Wykehamist and New College man'.[22]

Not long thereafter began the second case, which was to drag on far longer. Taking place in the fora of Chancery and Star Chamber, it concerned the powers, and indeed the very existence, of Wimborne Minster's corporation. Although Wimborne is absent both from the real sections of Whiteway's diary and from his commonplace book now held at the University of Cambridge, his interest in the case could only have been piqued by the involvement of a cast of godly from Dorchester, including his own father-in-law; many, like Whiteway himself, were members of the town's corporation and had also been investors in the Dorchester Company.[23] The Dorchester Company had been formed in 1624 by the Reverend John White, to establish a plantation on Cape Ann. The purpose was also to provide religious instruction for the settlers and to offer a safe haven for churchmen of White's persuasion; although the venture should be distinguished from that of the more confrontational Plymouth brethren. At one point, White had offered shelter at Cape Ann to 'certain religious and well-affected persons' who had left the Plymouth colony 'out of dislike of the principles of rigid separation' held there.[24] The case against Wimborne's governors was brought by a local non-conformist minister, William Hussey, and prosecuted initially by Sir Walter Erle and other Dorchester men. Unlike Erle, White and Benn could not perhaps afford to

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[20] Underdown, *Fire*, p.174.
[21] R.Cust, 'Erle [Earle], Sir Walter (1686-1665), politician', *ODNB*, accessed 23 December 2016.
[22] Underdown, *Fire*, p.174.
[23] For Whiteway's commonplace book, W.M. Barnes, 'The Commonplace Book of a Dorsetshire Man (A.D. 1625-1635)', *PDNHAS* 16 (1896), 59-74.
[24] A list of the original 121 members of the Company is given in Rose-Troup, *John White*, pp.448-60. The discussion of the company's activities, including the quotations, is taken from F. Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and Its Predecessors* (Clifton, NJ, 1973), pp.10-15.

be openly involved after their close shave with Laud in High Commission. It is unclear whether they knew Hussey at this time – whether they had cooked up a second conspiracy, as at the dinner-table in Frampton – but they later appointed him to a Dorset benefice, under the auspices of the county's standing committee.[25] After Wimborne's corporation challenged the initial proceedings, Laud was drawn into the dispute.

The case is a novel one: largely unstudied, surprising in its details and its outcome. Apart from David Reeve's thesis, no other work of academic history has even picked up on it.[26] Generally, it is Laud's interventions against groups like the Feoffees for Impropriations and urban corporations that have received the most sustained attention from historians.[27] In a campaign to prevent factionalism and fractious preaching and to reassert the medieval dignity of the Church, Laud suppressed lay-funded lectureships and defended the rights of ecclesiastical corporations against encroachment by laymen. Between 1635 and 1638, not a single civic corporation won against a cathedral chapter at Privy Council.[28] For Wimborne's corporation, at least, the result was not dissolution or massive censure; although its survival would certainly prove expensive – a cost of £1251 3s, all told.[29]

The case is also illuminating of local politics under Laudianism more generally, and in a county without an aggressively Laudian bishop. The binary Arminian / Laudian-Puritan is too simple to apply to this case, as indeed it is more generally. Reeve is wrong to state that 'most' of the corporation were 'Arminian in outlook', nor is there evidence that 'Puritans' were actively 'being persecuted within the parish'.[30] The corporation remained a body of mainly godly lawyers led by the chief Hanham of the parish; and the maintenance of an elaborate choral regime, even in the 1630s, is not an indication of adherence to the Laudian programme. Thomas Hanham, who represented the corporation during the dispute, was described by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper as

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[25] Reeve, p.257. White and Benn were among the 11 'triers' who examined the qualifications of candidates to be appointed to cures of souls in Dorset. *Standing Committee*, xl.
[26] Reeve, pp.255-9.
[27] On the Feoffees, M. Dever, *Richard Sibbes: Puritanism and Calvinism in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Macon, GA, 2000), pp.82-3 and K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992), pp.310-12. On city corporations, especially those in jurisdictional disputes with cathedral chapters, C. F. Patterson, 'Corporations, Cathedrals and the Crown: Local Dispute and Royal Interest in Early Stuart England', *History* 85 (2000), 546-71 and C.B. Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space and Authority in Seventeenth-Century English Cathedral Cities', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32:4 (2002), 593-620. See also R. Cust, 'Anti-Puritanism and Urban Politics: Charles I and Great Yarmouth', *HJ* 35:1 (1992), 1-26.
[28] Patterson, 'Corporations'.
[29] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 /8.
[30] Reeve, p.255.

'inclined to the Puritan'; but that uncomplicated assessment is belied by Hanham's behaviour before, during and after the dispute.[31] Rather, there are parallels with T.G. Barnes's work on the tangled alliances at work in the 'church-ale controversy' in Somerset, a county whose bishop, William Piers, was a much more insistent advocate of the full Laudian programme than George Coke or Robert Skinner.[32] In Somerset, according to Barnes, 'local factionalism fed upon constitutional and religious issues… because these great concerns could be used to belabour one's opponents'.[33] The argument here is not that the heightened religious language used by the local factions served as just another tool of abuse; but it is clear that local politics map onto the case in an interesting way. While there are clear Laudian hallmarks (anti-impropriation, anti-lay-corporation), the battle-lines appear much less fixed than one might sometimes believe or be led to believe. There are also parallels with Ethan Shagan's 'popular politics' of the English Reformation, with both the Dorchester faction and Laud using much the same language and rationale to argue for the dissolution of Wimborne's corporation.

But while both outside parties to the dispute made arguments about the use and mis-use of tithes, and both sought the dissolution of the corporation, each was approaching the politics of cathedral-style worship in a different way; the one to oppose it, the other to promote it – or, to be more exact, to promote a particular vision of it. It is worthwhile to see this dispute as part of a wider process of liturgical realignment in the Church. Laud has been seen as the great champion of cathedral worship as a model for the broader Church, but only recently has it begun to be appreciated that his programme was as much an imposition on the cathedrals as it was on the parish churches and college chapels, especially with regard to his altar policy, and also with regard to music and liturgy.[34]

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[31] 'Fragment of Autobiography' in *Memoirs, Letters, and Speeches of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor, with Other Papers Illustrating His Life, from His Birth to the Restoration*, ed. W. D. Christie (1859), p.27. Reeve (p.265) thinks the reference (to 'Mr. Hannam') was to Thomas's son John, who was Cooper's cousin, but this seems unlikely. When referring to 'Mr Hannam', Cooper seems to be referring to the 'near kinsman' whom his father had appointed one of the 'three trustees for me and my estate': this cannot have been John Hanham, who was still a boy when Cooper was born, in 1621. Cooper tends to refer to John Hanham as 'Mr. John Hannam' or 'my cousin Hannam'.

[32] T.G. Barnes, 'County Politics and a Puritan Cause Célèbre: Somerset Church Ales, 1633', *TRHS* 5:9 (1959), 103-22 and *Somerset 1625-1614: A County's Government During the 'Personal Rule'* (1961), pp.281-96. See also Underdown, *Fire*, pp.174-5.

[33] Barnes, 'County Politics', 122.

[34] I. Atherton, 'Cathedrals, Laudianism, and the British Churches', *HJ* 53:4 (2010), 895-918.

ii Chronology of the dispute, 1636-9

No central records for the dispute survive. What does survive, though, in Wimborne's archive is an array of correspondence, minutes, petitions, a detailed tithe survey, and other documents relating to it. From this copious material, a detailed chronology, with the principal issues raised and arguments made, can be reconstructed. To sustain the analysis that will follow in the next section, significant detail must be provided.

The material begins with a copy of a royal writ, dated 26 April 1636, directing an inquiry to Sir Walter Erle, William Savage, Humfrey Joliffe, William Darby, Ellis Langford and William Willis.[35] The copy does not give any definite indication of the court that issued the writ; but in due time, the governors would plead for the case to be heard in Chancery, which suggests the writ was not issued from there. The commissioners appointed were to investigate reports that the governors had not provided a fit schoolmaster, priests and clerks according to the charge of their letters patent; that the governors had put their income to uses not specified in the letters patent; and that they had allowed the schoolhouse and priests' houses in the town to fall into decay. On 26 June 1636, the inquiry was held at Blandford Forum. The commissioners can be identified from a copy of the inquiry's findings.[36] The inquiry found that the governors' tithes were worth £500 per annum; that the governors had allowed an earlier preacher, Miles Bownes, to live outside the parish, in breach of the terms of the letters patent; that they had only appointed two clerks, not three, for the previous 12 years; that they had employed an usher, organist, singing-men and choristers with the proceeds of the tithes, positions the jurors could not be certain were named in the letters patent; that, after the governors had leased tithes worth £90 to various parishioners, the leases had then been sold to Joseph Collet, a member of the corporation, with the proceeds of the sale and the £90 being put to unknown uses; and that all but one of the priests' houses was in complete decay. It appears to have been decided that the governors' possessions should be transferred to the king.

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[35] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5b.

[36] Alexander Arney, William Erneley, William Whiting, William Thornhill, Thomas Stagg, John Rickman, Edmund Dashwood, Henry Michael, Thomas Sandy, Henry Barnfield, John Parkins, Thomas Henstridge, John Hart, John Scott, William Roberts, William Frampton and Thomas Lucy. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5b. Scrappy minutes from the inquiry also survive.

From June 1636 and into the first months of 1637, the governors formulated objections to the inquiry.[37] They cited numerous inconsistencies: there were mistakes in the Latin of the initial presentment; they had not been given time enough to prepare; witnesses had been disallowed; Sir Walter Erle had tricked Thomas Hanham into testifying without having been sworn, and then told the jurors to disregard all unsworn testimony; two of the jurors refused to give assent to the final verdict.[38] The governors also alleged that William Hussey, a 'non-conformitant', 'hath allways opposed' the cathedral order of service, which Wimborne followed, and he had procured the commission out of Dorchester, where there were many 'of his alians and faction'. One of the commissioners, William Savage, was a surety to him for £200, because he had indebted himself heavily already by 'contentious courses'; Hussey could not afford his design to fail, despite having a parsonage worth £100 a year and a temporal living of £80 a year. The governors at this point were seeking one of two things: a new local inquiry, with new commissioners; or for Hussey to exhibit his bill in Chancery.

Petitions were sent to Sir Thomas Coventry, lord keeper, and to Archbishop Laud.[39] In the first, the governors defended themselves against the charge that they had misused their tithes by leasing them at preferential rates, as well as repeating some of the objections listed above. In the second, by contrast, they focused on the fact that Wimborne's 'Preistes and others are all Conformable men and performe their functions in all degrees according to the lawes and littergie of the Church of England and according to the Orders of Kathedrall churches'; and that Hussey was a non-conformist of a 'hott spirit', who had obtained a commission under false pretences, stocking it with men from Dorchester 'of his owne alians and faction'. The governors requested Laud intervene.

Two witness statements were prepared for the governors by Robert Highmore and Thomas Hayward. Both concern a dinner in the neighbouring parish of Hampreston, in the early days of the dispute. Present at the dinner, in the house of Mr Bishop, were William Hussey, Thomas Hayward, William Stone, Thomas Hall and Robert Highmore. Stone is alleged to have said to Hall and Hayward that nobody could overthrow the letters patent if the corporation 'stuck together', to which Hussey replied that Stone was a 'knave': he had heard him say otherwise. Hayward had in turn remarked to Hussey that he knew how the dispute had arisen, 'by a patent of

[37] Draft objections are contained in a number of documents under DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5a and b.
[38] The copy of the inquiry's findings is missing the signatures of two of the jurors.
[39] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5b.

Mr Trenders which you mr Hussey had of Mr Frampton', which Hussey did not deny, responding only, 'it must come forth some way or other'.

Mediation between the governors and Hussey was conducted before November 1636, apparently by Matthew Hale.[40] While the governors admitted that the parish tithes could be increased to £400 a year, and that they had received tithes in kind, they claimed that they had to put £90 a year aside to repay parishioners who had bought out a number of leases, leaving only £37 a year with which to make extraordinary payments. They offered concessions: the bishop of Bristol should be allowed to determine statutes for the parish and school; tithe leases would be made for periods of no longer than 21 years, at reasonable rents and without entry fines; the stipends of the priests, schoolmaster, clerks and others would be increased to the maximum possible. Hussey, meanwhile, claimed that the governors had forfeited their charge by contracting tithe leases for periods of more than five years; by doing so they had violated the decree of the Exchequer Court in 1598 that had decided against the copyholders of Kingston Lacy.[41] The governors' possessions should therefore be transferred to the king. And if Hussey were made rector himself, he would double the stipends of the priests and schoolmaster. Around this time, the governors petitioned Thomas Hanham to represent them in the dispute, and he accepted, travelling to London to do so.[42]

Between mid-February and mid-June of 1637, the governors and Hussey consulted with John Glanvill and John Puleston of Lincoln's Inn.[43] The governors were instructed to conduct a full survey of their tithes and possessions, which they did, and to provide it to Hussey before Easter; he was to be allowed supervised access to any documentation he should choose to see.[44] The governors were to send authorised representatives bearing the corporation's charter to treat with Glanvill and Pulestone.

By now, Laud's aim was dissolution. Securing agreement, however, was proving difficult. On 20 June 1637 Glanvill and Puleston wrote to Laud, Coventry and William Juxon. Although they had tried to 'setle the busines in a fair way', by reducing the leases of tithes to moderate terms and rents 'without ravelling too farre back into thinges past', and by making the church and chapel

[40] A letter signed 'Hale' was sent to Laud, Coventry and William Juxon, lord high treasurer. DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5a. Sir Matthew, as he was to be, was called to the bar in 1636. A. Cromartie, 'Hale, Sir Matthew (1609-1676), judge and writer', *ODNB*, accessed 21 December 2016.
[41] See DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 4 / 2.
[42] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 3, documents 1, 2 and 3.
[43] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5b.
[44] The survey is DHC, PE-WM / GN / 9 / 2 / 1.

presentative, neither party could be brought round.[45] Hussey's objections, unlike the governors', are not immediately clear or inferable. His offer to be the new rector may now have been formally rebuffed.

On 4 November, in the presence of Coventry, the governors requested that the original inquiry should be quashed. The governors were to put their exceptions in writing; if they held, a new commission would be appointed, 'wherein the Corporacion maie wyne and name Comissioners'. At the same time, a request was made by the attorney general and new lord of Kingston Lacy, John Bankes, not to be questioned in the matter.[46]

The dispute now seems to have been heard in Star Chamber.[47] Sitting there, on 17 November, Laud, Coventry and Juxon considered the case. They resolved that the matter should be settled amicably: the church and chapel should be made presentative, in the king's perpetual gift; the priests and clerks should be properly endowed and the school should continue. The matter was referred to Glanvill and Puleston for resolution. Glanvill and Puleston met with the governors' representatives on 8 January 1638, having earnestly implored the governors to submit.[48] But the governors had resolved to accept no alteration to their letters patent, and so Glanvill and Puleston wrote twice to Laud, Coventry and Juxon, first to inform them of their failure, and secondly to advise that the king should prosecute the case.

At the beginning of May, proceedings resumed, in Chancery. William Jones and Robert Berkley, two justices of the King's Bench, had advised Laud that the original inquiry against the governors was insufficient to entitle the king to their possessions.[49] A series of charges were laid against the governors: the prescribed personnel had not been supplied; money had been embezzled and put to unauthorised uses; tithe-money had been used improperly; the church and school had not been adequately maintained. Through October and November, the governors temporised. In a letter of 16 October, the attorney general ordered that on 20 November they should make a plea and stand on it.[50] When the day came, the governors pleaded that there were mistakes in the *scire facias*

[45] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 5a.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 6.

recently issued to them, which must be amended.[51] The attorney general concurred, and authorised the changes.

Between 20 November 1638 and 25 March 1639, the governors petitioned the king, stating that they were prepared to pay £1000 for the re-issuing of their letters patent.[52] They asked to have added to their remit an usher for the school, an organist, singing-men and choristers. They admitted they had exceeded their powers by maintaining these personnel, and begged pardon. On March 25 1639, in consideration of £1000, the king issued a new set of letters patent to the governors.[53] The requested personnel were added to their remit, and the requested pardon was given. The £1000 was paid by Thomas Hanham from his own money, and would later be refunded by another tithe increase, to 18d an acre.[54]

iii Analysis

Much about the dispute is unclear. Why, for instance, did it pass in and then out of Star Chamber? Richard Neile was not involved, although he sat regularly in Privy Council, Star Chamber and High Commission; in the Star Chamber case against Henry Sherfield, for instance, and he was 'one of the hard men' in the case of William Prynne and 'the big test cases in London'.[55] John Bankes' request not to be questioned is also opaque. Perhaps he asked because of his role as protégé of Sir Richard Weston, a rival of Laud's: Laud had 'lobbied hard' to prevent Bankes's selection as attorney general, in 1634.[56] Although nearly three years would elapse, the dispute never really got off the ground, and the plea of pardon seems to have come out of the blue. Soon after the conclusion of the dispute, Hussey wrote a letter to the king alleging that the governors had simply

[51] Ibid.
[52] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 4.
[53] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 7.
[54] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 8.
[55] A. Foster, 'Archbishop Neile Revisited' in P. Lake and M. Questier eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), p.174.
[56] 'Bankes, John (1589-1644), of Gray's Inn, London; later of Corfe Castle, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 20 January 2017.

bought their way out of the case corruptly, seeing that theirs was a futile stand; the letter was then forwarded on to Laud.[57]

The outcome suggests that while Laud was clearly exercised by lay impropriation, he was not *that* exercised in this case; 'no priest [should] have any necessity of dependency upon their people' – except when I say so. David Reeve has suggested that Laud was swayed in the end by the consideration that, if he dissolved the corporation, he would be relinquishing the parish to a group of 'Puritans': the corporation was the lesser of two evils.[58] The statement Matthew Hale prepared for Laud, Coventry and Juxon shows that Hussey sought the rectory of Wimborne for himself. But handing the rectory over to Hussey cannot have been the sole alternative to allowing the corporation to continue existing. Laud could have placed a vicar of his own choosing, instead; such a policy worked at St Martin's-in-the-Fields, for instance, where William Bray, one of Laud's chaplains, was parachuted in as vicar after the death of the previous incumbent.[59] Hussey's request to be made rector appears to have been brushed off quickly.

A detailed consideration of Hussey and his supporters reveals that there was indeed a Dorchester 'alians and faction' behind him, as the governors claimed; and a consideration of circumstances in the parish in the years before the dispute also reveals what might have been at stake for them in it. First, a note. While all the commissioners of the initial inquiry can be identified with reasonable accuracy, the majority of the jurors cannot. Among them were definitely two Dorchester men, including Whiteway's father-in-law, and two or three others can be identified provisionally as having links to Dorchester; but the rest are simply names in the record of the inquiry's findings.

Likewise, in the two statements prepared by Robert Highmore and Thomas Hayward at some point in the early days of the dispute, there are hints of a far more complicated arena of local politics. Mr Bishop, in whose home the dinner Highmore and Hayward discussed took place, may have been a Catholic recusant, and Hampreston itself was a notorious den of recusants, largely because of its control by the Catholic Arundels of Wardour.[60] Robert Highmore's presence at the dinner, and his motivation for speaking in the corporation's favour, are intriguing questions. He was the parish minister of Hampreston, and had been appointed by Thomas Arundel, after being picked up directly from a chaplaincy to Mervin Tuchet, the second earl of Castlehaven, in the final

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[57] TNA, SP 16 / 403, fo.53; *CSP, Charles*, xiv, p.483.
[58] Reeve, p.258.
[59] J.F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster* (Manchester, 2005), pp.344-8.
[60] For Mr Bishop, *Protestation Dorset*, p.132. On Hampreston and the Arundels of Wardour, including Thomas, see Lloyd, *Dorset Elizabethans*, pp.74-86.

days before Tuchet's arrest.[61] These connections, especially the chaplaincy, would clearly suggest a minister with, at the very least, Catholic tendencies.[62] At the same time, Robert Highmore's brother Richard, 'minister of the word of God' at Hinton Martell, had been a fixture of the county's godly scene, close associate of Thomas Norman and Mary Gundry.[63] Godly too was Nathanial Highmore, rector of Goathill, near Sherborne – probably the third brother.[64] He had been appointed to the rectory by John Hanham, the most enigmatic of Thomas Hanham senior's children. John Hanham was never a member of the corporation, but he was, according to Thomas Gerard, a substantial contributor to the repair of the Minster after the collapse of the spire. The best indication that he should also be included within the family tradition of godliness comes in the form of a sojourn in Geneva, in 1600.[65] As well as the apparent godliness of his patron at Goathill, Nathaniel Highmore was a subscriber to the Dorchester Company, along with other godly clergy from the area, including Miles Bownes, Wimborne's preacher until his death in 1630.[66] More on the Company in a moment. The identity of Thomas Hayward, who prepared the second statement about the dinner, is far less certain. A number of Thomas Haywards feature in Wimborne's records.[67] The Mr Frampton who supposedly provided Hussey with a 'patent' to initiate the inquiry (as Hayward alleged at the dinner), may have been the William Frampton who then served as one of the jurors. Or was he Thomas Frampton, one of Wimborne's two churchwardens between 1634 and 1636?[68] Another possibility is that he was or had recently been a minister at Wimborne. A Mr Frampton served there from 1632 until 1636. Although his first name goes unrecorded, Wimborne's Mr Frampton is probably Francis Frampton, who had also been appointed in 1632 to a curacy at East Holme by Thomas Hanham.[69] He appears to have left

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[61] CCED, 54743 and 2140.
[62] 'Audley, alias Tuchet, Sir Mervyn (c.1588-1631), of Stalbridge, Dorset; later of Fonthill Gifford, Wilts', *HOPO*, accessed 19 January 2017. Also C.B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (Oxford, 1999).
[63] Richard Highmore was referred to as such in Mary Gundry's will, TNA, PROB 11 / 131 / 677. CCED, 70191.
[64] CCED, 13287.
[65] 'Hanham (Hannam), Sir John (1574-1625), of Deans Court, Wimborne Minster, Dorset', *HOPO*, accessed 28 August 2017.
[66] Rose-Troup, *John White*, p.456. Bownes was also, like Robert Highmore, the minister at Hampreston, but he had not been appointed to the rectory by a member of the Arundel family, and is unlikely to have been a good fit either for the Arundels or for many of his parishioners. Among the recipients of gifts in his will was Thomas Norman's widow. Joseph Collett, one of Wimborne's godly governors, had been godfather to one of Bownes' daughters, and Thomas Hanham was the principal overseer and witness of the will. TNA, PROB 11 / 158 / 429. CCED, 9443.
[67] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 1 / 49b, 99 and 136; CP / 2 / 10 / 76 and 117; and CP / 2 / 12 / 5.
[68] CWA, 41, fo.255-67.
[69] CCED, person 12742 and location 6640. *Dorset IQPM*, no.24 and *RCHM Dorset*, ii, p.132 for the Hanhams and East Holme.

Wimborne under something of a cloud. The governors' record of the appointment of Mr Frampton's successor, Robert Ward, includes a long list of all the duties he was expected to fulfil, as if his predecessor had failed to do so: Ward was to be resident, to celebrate divine service, to administer the sacraments, to discharge the cure of souls and 'to doe all things belonging to that place and required of one of our ministers by the Queenes lettres patents granted to our predecessors'.[70] Frampton's manuscript sermons, written in 1632-3, shows him to have been a doctrinaire Calvinist.[71] Seditious preaching, as will be shown, may have played an important role in the lead-up to the dispute; what to make, then, of the following prominent marginal annotations to the sermons? From Psalm 118: 'it is better to put trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes'. And the first half of one of Horace's famous sententiae, '*quicquid delirant reges*': 'Howsoever their kings rage, the Greeks suffer'.[72]

Now, the main protagonists. First, William Hussey. He does not appear to have been a member of the Hussey family of neighbouring Shapwick.[73] The governors referred to him as 'parson Hussey' and said that he had a parsonage worth £100 a year and a temporal living worth £80. He must be the William Hussey who had been presented to the rectory of Pentridge, a village on the Dorset-Wiltshire border, in 1619.[74] He appears to have lost the parsonage as a result of debts incurred before and after the conclusion of the dispute, debts alluded to by the governors, and in 1640 he was replaced by a Gabriel Saywell.[75] It was destitution that apparently motivated Hussey to write to the king, complaining of the unfair verdict of the case against Wimborne's corporation.[76] He would resurface later and cause further trouble.[77]

As a 'non-conformitant' in Dorset, Hussey could hardly have been unaware of such a beacon to the godly as Dorchester, but he may have had a close personal connection to the town, too. At one point, maybe still during the dispute, he seems to have been personal chaplain to Sir Thomas Trenchard, with whom Laud's vicar-general had lodged during his visitation; was this the 'temporal living' the governors referred to? Whiteway noted that on 10 March 1632 'Mr Hussey

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[70] MB.
[71] Washington DC, Folger-Shakespeare Library, STC 2608.
[72] Washington DC, Folger-Shakespeare Library, STC 2608. The quotation from Psalm 118 is on the final page, the quotation from Horace, on the third.
[73] For the Hussey pedigree, Hutchins, iii, pp.162-3.
[74] CCED, 54799. Reeve stated that William Hussey was a layman. Reeve, p.255.
[75] CCED, 55526. See below.
[76] TNA, SP 16 / 403, fo.53,*CSP, Charles*, xiv, p.483.
[77] A. Baverstock, 'James Crouch, Rector of Hinton Martell', *SDNQ* 19 (1929), 285.

of Wolton preached at the assizes'.[78] By Wolton, he meant Wolfeton, the Trenchard family seat near Dorchester. The parish church there was a peculiar, and it had long been the custom for the curate to be the Trenchards' chaplain.[79] Unfortunately, as for many peculiars, Wolfeton has no institution records, but Hussey and Thomas Trenchard would certainly have made a good match on paper. Personal chaplains tended to be of the same religion as their employers, and the Trenchard family values were very much godly. Thomas's father, George, was a key player in attempts for godly reformation in Dorchester before 1613, and Thomas continued those efforts, and was, to quote Underdown, 'always a friendly presence' for John White.[80] Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper noted that he was a 'very honest, well-natured, worthy man, a favourer of the puritans'.[81]

The best evidence of pre-existing organisation towards a godly aim – conspiracy – is that the majority of the commissioners, and also one of the jurors, had previously been members of the Dorchester Company. Of the commissioners for the 1636 inquiry, Walter Erle, William Savage, William Derby, Humfrey Joliffe and William Willis had all been subscribers to the Company, as had the juror Edmund Dashwood. Most of these men were also connected to one another through Dorchester's corporation, as members or relations of members. Derby and Jolliffe were both important members; and although William Savage was not a member, his brother Richard was. Edmund Dashwood, an especially close friend of John White's, served as mayor of the town in 1632-3. John Parkins, the juror, was Whiteway's father-in-law, and an important benefactor and officer of the town, having served as its MP in 1621; but he was not an investor in the Dorchester Company.

Although once a subscriber to the Dorchester Company, William Willis was not a resident of the town or a member of its corporation: he lived in Pamphill, in Wimborne. He did, however, have connections to two of the governors, Thomas Hall and William Stone, both of whom appear to have played important roles in the dispute. Stone was executor and witness to Willis's will, and Hall was appointed as a trustee to a portion of his estate.[82]

Circumstantial evidence suggests other connections either to Hussey or the Dorchester godly involved. The family of another commissioner, Ellis Langford, held the advowson of Woodyates,

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[78] Whiteway, p.121.
[79] T. Cliffe, *Puritan Gentry Besieged, 1650-1700* (1993), p.225.
[80] Cornish-Dale, 'Kindling'. Underdown, *Fire*, p.156.
[81] 'Fragment of Autobiography', pp.28-9.
[82] TNA, PROB 11 / 178 / 569.

the neighbouring parish to Pentridge.[83] William Frampton, one of the jurors, appears to have purchased land from the commissioner William Derby.[84] Another juror, Alexander Arney, worked closely with Dorset's standing committee – and so with John White and William Benn – during the 1640s.[85]

So what was at stake for Dorchester's godly in this matter? A key piece of evidence is the two statements made about a dinner at Hampreston, early in the dispute. The dinner may have been a council of war for Hussey: he was present, and the dispute was a subject of conversation. But why were two members of the corporation also present? The motivation of the first, Thomas Hall, is not immediately inferable; but it is noticeable that, while his brother Bartholomew represented the corporation during the dispute, Thomas does not feature in any of the surviving material. He was named as a member of the corporation in its renewed letters patent, but died not long after. Like his father, discussed earlier, he was a Middle Temple lawyer and godly. Godly also was William Stone, the second governor at the dinner. His support from Robert Cecil and his role in protecting Thomas Norman from censure by the parish churchwardens, have already been noted. Both statements about the dinner make it clear that there had been prior contact between Stone and Hussey: at the dinner, Hussey rebuked Stone for contradicting an earlier statement he had made about the corporation's chances of survival.

The surviving records of High Commission reveal that Stone had good reason to be disillusioned with the corporation, even actively to work against it. For two years, he had been involved in a dispute with Thomas Hanham, the chief governor, over his conduct as official of the parish court. The first evidence dates to 8 May 1634, when Stone appeared before the High Commission and swore to answer a set of articles presented against him.[86] The case can be traced through 1634 and 1635, with Stone repeatedly appearing to present witnesses and evidence, including material from the registries of Wimborne and the bishop of Bristol.[87] It is nearly two years, though, before substantial details, including the gravamina, are revealed. In February 1636, two months before the dispute with Hussey began, Thomas Hanham spoke before the court.[88] It was he who had

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[83] O.V. Langford, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time* (1894), p.157. On Pentridge and Woodyates, *RCHM Dorset*, v, pp.53-7.
[84] TNA, PROB 11 / 202 / 93.
[85] Hutchins, iii, p.117. *Standing Committee,* xxxi, pp.33, 149, 247, 373, 377 and 492.
[86] TNA, SP 16 / 261, fo.19 and 24 b; *CSP, Charles*, vii p.49.
[87] His appearances are recorded numerous times among the 'Acts of the Court of High Commission' in *CSP, Charles*, vii, viii and ix.
[88] TNA, SP 16 / 536, fo.16; *CSP, Charles*, xxiii, p.525.

initiated the case: Stone, as official of the parish court, had taken bribes to absolve presentees from punishment, 'Conniving utmost beastly prophanacions of the Church and Churchyeard and at adulteries and divers other foule offences'; although a minister [i.e. official of the court] 'above these 20 yeares', Stone 'did never exercise that function other then by excommunicaiting and absolving persons in his Jurisdiction'; worst of all, Stone was 'a favourer of factious persons and heard one of the ministers of wimborne preach factious and scandalous doctrine, yet did never punish nor question him for yt'.[89]

The case was apparently foreclosed by the king's pardon for the corporation, which made especially mention of Stone and Hanham.[90] Stone did not suffer censure, as far as can be told, and died that year; but the case had other effects, much earlier. At the very least, the High Commission case brought to Laud's attention not just Stone's affairs, but those of the corporation as a whole, more than a year before Hussey prosecuted his case. Among the State Papers is a document headed 'the true state of the Free schoole and Collegiate Church of Winborne Minster in the county of Dorset'.[91] It was drawn up for Laud and carries the endorsement of William Dell, his secretary, with a note that it had been received on 22 June 1635. If Laud was not relying on the testimony of William Stone, he must have been making his own inquiries. The complaints are certainly not those of Thomas Hanham: the governors as a whole are accused of abusing their privileges to embezzle the tithes granted to them, to the detriment of the church and worship.

Crucially, Hanham's charge of tolerating fractious preaching seems to have bore predictable fruit. In the account of the governors' receiver for 1634-5, the word 'lecturer' next to the name of Wimborne's preacher, Richard Lewis, is crossed out, and replaced by 'minister'; although Lewis was still paid his salary of £40.[92] It seems unlikely that the governors were simply trying to hide the existence of the lectureship; if that were so, surely all references to it would have been erased? Instead, Lewis may have been one of the 'diverse ministers suspended', probably for refusing to read from the Book of Sports; or, most likely, the lectureship itself was cancelled. Lewis remained through the 1630s and into the 1640s, but would not be referred to again as a 'lecturer'; his salary, however, was increased the following year to £50 rather than decreased to match that of the other ministers, and in the Calvinist will of a local gentleman from 1636 he is referred to as 'the preacher

[89] Hanham and his son and namesake were both for the king during the First Civil War. For their careers during the 1640s, Reeve, pp.265-6.
[90] DHC, PE-WM / GN / 1 / 7.
[91] TNA, SP 16 / 291, fo.56; *CSP, Charles*, VIII, p.137.
[92] RA, 57.

of God's word at Wimborne Minster', suggesting that he had continued to preach in some capacity, perhaps only on Sundays.[93]

In the end, this might explain why Laud chose not to dissolve the corporation. With its lecturer silenced, perhaps Laud believed that the corporation's Puritanical tendencies had been neutered enough, and the enshrinement of the parish's musical regime in the corporation's new letters patent was further insurance against deviation from his own agenda; the control of parish tithes by a lay body, in this far-from-typical instance, did not matter so much. Frustrating Hussey, and behind him White, Benn and Erle, would, on this reading, have been more a bonus than the prime concern for Laud.

Still, in 1634 the suppression of the lectureship at Wimborne would have been a worrying development for the county's godly, especially as the corporation was at war with itself about the correct response to Laudian policy. And by the summer of 1635, with Laud now weighing the very existence of the corporation, the Dorchester faction could have attempted to steal a march on him. If the corporation had to be replaced, an ally would be better than one of Laud's own men; otherwise, a slippery slide into Arminianism might be impossible to prevent. The Minster would, like Romsey Abbey, have made a fine setting for a Laudian showpiece, especially in a county with no local cathedral. When looking at the Minster at this time, Lieutenant Hammond was able to see only the architecture, monuments and choir: Wimborne was of a piece with the other churches whose stateliness and rich liturgy drew his attention. And not just a fitting container: there were 'parochial roots' for Laudianism at Wimborne, too.[94] As a peculiar, the parish is unlikely to have come under diocesan pressure to conform to Laudian policies. 'The evolution and implementation of the [Laudian altar] policy was complex and full of local variation'.[95] It is worth noting that the visitation articles of the bishops of Bristol Robert Wright (bishop 1623-32) and Robert Skinner (1637-41) contain no mention of altars and rails.[96] Nor were altars and rails mentioned by Nathaniel Brent, the archbishop's vicar-general, when the metropolitan visitation arrived in Dorset, in 1634.[97] Even without direct top-down influence, there still seems to have been an effort

[93] RA, 58. TNA, PROB 11 / 173 / 287.
[94] A. Walsham, 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and 'Parish Anglicans' in Early Stuart England, *JEH* 49: 4 (1998), 620-51.
[95] J. Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (2014), pp.78-9.
[96] *Articles to be ministred, enquired of, and answered: in the fourth visitation of the Right Reverend father in God, Robert, by Gods divine providence, Lord Bishop of Bristol* (1631) and *Articles to be ministred, enquired of, and answered: in the first visitation of the Right Reverend father in God, Robert by Gods divine providence, Lord Bishop of Bristol* (1637).
[97] Whiteway, p.147.

among certain of the parishioners to alter sacramental practices and to beautify the interior of the Minster, from around the beginning of the 1620s.

Caution is necessary, however, in identifying these developments. Lieutenant Hammond's account must be read critically, and a number of mistaken assertions have been made about the interior of the Minster at this time. Hammond's description of the ascent of two flights of steps to the choir and 'high altar' is apt to mislead (**Images 8** and **10**). First, there is no evidence for a permanent altar having been erected at any point, as was the case in many cathedrals and some Oxford colleges, such as St John's – Laud's college. Lieutenant Hammond refers to 'the high altar' at Wimborne, but this is undoubtedly an expression of his theological stance – a lay Laudian. A sixteenth-century communion table still survives in the Minster, and may or may not be the 'new communion borde' paid for by the churchwardens in 1602-3, at a cost of 26s 8d.[98] Secondly, the floor of the choir had been raised not to 'honour' the altar, as 'would become customary in "Laudian" churches and chapels', but to accommodate the crypt below – centuries earlier.[99] During the Edwardian Reformation, the demolition of altars had often involved the levelling of chancels by the removal of the altar steps. John Hooper, the radical bishop of Gloucester, had made it a requirement in his visitation articles of 1551 and 1552, as had the bishop of Salisbury a year later.[100] Levelling continued under Elizabeth, despite official orders in 1561 that remaining altar steps should be 'not stirred nor altered'.[101] At Wimborne, workmen could not simply have removed the paving, levelled the ground beneath it and then re-laid the floor without the steps: significant effort and, most of all, expenditure would have been required – which is almost certainly why it was not done. Only later, during the massive alterations of the mid-nineteenth century, was such work undertaken, the number of steps being reduced and the floor lowered to its present height.[102]

It has been stated that an altar rail was installed at Wimborne in 1610, and also that a new rail was installed in 1640.[103] Both statements are wrong.[104] In the first instance, there are no receipts among the £119 3s 1d the governors spent on the chancel and choir in 1609-10 to indicate the

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[98] CWA, 41, fo.91.
[99] Parry, *Glory*, p.19.
[100] *Altars Restored*, p.21.
[101] Ibid, p.40.
[102] Mayo, p.44.
[103] Respectively, in F. Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches* (1916), p.132; and Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p.342.
[104] Thomas Perkins remarked that in his day, 1852, there were no rails before the altar; although there had been a rail 'of no antiquity' until recently at the entrance to the presbytery. T. Perkins, *Bell's Cathedrals: Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory. A Short History of Their Foundation and a Description of Their Buildings*, 2nd edn. (1902), p.47.

construction of a rail, nor the year before nor the year after.[105] In the churchwardens' account for 1641 there is indeed a payment for a 'rail'; but the account does not specify what sort. Various kinds of rail appear in the churchwardens' accounts; for instance, the 'church rayles' in 1582-3 – perhaps railing around the churchyard – and 'a Rayle to hang the surpleses', made in 1633-4.[106]

There is evidence for the installation of benches – 'forms in the choir for communion' – but from an earlier date.[107] The governors made their first payment for 'seats' in the choir in 1611-12, and then more 'forms' were added first in 1621-2, with a further six the next year. The seats paid for in 1611-12 were not an innovation: the churchwardens had paid to repair a 'communion form' in 1600-1.[108] Some of these benches survive, of which Thomas Perkins wrote:

> The benches are a relic of Puritan times… These were at first used as seats, on which the communicants sat to receive the bread and wine. In after times their use was modified. These benches, ten in number, were placed on the steps leading up to the altar, and it was customary… on "Sacrament Sundays"… [for] those who wished to communicate… [to go] into the chancel and [sit] on these benches…[109]

In Perkins' own time, the benches had come to be laid end-to-end on the steps as a kind of ersatz rail, and were then draped with houseling cloths for receiving the bread.

If Wimborne's communion table did not become an altar raised and railed off from polluting influences, the actual practice of communion did change in a significant way in the 1620s, in tandem with aesthetic changes that are usually considered distinctive of the 'Anglian Counter-Reformation'. Sacramentalism, an emphasis on the sacraments, was central to the devotions both of churchmen such as Lancelot Andrewes, John Williams and John Cosin and of laymen like Sir John Scudamore, who 'liked to communicate monthly, far more frequently than was common'.[110] In terms of the actual taking of communion, no absolute distinction can be made between the practices of ceremonialist and 'Puritan': John White of Dorchester administered monthly communions, and the sermon- and suicide- obsessed Nehemiah Wallington sometimes chose to take communion just as often.[111] But accompanying the sacramentalism of the ceremonialists was also a particular aesthetic, including decorated communion plate and adornments for the

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[105] RA, 31-3.
[106] CWA, 41, fo.7 and 252.
[107] RA, 44.
[108] CWA, 41, fo.79.
[109] Perkins, *Bell's Cathedrals*, p.48.
[110] Parry, *Glory*, p.39.
[111] Underdown, *Fire*, p.106 and Seaver, *Wallington's World*, pp.35-7. Also Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper'.

communion table, 'covers on fonts, carpets on communion stools, cloths over pulpits, and furnishings over altars'.[112] 'What was seen by Puritans and men of plain religion as a betrayal of the Reformation was to the supporters of High Church values a proper reverence for the sanctity of the church and a decorous conduct of its services… liturgy and the arts had a natural interdependence'.[113] At Wimborne, aspects of that aesthetic began to appear simultaneously or at around the same time as the parish began to take monthly communions. In 1613-14 the churchwardens paid £4 4d for a new communion cloth with a silk fringe.[114] In 1622-3, when the monthly communions began, a new communion dish was bought by the parish, and then two years later, a new flagon.[115] Another new pewter flagon was given by John Dackombe and his wife, a gentry couple, in 1629-30.[116] A new cloth and two chalice cloths were bought in 1632-3.[117]

Also accompanying the monthly communions and new plate was wider beautification or edification, with recognisable focuses: 'covers on fonts, carpets on communion stools, cloths over pulpits, and furnishings over altars'.[118] The font at Wimborne had been covered in 1613-14.[119] Having paid 13s 2d for silk and lace for a new pulpit cushion in 1622-3, the churchwardens paid £4 11s 7d for a velvet cushion in 1624-5.[120] Thomas Lovell, a gentleman and member of the corporation, contributed £1 towards a new pulpit cloth in 1627-8.[121] In 1626, Anthony Wayte, who had been churchwarden from 1619-21, paid for a new brass lectern in the shape of an eagle (**Image 23**).[122] Text was painted on the walls, first a table of the prohibited degrees of marriage, in 1629-30, and then in 1634-5, £10 was paid for 'settinge upp the 10 Commandements the Lords prayer the Creede & divers sentences of scripture in the Church'.[123]

One should be careful, however, not to overstate how much this beautification was a precise handmaiden to the monthly communions. In Jacobean London, for instance, there was

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[112] Parry, *Glory*, p.21 and D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.314.
[113] Parry, *Glory*, pp.5-6.
[114] CWA, 41, fo.148.
[115] Ibid, fo.185-6 and 198. It was not until the 1623-4 that the churchwardens record a payment for 'wine for the monethlie communions', but the amount recorded in 1622-3 is consistent with the subsequent payments for monthly communions, and also far in excess of the amount paid the year before. The payments continue until the last of the surviving pre-Civil War accounts, for 1635-6.
[116] Ibid, fo.226.
[117] CWA, 41, fo.245.
[118] D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.314.
[119] CWA, 41, fo.147.
[120] Ibid, fo.186 and 198.
[121] Ibid, fo.211.
[122] DHC, PE-WM / CW / 10 / 23.
[123] CWA, 41, fo.226 and 261.

refurbishment, repair and redecoration of churches long before the advent of Laudianism, and by 'Puritans' and non-Puritans alike.[124] One obvious reason is the simple fact that many churches were, by sheer virtue of their age, in a state of serious disrepair and even precariousness by the turn of the sixteenth century. This is very true of Wimborne, where the collapse of the spire had been anticipated since at least 1538 and expensively forestalled over many decades. When it finally did collapse, the cost to repair the damage was massive, and the opportunity was taken to remodel the battered chancel heavily – those new choir stalls and that screen, in particular. It was not only decay and catastrophe, however, that prompted concern for the fabric of the Minster. Evidence from the parish consistory court suggests there also existed a more general desire to ensure a fit setting for worship. From as soon as the surviving presentments begin, at the end of the 1580s, there are many citations for individual or general neglect of the interior and exterior of the church. As well as citations for bad behaviour within the church itself – 'to the greife of many in the congregation', as was the usual phrase – there were many presentations for fouling or 'defiling' the churchyard, either with inanimate objects such as wood or straw or, most often, with livestock, including horses and especially pigs. In 1608-9, for instance, 21 people were presented on separate occasions for 'unreverent' behaviour inside the church or for 'abusing' the churchyard.[125] The very phrases used to describe such misbehaviour, especially within the church, are suggestive of the kind of reverence most readily associated with Laudianism: 'unmannerly' behaviour 'in the temple of God', 'disturbing the congregation most monstrously'.[126]

Nor should the unifying power of communion be exaggerated, however divisive preaching had become after the appointment of Thomas Norman. First, the amounts paid for these new monthly communions were far smaller than the amount paid at Easter, suggesting a correspondingly smaller regular attendance; sporadic gatherings towards the bread and wine for them were also made, but never raised more than 3s and usually far less.[127] Secondly, the fragmentary presentments for the 1620s and 1630s reveal that even then, perhaps as much as a fifth of the parishioners might not receive communion at Easter; in 1624 and 1625, for instance, 351 and 339 parishioners were absent.[128]

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[124] J. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *HJ* 41:4 (1998), 935-60.
[125] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 10 / 85-7, 90-2 and 94.
[126] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 69 and CP / 2 / 10 / 20.
[127] CWA, 41, fo.190, 195, 245, 250, 256 and 260.
[128] DHC, PE-WM / CP / 2 / 12 / 34 and 32.

iv Choir and pulpit: another brief conclusion

Despite the 'ifs', 'mights' and the many 'perhapses' of this chapter – much remains unsolved – there is obvious value in seeing the dispute, at least in part, as a clash between two different visions of the cathedral that had developed by the 1630s, the one in a high clerical setting, the other in a far humbler, local, one. Although the governors appealed to Laud that theirs was the 'cathedral order of service', the similarities it shared with Laud's vision of the cathedral could not disguise the differences. Preaching, as can easily be forgotten, did have an important role to play for Laud, like Andrewes before him, but only in its proper, 'inferior', relationship to the liturgy.[129] The relative balance of articles concerning music and preaching in Laud's articles for Salisbury cathedral show this hierarchy at work.[130] At Wimborne, by contrast, music and preaching existed in a relationship closer to equality – sometimes successfully, sometimes less so. More fundamentally, however, Laud's cathedral was not a place where worship was controlled or determined by laymen. The differences, at least initially, were enough to convince Laud that dissolution was the best option. Only later did he change his mind, satisfied, perhaps that the corporation and its form of service were of little threat.

In *Prayer Book and People*, Judith Maltby revealed a 'squeezed middle' of the 1630s, the Prayer-Book Protestants, moderates who had largely gone unnoticed. Conformity, of course, speaks with a much quieter voice in the historical record – sometimes inaudibly beneath the sound and fury of 'Puritan' and Catholic dissent. Here there is a case to be made for the existence of another squeezed middle of the 1630s: not just those who wished to hold their ground between the extremities of Laudianism and 'Puritanism', but those who sought or had sought to reconcile aspects of those positions, to place them on more of an equal footing. Peter McCullough sees the reign of James I as a propitious time to effect an official reconciliation between music and sermon, especially under the polymath guidance of Lancelot Andrewes.[131] As the previous chapters of this half of the thesis have demonstrated, such a possibility had in fact been present from the start, from 1558. The 1630s, however, were a different time. Buffeted from both sides by opponents who were prepared to use the same means to different ends, the governors and their 'cathedral order of service' – a

[129] P. McCullough, 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', *HJ* 41:2 (1998), 411.
[130] *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission*, pp.127-8.
[131] McCullough, 'Music Reconciled'.

local response to the open-endedness of the Elizabethan Settlement, and to the parish's medieval traditions – had now become an anachronism. Compromise and local creativity, in a Church that had been founded upon a compromise and left room for local creativity, were becoming less and less possible; impossible maybe.

We all know what happened next.

IX: Conclusions

> We are at the end of our enquiry, but as often happens in the search after truth, if we have answered one question, we have raised many more; if we have followed one track home, we have had to pass by others that opened off it and led, or seemed to lead, to far other goals than the sacred grove at Nemi.[1]

[1] J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (Ware, 1993), p.711.

Part one of the thesis, taking in the first three chapters, was an attempt to provide a 'balanced account' of the relationship between the medieval royal free chapel and the parish; and of the effects the administration of the former had upon the devotions of the latter.

In chapters one and two, it was shown that, despite – because of – the use of the deanery and four prebends as a reservoir of patronage, the parish was able to develop a robust self-identity and self-organisation. Lay initiative was not a new development after 1548. This was expressed most clearly through the churchwardenship, which would remain the principal organising factor for the parishioners until at least 1640; its roles, duties and membership displayed a remarkable stability across time. Between around 1400 and 1470, the parishioners, led by the churchwardens, mobilised diverse resources to carry out at least two ambitious construction projects. Heroic though these projects were, the new spire and tower pushed the limits of the parish's resources, and it showed – expensively and, at long last, catastrophically.

Various other fault lines, not just in the fabric of the Minster, are visible before 1548. Contraction: of the parish's system of numerous chapelries; of the Minster's broader constituencies beyond the parish. Even in the sixteenth century, the parish was still undergoing the processes that had created the parish system from the minster system, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and these processes were not really complete until 1894, when smaller, more normal-sized parishes, were created from the ancient parish. The size, topography and population of the parish were key influences on the religious life of Wimborne Minster throughout the period of this study, and in much the same terms; Dean Thomas de Brembre, who founded a chantry of four priests to improve the quality of worship, would have had no difficulty recognising many of the complaints made by the corporation of 12 lay governors, some two hundred years later.

The robustness of the parishioners' self-identity and self-organisation was put to the test under the pressures of the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations, which formed the subject of chapter four. The first notable change the parishioners had to deal with was the outlawing of their native saint, Cuthburga, in 1538. Over the previous century, cultic life at the Minster had not manifested the kind of variety seen in other similar towns in the diocese of Salisbury, and so the loss of cults like that of Henry VI, probably introduced by Lady Margaret Beaufort, was not keenly felt. Otherwise, the 1530s and early 1540s were not a time of collapse in the way described by historians such as Robert Whiting. The royal free chapel was not subject to determined predation, nor does the quickening pace of dissolution appear to have created a looming sense of existential threat. The fact that Wimborne's final dean, Nicholas Wilson, was involved heavily in national and

international politics throughout his tenure, did not make a great difference; after all, a committed dean was a rarity, and the Minster's royal status may have provided the parishioners with some confidence about its future. Even as signs of disarray become visible in the parish records, the elaborate system of mutuality between dead and living was still maintained, right until the passing of the Second Chantry Act, in December 1547, which dissolved the college.

The importance of individuals in the great changes of the mid-Tudor decades can hardly be ignored; the same is true in the parishes. The parishioners of Wimborne were lucky that one of the chantry commissioners for Dorset was John Hanham, a local gentleman who appears to have been sympathetic to them, turning a blind eye to the concealment of goods and land that had been taking place, despite being an evangelical. This was the first, but not the last, decisive intervention by a member of the Hanham family in the affairs of the parish; John Hanham and his descendants would be the chief beneficiaries of the dissolution of the royal free chapel and its chantries, acquiring a substantial amount of their possessions and, as a direct result, occupying the place at the head of the parish corporation after 1563. The corporation was intended to be composed of the parish's best men, and so it was only natural that the chief men of its chief family – new money or not – should exert their personality upon it and through it the most.

Such a large peculiar jurisdiction, like Crediton and Ottery St Mary, in Devon, needed a proper organisation; all three gained parish corporations after the dissolution of their exempt colleges. During Mary's reign, Wimborne had escaped the attention of Reginald Pole, who despite his earlier tenure as dean, apparently chose not to resurrect the royal free chapel, and under Elizabeth collegiate foundations were rare and haphazard; while the college at Manchester, for instance, which had been re-established in 1553, was re-founded and re-endowed in 1578, the re-established Marian college at Crediton was dissolved.[2] Wimborne's new corporation brought stability and security after 15 years of uncertainty, during which the future of the parish grammar school and the priests in the Minster appeared to be in doubt.

The fifth and sixth chapters showed the development of a mixed regime of preaching and rich polyphony, under the aegis of the corporation. In Wimborne's 'cathedral order of service', the forward hopes of the hotter sort of Protestants and the medieval traditions of the Minster co-mingled. With regards to preaching and its role as a tool of further reformation, Dorset in the 1570s and 1580s was clearly not a backwater of Papistry and rude custom, whatever radical exiles

[2] Cook, *Collegiate Churches*, p.151.

like William Kethe or historians like David Underdown would have us believe. The foundation of Wimborne's expensive lectureship may have pre-dated Dorchester's by some 20 years, and appears to have been driven by godly lawyers among the corporation, who leveraged contacts in the local area, the wider region and further afield. Their determination paid off, and the new lectureship was soon occupied by university graduates paid a wage in excess of most lecturers even in the capital.

It was also these godly lawyers who were the chief patrons of Wimborne's musical regime, most prominently Thomas Hanham, the second son of the chantry commissioner John Hanham; our understanding of the boundaries and possibilities of Protestant, and especially godly, culture in England is too limited. Music has been a renewed subject of interest for historians of the English Reformation over the past decade, not least of all because of Jonathan Willis's thorough reappraisal of its place in Protestant thought and worship. For one thing, it is clear that the standard account of church music's fate during the reign of Elizabeth was in need of serious modification, and the case of Wimborne further substantiates this. Not only was the parish's musical regime itself – organ, organist, singing-men and choristers – more or less a constant between 1403 and 1640, but the role of the parishioners in supporting it was also surprisingly stable. The continuing presence of the musical regime may have eased the transition to Protestantism; and it may also have made the parishioners more amenable to the governors' attempts to establish regular preaching, at least until the arrival of Thomas Norman from the retinue of the 2nd earl of Pembroke, in 1594. Although there are few exact analogues for Wimborne's 'cathedral order of service', there are cases of individuals, especially in the capital, who also confounded the binary of 'Puritan'-ceremonialist. More detailed investigation into musical patronage may reveal greater numbers of them. Nor should the clergy be exempt from this ongoing investigation. What, for instance, of Percival Wiburn, the preacher who led a Geneva-style reformation in Northampton in the 1570s? He remained an incorrigible Genevan, such that in 1599 his fellow canons of Rochester Cathedral acknowledged that only a 'myracle' would make him change his ways; and yet three years later, as a prebendary of Westminster Abbey, he put his signature to a letter to Sir Robert Cecil in which the dean and chapter complained of attempts to interfere in the Abbey choir, to its detriment.[3] Closer attention to the careers of godly clergy, especially those who held college and cathedral

[3] On Wiburn, C.S. Knighton, 'Wiburn, Percival (1533/4-1606)', *ODNB*, accessed 20 March 2018. For the letter, HMC, xii, pp.142-3; also Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, pp.82-3. I thank Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch for drawing my attention to the letter.

positions, may reveal behaviour that further belies the supposed antagonism between Word and music.

The final two chapters revealed some of the threats facing this unusual regime of preaching and music, both from within and without the parish. While the evidence strongly suggests that the establishment of the lectureship had popular support, the employment of Thomas Norman made preaching and the figure of the preacher less a focus of unity than a source of division. While angering the middling sort and the profane, Norman enjoyed the unbroken favour of the corporation, and of important godly gentlemen and –women in the local area and beyond; again, Dorset's religious scene was more complex than the work of David Underdown suggests.

Another threat came from tithe evasion, which was partly a response to Thomas Norman's preaching but also a response to the governors' handling of the tithes. The parishioners resented attempts to increase the rate of tithe, having already paid significant amounts towards the corporation's letters patent and then the redemption of Lord Mountjoy's lease of the parish tithes, ten years later. By 1636, and the dispute between the corporation and William Hussey, a clear precedent for opposition to the governors had emerged, on the basis of their competence and probity in managing their finances; but now, like many other civic disputes during the late 1620s and 1630s, that opposition took on an increasingly religious character – although the true aims of Hussey and his Dorchester allies had to be masked. Laud's intervention was a decisive rupture in the parish's relations with the ordinary: not since the thirteenth century, and an assertive papacy, had the parish experienced such a determined attempt to curtail its religious freedoms.

The dispute is also further evidence for Ian Atherton's contention that Laudian cathedral-style worship was more a new ideal to be enforced than an already-existing liturgy and aesthetic waiting to be spread; here, at Wimborne, as in many of the cathedrals, Laud's vision had to compete with an another ideal that had developed locally, over time. Those who supported Wimborne's 'cathedral order of service' might very well be seen as another group squeezed between 'Puritans' and Laudians in the 1630s, not unlike Maltby's Prayer-Book Protestants. As a failure of moderation, if you will, the dispute speaks to broader conditions in the kingdom on the eve of the First Civil War, serving as perhaps one of many prodromes of that later sickness.

But what of the broader agenda of this thesis – migrations of the holy?

> How do we conceptualize and explain religious change in medieval and early modern Europe without perpetuating distorting paradigms inherited from the very era of the past

> that is the subject of our study? How can we do justice to historical development over time without resorting to linear grand narratives that have their intellectual origins in the very movements that we seek to comprehend?[4]

The structure of the thesis, a mixture of thematic and chronological chapters, with cross-cutting threads, has been my primary response to Walsham's questions. The significance and distinctiveness of the changes of the mid-sixteenth century have, hopefully, been retained, while longer-term continuities and changes have been revealed, and presented in a way that – hopefully – defies a simple linear scheme. Although the term 'Reformation' – an emic term, let it not be forgotten – has been used, it has not been used as a grand narrative device.

Let us look beyond this study, to the work of the future. Some readers might think that 'community', instead of 'migrations of the holy' or 'devotional culture', could have served as part of the title or by-line of this thesis. 'Community' has been used as a term of analysis in parish studies in recent years; and there can be no doubt that this account of Wimborne Minster has been an account of a community in the most obvious sense of the word – persistent geographical and administrative boundaries, a durable sense of place and belonging.[5] Still, the 'migrations of the holy' agenda is one that is supposed to alert us to the implicit assumptions that lie behind the concepts historians use when studying the past – which is just good historicism or anthropology, really. Historians must be as reflexive about the concepts they propose, as the concepts they dispose of; in fact, in a sense, the more innocuous concepts, those that seem to cleave much closer to our basic understanding, may hold the greatest danger, because they present themselves to us so readily and seem to require no further explanation. 'Community', as it is used by some parish historians, also brings with it its own biases, and some of these can be nicely illustrated by Wimborne's story.

'Community denotes the repeated interactions over time of a group of people with shared goals, interests, concerns and ideals', according to Katherine French.[6] 'At times coercion from both within and without the group arose to maintain community'. Sharing assumes amity and agreement; and disagreement, and with it coercion and imbalances of power, is seen as a breakdown of the proper functioning of community, rather than a part of it. Just how far is this definition, then, from the ideal notion of the parish as homogeneous entity, of medieval religion

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[4] Walsham, 'Migrations of the Holy', 241.
[5] See for instance, Kümin, *Shaping of a Community*, and K. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001).
[6] French, *People of the Parish*, p.24.

as one of integration and harmony – aspects of Eamon Duffy's work that have come in for some of the heaviest criticism? Not far enough, I think.

In the title of her 1976 book, Claire Cross used the term 'triumph of the laity' to refer to the Reformation: the Reformation as an assertion of the power of the laity in the church, a movement that satisfied popular hopes for change and control of worship.[7] Of course, she was writing in the antediluvian moment, before the hard rain of revisionism began to fall; but the term might serve some use momentarily. Who, then, among the laity at Wimborne might have triumphed? Who were the laity, after all? Wimborne's story after 1548 could be seen as a one of the wresting of control of an ancient jurisdiction from an ecclesiastical lord, into the hands of the local community, which was then able to exercise its own choices about the form and content of its own worship. Such a story would be partially true; but the power balance, and everything that came with it, cannot be ignored. Some had more choice – much more choice – than others, and did their best to set the agenda for all. It was a narrow oligarchy, self-perpetuating, and its networks within the local area and beyond it, that made many of the most important decisions. Nor were the clergy quite so humbled either – Thomas Norman would have had no truck with that. But did Wimborne become less a community for all this, or just a different kind of community? By whose standards? Explicit in the notion, for instance, of 'magistracy and ministry' was a clear idea of hierarchy within the community: those who lead and legislate, those who follow – or do not, and must be corrected. Of course, there were other visions of the community; and even those seemingly without voice or means were able to make their opinions and values felt, if only by sitting in the street and railing against the preacher when they should have been in the church, or dragging their feet when it came to paying their tithes.

Thinking more broadly, then, about parishes as communities and how to continue studying them, we might choose instead to see them as 'traditions', in the sense proposed by the moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre.[8] Traditions are situated moral dialogues that take place over time, embodying both belief and practice at once; crucially, adherents of traditions are likely to disagree about fundamental notions and practices, and when they do, they look to central elements of the tradition to adjudicate. In the end, if agreement is impossible, conflict can lead to an 'epistemic crisis', as a result of which a 'schism' may take place, giving birth to new traditions. Rather than presenting

[7] C. Cross, *Church and People, 1450-1660: Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (1976).
[8] The notion was first proposed in *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3rd ed. (2011); and for useful exegesis, see J. Annas, 'Review: MacIntyre on Traditions', *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 18:4 (1989), 388-404.

disagreement and conflict as threatening elements (which perhaps grew as a result of the Reformation), future parish studies might ask how the nature of the parish as tradition changed: the terms of the dialogue, its valence, its participants. Who was included and excluded? Why? How? And under what conditions might the tradition itself be brought into doubt (epistemic crisis)? Destroyed (schism), even?

This is just one potential response to this study. Another might be to see the material world as exercising its own kind of agency over time, structuring social relations and experience – and not just the other way around. An obvious continuity in this study has been the Minster itself. The Minster, like the cathedrals, had a material aura which in a very real sense increased with the dissolutions, as Dorset's monastic churches disappeared, leaving only parish churches. Direct testimony to this aura is limited, but intimations can be found in the records of the governors, wills (the 'parish great church' of Sir William Uvedale) and the attention directed to it by antiquarians like Thomas Gerard and Lieutenant Hammond; perhaps the fears, too, of William Hussey and the Dorchester faction who attempted to have the corporation dissolved, in 1636. To what extent, then, did this great material edifice continue to 'demand' attention after 1558, even when some in the community might have had the parishioners look elsewhere, to less tangible things, in their devotions? Did such a grand setting 'demand' a rich liturgy after 1558?

The language is not easy. Clarification and instruction for a more material approach to the holy might be sought from the work of certain anthropologists and sociologists of science, such as Bruno Latour. His work on the 'Berlin Key', for instance, would provide a decent introduction.[9] This very specially designed key, which forces tenement users to lock their outer doors in such a way that they are always open during the day and always closed at night, shows how the material world is not just an intermediary for human meaning-making; not just a 'mirror for social relations'. 'Consider things, and you will have humans. Consider humans, and you are by that very act interested in things'.[10] Timothy Mitchell's *Carbon Democracy* is a more complicated example, showing the way that carbon-based fuels, by their nature, have shaped politics on a global scale, powering democracy in massively consuming countries like the US, and stifling it in the producing countries of the Middle East.[11] Such an approach is different from the social constructionist, which posits the material world as no more than an inert substrate upon which successive layers of human

[9] B. Latour, 'The Berlin Key or How To Do Words with Things' in P. Graves-Brown ed., *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture* (2000), pp.10-21.
[10] Ibid, p.20.
[11] T. Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*, 2nd edn. (2013).

meaning accrete or from which they are scraped away; a palimpsest. Walsham's book, *The Reformation of the Landscape* is a good example of the social constructionist approach to the material world of English religion.[12] But how different would her conclusions have been if her starting point had been things and not humans?

For guidance from recent work within the field of Reformation history, I would suggest Julia Merritt's article on chuch-building in Jacobean London. As a counter to the polemical charge that 'Puritans' took no care over the fabric of their churches, she shows that in fact 'Puritans' and ceremonialists alike *had* to attend to the fabric of their churches, for the very simple reason that they might collapse on them if they did not.[13] Concern about the structural integrity of the Minster had been expressed from at least the 1430s, and was still being expressed two hundred years – indeed, four hundred years – later; so one might say that the Minster's stubborn materiality, its 'refusal' ever to be a completely solid space in which the parish might come together *as a parish*, was one of the great continuities of this study. I think too of Margaret Aston's work on how the physical remains of the religious communities became a spur to historical consciousness; ruins evoking a new 'structure of feeling', to use Raymond Williams' term.[14]

The limitations of parish studies, especially this one, should be clearer by now; Walsham's complicated agenda will require a plurality of studies. The questions I have been able to ask have, of course, been limited by the available sources. Some important issues could not be addressed as fully as I might have hoped: gender; heresy and dissent before the Reformation, among them. Nor can this study obviously speak to Walsham's claim that cycles of religious change are a more valuable tool of analysis than periodisation; perhaps an even longer time-frame, or an even greater variety of evidence, would be necessary. Questions of meaning are also difficult to address when dealing simply, or most often, with evidence of behaviour – that is, with records of acts whose rationale must often be inferred. As Wittgenstein noted in his *Remarks on Frazer's Golden Bough*, the relationship between behaviour and belief is by no means certain; does a person kiss a photograph of their beloved to have some magical effect, or simply to achieve a state of emotional satisfaction?[15] One of the clearest continuities in behaviour I have noted was the parish's provision of elaborate polyphonic music; but what can be said of the meaning of that music? John Bossy suggested that music, with words and the state, underwent one of the great migrations of the holy

[12] Walsham, *Reformation of the Landscape*.
[13] Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians'.
[14] Aston, 'English Ruins'. R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, 1977), pp.136-44.
[15] Wittgenstein, 'Remarks', p.87.

in Christian Europe between 1400 and 1700. And what of those remaining vestiges of the cult of St Cuthburga – in cast metal, in fields and water-courses, in the progress of the seasons and the year? What did they mean?

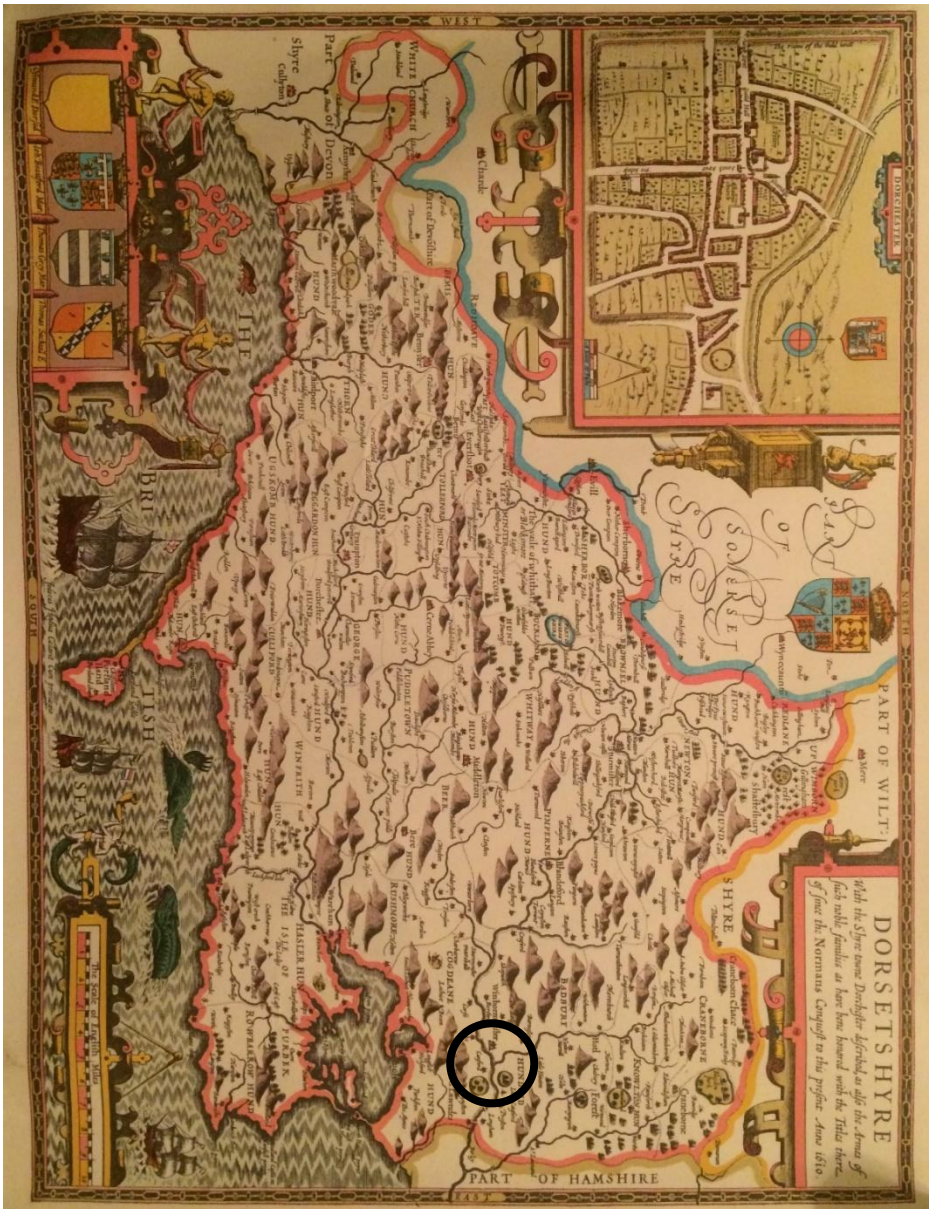
Some questions of meaning, fundamental questions, may even prove impossible to address, at least while remaining within the boundaries of the humanities and the social sciences. The holy as an internal quality or experience of the individual. Was there a qualitative change? Could we even begin to describe it, let alone measure it? A very wise anthropologist, having compared his own Anglo-Catholicism to the customs of a Nilotic people and their utterances about them, once wrote:

> If we regard only what happens in sacrifice before the eyes, it may seem to be a succession of senseless, and even cruel and repulsive, acts, but when we reflect on their meaning we perceive that they are a dramatic representation of the spiritual experience. What this experience is the anthropologist cannot for certain say. Experiences of this kind are not easily communicated even when people are ready to communicate them and have a sophisticated vocabulary in which to do so. Though prayer and sacrifice are exterior actions, Nuer religion is an interior state. This state is externalized in rites which we can observe, but their meaning depends finally on an awareness of God and that men are dependent on him and must be resigned to his will. At this point the theologian takes over from the anthropologist.[16]

And from the historian, too.

[16] E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford, 1956), p.322.

Maps and images

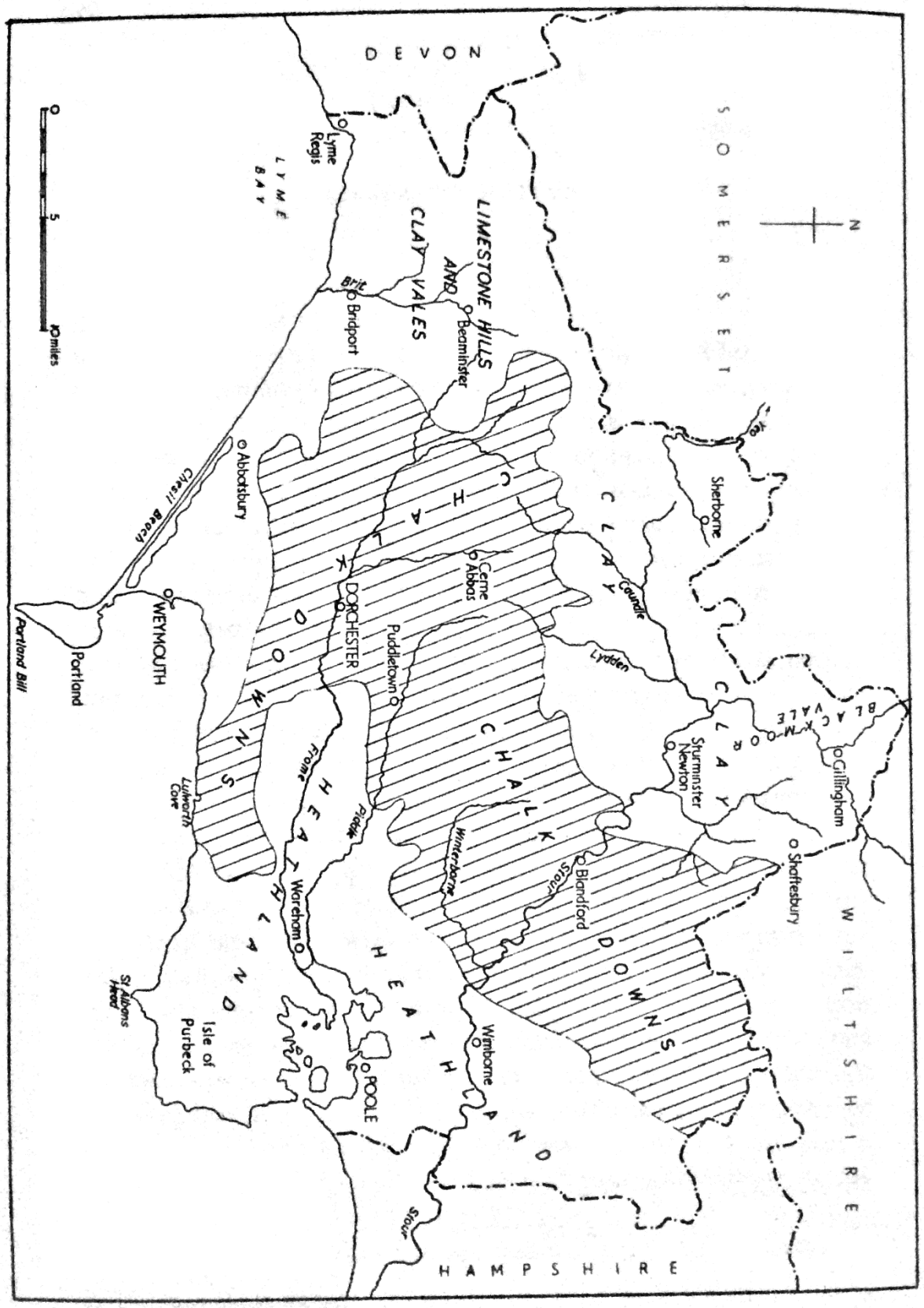


Map 1 Dorset, 1610 (with Wimborne Minster circled) [1]

[1] John Speed's map of 1610 (author's copy).

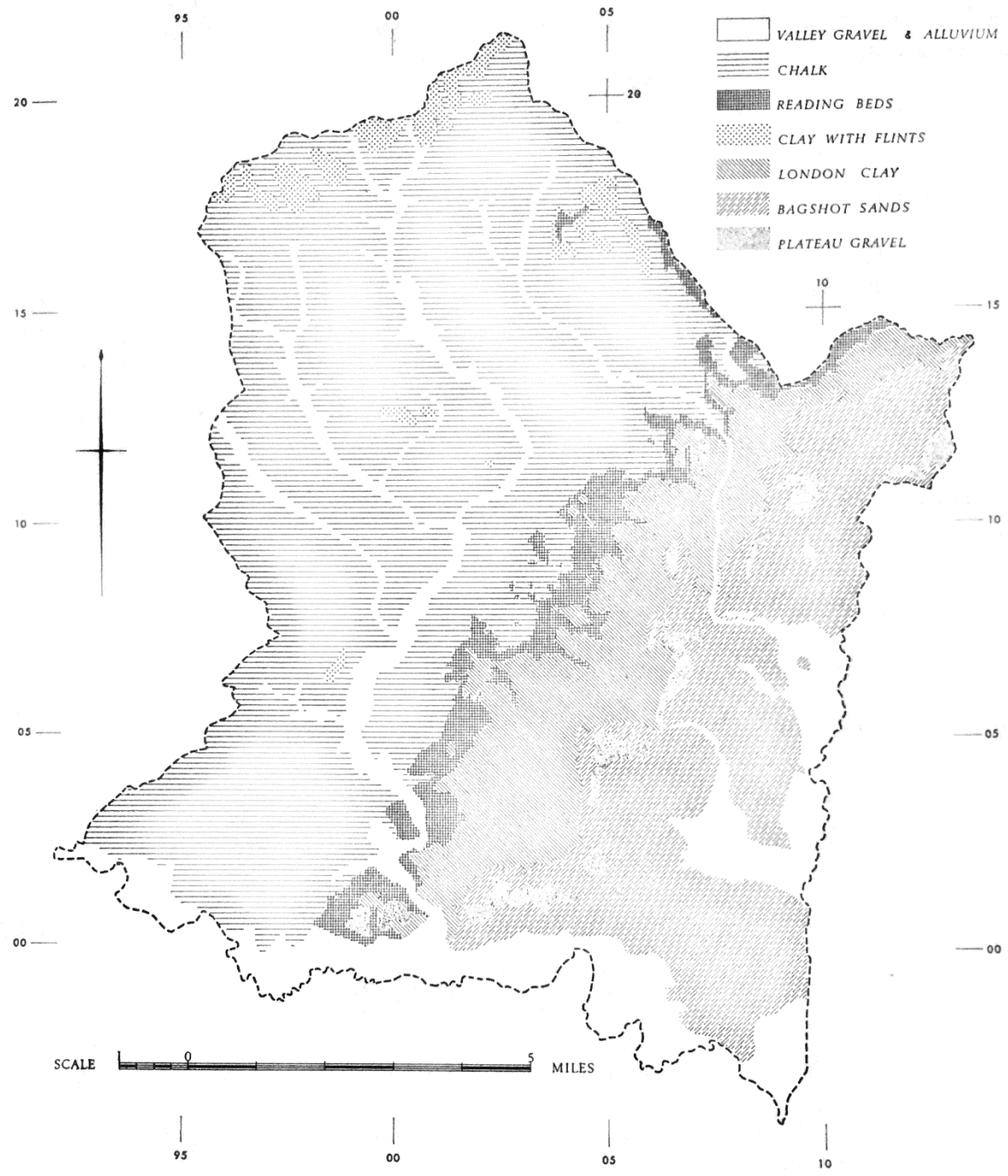


Map 2 East Dorset, 1610 (with Wimborne Minster circled)



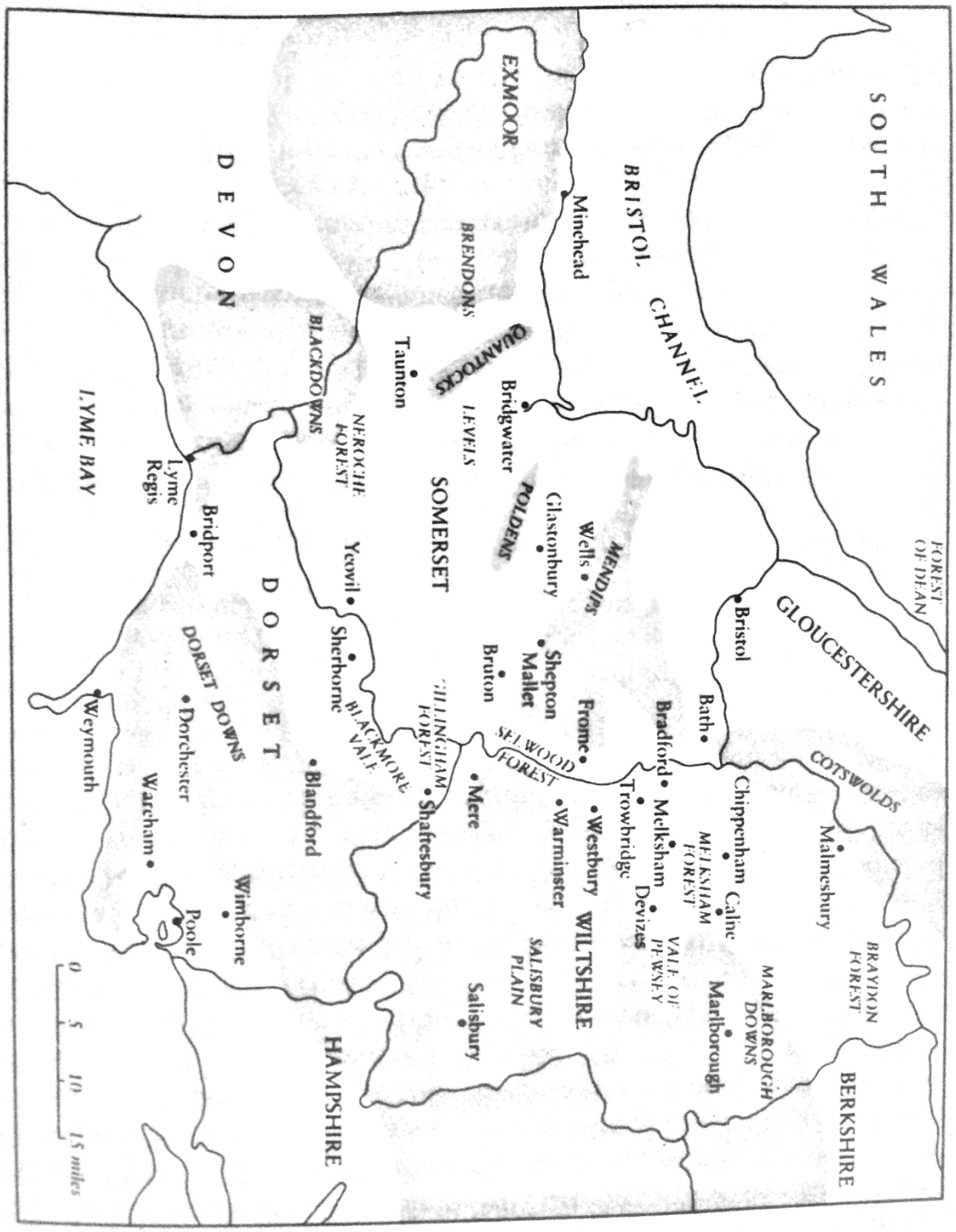
Map 3 Dorset: the chalk and cheese[2]

[2] Bettey, *Dorset*, p.59.



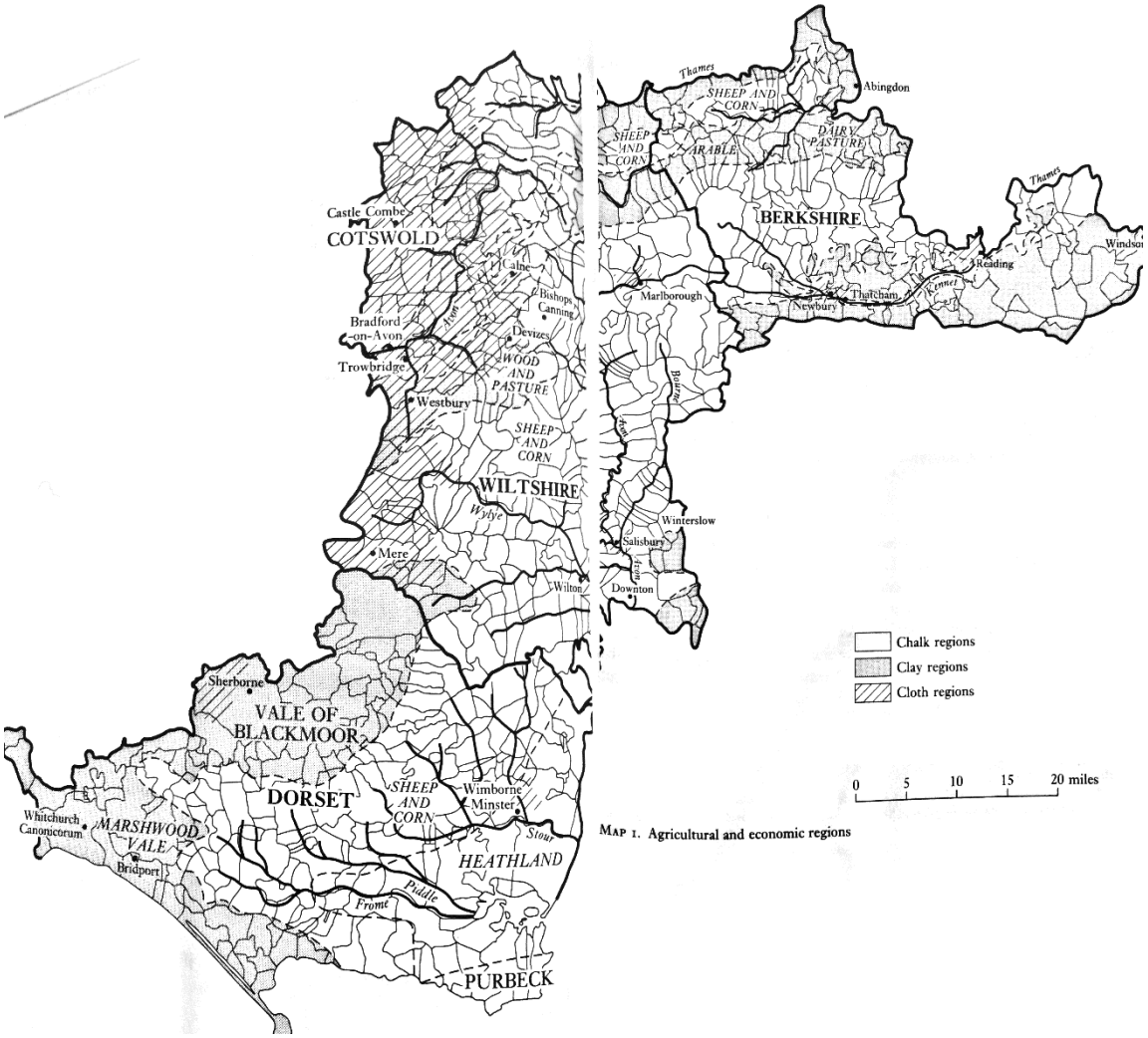
Map 4 Geology of east Dorset[3]

[3] RCHM Dorset V, p.xxii.



Map 5 The Westcountry[4]

[4] Underdown, *Revel*, p.6.



MAP 1. Agricultural and economic regions

Map 6 Chalk and cheese: the diocese of Salisbury[5]

[5] Brown, *Piety*, pp.10-11.

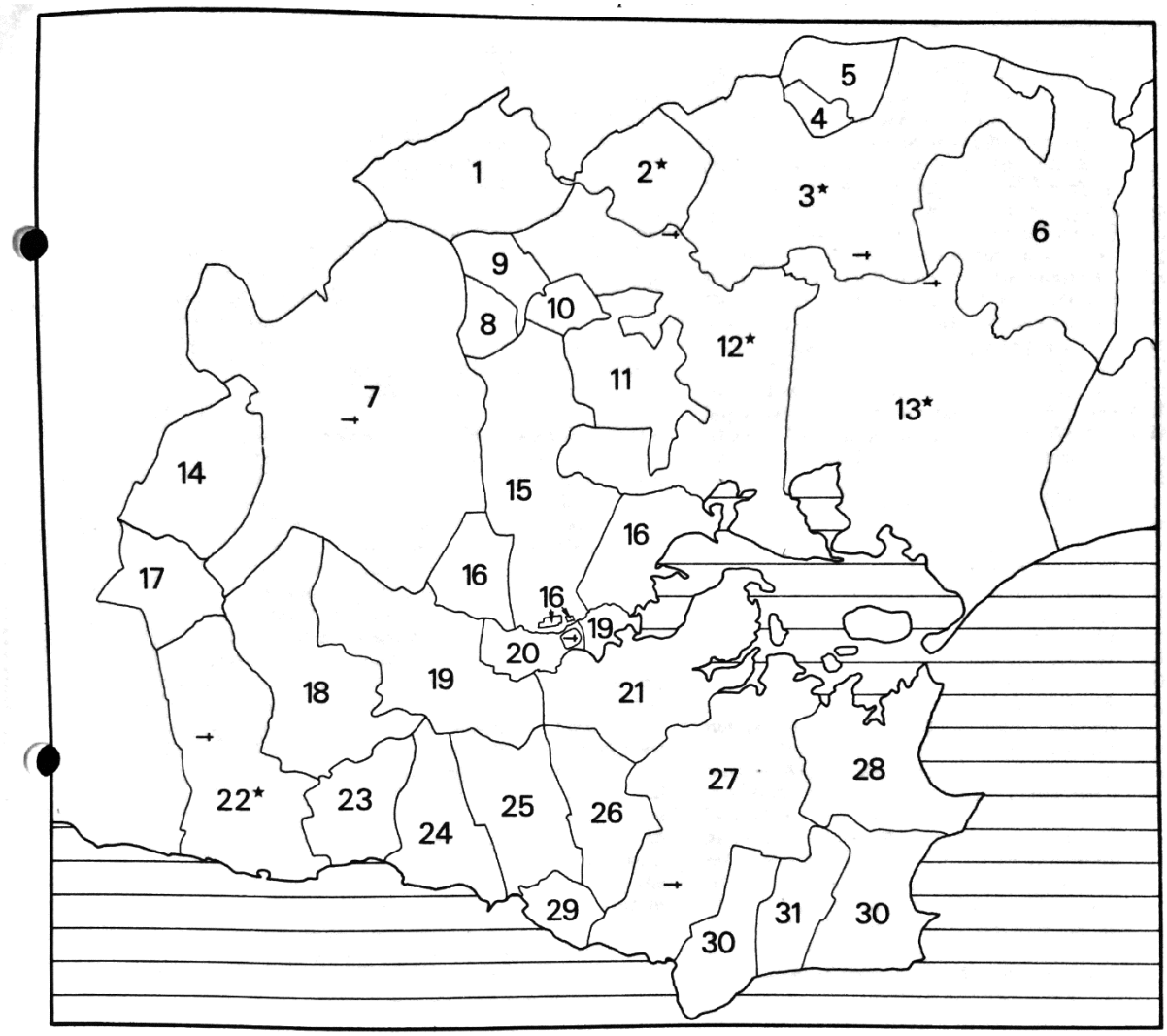
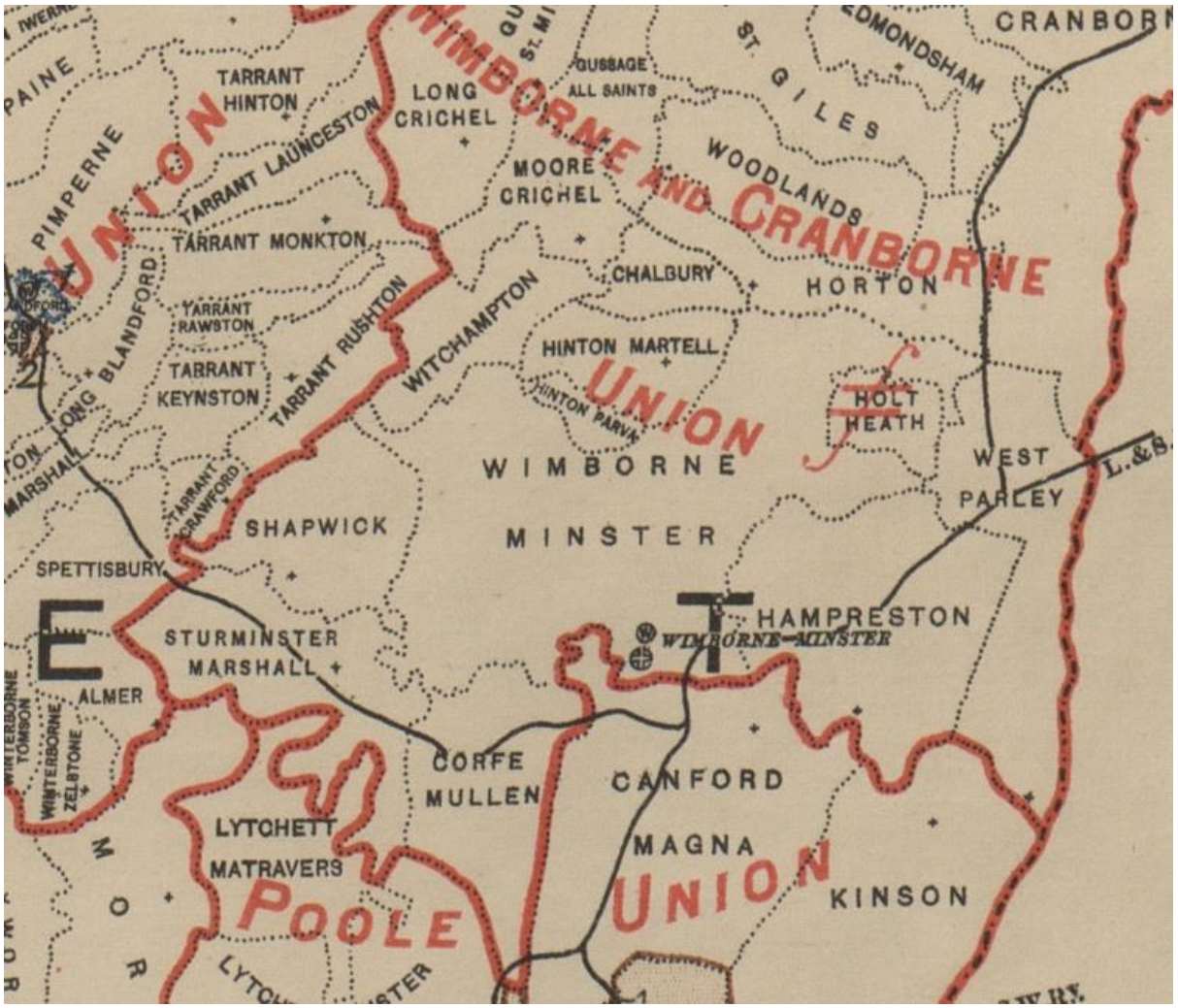


Figure 5. Attempted reconstruction of the medieval parishes in South-East Dorset. Key: 1, Spetisbury with Charlton Marshall; 2, Shapwick; 3, Wimborne Minster; 4, Hinton Parva/Stanbridge; 5, Hinton Martell; 6, Ham Preston/Chamberlayn; 7, Bere with Bloxworth and Turners Puddle; 8, Winterborne Zelston/Maylward; 9, Almer; 10, Charborough; 11, Lytchett Matravers; 12, Sturminster Marshall; 13, Canford; 14, Affpuddle; 15, Morden; 16, Wareham St Martin; 17, Morton; 18, Combe Keynes; 19, East Stoke; 20, Wareham St Mary; 21, Wareham Holy Trinity; 22, Winfrith Newburgh; 23, East Lulworth; 24, Tyneham; 25, Steeple; 26, Church Knowle; 27, Corfe with Kingston; 28, Studland; 29, Kimmeridge; 30, Worth Swanage; 31, Langton Matravers. Stars: churches valued at £20 or over in 1291 or 1340. Crosses: suggested 'minsters'.

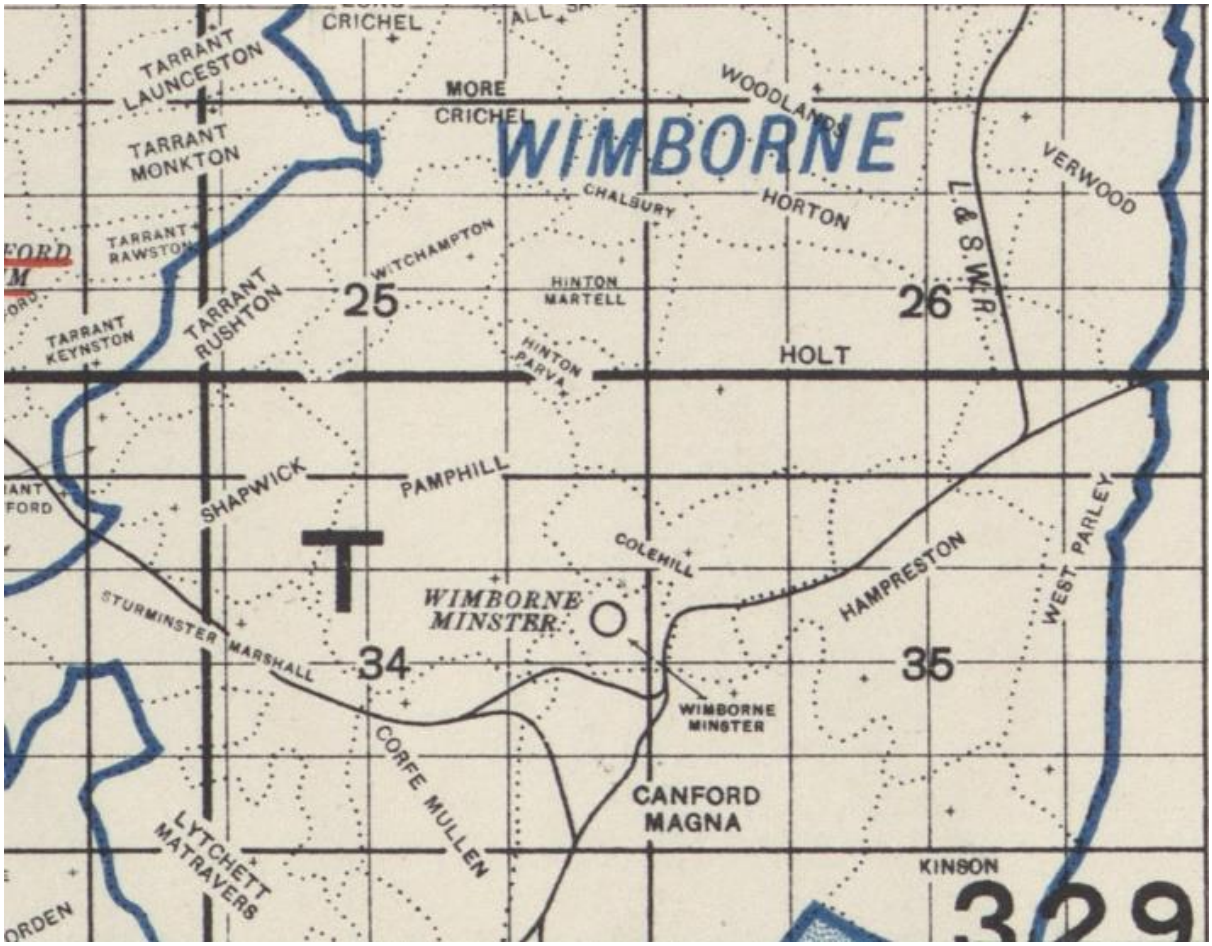
Map 7 Early minster parishes in south-east Dorset[6]

[6] Hinton and Webster, 'Excavations', 52.



Map 8 Wimborne parish before 1894[7]

[7] *Ordinance Survey Sanitary Districts Showing Civil Parishes* (1888) (www.visionofbritain.org.uk).



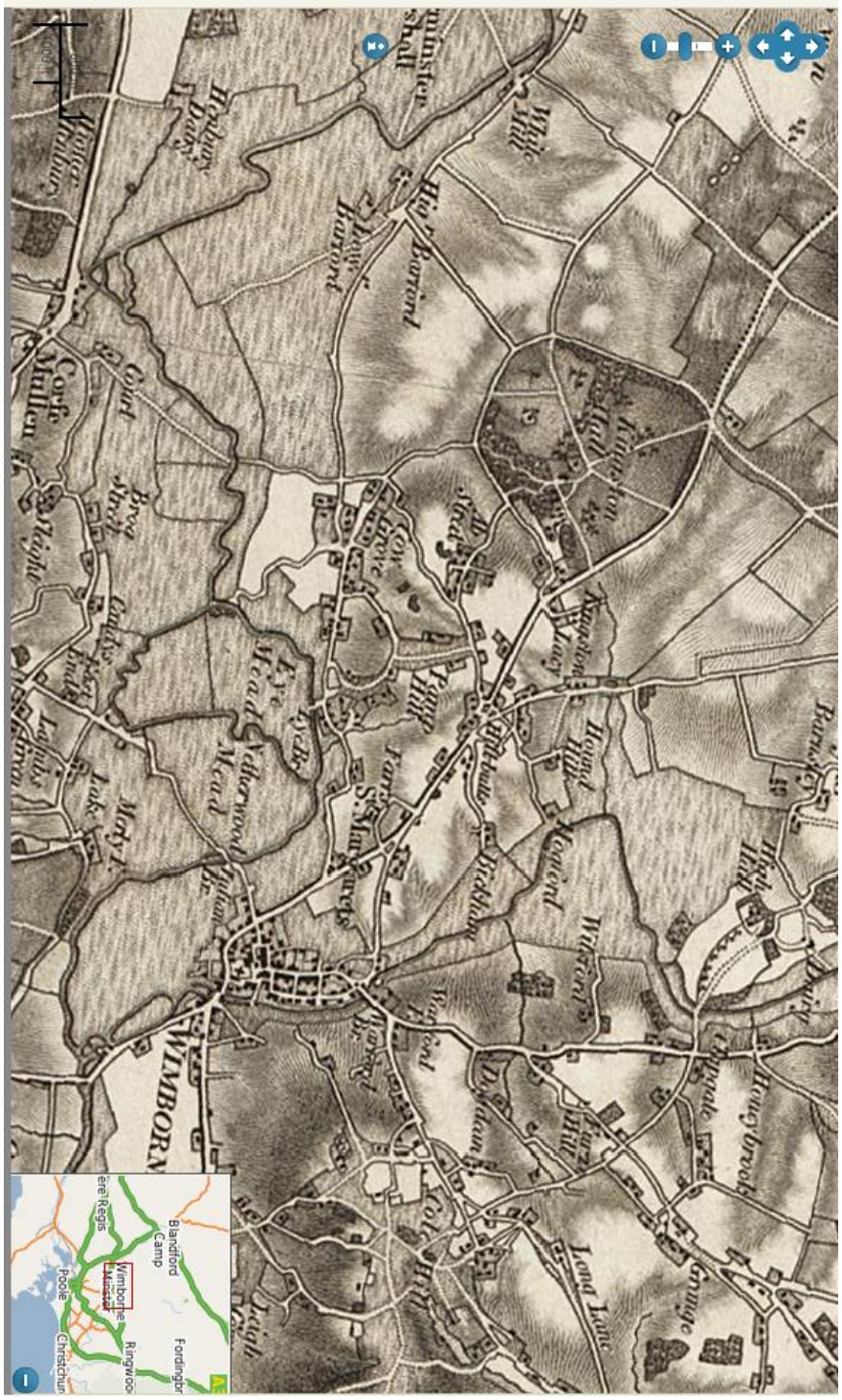
Map 9 Wimborne parish after 1894[8]

[8] *Ordinance Survey Index Sheets of England and Wales Showing Civil Parishes* (1901) (www.visionofbritain.org.uk).



Map 10 Wimborne Minster[9]

[9] *Ordinance Survey First Series* (1811) (www.visionofbritain.org.uk).

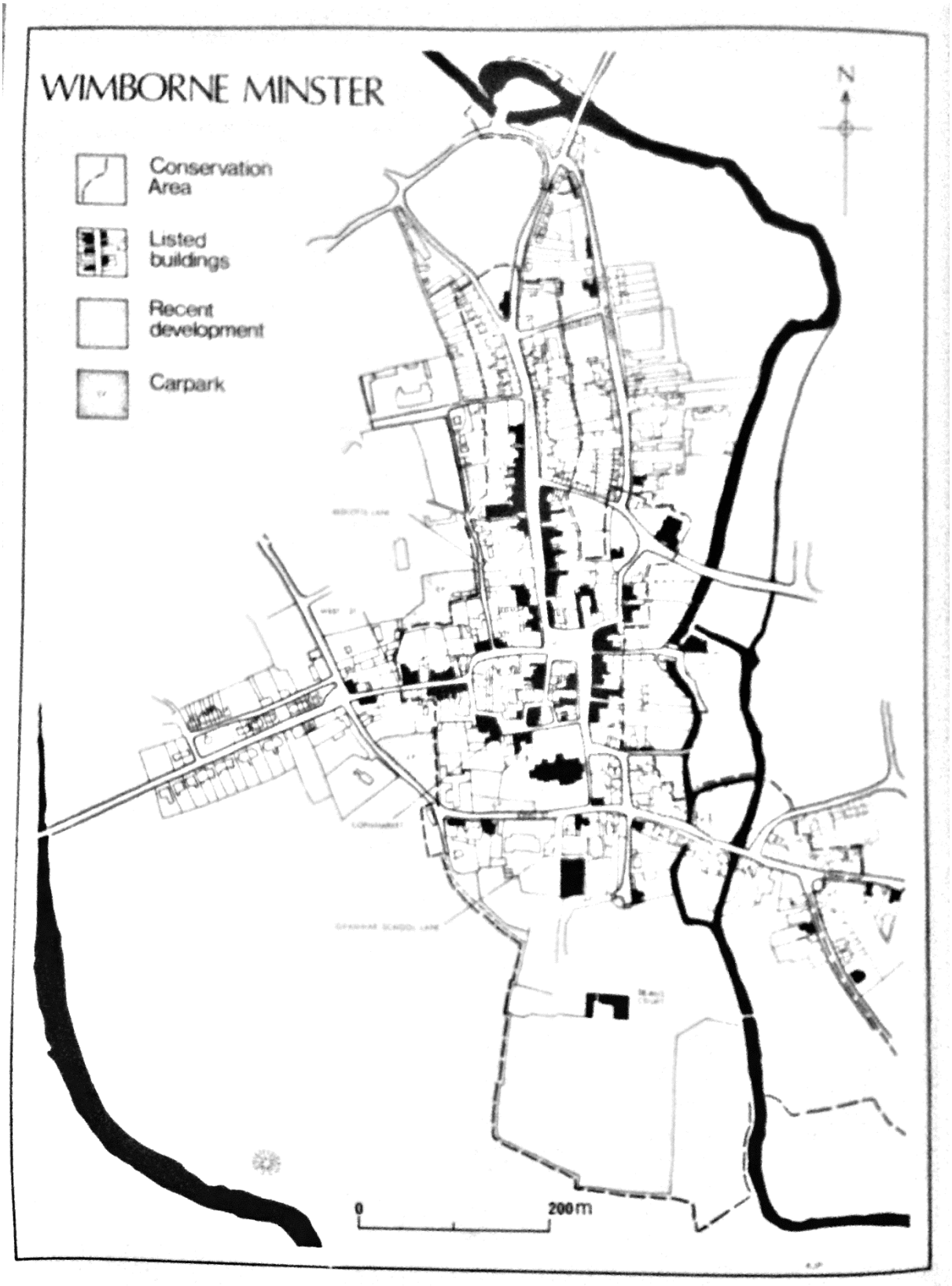


Map 11 Hamlets and settlements to the west of the town



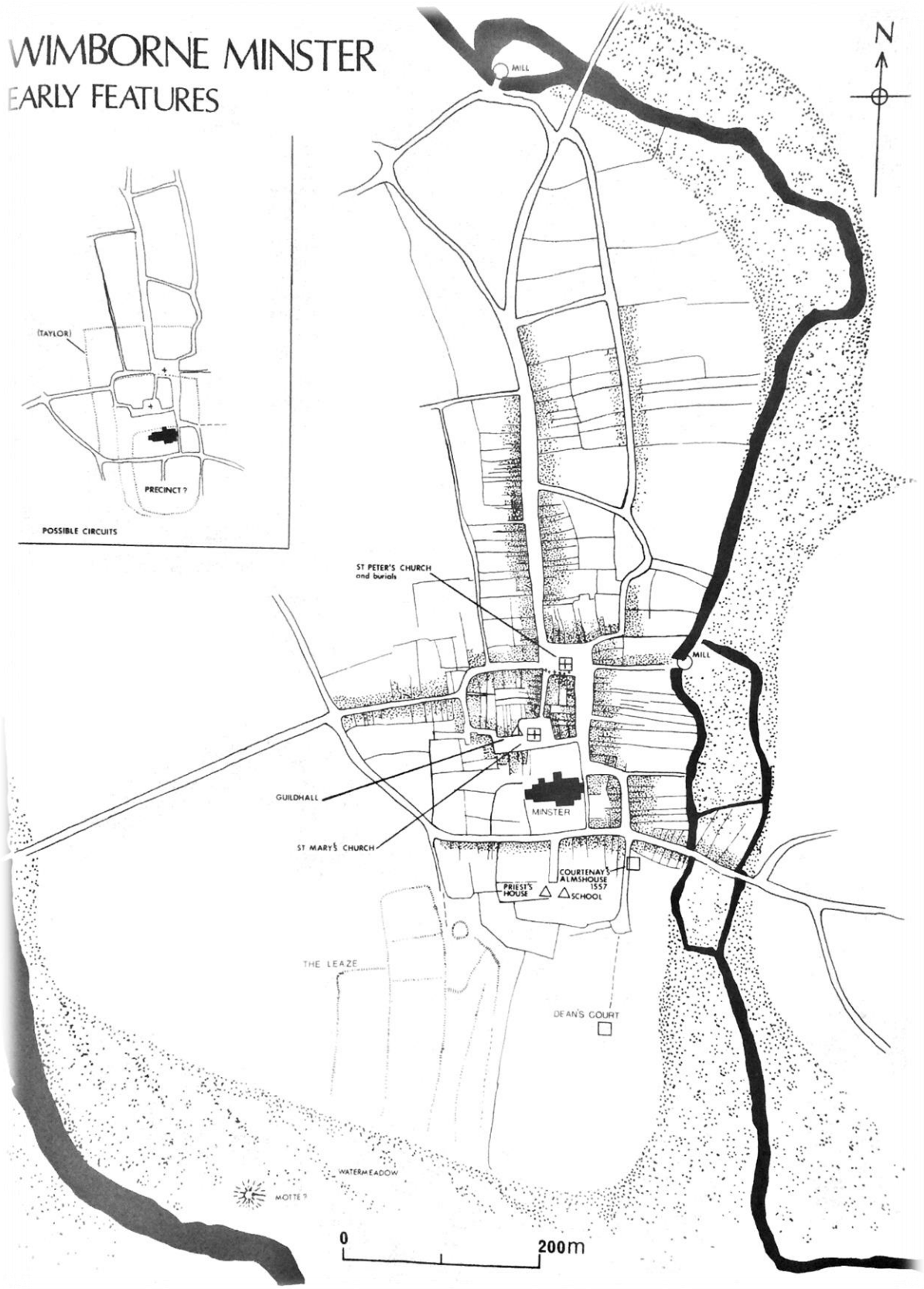
Map 12 Hamlets to the north of the town


Holt Chapel
Holt Common
Broom Hill
Long Lane
Gravel Gate
Woodrails
Forest Hill
Parkdale
Tarrings
Pilliford Bridge
Pilliford Heath
Pilliford Wood
Pilliford Bridge
Pilliford Cottage
Pilliford Barn
Pilliford Gate
Pilliford Common
Pilliford Lane
Pilliford Hill
Pilliford Farm
Pilliford Pond
Pilliford Copse
Pilliford Meadow
Pilliford Field
Pilliford Road



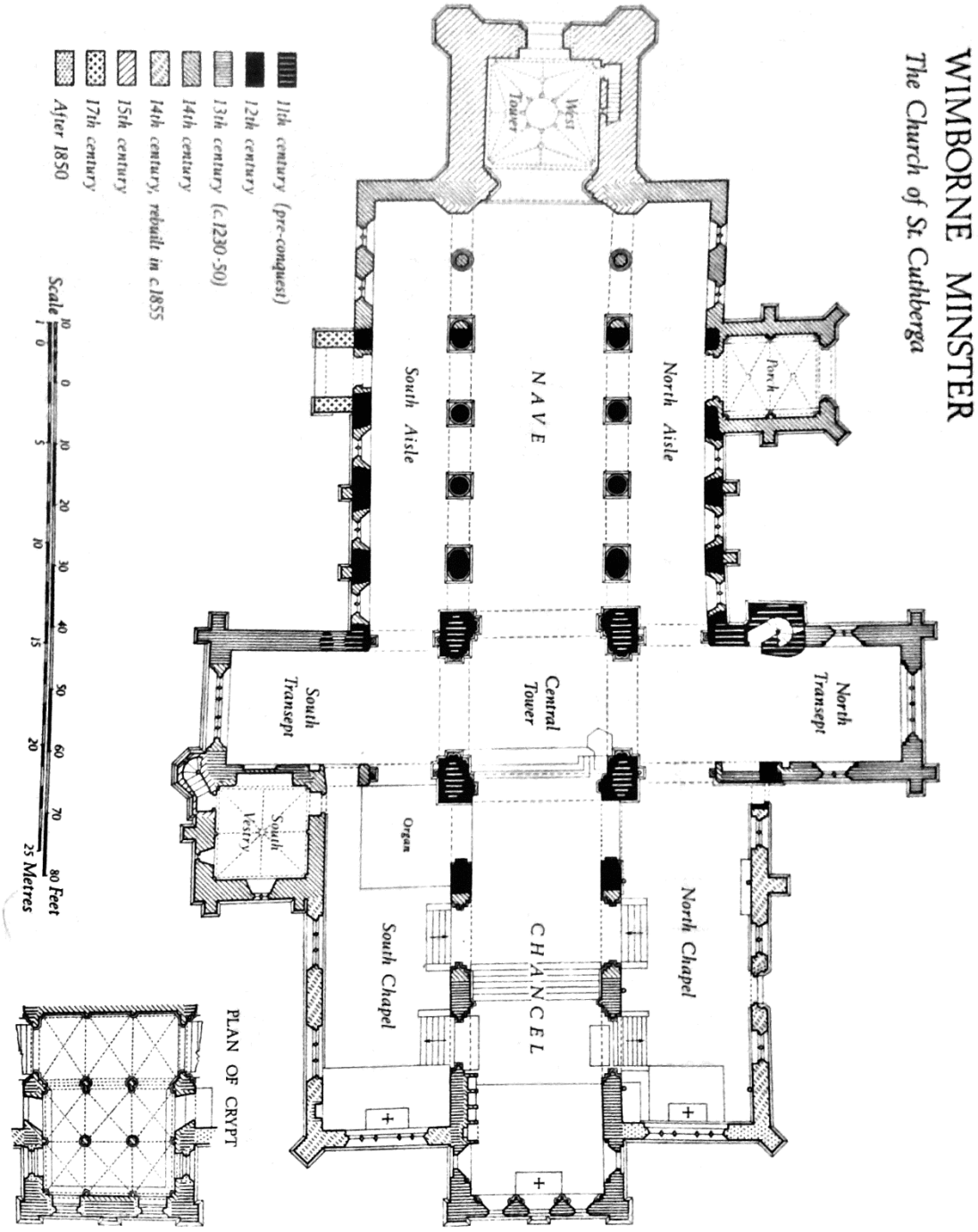
Map 14 Wimborne Minster: town layout[10]

[10] Penn, *Historic Towns*, p.122.



Map 15 Wimborne Minster: early features[11]

[11] Ibid, p.123.



Map 16 The Minster[12]

[12] *RCHM Dorset V*, p.79.

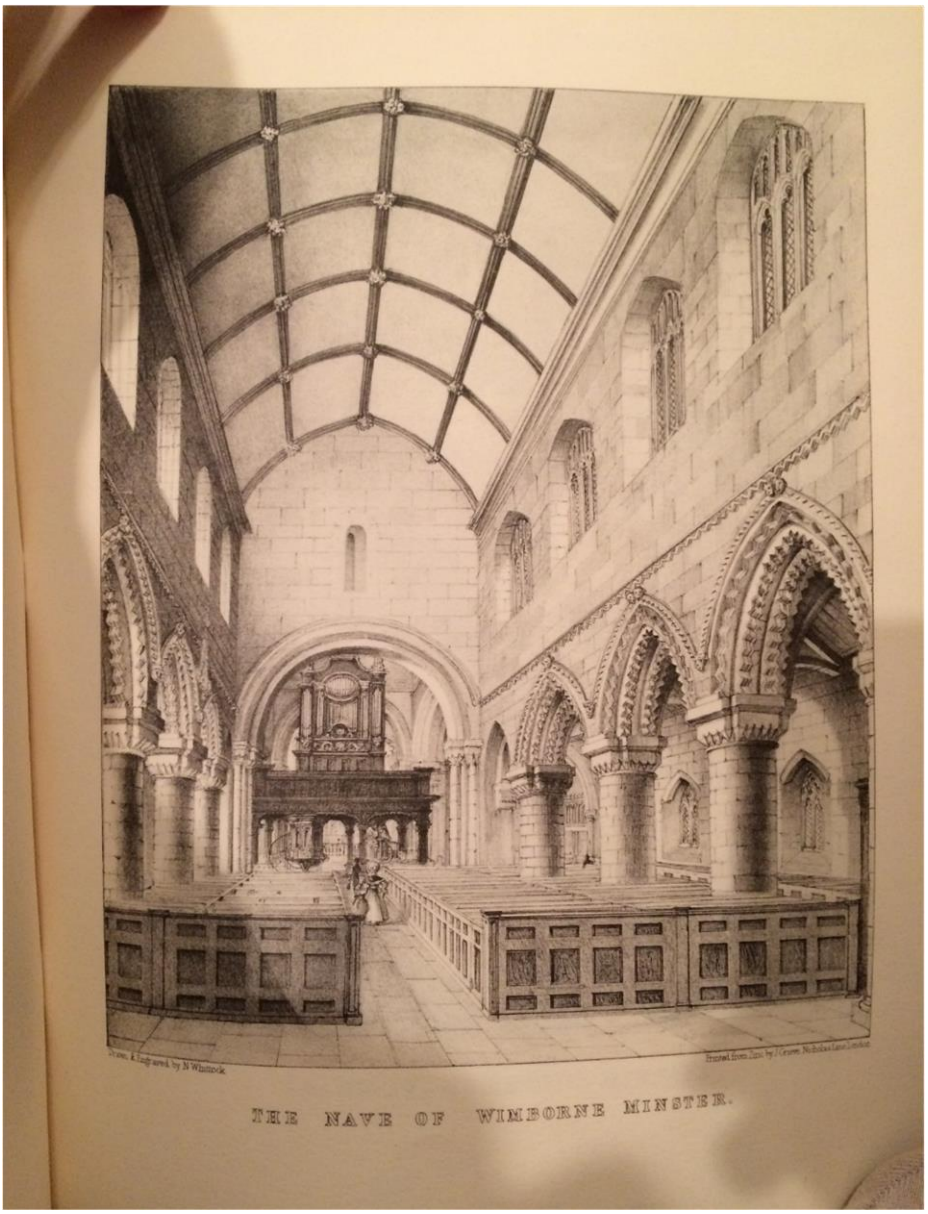


Image 1 The nave c.1839[13]

[13] Whittock.



Image. 2 The transept c.1839

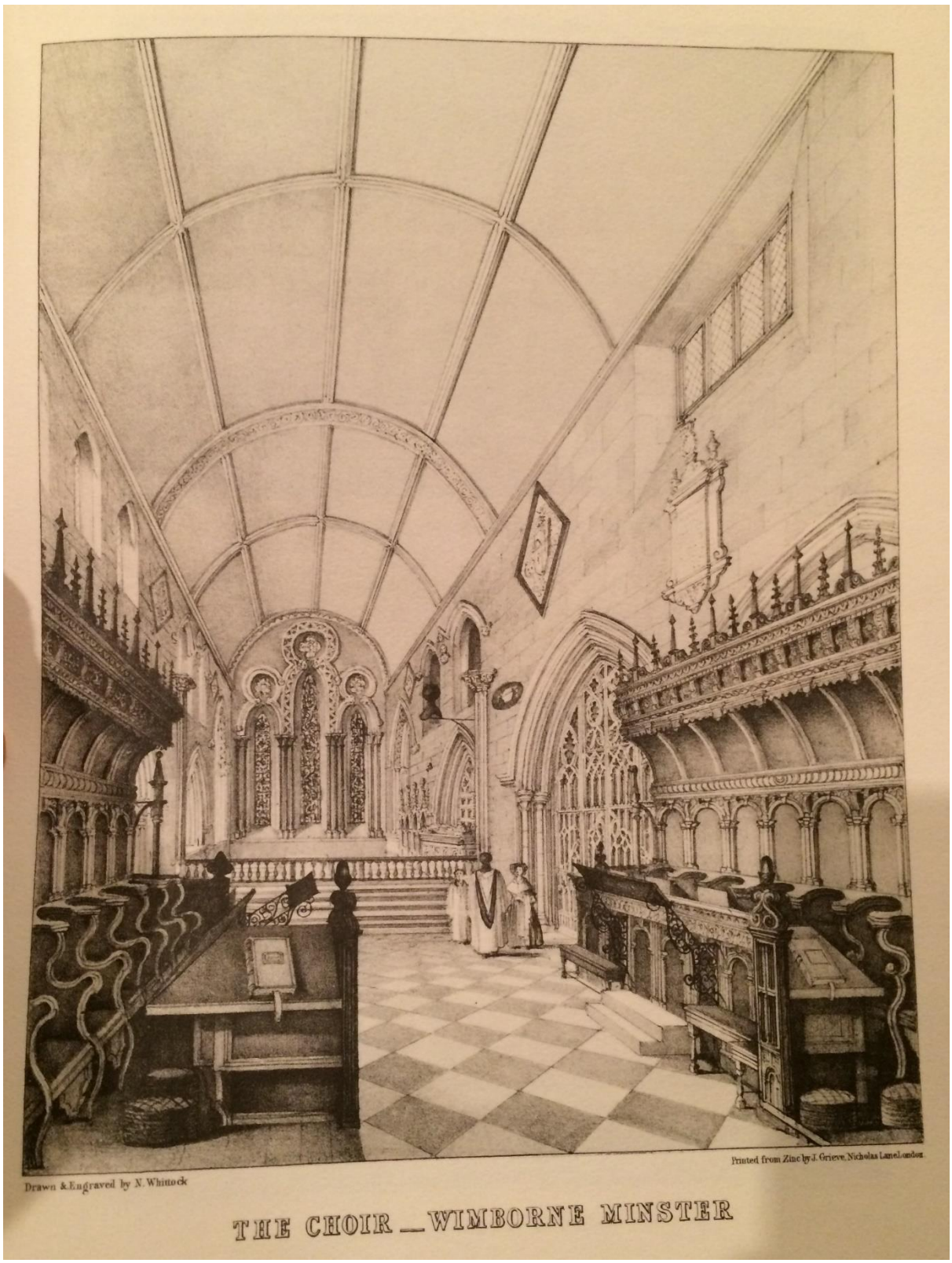


Image 3 The choir c.1839



Image 4 The Minster today[14]

[14] These photographs are all the author's own.



Image 5 The west tower



Image 6 The crossing tower



Image 7 'Morisch and hethy ground': Holt Heath, looking south to Wimborne



Image 8 The nave



Image 9 The crossing



Image 10 The choir and chancel



Image 11 A medieval mural



Image 12 Moses hoodmould stop



Image 13 Thirteenth century knight's tomb



Image 14 Tomb of Gertrude Blount



Image 15 Beaufort Tomb



Image 16 Elizabethan pulpit at Holt



Image 17 Elizabethan pulpit: detail



Image 18 Jacobean choir stalls



Image 19 Jacobean choir stalls: detail



Image 20 Tomb of Sir Edmund Uvedale

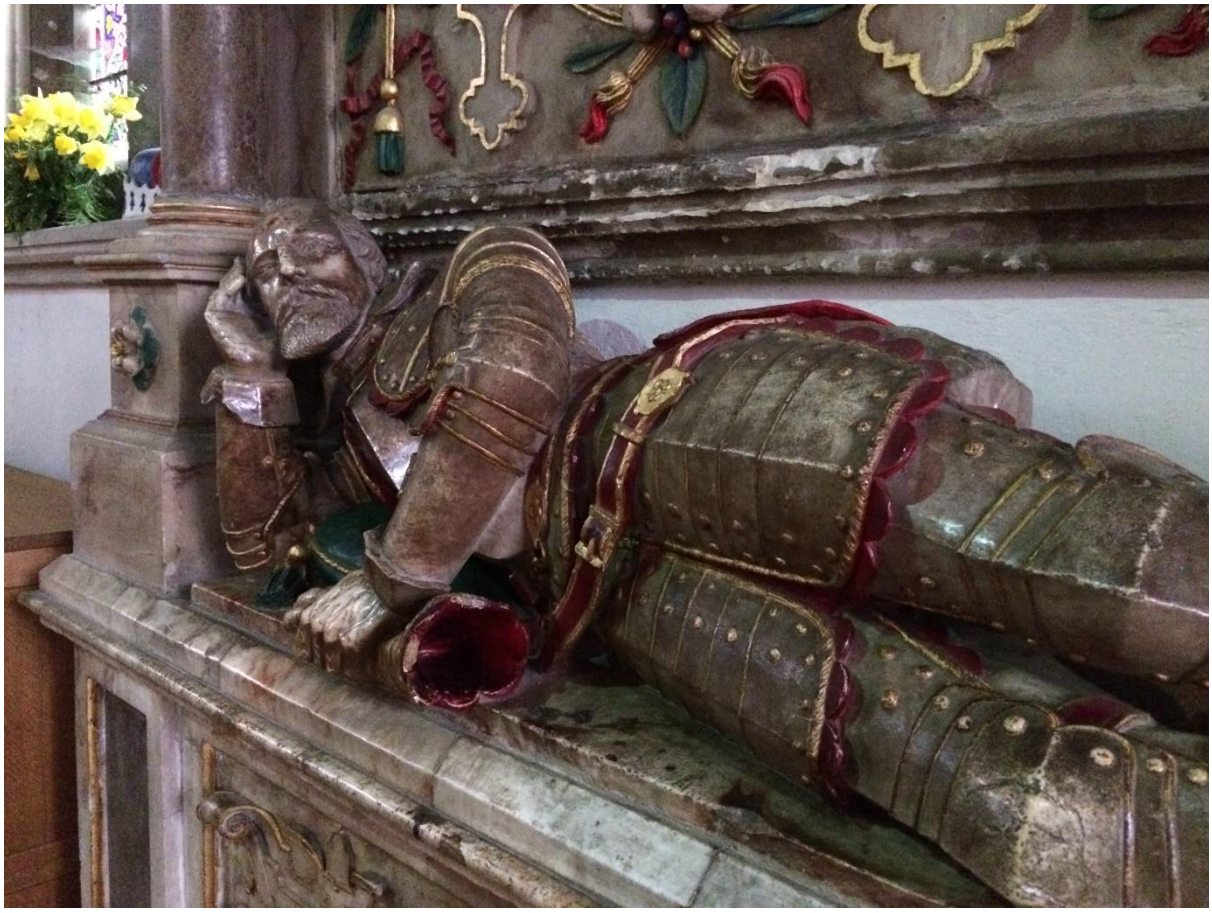


Image 21 Tomb of Sir Edmund Uvedale: detail



Image 22 Strongbox of Collett's charity, above Joseph Collett's tomb



Image 23 Brass eagle lectern

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